

R
X2-64-100, 1009
1009-1
25156

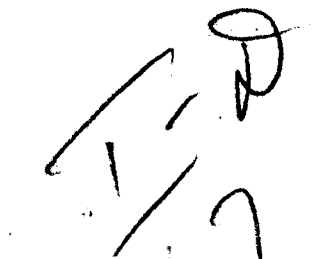
REPORT
OF THE
International Opium Commission

SHANGHAI, CHINA

February 1 to February 26, 1909

Vol. I.—REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

SHANGHAI:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE NORTH-CHINA DAILY NEWS & HERALD LTD.
1909



International Opium Commission

President:

THE RIGHT REVEREND CHARLES H. BRENT, D.D.

Bishop of the Philippine Islands

(Chief Commissioner of the American Delegation)

Secretary:

FRED. W. CAREY

(Associate-Delegate for China)

Assistant (and French) Secretary:

XAVIER DE LAFORCADE

(Secretary to the French Delegation)

Official Stenographer:

J. WALLIS BRINING

Clerk:

LI KWAY-YOONG

(Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs)

1101

1101

25156

R

X 2 (J44) pl, 1096

109.1

List of Delegations and Representatives

America, United States of.

DELEGATES:—

The Right Reverend CHARLES H. BRENT, D.D. (Chief Commissioner),
Bishop of the Philippine Islands.

HAMILTON WRIGHT, M.D.

CHARLES D. TENNEY, LL.D.,
Chinese Secretary to the American Legation, Peking.

SECRETARY:—

H. F. HAWLEY.

Austria-Hungary.

DELEGATE:—

Dr. KARL BERNAUER,
Acting Consul-General for Austria-Hungary.

China.

DELEGATES:—

His Excellency TUAN FANG (High Commissioner),
Viceroy of the Liangkiang Provinces.

His Excellency JUI CHENG,
Official of the Second Civil Rank,
Provincial Treasurer of Kiangsu.

His Honour TSAI NAI-HUANG,
Official of the Fourth (with Brevet of Second) Civil Rank,
Shanghai Customs Taotai.

His Honour LEW YUK-LIN,
Official of the Fourth (with Brevet of Second) Civil Rank,
Councillor of the Waiwupu and Expectant Taotai of Chihli.

Dr. HSÜ HUA-CHING,
Official of the Fourth (with Brevet of Second) Civil Rank,
President of the Army Medical College and Expectant Taotai of Chihli.

T'ANG KUO-AN,
Official of the Fifth Civil Rank,
Member of the Waiwupu.

ASSOCIATE-DELEGATES:—

F. A. CARL,
Official of the Second Civil Rank,
Commissioner of the Imperial Maritime Customs, Newchwang.

J. L. CHALMERS,
Official of the Third Civil Rank,
Acting Statistical Secretary, Inspectorate Staff, Imperial Maritime Customs.

WU PAO-YEN,
Official of the Sixth (with Brevet of Fourth) Civil Rank,
Member of the Waiwupu.

FRED. W. CAREY,
Official of the Fourth Civil Rank,
Acting Assistant Secretary, Inspectorate Staff, Imperial Maritime Customs.

France.

DELEGATES:—

J. RATARD (Chief Commissioner),
Consul-General for France.

H. BRENIER,
Sous-Directeur de l'Agriculture et du Commerce en Indo-Chine.

J. CORNILLON,
Adjoint au Directeur-Général des Douanes et Régies de l'Indo-Chine.

SECRETARY:—

XAVIER DE LAFORCADE,
Consul suppléant de France.

Germany.

DELEGATES:—

Dr. WALTHER RÖSSLER (Chief Commissioner),
Consul-General (H.I.G.M.'s Consul at Canton).

Dr. G. PERNITZSCH,
Referendar,
Assistant Interpreter, H.I.G.M.'s Consulate-General, Shanghai.

Great Britain.

DELEGATES:—

The Right Honourable Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, G.C.M.G. (Chief Commissioner).

Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE, Kt.,
H.B.M.'s Consul-General.

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING, C.M.G.

JAMES BENNETT BRUNYATE,
Acting Financial Secretary to the Government of India.

ROBERT LAIDLAW, M.P.

ASSESSORS:—

WARREN D. BARNES,
Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States.

CECIL CLEMENTI,
Assistant Colonial Secretary, Hongkong.

Italy.

DELEGATE:—

R. FARAONE,
Acting Consul-General for Italy.

Japan.

DELEGATES:—

His Excellency TSUNEJIRO MIYAOKA (Chief Commissioner),
Councillor of Embassy, H.I.J.M.'s Diplomatic Service.

Dr. Y. TAHARA,
Director of the Imperial Hygienic Laboratory, Tokio.

Dr. T. TAKAKI,
Director of the Medical School and Chief of the Sanitary Bureau of the Government of Formosa.

SECRETARY:—

KEIZO YOKOYAMA,
Chancellor of H.I.J.M.'s Consulate-General, Shanghai.

Netherlands.

DELEGATES:—

A. A. DE JONGH (Chief Commissioner),
Inspector-in-Chief and Head of the Opium Régies in Netherlands-India.

W. G. VAN WETTUM,
Acting Inspector of the Opium Régies in Netherlands-India.

Persia.

DELEGATE:—

M. D. RIZAEFF,
Official Agent for H.M. the Shah of Persia.

SECRETARY:—

B. A. SOMEKH.

Portugal.

DELEGATES:—

OSCAR GEORGE POTIER (Chief Commissioner),
Consul-General for Portugal at Shanghai.
Commendador C. A. R. D'ASSUMPÇÃO,
Chief of the Chinese Translation Department at Macao.

Russia.

DELEGATE:—

His Excellency Monsieur C. KLEIMENOW,
Councillor of State,
Consul-General for Russia at Shanghai.

Siam.

DELEGATES:—

The Right Honourable PHUA SAKDISINIE (Chief Commissioner),
High Commissioner of the State of Patani.
His Honour LUANG VISUTR KOSA,
Secretary of Legation attached to the Foreign Office at Bangkok.
His Honour PHRA MANAS MANIT,
Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, Bangkok.

List of Committees

Ways and Means :

H.E. Monsieur C. KLEIMENOW (*Chairman*).
Dr. KARL BERNAUER. Senhor POTIER.
Signor FARAONE (*Hon. Treasurer.*) Monsieur J. RATARD.

Trade Statistics :

R. LAIDLAW, Esq., M.P.
Dr. T. TAKAKI. W. G. VAN WETTUM, Esq.

Growth of Poppy and Production of Opium :

Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE.
Hon. LEW YUK-LIN. Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.

Revenue Statistics, Tariffs, Excise, etc.

Monsieur J. CORNILLON.
Hon. LUANG VISUTR KOSA. Dr. W. RÖSSLER.

Treaties and International Agreements.

H.E. TSUNEJIRO MIYAOKA.
Monsieur H. BRENIER. Dr. C. D. TENNEY.

Press Committee :

Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE. Monsieur H. BRENIER. Dr. T. TAKAKI.

Printing Committee :

Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE.
Monsieur H. BRENIER. J. H. CHALMERS, Esq. (Acting for Mr. Tang Kuo-an.)

Report of the Proceedings

THE COMMISSION assembled for the first time at 11 a.m. on the 1st February, 1909, in the Palace Hotel at Shanghai. His Excellency Tuan Fang, Viceroy of the Liangkiang, nominated by Imperial Rescript for the purpose, welcomed the delegates in an address, which was afterwards repeated in English by Taotai Wên Ping-chung.

The translation read was as follows:—

Gentlemen.—On the 20th of September, 1906, an Imperial Edict was issued prohibiting the cultivation and use of opium throughout the Empire within the period of ten years. According to a Report from the Ministry concerned, the result of an inquiry into the question shows that up to the present progress has been made in reducing the area under cultivation of the poppy plant in the various provinces.

As a matter of fact, the area where the poppy has been cultivated in the Kiangnan portion of Kiangsu province, has been now reduced by eighty *per cent*, while it is on record that from the six provinces of Shansi, Yünnan, Fukien, Anhui, Honan and Heilungkiang, or Northern Manchuria, memorials have been presented to the Throne reporting that the cultivation of the poppy will be entirely stopped by the winter of the present year. Even more than that, the gentry and merchants of the various provinces of the Empire have everywhere started societies to exhort and assist opium smokers to get rid of the baneful habit. For instance, we have an Association in Fukien province known as the “Anti-Poison Society” which has been making considerable progress in its campaign against the drug.

Indeed, from the present outlook, together with the state of Public Opinion throughout our Empire, there are great hopes that the consumption of opium can be stopped in its entirety before the end of the prescribed limit of ten years.

To-day it is my good fortune to be present at this International Conference, having been appointed by Imperial Rescript to open the proceedings. I am convinced that the countries of the world recognize the benevolence and philanthropy which have led to the gathering of the present Conference in the interests of civilization, and I may state that the people of our whole Empire are most grateful for it. It will need more eloquence than mine to fittingly express the cordial welcome with which our country hails the inauguration of this International Opium Conference, but I may take this opportunity, first, respectfully to tender the thanks of my Government and that of the people of this Empire to the American Government for initiating the movement which has brought about this Conference, and, next, to thank the Governments of the various countries here represented for so heartily joining in it.

As the Representative of the whole Empire, I beg leave to give this Conference some of our ideas on the subject in view.

I may be permitted to express my belief that this Conference will be principally guided by feelings of reason, benevolence and philanthropy in its desire to eradicate a poison and a bane to mankind. This being universally recognized, it becomes us to put aside all prejudices of nationality and race, and be guided solely by that world-wide philanthropy and enlightenment which have brought about this International Conference. For instance, the manner in which the Governments of the countries concerned have set about to stop the consumption of opium in their colonies and dependencies such as Formosa, Annam, the Philippine Islands, Java, etc., has been to undertake the monopoly of the sale of opium therein, a procedure which China alone has not yet put into actual force. As a matter of fact, the mere prohibition of opium without the Government having the monopoly of the sale of the drug will prevent the Government from learning the number of persons suffering from the habit, nor can it put into effect any laws for the suppression of opium consumption. Mr. Leech, Councillor of the British Legation in Peking, has stated—“Whether China can completely obtain the good she seeks, without government control of opium, both native-grown and imported, is somewhat doubtful,” an opinion which gains my deep admiration for

his wisdom and far-sightedness, and merits our sincere thanks for his warm sympathy in our endeavours. What, however, is to be apprehended is that Chinese merchants importing opium may claim that such a step will be contrary to former treaties and disadvantageous to their trade, and so oppose it, thereby preventing China from putting into effect a proper control over opium and the spread of the opium prohibition throughout the country. Thus not only will it not agree with the sincere intentions first expressed by the British Government to give every assistance to China but also be a hindrance to the movement initiated by the American Government; nor will it enable the various countries represented in this Conference to show their unanimity in assisting this Conference to solve the questions before it. This is a matter to be regretted, indeed, and it is my earnest hope that this Conference will thoroughly go into this matter during its deliberations.

It was at first intended to limit the abolition of opium in the Empire to ten years, but the various provinces have been able so to reduce the cultivation of the poppy that it would seem that this cultivation may be entirely stopped within the next couple of years. Moreover the sale of prepared opium has also been rapidly reduced to over one-half, so that we may certainly be able entirely to stop the sale and consumption of the native-grown opium within the prescribed limit of ten years. With the complete stoppage of our native-grown opium it would follow that the importation of the foreign drug will also stop as a natural sequence. Such being the case the people of my country will have reason to congratulate themselves on what has gone before, and this we will owe to the assistance given by the British Government, and to the labours of the American Government in initiating the movement which brought about this Conference. On the other hand the attempts of this Government to suppress opium are hampered by existing treaties. Should a way be found by which such clauses in the treaties that restrict the freedom of my Government in its work of abolishing the consumption of the drug in the Empire may be got over, so that we may succeed in accomplishing our great and important task—fortunate indeed will it be for our Government and the people of this Empire. It is my earnest hope that this Conference will use its best endeavours to thresh out this question.

On the whole, since the main object of this Conference will be to consider the question of putting a stop to the consumption of opium, fortunate indeed will it be for the whole world if by the labours of the Conference a way be found to shorten the limit and bring about the abolition of opium at an early date. I do not think that national interests and division of races will be brought forward and produce difficulties between our countries, thereby hampering the work of opium abolition.

What is the meaning of the phrase "to seek for gain and yet fear to overcome difficulties"? The honourable gentlemen who are present this day as members of the Conference have all been selected by their respective Governments for their benevolence, philanthropy and fame. Since such is the case, I am certain that none amongst this distinguished assembly will act contrary to the benevolent and enlightened objects which have brought them together here. I will, therefore, be the first to declare to this Conference that the Government and people of my country are determined to succeed in their object and will not by any means turn aside from accomplishing the task before them.

As to the methods to be employed in accomplishing this end, the main idea will be to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy, the sale of the drug and the consumption thereof. It is only to be apprehended that in putting into effect the law for this prohibition it may conflict with certain clauses of the treaties. It is my hope that this Conference will carefully investigate the matter beforehand so that there may be no misunderstandings in the future. In this my speech I do not know whether I have been successful in gaining the approval of the honourable gentlemen of this distinguished assembly, but I am ready to receive such suggestions as may be instructive to me from this honourable assembly, whereby I shall indeed be fortunate. Therefore, I now declare this Conference open.

Immediately after the Viceroy's speech had been read, M. RATARD, Consul-General for and Senior Commissioner of the Delegation representing France, rose, and, addressing the Viceroy in French, preferred a request that French should be the official language of the Commission. He referred to a recent decision of the Waiwupu that the French tongue should be the official medium of diplomatic intercourse, and asked that, if not the language of the Commission, it should be placed on an equality with English in its deliberations.

M. KLEIMENOW, Consul-General and Delegate for Russia, stated that this proposal had his hearty support.

Monsieur Ratard's request was explained to the Viceroy by one of his Secretaries, but His Excellency appeared to be unwilling to express an opinion on the matter, and he almost immediately rose and left the room.

Following the Viceroy's departure the International Opium Commission held its first session, the public and Press being excluded.

Minutes of the First Session

1ST FEBRUARY, 1909

THE PROCEEDINGS commenced at 11.40 a.m. On the proposal of one of the Chinese delegates, the Hon. Lew Yuk-lin, which was seconded by the Right Hon. Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, Chief Commissioner of the British Delegation, the Right Reverend Bishop Brent, Chief Commissioner of the Delegation representing the United States of America, was unanimously elected President of the Commission.

Taking the Chair at 11.45 a.m., the PRESIDENT addressed the House as follows:—

Fellow Members of the International Opium Commission:—In electing me your Chairman, you have conferred an extraordinary honour on the Government which I represent. In behalf of the United States of America and also in behalf of my esteemed colleagues, I beg to thank you for this distinction. I cannot ignore the personal aspect of your action. Permit me, therefore, to express my appreciation of your willingness to select me as your Chairman. I am conscious of the fact that I am the junior in experience of many here present and I shall depend upon your counsel and aid to fulfil the functions of my office. As I interpret the position of Chairman, he is a momentary leader, and a leader is but the foremost companion. As far as in me lies, I shall strive to deal impartially and wisely with the various questions that shall arise, but I am well aware of my limitations. I recognize, however, that in any deliberative assembly there must exist between the Chair and the assembly the heartiest co-operation and desire to afford mutual help, so I shall constantly look to this honourable assemblage for that support and aid which the Chair will need. The high privilege of such a position as that in which I have just been inducted entails heavy responsibility. I dare assume only with the support of your aid the duties involved in the privilege that you have conferred upon me.

The question that brings us together—the opium question—is an extremely difficult one and I think the very first thing that all of us should do is frankly to recognize the fact and openly to admit it. It is a great problem and we can hope to reach a successful solution of it only by facing facts and facing them squarely. We must have courage, and it seems to me that two principal features of courage are sincerity and thoroughness. All great problems go through two distinct stages. The first stage is what might be termed the emotional stage; it is based largely upon sentiment and ideals that are conceived in the inner self, sometimes more independent of facts than is warranted. In the problem before us, for a long period we have been passing through this preliminary stage—what I have termed the emotional stage. The emotional stage finds expression in agitation. We have had agitation. Now I believe we are at least midway in the second or scientific stage, when men deal with ascertained fact, and on the basis of ascertained fact reach certain conclusions of a practical character that will enable those upon whom the responsibility rests to arrive at some final conclusion.

The first steps towards this International Commission were taken some time since by the Government which I have the honour of representing. The negotiations for the establishment of the Commission have covered a considerable period of time. At first it seemed wise to restrict the nations that would take part in this investigation, or Commission of Inquiry, to those which through territorial possessions, agriculture, or commerce, were actively interested in the opium question in the Far East. Since that time the scope has been considerably widened. Countries that have not the problem in its more acute form, as in the case of my own country and that of other countries similarly situated, were by mutual consent included by the Powers already interested, so that now I think we may say we are in a very real sense an International Commission. Almost at the last moment—indeed at the very last

moment—two countries without a serious opium problem of their own were included by their expressed desire, and by the ready acquiescence of all other countries that up to date had notified their willingness to take part in the inquiry. Last summer it was decided by the American Commission—and notification was sent to all other Governments concerned—to study every phase of the opium question in their own territory, including the homeland. So that, presumably, in this International Commission, as we are desirous to ascertain all facts that will enable us to come to some satisfactory conclusion, we shall agree in the desire to receive such information as is presented regarding the various aspects of the question in all the countries represented on the Commission.

It devolves upon me to pronounce with emphasis that this is a Commission, and as those who are informed—as all of you must be in matters that pertain to International affairs of this kind—a Commission is not a Conference. The idea of a Conference was suggested, but it seemed wise to choose this particular form of action rather than a Conference, because, for the present at any rate, we are not sufficiently well informed, and not sufficiently unanimous in our attitude, to have a Conference with any great hope of immediate success. Further, this Commission is a temporary Commission as distinguished from some of the permanent Commissions already in existence, and if we were to look for the source of our origin, I think we would find it in the articles of the Second Hague Conference, which provides for such International Commissions of Inquiry where points of difference on matters kindred to that which is before us arise between the Powers. So that in all our deliberations and in all our committee work, we must bear in mind that we are to confine ourselves to facts that will enable us to reach, I trust, certain unanimous resolutions and, perhaps, some recommendations of a practical, broad and wise character in connection with those resolutions. But, if I may be permitted to make a suggestion to this assembly, it seems to me that it would be extremely wise if we were to rule out of our deliberations what might be termed useless historical questions beneath which a great deal of controversy lies hidden, and which would only tend to fog the issue. The one way to reach a satisfactory solution of a grave problem is to simplify, as far as possible, the elements of that problem, and I believe that history bears me out when I say that no great question has ever been satisfactorily settled until men have come to a realization of the fact that purely side issues, and controversial matters which do not touch the main question, must be set aside and ignored. They may be of interest, but they are of no practical importance and, indeed, are impediments in the actual working out of the main question.

I feel that I am speaking not merely for myself and my colleagues on the American Commission, but for this entire distinguished assembly, when I say that we are here to do such work as will bring the utmost credit to our respective countries and the utmost benefit possible to mankind. We must study this question in its every aspect—moral, economical, and commercial, diplomatic also, if you will—and we must study it, as I have already said, with those two phases of courage which will bring us to a happy conclusion of our labours—with sincerity and thoroughness.

Nothing more remains for me to say, gentlemen, except to announce that this International Opium Commission is now organized and ready for business.

With the consent of the Commission the Chair appointed

Mr. F. W. CAREY (Associate-Delegate for China)
to be Secretary of the Commission, and

Monsieur L. DE GIETER
to be Assistant Secretary of the Commission.

The names of the members of the several delegations were read out by the Chair as follows:—

AMERICA, U. S. OF

The Right Reverend Bishop BRENT, D.D.
Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.
Dr. C. D. TENNEY.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Dr. KARL BERNAUER.

CHINA.

H.E. TUAN FANG, High Commissioner
His Honour LEW YUK-LIN.
Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN.
Dr. HSÜ HUA-CHING.

FRANCE.

Monsieur J. RATARD.
„ H. BRENIER.
„ J. CORNILLON.

GERMANY.

Dr. RÖSSLER.
Dr. G. PERNITZSCH.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, G.C.M.G.
Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE.
Mr. MACKENZIE KING, C.M.G.
Mr. JAMES BENNETT BRUNYATE.
Mr. R. LAIDLAW, M.P.

ITALY.

Signor R. FARAONE.

JAPAN.

H.E. TSUNEJIRO MIYAOKA.
Dr. Y. TAHARA.
Dr. T. TAKAKI.

THE NETHERLANDS.

Mr. A. A. DE JONGH.
Mr. W. G. VAN WETTUM.

PERSIA.

Mr. M. D. RIZAEFF.

PORTUGAL.

Senhor O. G. POTIER.
Commendador C. A. R. D'ASSUMPCÃO.

RUSSIA.

H.E. Monsieur C. KLEIMENOW.

SIAM.

The Right Hon. PHYA SAKDISINIE.
His Honour LUANG VISUTR KOSA.
His Honour PHRA MANAS MANIT.

M. RATARD moved, and M. Kleimenow seconded, that the Commission should meet for deliberation in the afternoons only. But it was eventually agreed that a Committee on Rules and Order should be nominated, to discuss the question of hours of meeting, procedure, etc.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH proposed that, the said Committee being an important one, each delegation should nominate one member, and that the Committee should elect its own Chairman. This was carried *nem con.* The Committee on Rules and Order was then nominated as follows:—

America, U. S. of:	Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.
Austria-Hungary:	Dr. KARL BERNAUER.
China:	Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN.
France:	Monsieur BRENIER.
Germany:	Dr. W. RÖSSLER.
Great Britain:	Mr. R. LAIDLAW, M.P.
Italy:	Signor FARAONE.
Japan:	H.E. Monsieur MIYAOKA.
Netherlands:	Mr. A. A. DE JONGH.
Portugal:	Senhor O. G. POTIER.
Russia:	Monsieur KLEIMENOW.
Siam:	The Right Hon. PHYA SAKDISINIE.

On the proposal of Senhor Potier, seconded by Dr. Hamilton Wright, Mr. R. Laidlaw M.P., was elected Chairman of the Committee.

The Commission adjourned at 12.45 p.m.

Minutes of the Second Session

2nd FEBRUARY, 1909

THE PRESIDENT took the Chair at 2.30 p.m.

Before the business of the meeting commenced, the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, addressing the Chair, asked on behalf of himself and the members of the Commission that the President's inaugural speech might be printed *verbatim*, and copies furnished to each delegate. The President acceded to this request.

The Minutes of the previous meeting of the Commission were read by the Secretary and passed.

The following statement was made by the PRESIDENT:—

"The Chair in announcing the names of accredited Commissioners yesterday felt compelled to omit those of two members of the Chinese Delegation, viz., H.E. Jui Ch'eng and His Honour Ts'ai Nai-huang who, though properly appointed by their Government, and bearing letters from the Waiwupu, had not been reported to the convening Power. Now, however, the request has gone forward that such notification be made, so that the formality necessary to place these delegates in regular standing will be forthwith observed."

The following telegram from the President of the United States, received the same morning, was read out by the Chair:—

"I extend to the Commissioners to-day assembled my good wishes and conviction that their labours will be of the greatest importance towards the general suppression of the the opium evil throughout the world.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

A number of telegrams addressed to the Commission by various Educational and Anti-opium Societies in the provinces of Kiangsu, Fukien and Kwangtung, were read by the Secretary (*see Appendix; Vol. I*).

At the suggestion of Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT, it was decided that in future non-urgent telegrams addressed to the Commission should not be read, but that sufficient copies should be printed and circulated for the information of the delegates.

A recess of fifteen minutes was taken for the informal consideration of the Rules drawn up by the Committee on Rules and Order, appointed the previous day. On re-assembling, the Commission accepted the following Rules, without discussion:—

- 1.—That the Chair shall be addressed as "Mr. President."
- 2.—That no Delegate shall continue to speak until recognised by the Chair.

The next Rule presented by the Committee read as follows:—

- 3.—That each Delegation in its turn (alphabetically) shall lay a report covering its data on the opium question before the Commission as a whole, without discussion or debate; that a sub-Commission shall then be appointed by the President from names handed in by the various Delegations, and that the several reports shall be referred to the sub-Commission for discussion and report to the Commission in plenary session. The Commission shall nominate the Chairman of the sub-Commission; the sub-Commission shall appoint its secretaries and reporter.

Mr. DE JONGH moved as an amendment that the second part, commencing "that a sub-Commission shall then be appointed," be struck out, and the following clause substituted:—

"The International Opium Commission shall as a rule sit *in pleno*; one or more sub-Commissions may be appointed when it is apparent that previous study by a limited number of experts is necessary for successfully dealing with any specific portion of the problem under consideration."

The amendment was supported by the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, who considered that the discussion of important points could not properly be left to individual members of any delegation.

After some discussion, Mr. de Jongh's amendment was put to the vote and carried (15 to 10).

A proposal by Sir Cecil Clementi Smith that the Rules should be referred back to the Committee for revision was accepted, and the Commission adjourned at 4.40 p.m. until 11 a.m., 5th February.

Minutes of the Third Session

5th FEBRUARY, 1909

THE COMMISSION assembled at 11 a.m. The PRESIDENT announced that the Minutes of the previous meeting would not be read unless called for.

Monsieur de GIETER having given notice of his intention to resign, Monsieur de Laforcade was nominated Assistant Secretary, on the proposition of Monsieur Ratard; and Mr. True was appointed official stenographer to the Commission.

A Committee of Ways and Means was appointed, with authority to defray, and at the same time devise means for meeting, all expenditure incurred by the Commission as a whole.

The PRESIDENT then addressed the House. Taking the Report of the Hague Peace Conference of 1907, he read extracts from the instructions given by the Secretary of State for the United States to the delegates representing that Government at the Conference, and spoke briefly on the object and scope of the International Commission on Opium. He reminded the delegates that they were neither Envoys Extraordinary nor Ministers Plenipotentiary; that it was clearly laid down that none of the Governments represented would be bound to accept the conclusions or to act upon the recommendations of the Commission; consequently, they

would not in any sense commit their Governments to any definite course of action by the views which they might express, individually or collectively, during the course of the enquiry. It was their duty to thoroughly examine all questions that might come before them, and in doing so to speak their minds with the utmost freedom, otherwise it would be next to impossible to arrive at any practical conclusions, and the Commission would have failed to serve any useful purpose.

The following names, having been reported to the convening Power, were formally added to the official List of duly accredited members of Delegations:—

WU PAO-YEN,	Associate-delegate for China.
F. A. CARL,	do. do. do.
J. L. CHALMERS,	do. do. do.
F. W. CAREY,	do. do. do.
C. CLEMENTI,	Assessor for Great Britain
W. D. BARNES,	do. do. do.

As Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order, Mr. R. LAIDLAW, M.P., presented the following report:—

The Committee met from 3.30 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. on the 2nd, and from 10.00 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. on the 4th February. The following Rules were drawn up:—

It is resolved:—

- 1.—That the Chair shall be addressed as "Mr. President."
- 2.—That no delegate shall continue to speak until recognised by the Chair.
- 3.—That when a vote is taken each delegation shall have only one vote. In the event of a vote being equally divided, the President shall have a deciding vote.
- 4.—That immediately upon the adoption of these Rules, the President shall call for the presentation of reports concerning the various phases of the Opium question in the territories and dependencies of their respective countries from the delegations taking part in the International Opium Commission.
- 5.—That each delegation in its turn (alphabetically) shall then lay a report covering its data on the opium question before the Commission, without discussion or debate.
- 6.—That a reasonable time shall be allowed to members of the Commission generally for the examination of the reports presented.
- 7.—That whilst the Commission will as a rule sit *in pleno*, one or more Committees may be appointed for the purpose of studying the reports referred to under Rules 4, 5, 6, or any specific portion of them, when it is apparent that previous study by a limited number of experts is necessary for arriving at a conclusion regarding any problem under consideration.
- 8.—That any Committee so appointed for the detailed study of a report, or section of a report, shall, upon the termination of its labours, report the result of its examination to the Commission in plenary session, whereupon a general discussion on the report of such Committee shall be in order.
- 9.—That the number and constitution of Committees shall in every case be decided by the Commission in plenary session, but a Committee may complete its own organisation.
- 10.—That the manner of forming Committees shall be as follows: Each delegation shall hand in the name of one of its members to the President, who from amongst them will proceed to nominate the number necessary to serve on any one Committee.
- 11.—That all proposals submitted to the Commission shall be handed to the President (or Chairman of a Committee) in writing, and a copy supplied on request to each delegation.
- 12.—That the public shall not be admitted to the Commission, but that such communications regarding the progress of the general proceedings as may be deemed useful or expedient to make public shall be made to the Press by a Committee of three to be elected for that purpose.

- 13.—That the Minutes of the plenary sessions of the Commission shall give a succinct *resumé* of their deliberations, a proof copy of which shall be opportunely delivered to the members of the Commission; and the Minutes shall not be read at the beginning of a session unless specially called for. Each delegate, shall, however, have the right to request the insertion in full of his special declarations, according to the text delivered by him to the Secretary, and to make observations regarding the Minutes.
- 14.—That the English language shall be recognised as the official language of the deliberations and acts of the Commission. The Secretary shall, with the consent of the speaker himself, see that speeches delivered in any other language are summarized orally in English.
- 15.—That each delegation shall have the right to introduce a secretary of delegation to the meetings of the Commission, providing that such secretary holds a substantive post in his Government service. Exception to this rule may be made in the case of a delegation of a country having no Consular or Diplomatic representative in China; but under no circumstances will other than *bona-fide* secretaries be admitted. The names of secretaries to delegations shall be formally reported to the Chair.
- 16.—That except when otherwise decided by the Commission the hours of meeting of the Commission shall be from 10.30 a.m. to 12.30 p.m., and from 2 to 5 p.m., on every day of the week except Saturday and Sunday.

Mr. LAIDLAW proposed that until all the Rules had been accepted or voted upon, each delegate should vote individually.

As an amendment, Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT moved that "the Rules be considered and voted upon in the order in which they have been submitted by the Committee, and that each rule as adopted take effect automatically."

This led to considerable discussion, but eventually the amendment was lost, and Mr. Laidlaw's proposal carried.

Rules 1 and 2 having already been accepted at the last Session, Rule 3 came up for discussion. Monsieur Ratard moved the addition of the words "in questions of procedure and discipline" to the Rule, which was carried as amended.

The following Rules were passed *nem dis.*:—Nos. 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, and 15.

Rule 5 was accepted with the following addition, proposed by the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH: "It shall be within the power of the President to allow the presentation of any report to be postponed on due cause shown."

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH moved that Rule 6 should be altered to read as follows:—

"That a copy of each report be supplied to each member of the Commission, and a reasonable time allowed to members of the Commission generally for the examination of the report presented; and that thereafter the President shall call upon the Commission to discuss any report that may be ready for investigation."

This was passed *nem con.*

Dr. RÖSSLER moved as an amendment to Rule 7 that the words "whilst the Commission will as a rule sit *in pleno*" be deleted, and that the word "delegates" be substituted for "experts." After a further amendment by Mr. de Jongh had been negatived, the Rule as amended by Dr. Rössler was passed.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH proposed the following addition to Rule 10:—

"That any delegate who is not himself a member of the Committee may attend the sittings of such Committee without taking part in any of its proceedings."

The Rule was carried with this addition.

On the motion of Monsieur RATARD, Rule 14 was altered to read as follows:—

“That both English and French shall on principle be recognised as the languages to be used in the Commission, and that steps shall be taken to ensure that the deliberations be rendered, if necessary, and the Minutes recorded in both languages.”

The Rule was accepted as altered.

With reference to Rule 16, Dr. TENNEY moved that the Commission should also sit on Saturday mornings, but the proposition was negatived when put to the vote.

As finally adopted by the Commission, the *Rules of Procedure* read as follows:—

It is resolved:—

- 1.—That the Chair shall be addressed as “Mr. President.”
- 2.—That no delegate shall continue to speak until recognised by the Chair.
- 3.—That when a vote is taken each delegation shall have only one vote. On questions of procedure or discipline, the President—in the event of a vote being equally divided—shall have a deciding vote.
- 4.—That immediately upon the adoption of these Rules, the President shall call for the presentation of reports concerning the various phases of the opium question, in the territories and dependencies of their respective countries from the delegations taking part in the International Opium Commission.
- 5.—That each delegation in its turn (alphabetically) shall then lay a report covering its data on the opium question before the Commission, without discussion or debate. It shall be within the power of the President to allow the presentation of any report to be postponed on due cause shown.
- 6.—That a copy of each report shall be supplied to each member of the Commission, and a reasonable time allowed to members of the Commission generally for the examination of the report presented: and that thereafter the President shall call upon the Commission to discuss any report that may be ready for investigation.
- 7.—That one or more Committees may be appointed for the purpose of studying the reports referred to under Rules 4, 5, 6, or any specific portion of them, when it is apparent that previous study by a limited number of delegates is necessary for arriving at a conclusion regarding any problem under consideration.
- 8.—That any Committee so appointed for the detailed study of a report, or section of a report, shall, upon the termination of its labours, report the result of its examination to the Commission in plenary session, whereupon a general discussion on the report of such Committee will be in order.
- 9.—That the number and constitution of Committees shall in every case be decided by the Commission in plenary session; but a Committee may complete its own organisation.
- 10.—That the manner of forming Committee shall be as follows: Each delegation shall hand in the name of one of its members to the President, who from amongst them will proceed to nominate the number necessary to serve on any one Committee: any delegate who is not himself a member of a Committee may attend the sittings of such Committee without taking part in any of its proceedings.
- 11.—That all proposals submitted to the Commission shall be handed to the President (or Chairman of a Committee) in writing, and a copy supplied on request to each delegation.
- 12.—That the public shall not be admitted to the Commission, but that such information regarding the progress of the general proceedings as may be deemed expedient to make public shall be communicated to the Press by a Committee of three to be elected for that purpose.
- 13.—That the Minutes of the plenary sessions of the Commission shall give a succinct *resumé* of the deliberations, and that a proof copy shall be opportunely delivered to the members of the Commission; and the Minutes shall not be read at the beginning of a session unless specially called for. Each delegate, shall, however, have the right to request the insertion in full of his special declarations, according to the text delivered by him to the Secretary, and to make observations regarding the Minutes.

- 14.—That both English and French shall on principle be recognised as the languages to be used in the Commission, and that steps shall be taken to ensure that the deliberations be rendered, if necessary, and the Minutes recorded in both languages.
- 15.—That each delegation shall have the right to introduce a secretary of delegation to the meetings of the Commission, providing that such secretary holds a substantive post in his Government service. Exception to this rule may be made in the case of a delegation of a country having no Consular or Diplomatic representative in China; but under no circumstances will other than *bona-fide* secretaries be admitted. The names of secretaries to delegations shall be formally reported to the Chair.
- 16.—That, except when otherwise decided by the Commission, the hours of meeting of the Commission shall be from 10.30 a.m. to 12.30 p.m., and from 2 to 5 p.m., on every day of the week except Saturday and Sunday.

The Commission adjourned till 2 p.m. On re-assembling, the President selected three delegates to act as a Press Committee (Rule 12).

In accordance with Rules 4 and 5, the President announced that the House was ready to receive Reports from the several Delegations. Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT, on behalf of the United States Delegation, presented a Report on the Opium Question as it affected the States, Territories, District of Columbia, and Possessions under the American flag. He summarized the data given under the following heads:—

NATIONAL.

Treaties with other Governments in regard to opium traffic.
 Tariffs under which opium is imported into the United States, its Territories and the District of Columbia.
 Excise Laws, governing the manufacture of Smoking Opium.
 Statutes that restrain American citizens from engaging in the Opium trade.
 Effect of Treaties and Tariffs on the trade in Opium.
 Opium, whence obtained.
 Smoking Opium, and the Chinese population in United States.
 Growth of the Poppy within the United States, its Territories and the District of Columbia.
 Disposition of imported Opium.
 Federal, State and Municipal Laws, governing the use of Opium and its derivatives.
 Final Destination of Opium imported into the United States ostensibly for medicinal purposes.
 Final Destination of imports of Smoking Opium.
 Recent Effect of National, State and Municipal laws bearing on Opium and its derivatives.
 Revenue derived from import and excise duties on Opium.
 Present Status of laws on Opium of various sorts.

PORTO RICO

CUBA

INTERNATIONAL

Measures needed to make recent home Law effective.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT referred to the Bill that had just been passed by Congress, which he summarized as follows:—

Sec. 1.—After April first, 1909, it shall be unlawful to import into the United States opium in any form, or any preparation or derivatives thereof, except that opium and preparations thereof other than smoking opium or opium prepared for smoking, may be imported for medicinal purposes only, under regulations which the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to prescribe, and when so imported it shall be subject to the duties which are now or may hereafter be imposed by law.

Sec. 2.—If any person shall assist in importation or receive, buy or sell prohibited opium or derivatives, such opium shall be forfeited and destroyed, and the offender shall be fined not exceeding five thousand dollars nor less than fifty dollars, or imprisoned not more than two years, or both. Possession of such opium or derivatives thereof to be deemed sufficient evidence to authorize conviction unless defendant explain possession to the satisfaction of the jury.

He said that they were justified in feeling, so far as the United States itself was concerned, that they were capable of enforcing the provisions of this bill. The Government could keep without its borders all opium that was not required for legitimate medicinal purposes. Nevertheless, it was the desire of the Government that countries immediately adjacent to the United States should take similar measures in regard to opium as they had done.

During the reading of the American Report the President vacated the Chair, which at his request was taken temporarily by the Chief Commissioner for Great Britain.

The Right Rev. Bishop BRENT presented a report on the opium question in the Philippine Islands. In the course of his remarks he stated that the chief difficulties encountered by the Government in carrying out prohibitory legislation were—

- (1) Inadequate facilities, neither sufficient money nor men being provided for the vigorous enforcement of the law; and
- (2) The ease with which opium could be smuggled. There was a constant supply of contraband opium coming into the Islands from Hongkong, Singapore and British North Borneo, and without International co-operation it would be impossible to control such smuggling.

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH followed with a report explaining the Regulations and Restrictions in force with regard to Opium and Morphine in Great Britain, Australia, Hongkong, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and Weihaiwei.

H.E. TSUNEJIRO MIYAOKA, in submitting a report on the Opium question in Japan and Formosa, said:—

"In a note which was addressed by the United States Chargé d'Affaires, July 14th, 1908, to H.I.J.M.'s Minister for Foreign Affairs it was stated that the subject which would come up for the consideration of this International Commission was being investigated by the United States Commissioners, and that as far as they were concerned the investigation related to—

- "1.—The importation of crude opium, its derivatives and *chandu*;
- "2.—Internal consumption of crude opium, both licit and illicit;
- "3.—Internal manufacture and use of *chandu*;
- "4.—Manufacture of morphia and other derivatives;
- "5.—Use of the crude drug and preparations;
- "6.—Use of morphia and other derivatives, both licit and illicit;
- "7.—Extent of poppy cultivation in America;
- "8.—Possibilities of poppy cultivation;
- "9.—Federal laws regarding the importation of opium;
- "10.—Municipal laws governing the use of opium and its derivatives.

"It was not possible for us to pursue precisely the programme laid down, but we have followed the general outline of the investigation suggested by the United States Government. I will not trouble this Commission by reading the whole of our Report, but I will state the general principles on which it is based.

"We have divided the subject of our inquiry into Japan Proper and Formosa. The manufacture of opium for medicinal purposes is entirely in the hands of the Government. There are three chemical laboratories maintained by the Central Government—one in Tokyo, one in Osaka and one in Yokohama. These three medical laboratories are under the control of the Minister of Home Affairs. Of these three laboratories, the one in Tokyo, of which my esteemed colleague Dr. Tahara is the Director, is the only laboratory where the manufacture of opium for medicinal uses is conducted. You have here, therefore, the only man who is responsible for the production of opium for medicinal purposes in Japan.

"In Japan proper, when the medicinal uses of opium became known to us, it was our intention, if possible, to produce the opium necessary for medicinal purposes in Japan. For that purpose the cultivation of poppy was encouraged; but we soon found out that the climate did not suit the plant, and there is now very little cultivation of poppy in Japan.

"Now, as regards Formosa, the cultivation of poppy is absolutely prohibited. The government of Formosa imports the crude opium required for making smoking opium. That is strictly under the control of the Government, and in this report we have presented full statistics relating to the number of consumers, the amount of opium consumed and all other possible subjects which appear to us to be of importance, having in view the line of investigation which has been suggested by the United States."

The Chair decided that questions on matters of fact in connection with the reports presented should be deferred until sufficient time had elapsed for studying the Reports.

The Commission adjourned at 4.30 p.m.

Minutes of the Fourth Session

8th FEBRUARY, 1909

THE PRESIDENT took the Chair at 10.30 a.m. H.E. Tsunejiro Miyaoka called attention to an ambiguity in the Report on Japan: page 27. Under "Purchases and Sales," the quantities given are in Kilos, the decimal point being carried to three places.

Dr. TENNEY enquired if the Japanese Delegation intended to present any report dealing with the opium question in Corea. Monsieur Miyaoka, in reply, stated that Corea had been omitted from the Japanese Report by an oversight, but that enquiries were now being made, and the necessary information would be supplied later.

The PRESIDENT remarked that questions of the kind propounded by Dr. Tenney should be handed to the Delegation concerned in writing.

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN presented a Report on opium for China, and dealt *seriatim* with the subjects referred to under the different headings, e.g., Cultivation of Opium; Production and Consumption; Morphia; Anti-Opium Remedies; Anti-Opium Measures.

He acknowledged the shortcomings of the Memorandum, but described the difficulties that had to be contended against by his Delegation in compiling it. Owing to the absence of any proper Government machinery, it was well-nigh impossible for them to obtain reliable statistics of the area of land under cultivation, and no attempt had been made to arrive at any conclusion in that respect. Mr. T'ang explained the discrepancies that appear between the estimates of Morse and Leech, and those based on Customs Reports. With regard to the figures reported by the Board of Revenue, he stated that about 25 per cent of the total quantity of opium produced in China escaped taxation, and that the Imperial Exchequer received not more than one-third of the revenue actually collected, the remaining two-thirds being retained by the different provinces for local administrative purposes. Referring to the figures under "Consumption," he acknowledged that 50 million might be considered an under-estimate of the total adult male population of China, but that the actual number was immaterial: no manipulation of figures could alter the fact that more than 600,000 piculs of opium were consumed annually within the Empire up to the year 1906.

Speaking of morphia, Mr. T'ang said that enormous quantities of the drug were being imported clandestinely into China, and he quoted figures from the Memorandum in support of his statement. He also indicated the necessity for immediate action to curtail the spread of so-called anti-opium remedies amongst the people, as most of these nostrums contained opium in some form or other. He reviewed the progress of the anti-opium campaign in the different provinces, and the results that had attended official and public action. He described the task before them as stupendous, and declared that the Chinese people were grappling earnestly with a problem greater than any that had ever confronted a nation in the history of the world.

Mr. Tang considered that on the whole the situation in China with regard to the opium evil was distinctly encouraging, and he concluded by expressing the hope that the movement initiated by China's late Rulers in their memorable Edict of the 20th September, 1906, would be brought to a successful conclusion.

In presenting a Report for Germany (including Kiaochow), Dr. RÖSSLER said:—

"I am in the happy position to present a short report as we have not to face a serious opium problem, either in Germany or in our Far Eastern Colony. As regards the German Empire the poppy is grown for the sake of its seed which is used in bakeries, and for the production of oil; but opium is not produced from it to any extent worth mentioning. No special laws exist regarding the cultivation and the manufacture of opium. The importation of opium is duty free, no taxes of any kind are levied thereon. The right of selling opium and its derivatives for medical purposes is confined to apothecaries; for other than medical purposes it may be sold by persons holding a license, but certain conditions, of course, have to be observed. The importations have been constantly increasing since 1901 and amounted to 68,700 kg. in 1905. The principal importations were from Turkey in Asia and France. About one-fifth are re-exported, mainly to the United States of America.

"As regards Kiaochow, the cultivation of the poppy has been prohibited since the territory came under German administration. The importation of prepared opium is likewise prohibited and the sale of the drug is kept under strict control. Keepers of *divans*, retail dealers and private smokers have to take out licenses. The importations are small and mainly for local consumption; in 1907 they amounted to 143 piculs. About 2.6 per cent of the population are opium smokers. The revenue derived from opium was about 1.3 per cent of the total revenue in 1906-7."

The PRESIDENT announced that in accordance with Rule 15, the names of the following Secretaries had been formally reported to the Chair:—

America:	Mr. H. F. HAWLEY.
Japan:	Mr. KEIZO YOKOYAMA.
Persia:	Mr. B. A. SOMEKIL.
France:	Mr. XAVIER DE LAFORCADE.

The Chief Commissioner of the Netherlands Delegation, Mr. A. A. DE JONGH, presented a Report concerning the Opium question in Netherlands-India, and a Memorandum on the Opium Monopoly in that Colony, together with two small boxes containing a set of samples illustrating the packing system employed. His statement is as follows:—

"In presenting the report of the Netherlands Delegation, I beg to state that it gives summary information on the opium question in Netherlands-India, under the headings which were suggested by the American Government as a practical way of dealing with the subject.

"We have not thought it advisable to bewilder the Commission with a mass of statistics, but we are ready to give such additional information as may be desired, and as is in our possession.

"Of the five Appendices to our Report, No. III, which is the Opium Monopoly Ordinance for Java, is the most important one to the Commission. It contains the rules for our Régie system, which may possibly serve as an example to other Powers who are desirous of putting the sale of opium under effective Government control.

"It may be mentioned here that the President of the Philippine Opium Commission of 1903, which studied all the opium systems in the Far East, told me that in his opinion our Java system was the very best, both for the benefit of the people and in the interests of the Treasury.

"To facilitate the study of our system, we beg to add to our report a separate Memorandum, in which are given more details than are to be found in the ordinance, and some statistics showing the cost price of monopoly *chandu*, the net profits of the Régie as compared with those under the farm system, and the decrease in the use of opium per head of the population from 1894 to 1908, being a period of fifteen years."

The Commission adjourned at 12.30 p.m. On re-assembling at 2 p.m., Monsieur MIYAOKA moved the following resolution:—

"That as far as practicable notice of reports, questions or propositions to be submitted, and of speeches or remarks to be delivered, shall be given to the Chair in advance, in order that the latter may be in a position to announce before the adjournment of each session the order of business which is likely to engage the attention of the Commission at the following sitting."

A short discussion followed. Sir Cecil Clementi Smith suggested that the words "speeches or remarks" should be left out of the resolution, and Monsieur Ratard concurred in thinking that it would be impossible to notify in advance the nature of any speeches it might be necessary to deliver. Dr. Hamilton Wright spoke in favour of the resolution, which, however, was lost on being put to the vote.

A report on the opium question as it concerns Siam was submitted by the Right Hon. PHUA SAKDISINIE, Chief Commissioner of the Siamese Delegation. He said that in Siam the manufacture and sale of opium was and had been for a long time under Government supervision. It was formerly administered by an opium farm, but since January, 1907, had been controlled directly by the Opium Régie. He stated that practically no opium was imported into Siam, except as supplies for the Government factory, and that the country itself produced no opium. The licit use of morphine and other derivatives was confined to medicinal purposes, and the illicit use of morphine, in the form of hypodermic injection, was rarely met with. The Right Hon. gentleman affirmed that the aim of his Government was to ultimately suppress the use of opium altogether; but they intended to follow a conservative policy, and not to venture on experiments that might prove disastrous to the revenue of the State without helping towards the desired end.

The Commission adjourned at 3 p.m. until Wednesday, 10th February.

[NOTE.—The official stenographer, Mr. True, was taken seriously ill on the 8th February, and the Commission was without the services of a stenographer until the 15th February.]

Minutes of the Fifth Session

10th FEBRUARY, 1909

ON the Chair being taken by the President at 10.30 a.m., Mr. J. B. BRUNYATE rose to present a report on the opium and morphine question as it concerns India and Burma. Reviewing *seriatim* the various sections of the report, he elucidated, and occasionally amplified from personal knowledge, those points which he desired to bring more particularly to the notice of the Commission.

Dealing first with the question of morphine, Mr. Brunyate stated that the morphia habit was of comparatively recent growth in India, and as soon as the attention of the Government had been attracted to the use of the drug for other than medicinal purposes steps were taken to hinder any further expansion. Its use was confined principally to the large centres of population, and it did not seem to grow in favour with such rapidity as cocaine, against which, it might be mentioned, prohibitory action had also been taken. The quantity of morphine which any one individual might legally possess—and then only for medicinal purposes—was now limited in India to 10, and in Burma to 5, grains. The possession of morphia by medical practitioners and druggists had also been regulated.

Turning to opium, Mr. Brunyate, after a preliminary reference to the activity of recent Opium Administration in India, began his analysis of the subject by an examination of the conditions of production, manufacture and trade. He distinguished between opium grown in territories under the direct control of the Government and that which is produced in those Native States which have continued to exercise the right of cultivating the poppy. In the former case, steps had been taken in the direction of reducing cultivation in anticipation of and

during the currency of the expected Agreement with China, and a more than proportionate diminution of area had already been effected. In the latter case, the action of the Government is confined to regulating exports within the permitted limits. He alluded to the difficulty of finding remunerative crops in substitution for poppy in the Malwa States and to the fact that the large stocks of opium in the hands of traders at the time that the Agreement became operative further enhanced the difficulty in dealing with the question of cultivation in that area, the existing supply being sufficient, without further production, to provide the exports for a large part of the ten-year period.

The purchase of the Bengal (*i.e.*, Patna and Benares) drug from the licensed cultivator, and its subsequent manufacture, were in the hands of the Government, and trading interests did not arise until the sale of the drug for export at Calcutta, or for consumption in India to licensed vendors. In the case of Malwa opium, a succession of important commercial interests was involved in the passage of drug from the cultivator, until it reached the hands of the large export firms in Bombay, and was thence distributed to associated firms in the Far East.

In giving the recent figures for the quantity of opium exported from India to foreign countries, Mr. Brunyate pointed out that these were no longer an index to the future dimensions of the trade, as by the Agreement which became operative from the 1st January, 1908, between His Majesty's Government and China, the total volume of exports was limited to—

61,900	chests in	1908.
56,800	"	1909.
51,700	"	1910.

It had further been agreed that, if during these three years the Chinese Government duly carried out their arrangements for diminishing the production and consumption in China itself, His Majesty's Government undertook to continue this annual diminution in the same proportion after the period in question, the restriction of the imports of Turkish, Persian and other opium into China being separately arranged for by the Chinese Government and carried out simultaneously. Thus, at the end of ten years, when the Agreement would have produced its full intended effect, the permissible export of India opium to countries other than China would stand at a fixed maximum of 16,000 chests a year.

This Agreement had been accepted by the Chinese Government in January 1908, with an expression of deep gratitude to His Majesty's Government; and the Waiwupu, after a year's experience had recently communicated to His Majesty's Minister at Peking their continued and entire satisfaction with the arrangement.

Mr. Brunyate next dealt with the questions of the Excise Administration and the Consumption of Opium in India, first sketching the main provisions of the Opium Act of 1878, by which, and the rules made thereunder, the use of the drug in India was now regulated. Summarising the general restrictions more or less uniformly applicable in all provinces, he mentioned that the sale of *smoking* preparations was absolutely prohibited (except in Burma), as also the consumption of opium in any form in a licensed opium-shop. The private possession of opium by individuals was limited in the majority of provinces to 540 grains, and in a few provinces to 900 grains, while no person (except in Burma) was allowed to possess *smoking* preparations of opium, even prepared by himself, in excess of 180 grains weight.

After mentioning that the common method of using opium in India was by swallowing the crude drug, Mr. Brunyate stated the broad facts connected with the distribution of the habit in India, and the purposes for which opium was employed in addition to its use as an indulgence. He next subjected the statistics of recorded consumption of opium in each province for a series of years to analysis, and pointed out that a large part of the increase which had occurred in the last two or three years could be definitely accounted for by the smuggling of opium into Burma, where a policy of prohibition is in force in regard to the Burman population. The total recorded annual consumption of British India, excluding Burma, now stood at the equivalent of about eight thousand chests of export opium.

Mr. Brunyate then proceeded to describe more fully the stages through which the policy of prohibition adopted by the Government in Burma had passed, and its results. The experiment, which seemed to him an exceedingly interesting one, had now extended over fifteen years and its results, as exhibited in the statistics of recorded consumption, had been an immediate and heavy fall in consumption at the outset followed by a large and rapid increase up to a few years ago. Since then the figures had shown a definite tendency to progressive decline. Smuggling, it was explained, had existed with little check in the beginning, but revised arrangements, including strict supervision over sales, and the creation of a strong preventive establishment, had subsequently led to an increased resort to licit modes of supply.

These measures, however, had still left it possible for opium to be purchased by those consumers to whom the prohibitive policy does not apply (i.e., Indians and Chinese), and to be illegally retailed by them to the excluded Burman. During the last few years this question had been seriously taken up. Measures had been adopted to ascertain the true consumption of individual consumers, and to limit their supplies to their own personal requirements. The effect of this was traceable in the decline of consumption since 1904-5. Reviewing the whole experiment, he believed that in Upper Burma the opium habit had been kept well in hand. In Lower Burma success appeared to be in sight. It remained, however, to be seen whether the further steps now being taken in the two Bengals, as well as in Burma, would effectively meet the difficulty arising from smuggling. It was necessarily difficult to produce precise statistical evidence as to the proportion of Burmans who were actually, though illegally, consumers of opium, but the jail statistics would serve to throw some light on the point. In the ten years preceding the introduction of the policy of prohibition, the average percentage of consumers among the jail population had been 20.39. In the first eight years of prohibition the average percentage fell to 16.69, the general tendency being downward though there was a slight rise in the middle of the period. In the four years which followed the improvement of the original arrangements early in 1902, the average fell to 12.8 per cent, and in 1905, the latest year for which he was able to produce the figures, it stood at 12.12.

Continuing, Mr. Brunyate referred to the important revenue derived from the use and export of opium by the Native States in Central India and Rajputana, and by the Indian Government. The bulk of the revenue derived by Native States from opium was due to the assessment, at relatively high rates, of land capable of producing the poppy. There was also a large number of miscellaneous taxes, some of which, however, yielded only small amounts. The Indian Government derived a revenue of nearly £1,000,000 a year from the use of opium within India itself, from which there must be deducted such share of the cost of the general excise establishments as might be considered attributable to the administration of opium. The total revenue derived from exports during the last two or three years, before reductions began to be effected in co-operation with China, had been about 3¼ millions sterling annually, of which a little under three millions might be regarded as due to the exports to China. The latter figure would be somewhat lower were a longer period taken in calculating the average.

Mr. Brunyate concluded his explanatory statement by quoting the words in which His Excellency the Earl of Minto, Viceroy and Governor General of India, had publicly referred to the intended co-operation with China, on its announcement in connection with the discussion of the Budget Statement of the Indian Government in March 1907:—

“At first sight I grant that China's proposals are very alarming as to their possible effects on the Indian revenues. But I am afraid I am unable to follow the” “sweeping assumption that India is about to be sacrificed for the pleasure of a few faddists. Neither do I think we are entitled to doubt the good faith of the Chinese Government as to the objects of their proposals. Papers which I have had recently before me indicate every intention on the part of China to reduce with a strong hand the consumption of opium and the growth of the poppy in her own territory. I am no opium faddist. I quite admit the hardship a proscription of opium would entail on those who use it in moderation, as many in this country do, and I am well aware of the difficulties surrounding any attempt to reduce its production. But there is no doubt throughout the whole civilized world a feeling of disgust at the demoralizing effect of the opium habit in excess. It is a feeling in which we cannot but share. We could not with any self respect refuse to assist China on the grounds of loss of revenue to India”. . . . “I admit that the task China has set herself may be greater than she can accomplish, and that we have a perfect right to require that in agreeing to the reduction of imports from India we should be satisfied of the results of China's efforts to reduce her own internal opium production. But, notwithstanding the prospect of a heavy loss in revenue, I hope we may accept”. . . the . . . “view that, provided the transition state through which we must pass is spread over a sufficient number of years, we need apprehend no financial disaster.”

The Commission adjourned for the mid-day recess at 12.45 p.m.

On the members re-assembling at 2.15 p.m., Monsieur RATAKD placed on the table a report relating to the use of opium and its derivatives in France. He quoted some figures showing the net importation of the drug into that country and the average individual consumption, and pointed out that these were not of a nature to give the least cause of anxiety to his Government. Continuing, Monsieur Ratard described the steps taken by the French

Municipal Council, since the issue of the prohibitory Edicts, to reduce opium smoking in the French Concession at Shanghai. The closing of the divans, all of which are registered and under police supervision, was deemed impracticable as long as the sale of opium continued to be permitted. To mention one of several reasons—it was considered that the danger of conflagrations in the Concession would increase in proportion to the number of individual smokers who would be driven to use opium lamps in their own homes. Consequently, the plan adopted was to increase the Municipal taxes payable by each divan (according to the number of couches on the premises) up to the point when—no profit being possible—these establishments would close of their own accord. The amount of the tax had already been doubled twice during the past two years, the result being a decrease of 5 per cent in the number of licensed establishments, and of 28 per cent in the number of couches in actual use.

Monsieur RATARD spoke in French, and his remarks were rendered into English by Monsieur BRENIER, who then proceeded to summarize briefly the data contained in a report presented by his Delegation on the opium question in French Indo-China. He said that the traffic in opium was a Government monopoly, and the importation, manufacture and sale of the drug were strictly controlled. Practically no opium was grown in French Indo-China except in those districts bordering on the Chinese frontier, and even there the production was sporadic and insignificant. Generally speaking, the soil and climatic conditions of the colony were unfavourable to poppy cultivation. Monsieur Brenier stated that the opium habit was confined almost entirely to the richer classes among both the Chinese and Annamese, and concluded his remarks by mentioning that the revenue derived from opium constituted about one-sixth of the Colonial budget.

The French report, having been laid on the table, Senhor O. G. POTIER, the senior representative for Portugal, addressed the Chair as follows:—

“Mr. President—I have the honour to present my Memorandum concerning the opium question. I regret that this Memorandum is not quite complete: it covers mainly the opium trade of Macao. Up to the present, I have not received from my Government any information and data concerning Portugal and her Colonies. As soon as they reach me, I shall have pleasure in presenting them in an additional Memorandum.

“Beyond what is contained in the Memorandum, the Portuguese Delegation has no other remarks and important points to offer for the consideration of their honourable colleagues.

“I beg leave to hand you a resumé of our Memorandum, which is in the hands of the printer and will soon be circulated.”

The PRESIDENT expressed the hope that those reports not yet before the Commission would soon be forthcoming.

The Delegations for Austria-Hungary, Persia, and Portugal respectively informed the Chair that their reports would be ready for presentation on Friday.

Mr. DE JONGH moved the following resolution:—

“That in Article 16 of the Rules regulating procedure the words ‘2.30 to 5.30 p.m.’ be substituted for the words ‘2.00 to 5.00 p.m.’”

As an amendment, Monsieur RATARD proposed that the alteration should read 2.30 to 5.00 p.m. Mr. de Jongh withdrew his resolution in favour of Monsieur Ratard's amendment, which on being put to the vote was accepted by the Commission.

The Delegations for China, Japan and the Netherlands promised to prepare replies to questions handed to them by Mr. R. Laidlaw, M.P.

(N.B.—All questions and answers will be found at the end of the report of the country they concern.)

At 3.30 p.m., the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH suggested an adjournment until Friday morning (12th February) in order that delegates might have time to study the reports already in their possession. This proposal meeting with approval, the Commission adjourned.

Minutes of the Sixth Session

12th FEBRUARY, 1909

THE PRESIDENT took his seat at 10.30 a.m. Dr. Karl Bernauer presented a report on opium and its use in Austria-Hungary, where the problem is not acute, and he was followed by Mr. M. D. Rizaeff, who read a brief Memorandum (prepared by the Secretary to the Persian Delegation, Mr. B. A. Somekh) dealing with the opium question as it concerns Persia, and declared his willingness to supply any further information in his power.

On behalf of the Russian delegation and himself, Signor FARAONE proposed an amendment to No. 5 of the Rules of Procedure, *viz.*:

“That after the words ‘due cause shown’ the following clause shall be added: ‘and pending such presentation the work of the Commission shall continue.’”

This resolution was adopted by the House, after which the discussion of the report on China was declared to be in order.

Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE handed some questions (*vide* Vol. II: China Report) to the Chinese Delegates relative to their report, and spoke as follows:—

“There is no Member of this Commission more in sympathy than I am with the desire and aim of the Government of China to eradicate the cultivation of the poppy and the consumption of opium in China, for it has been my lot to reside and travel for years in the chief opium-producing centres of the Empire, in Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kueichow, and to have had personal contact with the wretchedness, poverty, misery, and evil which the abuse of opium has brought to the people of these three Western provinces. I trust, therefore, that in putting some questions in regard to statements made in the Memorandum on Opium presented to this Commission by the Chinese Delegates, and in calling attention to points that appear to the British Delegation to require elucidation, I shall be exonerated from the charge of carping criticism, and that it will be understood that my sole object is to arrive at facts which are intended to assist—not to embarrass—China in carrying out the gigantic task which she has set herself to accomplish.

“Mr. T'ang, in presenting the Memorandum, disarmed serious criticism by stating that it had been impossible to procure or present returns of the acreage under poppy, or of the number of smokers. Acreage was called for by the Imperial Decree of June 26th, 1907, and by Regulations approved by Imperial Decree on the 23rd of May, 1908, the provincial authorities were called upon to direct the local authorities to make returns within six months of the area of land under poppy, for transmission to the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of the Interior; and by the same regulations the provincial authorities were instructed to obtain from their subordinates the number of opium smokers, before the end of the year, for transmission to the same Ministries for purposes of record. The wording of the Imperial Decree in regard to acreage is as follows:—‘It is also commanded that an annual return of the land under opium cultivation be made, by way of verification and to meet the desire of the Court to relieve the people of this evil.’ Such returns have not been laid before this Commission, and the British Delegation would ask the Chinese Delegates whether they are in a position to state that Returns of Acreage and Smokers will be made for each province and duly published as official documents. Mr. T'ang might have informed the Commission with equal truth that it was impossible to furnish an official reliable return of the production of opium in China; but an attempt has been made to arrive at a rough estimate of production, and to draw a comparison between the output of 1908, and 1906, when the Imperial Decree was issued; but this rough approximation of production loses much of its value as it is admitted in the Memorandum that, as regards the inland provinces—the greatest opium-producing districts in China, where the taxation is irregular and for the most part evaded, and where public or official returns are practically unknown—the estimate is merely patchwork. Attempts have also been made to arrive at the number of smokers, and their percentages of the population and of adult males; but, based as they are on figures admittedly unreliable, the result is necessarily of inconsiderable value.

“Before, however, coming to production and consumption, I should like to draw the attention of the Commission to pages 5 and 6 of the Chinese Memorandum, where a table is given of the distribution of foreign opium, from which it is deduced that the only provinces

showing an increase in the consumption of foreign opium in 1908, as compared with 1906, are Kiangsi and Anhui. This, I think, is somewhat misleading, for as soon as opium has paid duty and likin at any port in China, and the balls have been labelled and certificated by the Customs, they may be carried by Chinese into any province in the Empire without again coming under the cognisance of the Imperial Maritime Customs; and to say, for example, that the net import of 16,996 piculs of foreign opium into the ports of *Shanghai*, *Chinkiang*, and *Nanking* was all consumed in the province of Kiangsu is altogether misleading. Certificated opium finds its way from one province to another by inland channels uncontrolled by the Imperial Maritime Customs.

"Another point to which I would call attention is the opium revenue table on page 10 of the Memorandum. What is the total revenue derived from Native opium? The duty and likin (or rather a tax collected *in lieu* of transit dues) given in the table represent merely the share of the taxation on native opium which falls to the Imperial Maritime Customs. The latter, in addition, collected and handed over to the Native Collectorates in 1906:—

Haikuan Tls. 369,997 as *Kaochiuan* and
K'up'ing „ 641,864 „ *T'ung-shui*

and in 1907

K'up'ing „ 827,232 as *T'ung-shui*.

"These are paltry sums compared with the actual sums collected, for we know that 51,827 piculs of native opium arrived at *Ichang* from Western China in 1908, and we know that this opium was liable, in addition to other provincial taxation, before or on arrival at *Ichang* to a consolidated provincial duty of 115 K'up'ing taels a picul, or a total of K'up'ing Taels 5,960,105, a sum in excess of the total revenue derived from foreign opium during the year. It may here be noted that the native opium which found its way down river from Western China to *Ichang* by this one route exceeded the net import of all foreign opium into China in 1908 by 3,430 piculs. This tax of 115 K'up'ing taels is not levied on opium produced and consumed in the provinces of Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kueichow or in Manchuria, where lighter taxation prevails, and I ask the Chinese Delegation if they are able to furnish the Commission with the total amount of the taxation of native opium in any recent year.

"I come now to the question of opium production in China, a subject which has occupied many minds for many years. At page 15 of the Memorandum presented by the Chinese Delegation, some estimates for recent years are given—by Mr. Morse for 1905, Mr. Leech for 1907, the Board of Revenue for 1906, Customs Returns for 1906, and Customs Returns for 1908. I eliminate from these Mr. Leech's estimate which, with two exceptions, is the same as Mr. Morse's whereon it was based, and the estimate of the Board of Revenue, which is admitted to be altogether unsatisfactory and untrustworthy, and has been challenged in an outspoken memorial by the Tartar General stationed at *Ning-hsia* in the province of Kansu; and I ask the Chinese Delegation when the Customs estimate for 1906 was compiled. Was it compiled in 1907, or at the end of 1908 along with the estimate for that year? There is, I think, internal evidence to show that the latter was the case, and that both estimates were compiled at one and the same time. For the moment one instance will suffice. At page 18 the province of Anhui is dealt with. The Commissioner of Customs at *Wuhu*, the only port open to foreign trade in that province, estimates the annual production of Anhui to be not less than 3,000 piculs at the present time, and he states that there has been a reduction in the area under poppy cultivation in *some* districts of from 50 to 80 per cent. The compilers of the Memorandum then say that the estimate is consequently doubled for 1906. Such reasoning to my mind is perfectly illogical, for we have been informed that the area or acreage under poppy is an unknown quantity, and a conclusion based on the alleged reduction of an unknown area is of very little value. In other cases the estimate of production in 1908 is deduced by cutting down the estimated production of 1906 by certain percentages. For example, it is stated that the production of Yunnan has been reduced since 1906 by over 50 per cent., and that, as Kueichow is under the same Viceroyalty, it is reduced by one-third. Again, although there is no connection between Yunnan and the provinces of Szechuan, Shensi and Kansu, it is argued that because Yunnan production has been curtailed by one-half the output of the other three provinces has each been reduced by one-third. It is really unnecessary to take up the time of this Commission with multiplying such cases, but it is well to point out that from deductions such as these the conclusion is drawn that there has been a curtailment of production in China to the extent of 37 per cent, in 1908 as compared with 1906. It may be so, and I sincerely hope

it is; but I am afraid that the figures on which such a conclusion is based would not satisfy any Western Statistical Society.

"In the leaflet of telegraphic reports from the various provinces, which forms a supplement to the Memorandum, it is stated that the cultivation of the poppy has been entirely suppressed in Fengtien, the southern province of Manchuria. Since when? Opium in Manchuria is a summer crop and it was cultivated in several places, especially near the Mongolian border, in 1908, so that it will be time enough to speak of the poppy having been suppressed in Fengtien when the time for sowing the crop comes round in 1909. Again, we are told in the leaflet that the cultivation of the poppy has been reduced by 60 per cent, in the province of Shantung, and that it will be totally suppressed by the end of 1909. If you will turn to page 97 you will find a telegraphic report by the Governor of Shantung to His Excellency Tuan Fang, in which it is stated that the production of opium in Shantung in 1908 was (i) for home consumption 95,679 catties and (ii) for export 52,557 catties—a total of 148,236 catties or 1,482 piculs, whereas if you will refer to the table of production on page 15 you will find that the Customs estimate of the production of the province for 1908 was 12,000 piculs, a somewhat extraordinary discrepancy; and it may be assumed that the measures necessary to abolish productions of 1,482 and 12,000 piculs would differ very materially. I do not wish to question the *bona fides* of the Governor of Shantung. He merely reports what was communicated to him by the Native Opium Consolidated Tax Bureau, and he gives the Statistics supplied by it. It is simply an instance illustrating the difficulties with which the High Provincial Authorities in China have to contend, and the laxity that prevails in accepting statements as facts. I might quote several other provinces through which I travelled in 1908, but I think I have said enough to show that the figures for production furnished by the Memorandum are based on by no means accurate or reliable data. The burden of most of these recent telegraphic reports is that suppression will be effected in 1909; but Chékiang and Shensi state that they still require three years, and the Viceroy of Szechuan, who has to deal with the greatest opium-producing province in the Empire, reports that cultivation has ceased within over forty districts of the province and that the balance—some eighty more—will suppress cultivation within the prescribed limit.

"So much for production. I come now to the question of consumption. Opium smokers have not yet been registered throughout the Empire and their number is unknown; but an attempt has been made by the Chinese Delegation to arrive at a census of consumers by taking an estimated production of native opium, adding the foreign import, dividing smokers into two classes—light and heavy—and apportioning half of the estimated total amount of the drug between the two classes, each light smoker being given a daily allowance of one mace, and a heavier smoker 4 mace. This is a novel division of classes; but I much prefer the result of careful enquiries made in many provinces of China, which is that the average daily consumption of a smoker is 2 mace of prepared opium, and taking what appears to me to be the excessive estimate of 613,917 piculs of raw opium consumed in 1906, and allowing each smoker his 2 mace, the number of smokers becomes not 13,455,699 but 10,627,573 or about 2.65 of an uncounted population assumed to number 400,000,000. I do not admit, however, that the production of native opium in China in 1906 was 584,800 piculs as stated: the estimate is based on altogether insufficient data, and it might have been possible for the Chinese Delegates, knowing as the Chinese Government *should* do the provincial and Imperial revenue derived from native opium, and the rate of taxation, to arrive at some reliable approximation to the actual production, especially in view of the fact that Mr. T'ang stated, when presenting the Memorandum, that about 25 per cent of the total production in China escaped taxation. As matters stand the Customs estimates for 1906 and 1908 are so dependent one upon another that an under or over estimate in one year entirely vitiates the other. The percentages of smokers to the whole and to the adult population are undoubtedly important factors in this investigation, and there seems no good reason for deviating from the usual estimate of five persons forming a family. This would give some 160,000,000 adults to the Empire, and, assuming for the sake of argument that there were 13,455,699 smokers (as stated in the Memorandum) in China in 1906, the percentage of smokers to adults would be 8.4, and considerably less than 16 to adult males, for, while women are frequently alluded to as smokers in the reports contained in the Memorandum (and to my knowledge they are numerous in the Western provinces), they have not been taken into account when the percentage was struck. If, as I believe, my figures are as reliable, if not more so, than those given in the Memorandum the percentage of smokers to adults would be 6.64, and, taking women into account, under 13 per cent, in the case of adult males. This, of course, is assuming that the Customs estimate of 1906 is correct. In the same way the Customs estimate of production for 1908, with light and heavy classed smokers, but with five persons to the family

(a more reasonable allowance than 8), would give the percentage of smokers to population as 2.1, of smokers to adults 5.4, and in all probability less than 10 per cent, to adult males. If 2 mace per day be taken as the average allowance of a smoker the percentages would be less; but actual percentages will remain unknown quantities until China is able to produce reliable information regarding production, or better still the numbers of smokers registered under the regulations. Whether such information, if furnished, will be convincing, or whether differences of opinion as to production and consumption will remain, is immaterial to—and should not be allowed to obscure—the main issue, that opium in China is a great evil, and that the removal of the temptation is the only cure.

"I repeat that I have made these remarks in no carping spirit. They have been offered to show that we are still much in the dark regarding the actual production, consumption and reduction of opium in China, and also in the hope that criticism and analysis at this stage may do something to obviate the difficulty and possible controversy which may occur if towards the end of 1910 the Chinese Government are not in a position to demonstrate, with some approach to precision, the actual progress that has been effected. Meanwhile, in spite of the absence of any well organised uniform scheme for accomplishing the task which China has set before her, there can be no doubt that fair progress has been made in several provinces. Much still remains to be done; but the Chinese Government, whose sincerity is beyond question, have the sympathy of the British Delegation, and I trust of this Commission, in their efforts to eradicate the opium evil from the Empire."

Mr. R. LAIDLAW, M.P., having withdrawn the question put by him at the previous sitting to the Chinese delegation, the Chair announced with regret the absence through indisposition of Mr. Tang Kuo-an, and surmised that the Chinese delegates might in consequence require time to answer any questions put to them.

Continuing the discussion, the Right Hon. Sir C. CLEMENTI SMITH rose to comment on a statement made in the Chinese report as to the clandestine traffic in opium between Hongkong and China. He stated that the amount of smuggling that took place had for years been exaggerated, and he denied that it existed to such an extent as might be inferred from the report under discussion. The movement of opium was very strictly controlled by the Hongkong Government, and illicit traffic on a large scale was impossible.

After Monsieur RATARD and Monsieur Brenier of the French Delegation had put questions (*vide* Vol. II: China Report) to the Chinese Representative, further discussion of the Chinese Report was postponed.

H.E. TSUNEJIRO MIYAOKA informed Mr. R. Laidlaw, M.P., that replies to the questions handed to his Delegation during the previous session were in course of preparation; and Mr. de Jongh also intimated that he had telegraphed to Netherlands-India for certain information requested by Mr. Laidlaw.

Monsieur MIYAOKA then moved the following resolution:—

"That questions in respect of reports presented by the Delegations shall be submitted in writing, and that copies thereof shall be opportunely supplied to all the Delegations by the Secretary."

Monsieur RATARD proposed to add the words "and answers" after the word "questions." Sir C. Clementi Smith asked that the resolution might be interpreted liberally, otherwise the scope of debate would be inconveniently limited. The resolution as amended was then accepted by the House.

In reply to several enquiries, the Secretary explained that the Minutes would later be amplified and printed so as to form a fuller report of the proceedings of the Commission.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT asked the British Delegation for information concerning opium and laws controlling same in New Zealand and British South Africa (for reply *vide* Vol. II: British Report).

Dr. BERNAUER suggested that information should be laid before the Commission as to the use of opium in the different foreign Concessions and Settlements in China.

Adopting a suggestion of Dr. Tenney, Monsieur RATARD moved the following resolution:—

"That the President be requested to apply on behalf of the Commission to the Senior Consul at Shanghai for information and data concerning opium in the International Settlement."

This was agreed to by the Commission.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT suggested the appointment of Committees (under Art. 7 of the Rules of Procedure) for dealing with specific portions of the various Reports with a view to the preparation of International Summaries. This suggestion was afterwards put by him into the form of resolutions, as follows:—

"That Committees, each consisting of three Delegates, be appointed to co-ordinate and report for the further consideration of the Commission as a whole—

- 1.—On Trade Statistics.
- 2.—On the question of anti-opium remedies as dealt with in the different reports.
- 3.—On the question of opium and its derivatives from a medical point of view.
- 4.—On the question of the cultivation of poppy and production of crude opium.
- 5.—On the Returns of Revenue as given in the different reports."

Of these resolutions Nos. 1, 4 and 5 were accepted, and Nos. 2 and 3 negatived after discussion.

The Commission adjourned at 12.30 p.m. until the 15th February at 10 a.m.

Minutes of the Seventh Session

15th FEBRUARY, 1909

THE PRESIDENT called the House to order at 10.30 a.m. and announced the names of the Delegates chosen to serve on the Committees, the formation of which was resolved by the House at the last sitting.

The appointment of Mr. J. W. BRINING as official stenographer to the Commission from the 13th February was confirmed.

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH read a reply to a question put to the British Delegation at the previous sitting by Dr. Hamilton Wright concerning the imports and exports of morphine into the United Kingdom. Dr. Hamilton Wright said that his query had evidently been misunderstood. What he wanted to know was the final destination within the United Kingdom of *net* imports of crude opium. He would put the question in writing.

A report on the production and use of opium in Italy was next read by Signor FARAONE. He stated that there were in that country no special laws affecting opium, but strict regulations were in force for controlling the trade and sale of all remedies containing poison, any infraction thereof entailing heavy penalties.

The Chair then declared a discussion on the Netherlands Report to be in order.

The German Delegation put questions as to the class of the population in Netherlands-India consuming opium, and the average daily dose *per capita*, and Mr. Laidlaw enquired what amount of revenue was derived from opium in Java during each of the last ten years. Dr. Tenney also asked what proportion of the revenue derived from opium was disbursed in preventing smuggling (*Vide* Vol. II., Netherlands-India Report.)

H.E. Monsieur MIYAOKA, having read replies to questions put to him by the British Delegation at the previous sitting, Mr. Laidlaw asked whether the figures under the heading "Expenses of Opium Factory" comprised payments made on account of preventive service. H.E. Monsieur Miyaoka answered in the negative, stating that such expenses were included in the General Police and Customs Budget.

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN then read replies to questions put by the British Commissioners to the Chinese Delegation. Referring to Sir Alexander Hosie's statement (*vide* Minutes of Sixth Session) he said that the sympathy expressed by the British Delegates with the efforts of the Chinese Government to restrict the cultivation of the poppy and consumption of opium in China was most highly appreciated by himself and his colleagues. Based as Sir Alexander's opinion was on actual experience of life and travel for years in the Western Provinces of China, and from personal observation, his frank admission of the evils resulting from opium smoking would certainly carry great weight with those taking part in the Commission. He was quite sure that Sir Alexander's criticisms on their Report were made in no fault-finding spirit. What China needed most was more sympathy like that so gracefully expressed by Sir Alexander Hosie. He hoped that the labours of the Commission would result in resolutions condemning the use of opium and its derivatives, except for purely medicinal purposes. Such an expression of opinion would, he was sure, act as a fresh incentive to his countrymen and spur them on in the work of suppressing poppy cultivation, and eradicating the opium vice, which was threatening the welfare of 400,000,000 people and the very existence of the Chinese nation.

Mr. T'ang also made the following statement, in reply to the observations of the Right Hon. Sir Cecil Clementi Smith at the previous sitting reflecting on the accuracy of the particulars given in the China report as to the amount of smuggling between Hongkong and China:—

"On page 4 of our Memorandum it is stated that previous to 1887 the quantity of foreign opium entering China each year by unauthorised channels amounted to about 20,000 piculs."

The Right Hon. Chief Commissioner for Great Britain thinks "the quantity has been much exaggerated. The figures given are those mentioned in Morse's Book 'The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire,' page 342. Mr. Morse was a careful observer, and his book is considered to be a very fair and impartial chronicle of the Chinese matters discussed therein. Moreover, his estimate is, to a large extent, justified by comparing the quantity of opium entering the Province of Kwangtung through the ports of Swatow, Canton and Pakhoi for the six years previous to 1887 and the quantity of opium entering that province through the same three ports, with the addition of Kowloon and Lappa, for the six years following 1887. The average annual importation into Kwangtung for the years 1881-6 was piculs 6,114 and for the years 1888-93 was piculs 23,246—a difference for each year of 17,132 piculs. These figures represent the amount of opium that paid duty and likin at the Custom House mentioned and do not take into consideration the amount of opium which managed to avoid the Customs. In the published Customs Records of 'Fines and Confiscations' for those years, the number of seizures made show that attempts at smuggling were of frequent occurrence. It should also be remembered that the smuggling of opium was not confined to the province of Canton alone; the Customs Records of 'Fines and Confiscations' prove that it was constantly taking place in nearly every Treaty port of China.

"The statement in the Memorandum was not meant to apply solely to Hongkong, as it was well known that opium was also smuggled in junks from Singapore, and by the crews of steamers trading with Singapore, Penang and the Indian ports. The Chinese Delegates consequently claim that the estimate of 20,000 piculs, as representing the annual amount of opium smuggled previous to the year 1887 is not an unreasonable figure, and that 5,000 piculs for the subsequent years is also not an exaggerated estimate."

Mr. T'ANG regretted that his Delegation had overlooked the questions handed in by the Chief Commissioner for France, but the required particulars would be furnished as soon as possible.

The Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands asked permission to make the following statement:—

"Now that the Delegates to the International Opium Commission have seen our report, with the Memorandum on the Régie system operative in Netherlands-India, and have heard the questions put and answers given thereon, we think it will be quite evident to them that our Government by its system is striving earnestly with the object of checking the

consumption of opium gradually and continually by all available means. In accordance with this policy, the Delegates of the Netherlands have been authorised to declare as follows:—

- 1.—That the Netherlands Government being convinced of the desirability of restricting the use of opium will never be prevented by financial considerations from taking such measures as will in its opinion genuinely effect a gradual decrease in consumption.
- 2.—That the Netherlands Government would not object to such alterations in the Régie system as might be likely, in its opinion, to check the use of opium, or to the extension of the means of preventing smuggling by land and sea.
- 3.—That in those provinces of Netherlands-India where the farm system still exists the substitution for it of the Régie system is already under consideration."

Dr. RÖSSLER called attention to a misprint in the report of the German Delegation. On the last page, under heading III Use of Opium: the words "average smokers use at last 2 *liang*" should read "average smokers use at least 0.2 *liang*."

Mr. T'ANG, referring to previous statements relative to the percentage of opium smokers in China, gave some information which he had obtained concerning the percentage of smokers to the Chinese population in the Philippine Islands. He said that of the total number of Chinese residents in the Archipelago 23 per cent were registered officially as smokers. There would be in addition a certain number who would, from one reason or another, escape official notice; so that it was fair to assume that 25 per cent of the total Chinese residents were smokers. This would corroborate the estimates made by his Delegation as to the extent of the habit in China itself, the percentages quoted being much higher than those usually given for China.

The Right Rev. Bishop BRENT, vacating the Chair (which was taken for a few minutes by Senhor Potier) made a personal and explanatory statement with reference to Mr. T'ang's observations. He said that, to prevent any misunderstanding, he thought it necessary to point out that all registered smokers in the Philippines were Chinese—natives not being allowed to take out licences. The majority of the Chinese came from Amoy, where the smoking habit was, he understood, exceedingly prevalent. Further, nearly the whole of the Chinese population consisted of adult men, and the fact of there being very few women or children would help to account for the high percentage of smokers.

These explanatory remarks were supplemented by Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT, who said that the result of his investigations in the United States amongst the Chinese population showed that 20 per cent of the adult males were heavy smokers, and 20 per cent light smokers, making a total of 40 per cent using on an average $1\frac{1}{2}$ mace a day of prepared opium. This estimate was, perhaps, too high, but he could state with a fair amount of certainty that 30 per cent of the adult male Chinese population were addicted to the habit.

At 12.15 p.m. the House adjourned.

On re-assembling at 2.30 p.m. the Austro-Hungarian Report came up for discussion. There were no questions, but Dr. RÖSSLER asked the Austro-Hungarian Delegate to obtain information with regard to the use and sale of opium in the Austro-Hungarian Concession at Tientsin.

The Right Rev. Bishop BRENT stated that his attention had been called by the French Delegation to certain errors appearing in the report issued by the "American Commission on Opium in the Philippines"—of which he was a Member—relative to the amount of revenue derived from opium in French Indo-China. Steps would be taken to rectify these mistakes.

The Chair then announced that a discussion on the Reports presented by the German and the Persian Delegates would be in order.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT intimated that he would have certain questions to put with regard to these reports at the next meeting.

Following a remark made by the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, the Chair considered that it would be in order for the Committees appointed to deal with specific portions of the reports to re-open a discussion on any subject dealt with by them, should they desire to elicit further information thereon.

A suggestion by Dr. RÖSSLER that the Committee appointed to report on the revenue statistics of opium should extend their investigations to tariffs, excise and other legislation governing the importation and distribution of opium and its derivatives, was favourably received.

A discussion ensued as to the nature of the laws and conditions covering the opium trade, contained in the Treaties between the various countries represented on the Commission, the Chairman eventually suggesting that if expedient, each Delegation might obtain the desired information, or a Committee might be appointed to investigate the subject.

Dr. RÖSSLER then moved the following resolution:—

“That a Committee on existing International Agreements covering the traffic in opium be appointed.”

This was accepted by the Commission after discussion.

In answer to a question put by the Chair the American Delegation stated that their report would be in the hands of the Delegates on Friday next. It was also announced that the French Report would be ready on Friday; that proofs of the Report on India would be distributed on Wednesday; that the report on Canada would be forthcoming as soon as possible after the arrival of Mr. Mackenzie King; and that the Reports on Portugal and Siam would be ready shortly.

Dr. RÖSSLER asked the Netherlands Delegation whether a report on opium in the Netherlands itself would be laid on the table. Mr. de Jongh, replying, said that no report on the Netherlands could be presented for the present, as he had understood that the object of the Commission was to deal with the opium question in the Far East only. He might say, speaking freely, that he had never heard of any poppy growing in the Netherlands, nor of the existence of an opium problem in that country. However, he would endeavour to obtain more positive information if desired.

The PRESIDENT.—“It seems to the Chair that the House would be gratified if the Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands would obtain the necessary information, as he suggests.”

A discussion then ensued as to whether the scope of enquiry was intended originally to include other than Far Eastern countries. The Chief Commissioners for France and Portugal respectively stated that they understood that the investigations of the Commission would apply only to the Far East. Dr. Hamilton Wright declared that the United States Government had suggested the study of all phases of the opium question in each country represented on the Commission, and especially that such investigation should be carried out before the meeting of the International Commission, in order to facilitate the preliminary work of the Commission.

The Chair ended what promised to develop into a lengthy debate by suggesting that each country represented might at least obtain such information regarding the conditions at home as would enlighten the Commission, and enable it to carry the work before them to a successful issue.

The House adjourned at 3.45 p.m. until Thursday, the 18th February.

Minutes of the Eighth Session

18th FEBRUARY, 1909

ON taking the Chair at 10.30 a.m., the PRESIDENT announced the names of those Delegates whom he had selected to serve on the Committee on Treaties and International Agreements touching the opium traffic.

On behalf of the House he welcomed Mr. Mackenzie King, Representative for Canada on the British Delegation.

Mr. BRUNYATE then notified the House that he had telegraphed to India on behalf of the British Delegation for statistics of the imports of morphine and other figures, but he did not anticipate that the reply would be of such a nature as to effect the substance of the information given in the Memorandum already laid on the table.

A report on the opium question as it concerns Canada was next presented by Mr. Mackenzie King, who desired the clemency of the House for the delay occasioned by his tardy arrival.

The Chinese report again came up for discussion, but there were no questions asked.

Monsieur CORNILLON, on behalf of the Committee on Revenue Statistics, pointed out that a preliminary study of the Reports before them had shown the necessity for the adoption by the various delegations of common units of currency, weights and measures, in order that the Committee's work of preparing an International Summary might be facilitated, and he submitted the following proposition:—

- 1.—That measures of superficies, quantity and weight shall be expressed in terms of the metric system.
- 2.—That all monies shall be reduced to English currency at a fixed exchange of 25 francs to the £.
- 3.—That all statistics furnished shall cover the years 1903 to 1907, inclusive.

These suggestions met generally with the approval of the Commission, but the Committee was entrusted with the task of making whatever calculations they might involve.

After some remarks by the Chief Delegates for Portugal and Germany on the subject of exchange, the Chair declared a discussion of the British report to be in order.

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN asked whether, according to existing Agreements made between the Chinese and British Governments, the annual reduction by 5,100 chests of opium of the total Indian export meant that a corresponding reduction of the import of Indian opium into China would be assured, irrespective of the conditions of demand in China.

Mr. BRUNYATE, replying on behalf of his Delegation, stated that the Agreement that Great Britain had entered into to reduce the annual export of opium from India meant exactly what it said, *viz.*, that Great Britain does agree to reduce exports from India by 5,100 chests annually for the next ten years. It involved no economic proposition such as suggested by the Hon. Commissioner for China.

Mr. T'ANG explained that there was some misunderstanding in the minds of the Chinese people, and his Delegation would be obliged if the Delegation for Great Britain would put their reply in writing, as his people were under the impression that the present arrangement meant a reduction of 5,100 chests on the total amount of opium annually imported into China; if they were mistaken they would like to have that impression rectified.

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH observed that if any misunderstanding on this point existed amongst the Chinese, surely the correction would more properly emanate from the recognised authorities of the Chinese Empire than from his Delegation.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT and Dr. TENNEY, having put several questions to the British Delegation with reference to the India report, (*q.v.*) the Persian Report came up for discussion.

H.E. Monsieur MIYAOKA handed a question to the Persian Delegate concerning the import of Persian opium into Formosa.

Mr. TANG KUO-AN moved the following resolution:

"That a Committee consisting of five Delegates be appointed to consider and report on the medical aspects of the opium question, including the best methods of curing the opium habit without recourse to the drug or any of its derivatives."

There was some discussion as to whether this resolution was in order or not, as it appeared to be in a similar form to the one moved by Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT during the sixth Session, and negatived.

The CHAIRMAN said that, as he understood it, the present proposition was in an entirely different form from the original one, although he stood open to correction; that in the negatived resolution the scope of the enquiry was restricted to the consideration of the subject as dealt with in the reports presented by the different Delegations; whereas the present resolution had a much broader meaning. Whether the House desired or not to widen the scope of such enquiry was for it to decide.

Mr. TANG begged leave to explain that when the negatived resolution was proposed, both the Chairman of the Chinese Delegation and he himself were absent; consequently they had had no opportunity of expressing their views on the subject.

Continuing, he said:—

"We consider that this question is only second in importance to the suppression of opium in China. We think it would be futile for us to attempt to stop the smoking habit while we continue to use the drug in other ways such as eating it in the form of pills, etc. Therefore, if this Commission is going to justify its existence, and is bent on accomplishing results which will be at all satisfactory, it is necessary in our opinion that this matter should be thoroughly discussed. To show with what importance the question is regarded by everyone, I beg to state that His Britannic Majesty's Minister in Peking has frequently asked our Government what benefit China would derive from restricting the cultivation of opium if the opium evil in other forms (by which he meant the use of anti-opium pills, etc.) was to be allowed to spread all over the Empire.

"I therefore venture to beg this Honourable Commission to take the matter into careful consideration in order that it may not only fulfil its duty in part but in whole; for I do not think it is the intention of the Government of my country, or of any other country represented here, that we should discuss matters connected with the cultivation of the poppy only.

"On the contrary, I understand that we are here to investigate the question in every form and phase; and this idea has also been expressed by every Anti-opium Society and by the people of all civilized countries. In bringing forward my resolution, therefore, I beg most earnestly to ask for the co-operation and support of this Commission."

Dr. TENNEY observed that he would like to endorse the views expressed by the Hon. Commissioner for China. He was of opinion that the Commission would be justly blamed if the Delegates were to separate without having presented their views on this matter. When the motion was put to the Commission on the previous occasion sufficient thought had not been given to it, and perhaps the vote taken then did not express the mature judgment of the House. If it were necessary to bring the motion before the House again, he would propose that a roll call be taken in recording the vote upon this question.

Monsieur RATARD having suggested that a written copy of the resolution be handed to each Delegation in order that they might have time to consider same, and that the vote be taken in two or three days time, Dr. TENNEY proposed that the further consideration of the resolution be the first business for the next session. This met with the approval of the House.

The Commission adjourned at noon until the 19th February at 10.30 a.m.

Minutes of the Ninth Session

19th FEBRUARY, 1909

THE SESSION opened at 10.30 a.m., the order of the day being the further consideration of Mr. TANG KUO-AN'S resolution of the previous day, which ran as follows:—

"That a Committee consisting of five Delegates be appointed to consider and report on the medical aspects of the opium question, including the best methods of curing the opium habit without recourse to the drug or any of its derivatives."

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, rising to continue the discussion, said that the action which he took on behalf of the British Delegation in opposing the appointment of a Committee in the first instance was one not in the least directed against a practical enquiry on the important subject under discussion, but was based solely on the fact that he did not consider that the Commission included a sufficient number of men competent to deal with the question. He declared that no one in the Commission was more in sympathy with the object which Mr. TANG had in view than he and his colleagues, and he thought it would be agreed that the British Government had shown a desire to help China in dealing with the opium problem; but he considered that whatever assistance was to be given to China should at least take a practical form, and one that would be universally recognised as such.

He emphasized the fact that the Commission was not appointed with a scientific basis. He thought he was right in stating that beyond Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT and the distinguished scientist on the Japanese Delegation there were none amongst them fitted to deal with such matters as anti-opium remedies, etc.; and it was holding that view in the strongest possible way, and yet feeling at the same time that it was a subject of great urgency which had perhaps been left on one side too long, that the British Delegation desired that some steps should be taken. He referred to the fact, that although the Chinese Government had issued regulations in which it was distinctly laid down that anti-opium pills should not consist of opium or morphia, it was well known that pills containing a large proportion of the forbidden drugs were being sold broadcast in China. He thought that were steps taken to properly carry out the regulations referred to much of the evil afflicting China would be dissipated. He added that although the question of anti-opium remedies had not come before the Governments of the Eastern Colonies to any extent, they had, nevertheless, already recognised the necessity for restricting the use of opium in that connection.

Continuing, the Right Hon. gentleman observed that the evils arising from the use of morphine had been most terrible in their effect. An Agreement which, after deplorable delay, was now in force, had, however, been recently made with China for prohibiting the movement of morphia, and he trusted it would have the effect which all persons interested in that question desired. He repeated the opinion of the British Delegation that the Commission was not formed in such a way as to admit the investigation in a practical manner of the medical phases of the opium question by any Committee that might be selected, but he thought that he might take the opportunity of suggesting to the different Delegates that the matter be brought directly and promptly under the notice of their respective Governments, who would alone be able to appoint competent Committees and to make enquiries likely to effect the object in view. It was not a question which could be settled locally, but one that should be dealt with by the great scientific Institutions of the Western and Eastern worlds. The appointment of the Committee suggested by Mr. TANG would hamper rather than promote any such investigation. He would, therefore, conclude by submitting to the Commission the following Amendment to the Resolution, and in the event of its adoption he would, at the proper time, ask that it might be included among the formal resolutions which would be ultimately drawn up by the Commission:—

"That, having regard to the constitution of this Commission, which has not among its Members a sufficient number to form a Committee for the investigation from the scientific point of view of anti-opium remedies and of the properties and effects of opium and its products, the Commission desires that each Delegation shall recommend these branches of the subject to its own Government for such action as that Government may think necessary."

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT, after thanking the Right Hon. Chief Commissioner for Great Britain for the complimentary reference to himself, pointed out that there was on the Chinese Delegation also a medical expert, trained in the West, who, speaking from a scientific point of view, was quite competent to judge on the subject under discussion. There were, therefore, three physicians in the Commission quite capable of undertaking an investigation, though he

took the Right Hon. Chief Commissioner of the British Delegation's remarks in regard to himself with all modesty. He pointed out that, when Her late Britannic Majesty's Royal Commission was appointed, the British Government had thought it sufficient to appoint only one medical expert to the Commission; that the report of that expert had coloured to a great degree the final judgment of the Royal Commission; that on the other hand that expert's report had not proved to be satisfactory to the great majority of medical men who had taken to examine it in detail; that it was time for a later opinion based on the facts which had newly come to light; and that, without calling into question the abilities of the medical expert on the Royal Commission, there were others quite as well able to examine the question. If one expert was enough for the Royal Commission, three should be sufficient for the International Commission. One of the express objects of the Commission should be to put this medical question on a modern footing.

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN begged permission to reply to a few of the remarks made by the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH. He stated that in the Regulations which China issued two years ago for the suppression of the opium habit, one of the questions dealt with was "Anti-Opium Medicines." Since that time China had been taking steps to control the sale of such medicines in the interior. For instance, at Chengtu, the capital of Szechwan, no opium medicines could be sold except by authority of the police, and in other places also the police were endeavouring to restrict the sale of opium medicines. But it was a deplorable fact that the bulk of these remedies were manufactured in, and found their way into the interior from, the Treaty Ports; China was consequently quite powerless to prevent the spread of these nostrums without the co-operation of the Treaty Powers. That was one of the reasons which led him to draw up the resolution now under consideration. Another point he wished to bring to the attention of the Delegates. Supposing there were not, in the opinion of the British Delegation, a sufficient number of men on the Commission competent to deal with this question, they were not debarred, as far as he knew, by anything in the constitution or in the rules of the Commission from seeking advice and opinion from experts outside.

Dr. RÖSSLER supported Mr. T'ANG'S resolution. He said:—"According to the correspondence exchanged between the Governments of the United States of America and the powers interested in the opium question, this Commission is expected to make a general and impartial investigation of the scientific and material conditions of the opium trade and the opium habit. I am afraid the report which we are going to submit to our Governments would be incomplete were the medical aspect of the opium question omitted.

"The medical side of the opium question is the issue of the anti-opium campaign, and for this reason every Opium Commission which has, so far, been at work, has carefully investigated this side of the question. I may be allowed to refer to the Report of the Ceylon Commission, of the Straits Commission, and of the important Royal Commission on opium in India, all of which contain valuable information of this kind.

"You all know that the medical views on this subject are not altogether unanimous. The more then would it be interesting to hear what the three physicians forming part of this Commission have to say on the subject. It is a matter of common knowledge that physicians at home have little or no experience as to the effects of opium smoking, there being no problem of this kind in Western countries. But the three physicians forming part of this Commission have gained experience in the Far East, and therefore I think we should give them an opportunity to state their opinion. For this reason I am in favour of the proposal of the Chinese Delegation."

The Amendment moved by the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH was then put to the vote with the following result:—

For the Amendment 7
Against the Amendment 6

The different Delegations voted as follows:—

For	Against
Great Britain	U. S. of America
France	Austria-Hungary
Netherlands	China
Persia	Germany
Portugal	Italy
Russia	Japan
Siam	

H.E. Monsieur MIYAOKA replied to questions which had been put to him at a previous Session by Mr. R. LAIDLAW, M.P., and Mr. BRUNYATE read answers to questions submitted by the American and Chinese Delegations (*vide* Reports: Vol. II.)

There being no further business before the Commission, the PRESIDENT suggested that the presentation of Resolutions might begin on Monday next (22nd February.) There would be, possibly, further discussion on some of the Reports which had not been in the hands of the Delegates long enough for study. The discussion of these Reports would be the order of the day on Monday morning. Following such discussion, it would, in the opinion of the Chair, be timely to present such Resolutions as the various Delegations might have in mind, covering the object for which the Commission was convened. He did not think it was necessary to await the reports of the different Committees before commencing the work of considering such resolutions as might be presented.

He took that opportunity of welcoming, on behalf of the House, the appearance of one of the Associate Delegates for China, Mr. J. L. CHALMERS, who had hitherto been prevented by illness from attending the meetings of the Commission.

Mr. DE JONGH, Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands, suggested that any Resolution to be submitted to the Commission should be distributed in writing beforehand, in order that the Delegates might have time to consider them.

The Chair thought that this suggestion was in conformity with the rule which had hitherto been followed, and that each Delegation ought to be provided with copies of the different resolutions by those proposing same.

Monsieur RATARD.—"If you will permit me I will state the reasons for my having voted against Mr. T'ANG'S resolution.

"I have here copies of the correspondence exchanged between the French and American Governments anent the programme of this Commission, on which was based the instructions given to our Delegation. The question was submitted to the French Government by H.E. the Ambassador of the United States at Paris on two occasions, 15th and 24th July, 1908. The communication of the 15th July enumerates the points to be dealt with by the Commission, and which the American Government suggests should be studied in advance by the Delegates of each country to be represented, as follows:—

- 1.—Importation of opium in its crude state and of its derivatives and of opium prepared for smoking (*chandu*).
- 2.—Internal consumption of raw opium.
- 3.—Manufacture and use of *chandu*.
- 4.—Manufacture of morphine and other derivatives.
- 5.—Use of the drug in its raw state.
- 6.—Preparation and use of morphia and other derivatives.
- 7.—Extent, legal and illicit, of the cultivation of the poppy (in America); possibility of its cultivation.
- 8.—Laws (Federal) relating to the use of opium and of its derivatives.

"The official reply of the French Government to H.E. the American Ambassador at Paris, dated 5th August, 1908, declares that, in conformity with the desire expressed by the United States Government, the French Government will nominate only Commissioners conversant with all questions concerning the opium trade, well informed with regard to French interests concerned thereby, and furnished with specific instructions.

"The instructions given by the French Government to the Chief Commissioner for France, after repeating the points of the programme outlined above, and remarking that the opium question is one of considerable interest to French Indo-China, whose Budget might be affected by the findings of the Commission, recommend the French Delegates not to deviate in any way from their instructions.

"The vote which the French Delegation cast just now is consequently fully justified by these remarks. No Delegation is more in sympathy with the efforts of the Chinese Government to get rid of the opium evil, and I associate myself wholly with the sentiments expressed to this effect by Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE. The scientific and medical questions connected with

opium are of such importance that I believe, like the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, that it would be extremely interesting and useful were they submitted to the highest scientific and medical authorities of those countries chiefly interested. It is, however, impossible for this Delegation to exceed in any way the instructions laid down for its guidance."

H.E. TSUNEJIRO MIYAOKA—"With the permission of the Hon. gentlemen here assembled, I desire also to make an explanation of the vote which I had the honour to cast in the name of the Japanese Delegation. In a note which was addressed by H.E. Mr. O'Brien, Ambassador of the United States near the Imperial Court of Tokyo, under date May 12th, 1908, to the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, H.E. Count Hayashi, he stated:—

'The idea of the Government of the United States of America is that the Commissioners of each Government shall proceed independently and immediately . . . with a view:—

- 1.—To devise means to limit the use of opium in the possessions of that country.
- 2.—To ascertain, should there exist among the nationals of that country in the Far East a traffic in opium, the best means of suppressing such traffic.
- 3.—That the respective Delegates be in such a position that . . . they will be prepared to co-operate and to offer, jointly or severally, definite suggestions of measures tending towards the gradual suppression of opium cultivation, as well as its traffic and use within their Eastern Possessions, and which their respective Governments may be prepared to adopt. In this way the Members of the Chinese Government will be assisted in eradicating the evil from their Empire.'

"This occurs in a note, as I stated, of the Ambassador of the United States dated May 12th, 1908. The Imperial Government of Japan acceded to this proposal, implying that they were prepared to appoint a Commission which should devise some means of limiting the use of opium, the best means of suppressing the opium traffic, and the best means of gradually suppressing not only opium cultivation, but the use of opium. Knowing that all schemes and devices which have for their object the suppression of opium and the use of opium cannot be effectively discussed other than by men who have particular knowledge of the chemical properties of opium, and the effect which it has on the human constitution, the Imperial Government of Japan has deemed it proper to appoint an eminent chemist, Dr. TAHARA, and an equally prominent man of medical science, Dr. TAKAKI, who, I may add, stands at the head of affairs connected with the control of opium in Formosa. When this Delegation, therefore, was appointed by the Government of Japan, it was understood that we should be expected to enter into the question of the suppression of the use of opium, naturally involving the cure of the opium habit. The Japanese Delegation, therefore, felt constrained to vote against the Amendment submitted by the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, in order that it might have an opportunity of casting its vote in favour of the original resolution presented by Mr. T'ANG."

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT, in the name of the United States Delegation, stated that he agreed perfectly with what had fallen from the Chief Commissioner for France in regard to the meaning of the correspondence exchanged between their respective Governments.

After Dr. TENNEY had withdrawn a proposal that the Commission should hold a Session on Saturday morning, the House adjourned at 11.40 a.m., on the motion of Monsieur Miyaoka, until Monday morning (22nd February).

Minutes of the Tenth Session

22nd FEBRUARY 1909

THE COMMISSION assembled at 10.30 a.m.

The Chair announced with regret that Signor FARAONE, the Delegate representing Italy, was ill, and unable to attend. He also expressed his regret in that the name of the Secretary of the Persian Delegation, Mr. B. A. SOMEKH, had been omitted from the official list of representatives, but the Secretary of the Commission would take steps to have this mistake rectified.

The Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands presented to the House the information which he had received by telegraph concerning opium in Holland (*vide* Netherlands Report: Vol. II).

The British and Japanese Delegations read replies to questions received from the American and British Delegations respectively. Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN, for the Chinese Delegation, also replied to three questions put during the sixth Session by the British and French Delegations. A reply to some questions submitted by the American Delegation was made by the Persian Delegate and the Chinese Delegation asked the British Delegation for certain statistics relative to the number of opium smokers in Hongkong and the Straits Settlements (for questions and answers, *vide* Vol. II: Reports).

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN stated, that with reference to the last of his questions, his Delegation wished to take that opportunity of expressing their appreciation of the measures taken recently by the Hongkong authorities against the smuggling of opium into China, which, according to the Commissioner of Customs at Kowloon, had of late years greatly diminished.

Two questions were then handed to the French Delegation by Mr. T'ANG with reference to the quantity of opium imported into Kwangchowan.

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH expressed his obligations to Mr. T'ANG for his remarks regarding the action of the Hongkong authorities. According to information in his possession the Hongkong Government was aware of all that happened to the opium which entered that port, and was quite satisfied that at the present time there was no smuggling from Hongkong into Chinese territory.

The printed reports for Portugal and for the United States were distributed, and the Chair announced that both these reports were before the House for consideration.

The Chief Commissioner for France asked that if there were any further questions to be put to him concerning the French Report they might be presented soon.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT, having put a question to the British Delegation as to the amount of opium prepared for smoking shipped from Hongkong and the Straits Settlements to the Philippines, the Chair asked if any of the Committees were ready to submit Reports to the Commission.

Dr. TENNEY, on behalf of the Committee appointed to consider Treaties and International Agreements covering the traffic in opium, stated that a printed report could not be laid on the table that day, but that he would read the report. He also stated that the Committee had taken the liberty of adding to its name the words "and its derivatives."

After the report had been read, the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH expressed the opinion that neither he nor his colleagues ever contemplated that the Committee would extract portions of certain Treaties and Agreements, and give an interpretation as to the exact meaning of those extracts. He for one would certainly not be bold enough to do anything of the kind, and he considered it an extremely dangerous proceeding to adopt, these matters being generally left to be interpreted and explained by the Governments concerned.

It was finally decided to allow the Report to stand over until the various Delegations had had sufficient time to study it.

There being no further questions asked on the Reports in hand, the President addressed the House as follows:—

"In accordance with the statement of the Chair at the last Session, the prime object of this Commission has now been reached, and resolutions will naturally be in order. With the indulgence of the House, before proceeding to this business, the Chair would like to draw attention to certain principles and considerations of importance relative to our findings. It would appear expedient to quote what met with the approval of the

House at the outset of our proceedings, —a passage from the Report of the Second International Peace Conference relative to such Commissions and Conferences as the one we are now engaged in:—

"In the discussions upon every question it is important to remember that the object of the Conference is Agreement, and not compulsion. If such Conferences are to be made occasions for trying to force nations into positions which they consider against their interests, the Powers cannot be expected to send representatives to them. It is important also that the agreements reached shall be genuine and not reluctant. Otherwise they will inevitably fail to receive approval when submitted for the ratification of the Powers represented. Comparison of views and frank and considerate explanation and discussion may frequently resolve doubts, obviate difficulties, and lead to real agreement upon matters which at the outset have appeared insurmountable. It is not wise, however, to carry this process to the point of irritation. After reasonable discussion, if no agreement is reached, it is better to lay the subject aside, or refer it to some future Conference in the hope that intermediate consideration may dispose of the objections. Upon some questions where an agreement by only a part of the Powers represented would in itself be useful, such an agreement may be made, but it should always be with the most unreserved recognition that the other Powers withhold their concurrence with equal propriety and right."

"I feel sure that this paragraph which I have again presented to the House, represents the mind of this entire assembly."

"Further, with your indulgence, may I say that we are at a most critical moment. The Chair himself feels weighted with responsibility, a double responsibility, a responsibility that is personal, and a responsibility on behalf of this entire House, of which he is a most unworthy leader, but nevertheless a leader most eager to fulfil the functions of his office. The results of this Commission are bound to be far-reaching, and of a two-fold character—direct and indirect. They will take shape eventually in some kind of formal action on the part of the various Governments represented, partly of a legislative and partly of a practical character that could not perhaps be justly called legislative; then, too, the results of our findings are going to be productive of sentiment, and am I not right in thinking that sentiment still rules the world? As in the past, so in the future, and in the present, sentiment is bound to be the final arbiter in all great questions, and no legislative or practical action can avail unless public opinion, rightly informed, acts spontaneously, strongly and naturally in the direction of formal, enacted law. So it is of two-fold importance that what we succeed in agreeing upon should be of a strong character, practical, and—I shall not say with a sentimental side to it, but—with a side which will tend to create wholesome sentiment wherever our findings may reach. The world, I think I am not mistaken, is looking for something definitive from this Commission, though when I say definitive I do not for a moment mean final. We are only striving to take a great problem one step forward in the course of development and progress. I think that all of us would agree that our resolutions should represent the high-water mark, up to date, on this question,—and we all represent sovereign states—so that we must demean ourselves royally: With the recollection that our responsibility is ultimately not merely to our individual nations, but to the whole family of nations and to posterity, it would seem to the Chair,—and I speak now entirely in my official position, and dispassionately, from the evidence before me,—it would seem that the material in hand is quite sufficient to enable us to reach valuable conclusions."

"It is of vital importance, as the paragraph which I have read to you states, that our findings should reach common ground as far as possible, but in all probability in reaching that common ground we will have to traverse disputed territory. Whatever disputed territory may be traversed, we will move with profound respect for the convictions of those who differ from us, and in the presentation of conclusions that may not be generally acceptable we will observe the fullest courtesy. Am I not right in saying that friends can afford to be frank to one another and that it is the privilege of friendship to differ without the bonds of friendship being severed? That is true in the realm of social life in any given nationality, and I venture to think that the day has dawned when, in the family of nations, it is equally true."

"There are two things at stake in the findings of this Commission. In the first place the whole principle of international study of disputed questions is involved. We have reached a day in the history of nations when splendid magnanimity is shown by this or that nation, which may have the full conviction that its present position is right on a given question, but which is ready to call in neighbouring nations to consider it conjointly, if the matter is in dispute. It is the desire of all mankind to promote such movements as will tend to the greatest amity between nation and nation. The principle of Commissions is still young, and it is for us to advance that principle in the public estimation, or to depreciate it. Furthermore,

in dealing with the question immediately before us, we have to consider that if we fail in worthy and practical resolutions, we shall do that which all of us would lament should the calamity happen, *viz.*, throw back this whole question into the hands of agitators and extremists. The result would be to confuse and befog the public mind, depriving it of that sentiment which, as I have said, is going to be one of the greatest factors not only in the solution of this question but of all great questions.

"I feel that I have said enough. You share my sense of responsibility and together I believe we shall worthily fulfil our duty.

"Permit me to thank the House at this juncture for the fine temper and the courteous spirit which has characterised it from the beginning, and the Chair ventures to hope that this temper will not desert us at the critical stage, but that to the end we shall prove ourselves to be friendly representatives of a Royal family of nations.

"It is for the House to decide how the various resolutions will be presented. The Chair would suggest,—though with some diffidence, the reasons for which are obvious,—that we follow the procedure which we have observed in all business brought before the House. Should this method be agreeable the resolutions will be presented by the different Delegations in their alphabetical order, the various movers presenting their resolutions with such comments as may be desirable. Discussions will take place when all the resolutions are in."

It was decided that all resolutions should be presented by the different Delegations in alphabetical order, and that no time limit should be fixed for receiving resolutions.

The House adjourned at 12.30 p.m. until 10.30 a.m. on 23rd February.

Minutes of the Eleventh Session

23rd FEBRUARY, 1909

THE PRESIDENT took the Chair at 10.30 a.m.

After the Chief Commissioner of the British Delegation had read replies to questions asked by the American and Chinese Delegations during the last sitting, Dr. ROSSLER moved that the resolutions to be submitted to the Commission should first be discussed by a Committee, in order that unnecessary debate might be avoided. The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH thought that the resolutions should go to a Committee after, and not before, they had been submitted to the Commission. This view was also expressed by the Chief Commissioner for France.

On Dr. ROSSLER's proposition being put to the House it was lost by 6 votes to 5.

The Chair then announced that resolutions would be taken in alphabetical order, *i.e.*, in the order of the various Delegations as given on the official list.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT, rising to present the American resolutions, spoke as follows:—

"Mr. President and Fellow Commissioners of the International Opium Commission,—The American Delegates, after due consideration of the historical aspects of the opium question, after a complete and careful study of the literature on the general question of opium abuse throughout the world, and more particularly after a specific study of the various reports laid before this Commission, have considered and drawn up a series of resolutions which we hope may receive, along with others of similar sense, the unanimous approval of the International Opium Commission. We have, in considering and drawing up these resolutions, kept in mind the magnitude of the question we were instructed to review, and the relative values of the economic, moral, and international interests of the different Government represented in this Commission.

"It may be remembered that in one of the early despatches which led to the calling of this Commission, our Secretary of State took the following ground: That the Government of the United States had not actually engaged in the opium trade in the Far East; that it had

from early days discouraged the opium trade in the Far East through Treaties made with Far Eastern countries, and by statutes passed to make those Treaties effective, that it had by special laws endeavoured to prevent its citizens from pushing the trade on unprotected people. All this is a matter of record in our report. Our Secretary of State was of the opinion that, in view of the historical position of the United States, its Government was, perhaps, best positioned to propose that there should be called together an International Commission to study the scientific, moral, economic, political and all other sides of the opium question, and if possible for the Commission to suggest methods for its solution.

"The American Delegates can assure this International Opium Commission that our Secretary of State in calling for this Commission, sympathized with, and expressed the sympathy of the American people, for those countries which had become involved in a financial maze based on a too free production and traffic in opium. His mind and the mind of the American people was also stirred by a profound sympathy for all people who have become involved in, and thus rendered less effective in world affairs by, the abuse of opium. The American Delegation is here, and has studied the opium problem in all of its phases, in the same spirit and with the same sympathy in which the International Opium Commission was conceived and finally brought into being. We feel certain that the other Delegations to this International Commission have thought as deeply on the opium question as we have since we assembled at Shanghai: that you have thought as deeply, and with more real knowledge of the facts, as have thought that large number of able men and women who have agitated this opium question during the last fifty years; that you have thought as seriously and deeply as those statesmen will be bound to think to whom this Commission must leave the final adjustment of the problem.

"You are all, I am sure, in cordial agreement with the American Delegates that the opium problem is a difficult one, especially for China and India. We, as well as other Delegates, were gratified when, in opening the discussion on the Chinese report, Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE expressed his great appreciation of, and his sympathy for, the hardship that confronts the Chinese people and Government in dealing with their opium problem. Our Delegation would enlarge upon Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE'S fine spirit, by expressing our appreciation of, and our sympathy for, the great difficulties which, we know, confront the Governments of British India, Hongkong, the Straits Settlements, French Indo-China, Siam, Portugal and the Netherlands, in dealing with the serious financial problems which have supervened on their production, and manufacture, or their trade in or use of opium. We, however, are glad to be able to congratulate our German, Austrian and Italian colleagues that, through the wisdom of their governments and the self-restraint of their peoples, their opium problem is not of a nature to be alarming. We rejoice also that, the Government of French Indo-China is so surely and steadily resolving its opium problem to final extinction.

"Yet, in spite of the sympathy and interest which our Delegation have for the difficulties, financial and other, we have concluded that the traffic in opium for other than necessary uses ought not much longer to continue, or, there will yet loom between the East and West a problem that in its magnitude and potentialities for strife will outstrip the magnitude and forces of that long since, and happily settled, slavery question. The slavery question agitated the civilised world for a century. No more emotion was expended, no greater misconception of facts occurred, no greater stubbornness of opinion was shown in the initial stage of the solution of that problem, than has been shown in the initial stages of the solution of this opium question. Before the slavery question was finally settled it well-nigh tore a continent in two. In the United States we were dominated for fifty years by discussions of the slavery question, which finally led to a horrid war,—and that in spite of the great example set us by the British Government in voluntarily freeing the slaves in her colonies, and in charging her Imperial budget with a sum which may be said to be fifteen times the sum involved in the Indian opium traffic, the opium farms of Hongkong, the Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Ceylon.

"During the last few years our people have watched with admiration a repetition of history. For they have seen the beginning of a determined, and they hope a final, effort by that same great nation to sacrifice a great revenue to the end that another widespread evil may cease. In watching this historical day, our people, besides cleaning its own house, have felt that the century old desire of China is about to be fulfilled. That we live in a new day in which, were he alive, the great Warren Hastings would, while enunciating the great fundamental principles which filled his mind, say somewhat differently in the matter of foreign commerce in opium. We believe that he would say, and would be endorsed by the decent opinion of mankind, that opium was not a necessary of life, that it was undesirable to increase the production of any such article, that opium was a pernicious article when regarded as an article

of luxury, an article, on the other hand, which the wisdom of Governments should carefully restrain from consumption, internally, and let us add, abroad. The day we are in is a modern and more happy day than the day of Warren Hastings. It is a day in which moves the force of another great Indian and Imperial statesman, a great philosopher also—Lord Morley. Lord Morley is not afraid to say that he did not 'wish to speak in disparagement of the Royal Commission, but somehow or other its findings had failed to satisfy public opinion in this country, and to ease the consciences of those who had taken up the matter What was the value of medical views as to whether opium was a good thing or not, when we had the evidence of nations who knew opium at close quarters. That the Philippines Opium Commission in the passage of their report, which he hoped the House of Commons would take to heart, declared that the United States so recognized the use of opium as an evil for which no financial gain could compensate, that she would not allow her citizens to encourage it, even passively.'

"Lord Morley could further express himself on three most important points:—

"The first, concerning his insistence that China must fulfil her part of the agreement founded on her own proposals, if England is to do the same. He (Lord Morley) explained that from his point of view such insistence was intended, not as a threat to China, but rather as a help to her to hold fast to her obligation, and to go forward with its fulfilment.

"The second point concerned the action of our Government in case China should fail to carry out her own proposals—was it to be understood that the present movement for the gradual extinction of the Indian opium export should, in that case, come to an end? Lord Morley did not see that that was implied. There were two broad grounds for the present movement; one, the proposals of the Chinese Government, the other the resolution of the House of Commons on the 30th May, 1906. If the first should fail, the second did not necessarily cease to be a ground of action.

"The third point concerned a possible plea on the part of China that the process of reduction might go no more swiftly than her own first proposals contemplated. Would Lord Morley be prepared to consider such a plea if deliberately put before him by the Chinese authorities? In reply Lord Morley said that he could only refer to his statement on the 30th May, 1906, that any deliberate proposals from the Chinese Government on the subject of opium would meet with sympathetic consideration.'

"Is Great Britain to halt? Our Delegation, our people do not believe it. Great Britain will not halt if we are to credit her public opinion, her press, her present eminent Secretary of State for Indian Affairs. Our people believe that Great Britain will defend herself against the criticism of all right-minded people by replacing her opium revenue, sacrificing it mayhap, and by sacrificing dual agreements, and obsolete treaties, as she sacrifices, and sends to the scrapheap an obsolete class of battleships that are of no further use to defend her extensive interests. We live in a day when such things may be done by our great Mother Country. We live in the day of such large minded Governors-General and Statesmen as Lord Minto who declares, 'That there is no doubt throughout the civilized world a feeling of disgust at the demoralising effect of the opium habit in excess. It is a feeling in which we cannot but share. We could not, with any self-respect, refuse to assist China on the ground of loss of revenue to India.' And here let me express my admiration for the Honourable Member of the Indian Government who sits in the British Delegation, for placing this statement of Lord Minto's in the record of this International Opium Commission.

"It is the day of such great lawyers and statesmen as Mr. Elihu Root, who could bring to life this International Opium Commission. It is the day of such practical churchmen and philanthropists as Bishop Brent whose mind grasped the opportune moment for suggesting the calling of this Commission. It is a day when this troublesome opium question is no longer the concern of one or two Powers, who have direct interests in the traffic and illicit use of opium,—but a day when the great Powers of the world who have kept aloof from the problem may join with those others and, out of their experience, advise on this question. It is a day, let us hope, in which moves the old happy spirit that leaped at the discovery of opium as an anodyne for those irretrievable ills from which the human mind and frame may sometimes suffer. It is a day, we venture to hope, when opium shall by the voice of this International Opium Commission be relegated and consecrated to its proper use in relieving the really sick. The American Delegation trusts that it is a day when opium shall no longer be made to descend from its high place, among the gifts of nature to pander to the desires or vices, of mankind.

"Personally, through this more recent and more thorough study of the opium question, I have seen that the abuse of opium is a sad business. It was with a feeling not far from shame that it fell to my lot to place before this Commission the unhappy state of the opium

question in the United States. I venture to place myself with those other gentlemen on the floor of this House who by their training are best able to judge of the mental and physical conditions that arise and ultimately call for the use of opium. We would agree that the need for opium often occurs. We know, as the great Sydenham said, that medicine would go limping had it not been for the discovery of the drug. We would agree, I think, that there is a constant temptation to the most enlightened members of the medical profession to the use of the opium to relieve mental and physical pain, a temptation to which the medical profession too often gives way; yet because I know these particular phases of the opium problem, all the more am I firmly convinced that opium in all of its forms is a drug to be honestly and simply used only in those stresses and strains of mental and physical life that may be said to be extreme.

"With these thoughts in our minds our Delegations has had to face an International Problem that earnestly calls for the study of questions of revenue, of treaties between various Powers on the question of opium, of dual agreements of the same nature for the control or reduction of the use of opium amongst those peoples to whom it is a familiar and ready remedy for all the minor ills that flesh and mind are heir to. There has at times been a temptation to look at the opium problem from the moral, the medical, the financial, or the historical point of view alone. But on the whole we may assert that we have resolved the opium problem in its most comprehensive sense; and that, if we had any thought that it was a problem of easy solution without the conjoint action of the different Governments here represented, we have been sobered. It is with strong convictions but in generous spirit that the American Opium Commission presents its resolutions with a hope that they may be acceptable to this Commission as a whole, with a hope that there shall speedily be recorded the first great International step in the solution of this vexatious questions, so that the East and the West may be free without further conflict of opinion to proceed to discuss those other, but minor, problems that still agitate them."

Dr. WRIGHT, continuing, said that in introducing these resolutions their Delegation had no intention of being dogmatic. They were presented more in the shape of a skeleton, which it was hoped the wisdom and thought of the other Delegations would be able to clothe. They were couched, perhaps, in too precise language, but in drawing them up their Delegation thought it was better to have them as precise as possible, and to trust to the advice of other Delegations to soften them, or to give them a new direction, where needed.

Dr. WRIGHT then read the first of the American resolutions:

That, whereas the reports submitted to the International Opium Commission by the Delegations present recognise that opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations are, or should be, confined to legitimate medical practice.

Be it Resolved, therefore, that in the judgment of the International Opium Commission a uniform effort should be made by the countries represented at once or in the near future to confine the use of opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations to legitimate medical practice in their respective territories:

And be it further Resolved, that in the judgment of the International Opium Commission each Government represented is best able to determine for its own nationals, dependent or protected peoples, what shall be regarded as legitimate medical practice.

Dr. WRIGHT stated that his Delegation realised that the term *legitimate medical practice* did not mean the same in every country, and that what constituted legitimate medical practice in France, the United States, etc., would not be considered as such in India or China, where there were not a sufficient number of physicians; so in the last paragraph, bearing on the first postulate, they had taken the view that each Government was capable of deciding itself what constituted legitimate medical practice in its own territory.

The second American resolution, as read by Dr. WRIGHT, ran as follows:—

That, whereas the reports submitted to the International Opium Commission by the Delegations present recognise that, as the result of inadequate knowledge in the past of the baneful effects of the unguarded and indiscriminate use of opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations, there have arisen certain revenue problems which depend upon the production, sale and use of opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations:

And further, whereas, in the judgment of the International Opium Commission these revenue problems remain and will require a certain time for solution:

Be it Resolved, therefore, that in the judgment of the International Opium Commission no Government should, as a matter of principle or necessity, continue to depend upon the production of opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations for an essential part of its revenue:

And be it further Resolved, that in the judgment of the International Opium Commission such revenue problems as exist are not of a nature to baffle the Governments confronted by them; and that they should be settled as soon as possible to the end that opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations should be relegated to their proper use in legitimate medical practice.

The second postulate, Dr. WRIGHT said, was based on facts gleaned from the reports. They recognised that the United States had no financial interests in the opium question except in the Philippines, where they had lost 3 per cent of revenue by prohibition, and where they had had to add considerably to the budget by preventive work, but at the same time they recognised that there were larger problems affecting some of the countries represented on the Commission. Therefore they had resolved that "these revenue problems remain and will require a certain time for solution."

Continuing, Dr. WRIGHT stated that they wanted to avoid going into details; they, of course, recognised that an export duty was a perfectly legitimate tax, but that formed a very small part of the revenue derived from opium by several of the countries represented there. The country that would be most seriously affected by the withdrawal of revenue on opium was India. They had the assurance, however, of the representative of the Indian Government that that Government was not baffled by the problem. With reference to the wording of the last paragraph of the resolution, where it was stated that such revenue problems as exist "should be settled as soon as possible," the speaker regretted that the language used was so positive; but his Delegation was perfectly willing to make any alteration that might be considered desirable.

The third American resolution was to the following effect:—

That, whereas, the reports submitted to the International Opium Commission by the Delegations present state that opium smoking is prohibited to their nationals; further, that some of the Reports submitted state that opium smoking is prohibited to protected and dependent peoples of some of the Governments here represented:

Be it Resolved, therefore, that in the judgment of the International Opium Commission, the principle of the total prohibition of the manufacture, distribution and use of smoking opium is the right principle to be applied to all people, both nationals and dependent or protected; and that no system for the manufacture, distribution or use of smoking opium should continue to exist, except for the express purpose and no other of stamping out the evil of opium smoking in the shortest possible time.

Dr. WRIGHT thought that this resolution called for no comment, and he continued to read the fourth resolution:—

That, whereas, the reports submitted to the International Opium Commission by the Delegations present, record that each Government has strict laws which are aimed directly or indirectly to prevent the smuggling of opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations into their respective territories.

Be it Resolved, therefore, that in the judgment of the International Opium Commission it is the duty of all countries which continue to produce opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations, to prevent at ports of departure the shipment of opium, and of its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations, to any country which prohibits the entry of opium or of its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations.

Dr. WRIGHT explained that in drawing up this resolution the American Delegation had in mind their own problem in the Philippines. He then read the fifth resolution:—

That, whereas, the reports submitted to the International Opium Commission by the Delegations present, indicate that the use of morphia, its salts and derivatives, is indissolubly bound up with the abuse of opium itself, and that their use accompanies, or sooner or later supervenes, on the use of opium itself:

Be it Resolved, therefore, that in the judgment of the International Opium Commission, strict International Agreements are needed to control the trade in, and the present or possible future abuse of, morphia and its salts and derivatives, by the people of the Governments represented in the International Opium Commission.

In drawing up this resolution, Dr. WRIGHT said, his Delegation had no other country in mind but their own. They had, perhaps, the largest morphine problem to face of any country represented on the Commission, but here again they were willing to accept any reasonable amendment.

Dr. WRIGHT then read the last two of the resolutions drawn up by his Delegation, without further comment:

That, whereas, the reports submitted to the International Opium Commission by the Delegations present indicate that though each Government represented is best able by its National Laws to control its own internal problem as regards the manufacture, importation or abuse of opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations, yet that no Government represented may by its National Laws wholly solve its own opium problem without the conjoint aid of all those Governments concerned in the production and manufacture of opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations:

Be it Resolved, therefore, that in the judgment of the International Opium Commission, a concerted effort should be made by each Government represented in the Commission to assist every other Government in the solution of its internal opium problem.

That, whereas, the reports submitted to the International Opium Commission by the Delegations present, directly or indirectly recognise that the foregoing resolutions cannot be made effective except by the conjoint action of the Government concerned:

Be it Resolved, therefore, that the Commission as a whole, record its sense in favour of the principle of an International Conference for the solution of the problem.

H.E. Monsieur MIYAOKA enquired of the Chair if each Delegation would be at liberty to introduce any resolution at any time during the proceedings until the final vote on all the resolutions was taken. The PRESIDENT said it was for the House to decide whether it were preferable to take up the individual resolutions which had already been presented, or to receive others that might be in hand, and to discuss them all *seriatim*. He understood that the Chinese and Netherlands Delegations were prepared to submit resolutions to the House.

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN stated that the Chinese resolutions were not quite ready for distribution.

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH suggested that the House should proceed to consider the resolutions presented by the American Delegation, and his proposal was accepted.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT, having moved the adoption of the first American resolution, the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH addressed the House as follows:—

"Mr. President,—The British Delegation considers that it would be more respectful to put in a formal way before this Commission the views that it holds as regards this resolution. With your permission, therefore, I will read our opinions which have been put in formal language:—

"It has been the earnest wish of the British delegation that the labours of the Commission should result in the unanimous recommendation of measures which might have some practical effect in leading to the removal of those abuses which are found, though in varying degrees, to be connected with the use of opium. It is, therefore, with extreme regret that we find ourselves unable to give the conveners of the Commission our entire support in all the proposals which they put forward. I may say at the outset that the form of their proposals would alone make it difficult for us to accept them. Misunderstanding and misapprehension, we believe, can only result from a vote in favour of prohibition in the unqualified form in which it is presented in these resolutions. They will see in due course that we are prepared to go with them on the practical issues connected with the question of opium smoking. I should, however, be out of order in discussing the resolutions collectively. We have now to deal with the particular resolution before us, and I will state the reasons for our inability to support it.

"The resolution purports to reproduce, and the recommendation which it support it, purports to follow directly from, the statements of policy which have been made by the different participating countries in the reports submitted to the Commission. We object to the resolution in the first place because it unquestionably puts an erroneous construction on some of these reports, when it lays down in its preamble that they recognise that the use of opium should be confined to medical practice. It is true that certain countries concerned in this investigation are already attempting to limit the use of opium to medicinal purposes, or have definitely arrived at the decision so to limit it. This is the case, for example, with America and Canada where a foreign form of indulgence, previously unnoticed and uncontrolled, was at length found to be gaining a hold on the white population. It is also true of China: where the practice of opium smoking has spread, uncontrolled, until the Government of the country find that it is impairing the national strength;

where the character of the administrative machinery seems to offer no alternatives other than complete extirpation or unrestricted license; and where there is strong public support behind a policy which, without that assistance, could only end in disastrous failure.

"There are, however, other countries to whom the opium question presents itself under wholly different conditions. Either they have not accepted the view that the use of opium can or should be strictly confined to medical purposes, or, if they look forward to prohibition as the ultimate goal, they are still so far from its attainment that the proposition enunciated in the resolution could not be a practical guide to their action in the near future. By way of example I need only cite the case of India. You are all aware that regulation and not prohibition is the declared policy of the British Government in the whole mainland of India, and that the report which we have laid before you clearly establishes this distinction, and indeed strongly emphasizes it by the special attention which it devotes to the study of experiments in prohibition in Burma. Our examination of the conditions in India has not satisfied us that it would be justifiable, and has made it absolutely clear that it is altogether impracticable in the near future, to depart from this established policy. We cannot, therefore, accept the unqualified statement contained in the preamble to the resolution, or the recommendation which follows from it.

"The opium habit has been known in India for centuries. You have only to look at the statistics of consumption to-day, and compare them with the lowest estimates of consumption in China, and remember how rapid has been the extension of the production and consumption of opium in the latter country, to see that the system of regulation built up in India is in fact, in a large measure, an efficient instrument in the prevention of abuse. You have only to consider for a moment the relations between the ruling power and the subject populations of India to realise that despotic interference with a national habit, dating, as I have said, from a period long anterior to British rule, could only be justified if that habit had been the cause of extensive social degradation, of which we have no sufficient evidence, or by the assurance of strong and genuinely popular support from Indian public opinion. This general support would not be forthcoming to-day. Indeed you will yourselves have realised, from a study of our report and of the explanations with which it was introduced, that the present would be a singularly inopportune occasion for inaugurating so questionable a political experiment. I need not enlarge on the difficulties involved, but would remind you that they are not wholly, and in our opinion not even primarily, financial, except to this extent,—that we should certainly advise that further sacrifices of revenue should not be contemplated until time had been allowed for the loss of the revenue from the export trade to be made good from the growth of ordinary taxation.

"But, as I have said above, the task of prohibiting opium is in any case impracticable in the near future—with which alone we need concern ourselves. I would ask you to look at the map of India, and to recollect that the countries along our northern frontier are opium-producing states to an extent which, if not great at present, admits of expansion to meet an insistent and accessible demand—that in the heart of India we have a solid block of 200,000 square miles of native state territory, with a correspondingly extended land frontier, where, among a population of over 17 millions, the production and transit of opium are not under direct control—and that still further south opium is in general use in the great state of Hyderabad, with an area of 80,000 square miles and a population of 11 millions, a State which possesses the right to resume the cultivation of the poppy at any time after twelve months' notice, and has only conditionally suspended the exercise of that right in order to obtain a higher revenue from an external source of supply which can be more readily taxed than scattered production within its own territories.

"I am not raising speculative difficulties. We know from actual experience in regard to these same centres of production in the past what we must expect in the future. We know too from actual experience the evils and futility of a policy which can only be maintained by the employment of enormous preventive establishments to guard an extended inland barrier. But I may take a more familiar case—one in which we can point to a candid appreciation of our difficulties by an impartial outside authority, and a generous recognition of our efforts to overcome them. I refer to Burma. You have seen how in the far simpler case of Burma, where the religious sentiments of the people and the best opinion among them are all on our side, and we are dealing with a single province isolated from the mainland of India, the problem of prohibition has resisted the efforts of the Government for a period of fifteen years, and can hardly yet be regarded as solved even by the system of minute individual scrutiny which has now been attempted. It is clear that even if the British Government were prepared to admit the equity of denying the use of opium to the peoples of India generally—to proscribe it as the source of

more extended social injury than alcohol and hemp drugs, the consumption of which they already regulate but do not prohibit—that decision could not be enforced except after a long period of preparation, during which, by perseverance with the present policy of regulation, the demand for opium as an indulgence had been gradually reduced and an effective public opinion against its use had been created. It would be difficult indeed to get as far as this, for the obstacles I have already mentioned will interpose themselves there as restriction becomes more irksome.

"It is equally clear—and I take it to be the intention of the last paragraph of the resolution to recognise—that we cannot, either by excessive restrictions or by direct prohibition, withhold from the peoples of India a drug which is one of the main household remedies on which they rely. Even if we adopted the resolution in principle we should still, and for a long time to come, be compelled to put a most liberal construction on the term 'medical purposes'; and to entrust the distribution of the drug for such purposes to a subordinate agency, constantly exposed to strong temptation. This further opportunity for irregularity would go far to complete the undermining of a scheme of nominal prohibition.

"We should not be dealing fairly with the Commission in slurring over these difficulties and objections. We cannot advise our Government to pledge itself to a principle for which it cannot be seriously urged that the information placed before the Commission supplies any new foundation, and which would not lead directly and in the near future to any action other than that already implied by the existing policy of regulation.

"We are at one, however, with every member of this Commission in desiring in every practical way to prevent the abuse of the drug, and we believe that the acceptance of the fourth of the resolutions which we have placed on the table will tend towards this common end.

"In conclusion I can only add that we shall be unable to support the resolution brought forward by the American Delegation."

Dr. WRIGHT.—"If the preamble to Resolution No. 1 contained the words *Legitimate medical practice or Government Regulation* would that meet the objection of the Right Hon. Commissioner for Great Britain?"

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"I regret to say that we consider that this would not meet the difficulties which I have already indicated at some length in the paper which I have just read."

Dr. ROSSLER suggested that the words "as far as practicable" might be inserted after the word "confine" in the second paragraph of the resolution. This, he thought, might meet the objections of the British Delegation.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"To put it perfectly plainly, and to be entirely frank, the British Delegation is not able to accept the view that opium should be confined simply and solely to medical uses."

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT agreed that one of the greatest difficulties which the British Indian Government would have to contend with was the definition of what constituted "legitimate medical practice," it being impossible to apply modern western medical ethics to a great country like India.

After further discussion it was decided, on the motion of Monsieur RATARD, that the further consideration of the resolution should be postponed in order that the British and American Delegations might confer together.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT moved the adoption of the second American resolution.

Speaking for his Delegation the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH said:—

"We are unable to accept the proposition implied in the preamble, that the revenue derived by certain countries from opium is primarily due to the unguarded and indiscriminate use of the drug. It is a commonplace of opium administration, and is abundantly clear from the reports themselves, that it is the most efficient systems of regulating the use of opium which yield the highest return in revenue.

"Nor are we prepared to give to the revenue aspect of the opium problem the prominent position which this resolution assigns to it. I think our attitude in this matter will be sufficiently clear from the observations which I have already made on the first of these resolutions.

"Finally we can find no warrant for the sweeping statement in the last paragraph of the resolution that such revenue problems as exist are not of a nature to baffle the Governments confronted by them. If any country finds the prohibition of the use of opium to be incumbent upon it, its revenue problem will no doubt be faced and ultimately successfully faced. But we have no justification for minimising the revenue difficulties involved, or indeed, in the judgment of this delegation for intruding at all into their fiscal domain. It is not only those countries in which the use of opium prevails which derive a substantial portion of their revenue from an excise on articles the consumption of which is associated with abuse."

Monsieur RATARD.—"I should like to observe that as regards opium prohibition, fiscal considerations have very great weight in certain countries. But it must not be imagined that a growing revenue derived from opium means any relaxation of the policy of regulation. On the contrary the result would be reduced consumption. In such countries as Java, and French Indo-China, the fact that the tax on opium is regularly increased practically takes the drug out of the reach of the native population."

Dr. ROSSLER suggested that the resolution under discussion should also for the present be withdrawn and reconstructed for further consideration.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT said that it would have been better in his opinion if the resolution had been previously discussed by a Committee such as the Chief Commissioner for Germany had proposed, but as that could not be done he hoped that the various delegations would reserve their opinions on this resolution until later. For the present he withdrew the resolution. He then moved the adoption of the third of the American resolutions.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"I should like to say in regard to this resolution that we accept in principle what is aimed at, and what we are prepared to do is to vote for a resolution which would recommend that each Delegation move its own Government to take measures for the gradual suppression of the practice of opium smoking in its own territories and possessions. We are of opinion that the practice of opium smoking is one which should be done away with. It is manifest to everybody, however, that you would require in different countries, where circumstances vary, different systems by which to carry out the object in view, and if it is acceptable to the Commission as a whole, then that principle is one which the British Delegation would be prepared to submit as an amendment to the resolution."

Chief Commissioner for Japan.—"I rise to express the opinion of the Japanese Delegation that from experience gained in Formosa the Japanese Government consider that the best way of dealing with the opium habit, i.e., the most practical way, is by gradual abolition, so that men and women addicted to the use of opium may break off their habit with least inconvenience to themselves. From experience gained, the Japanese Government is of opinion that gradual suppression is the only practical solution. Therefore, I agree with the Right Hon. Chief Commissioner for Great Britain in suggesting an amendment to Resolution No. 3 based on the principle of gradual abolition. Of course, should the American Delegation see their way to change the nature of their resolution we should be only too glad to accept it."

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT, speaking on behalf of his Delegation, said that he was willing to modify the resolution to meet the wishes of the other Delegations.

The Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands.—"I may mention that this Delegation has a resolution to offer which embodies the views expressed by the last speakers."

The Chair expressed the opinion that the last resolution might come under the same ruling as the two previous resolutions. This suggestion was accepted, and the resolution was withdrawn for modification.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT then moved the adoption of the fourth resolution.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH suggested that the words in the second paragraph of the resolution: "which continue to produce opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations" should be omitted. This would put the pressure not upon one country only but upon all countries. He also ventured to suggest to the United States Delegation that the paragraph in question should read ". . . it is the duty of all countries to adopt reasonable measures to prevent, etc."

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT accepted these amendments, and the resolution in its altered form was adopted unanimously by the House.

(Vote.—The Portuguese Delegation asked permission to reserve its vote on each and all of the resolutions.)

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT moved the adoption of the fifth American resolution.

The Chair drew the attention of the House to the fact that a similar resolution had been drawn up by the British Delegation.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—“A father generally approves of his own children, and perhaps I may be pardoned for saying that though we quite follow the points referred to in the resolution under discussion, we should prefer, and it would be more in order if I moved it as an amendment, the wording of our own resolution, with the words “to China” and “other” omitted. It would then read as follows:—

That the Commission finds that the unrestricted manufacture, sale and distribution of morphine already constitute a grave danger [to China], and that the morphine habit is already known, and shows signs of spreading, among [other] peoples in the East and elsewhere: the Commission therefore desires to urge strongly on all Governments that it is highly important that drastic measures should be taken by each Government in its own territories and possessions to control the manufacture, sale and distribution of this drug, and also of such other derivatives of opium as may appear on scientific enquiry to be liable to similar abuse and productive of like ill effects.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.—“We are quite willing to accept the resolution that has just been read in place of our own.”

Monsieur RATARD asked whether the words “the manufacture” were absolutely necessary.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH thought that the words should be retained.

H.E. Monsieur MIYAOKA suggested that the words “among people in the East and elsewhere” should be omitted.

This was agreed to, and the resolution as amended was adopted unanimously by the House when put to the vote.

The Commission adjourned at 12.30 p.m.

On re-assembling at 2.30 p.m., Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT moved the adoption of the sixth American resolution.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—“The first portion of this proposed resolution admits that each Government represented on this Commission is best able by its National Laws to control its own internal problem as regards the manufacture, importation and abuse of opium, yet lays down that no Government is wholly able by its laws to solve its opium problem without the assistance of other Governments.

“I think I am not going in the least degree too far when I say that the United States of America has solved its own problem in a most effective way. At any rate I think that the Act of Congress recently introduced, or rather the substance of the Act which has been communicated to this Commission, shows that the United States Government is entirely qualified to deal with the internal problem of their own country.

“I do not wish to press the matter,—I only wish to take that case as an illustration of the argument which I wish to urge upon this Commission. It appears to me that we are interfering or proposing to interfere in a way which our instructions do not allow of in the matter of internal administration, and that alone, to my mind, makes it almost impossible for us to fall into line with the American Delegation.

“With regard to certain words in the second portion of the clause I, must only confess that I fail to see how you can have concerted effort made by *each* Government represented in the Commission. I do not wish to criticise the language, but no doubt that language will be severely criticised by others.

“The principle which is aimed at in this resolution is a direct interference with the internal administration of a country, which I do not think it within our power to deal with, and on that ground alone I think it would be imprudent to accept the resolution which has been introduced by the American Delegation.”

Dr. WRIGHT.—“In the preamble I do not think that we wished to express that any Delegation has the right to interfere in the internal administration of a country; but, to take our own case, we are not able and will not be able to make the law effective unless we have assistance. I think everybody recognizes that. We frankly acknowledge in this resolution that our Government cannot solve its opium problem by its own national law, and think that the other Governments ought to help us; and I think the same remark applies to other countries. We would be perfectly willing to drop the word *each* before *Government* if the British Government would vote for this resolution.”

Monsieur MIYAOKA pointed out that the resolution under discussion was very similar to the one numbered “4” that had already been adopted by the House.

Several speakers concurred with this view, and Dr. WRIGHT eventually withdrew the resolution, as the question that it was intended to deal with was sufficiently covered by the two resolutions already adopted. He then moved the consideration of the seventh American resolution.

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH said that the instructions issued to the British Delegation were specific, and he felt great difficulty in going beyond them. He thought that it would be presuming on their position were they to suggest the speedy calling of an International Conference. That was a matter that should be left to the Governments concerned. Personally, he would not like to approach his Government telling them what they ought to do; and he felt that it was impossible to accept the resolution before them.

Monsieur RATARD having suggested that the resolution should be considered at some future date, Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT withdrew the resolution on that understanding.

On behalf of the American Delegation Dr. TENNEY brought forward the following as a separate resolution:—

Be it Resolved, that in the opinion of the International Opium Commission every nation which effectively prohibits the production of opium and its derivatives in that country, except for medical purposes, should be free to prohibit the importation into its territories of opium or its derivatives, except for medical purposes.

Dr. TENNEY said: “Mr. President.—It is a fortunate thing that the deliberations of this Commission have not been disturbed by the clashing of extreme and hysterical views on one side or the other of the opium question. We have met as sensible men to study the question in a sane and sober manner. The world knows and admits that opium and morphia constitute a danger that threatens the welfare of China, and no less that of other nations.

“The various Government regulations which we have been studying, whether prohibitive except for medical purposes, or merely restrictive, are all founded upon the premise, disputed by none, that the use of opium or its derivatives constitutes a danger to every state represented here. Beyond question it is the general opinion of the world that the use of opium or morphia enfeebles the will, diminishes the efficiency, and injures the characters of the people, and measures have been taken accordingly.

“Every nation represented at this Commission, with one exception, has a free hand to take such steps as it deems necessary to safeguard its people from the injury which results from the misuse of opium. But that one nation whose hands are not free is unfortunately the one which, in its own opinion as well as in that of all competent observers, has suffered most severely from the spread of the opium habit.

“Speaking for myself, a long residence in China has caused me to feel a profound sympathy for the Chinese people. I am not blind to the faults of the Chinese social and political organization, as, I trust, I am not blind to certain faults of my own nation; but I have real confidence in the general soundness of Chinese public opinion upon moral issues clearly brought before them.

"Our colleagues of the Chinese Delegation have presented a report upon the present condition of the nation in regard to the production and misuse of opium in the Empire. That report has been in many respects unsatisfactory both to them and to us. It has been quite impossible for our fellow Commissioners of China, as they have frankly admitted, to furnish us with accurate statistics from all parts of the Empire. Instead of such statistics they have only been able to give us *estimates*, made, I believe, by fair-minded observers of various classes and nationalities. They have been unable to prove to us that the officials and people of the different provinces and sections of the Empire are *all* actuated by the *same* degree of earnestness and sincerity in carrying out the reform movement inaugurated by the Imperial Government two years ago. The Chinese report, carefully studied, also reveals the incompleteness of the control exercised by the Central Government over the provinces, a difficulty which every American can appreciate, owing to our own experience of the many difficulties in carrying on the federal system of government which has been adopted in the United States.

"But while we admit the inadequacy and incompleteness in exact statistical data of the report which the Chinese Delegation has presented to us, it is still possible to form certain definite conclusions from it. I think there can be no doubt in the mind of anyone who has carefully studied the Chinese report that these three facts are fully established:

- 1.—The Imperial Government of China is thoroughly in earnest in the anti-opium reform movement.
- 2.—There has been a remarkable growth of public sentiment in favor of the eradication of opium.
- 3.—There has been very decided and satisfactory progress made in carrying out the Imperial Edict of 1906. With few exceptions the provincial authorities have run ahead of the Edict and have reduced the poppy acreage much more rapidly than the original Edict called for.

The comity of nations calls upon us to lend a helping hand to China in the gigantic task to which she has set herself. It is not easy to divert the minds of four hundred million people from the thoughts and cares that ordinarily engross them, and centre their thoughts upon a great moral reform. Those who think that the Chinese are a phlegmatic race, not susceptible to the influence of enthusiasm and emotion, and not responsive to appeals to the moral sense, do not know the nation. The Chinese like other nations are capable of earnest endeavor and great sacrifice under the spur of an awakened conscience, and as is the case with all other peoples it is hard to keep them for a long period of time on the heights of moral heroism and self-sacrifice.

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.

This wise saying of our great poet applies to those periods of moral awakening that come to all nations. It will be easier for China to rouse herself to one mighty effort to throw off the bondage of the opium habit than to persist in a long programme of gradual reform stretching over a term of years.

"The existing Treaties prevent China from exercising her right as a Sovereign Power to act for the protection of her own people. The consciousness of this limitation acts as a paralysis upon the minds of Chinese reformers. Rightly or wrongly it turns into pessimists multitudes who would otherwise be working with enthusiasm for the regeneration of their country. This I know by abundant evidence.

"Gentlemen, I wish to say clearly and deliberately that in our opinion it is a disgrace to modern civilization that such a condition should be allowed to continue.

"This resolution is not to be interpreted as a fling against Great Britain on the part of the American Delegation. Nothing is further from our thoughts. Action by all the Treaty Powers is necessarily involved if China is to enjoy her rights as a Sovereign State in dealing with the opium question. We fully appreciate the fine spirit which has been shown by the British Delegates and we hope it may be further exhibited by their supporting cordially this resolution. Such action as that which we urge would give China a fair opportunity to show that she is in earnest, that she can help herself; and if she can help herself friendly nations ought to help her. If she proves unable to help herself, then the blame rests solely on her own shoulders. If it is, as we believe, a question of duty, then this help ought to be given without haggling or demanding any *quid pro quo*. No honorable man tries to exact payment for doing what honor demands of him, or refuses to do what is right because it may cost him something. I am sure that each of us wishes his own nation to conduct its foreign policy on

the same principles that actuate the ideal man in his private relationships, and therefore we say that all the Governments of all the Treaty Powers should give China the "square deal" regardless of any possible temporary loss or inconvenience that it may cause them. Unquestionably a moral tide is now rising in China. Let us help the Chinese ship of state to take it at its flood and reach the harbor of national strength and prosperity!"

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN.—"The Chinese Delegation, whilst supporting the resolution just put forward by the American Delegation, intend to introduce a resolution similar in effect, although couched in different terms. We will, consequently, refrain from making any remarks now, but we wish to announce officially that we endorse every word that has just been uttered by Dr. TENNEY."

Monsieur MIVAOKA.—"May I ask Mr. T'ANG whether he is prepared that action should be taken on this resolution before us? I understood him to say that the Chinese Delegation intends to submit a resolution which though differently worded, embodies the same idea."

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN.—"As far as this resolution is concerned we are prepared to have it submitted to the Commission. Our own resolution is not of such a general character, but has special reference to China, and I do not think the two resolutions are likely to conflict with each other."

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"It would be exceedingly interesting to us to know whether the Chinese Delegation is speaking with the authority of its Government, or whether it is merely expressing the personal opinion of its Members upon Dr. TENNEY'S resolution."

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN.—"The Chinese Delegation submit that they are responsible to their Government for their actions. I do not think that, being representatives of a Sovereign Power, we should be called upon by a Member of any Delegation to state whence our authority is derived."

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"Then I will go at once to the root of the matter. As far as I understand, Mr. T'ANG, on behalf of the Chinese Delegation, supports this resolution which has been submitted to the Commission by Dr. TENNEY. The effect, which, of course, would not escape Mr. T'ANG, is an entire abrogation of Treaties. Whether the Chinese Government are prepared to accept that situation I, of course, do not know, nor am I prepared to say whether any Government would accept that position but, speaking from general knowledge, I think it would be amazing to suppose that any Power would agree for one moment to the repudiation of Agreements solemnly entered into. It is only necessary to make a statement to that effect to show the absolute absurdity of the situation, and I trust that this International Opium Commission will not for one moment allow itself to agree to any form of words which will be interpreted as meaning that nations can lightly break Treaties solemnly entered into by them."

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN.—"We had intended postponing the discussion of this point until to-morrow, but since the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH has brought it up, may I be allowed to say that it is not the intention of the Chinese Delegation, nor the intention of our Government, to go back upon their Treaties or Agreements, nor is it our intention to do anything or to say anything which might appear discourteous to the British Delegation: that would be farthest from our minds. However, we state here, and we have the authority of our Government for stating, that the ten years' arrangement entered into between Great Britain and China was, at the time, thought by us to be all that was required. But China did not have in mind never to bring up the subject for discussion. While I repeat, therefore, that we have no desire whatever to go back on any agreement, still we would appreciate any effort on the part of the British Delegation to further assist us by curtailing the period of importation into China; and it is with this view in mind that we have ventured to support the resolution brought forward by Dr. TENNEY. We do not come here to ask this as a matter of right. We are conscious of having entered into a compact with Great Britain to suppress opium in ten years by regular annual reduction, but, notwithstanding this agreement, we believe that we are not precluded from requesting the Powers whose Representatives are here assembled, and especially the British Delegation, to take our case into further

sympathetic consideration; and I may say that that is the spirit which has actuated us, and I believe that which actuates our Government in Peking. We have no instructions to go back on anything our Government has entered into; still our Government would appreciate any further concession which the British Government might see fit to make."

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"Mr. T'ANG has referred to the question of the ten years' agreement concluded between Great Britain and his Government, and if I properly understood him he stated that the Chinese Government was not quite satisfied with the arrangement?"

Mr. T'ANG.—"I beg to explain further that at the time when the agreement was made between China and Great Britain our Government was satisfied for these reasons. They were satisfied to have a definite period of ten years, as that was far better than any indefinite period; and they appreciated the generous spirit by which Great Britain agreed to reduce importation of opium into China. But, at the same time as it was a tentative step, there was a doubt in the mind of our Government as to the manner in which our people would assist in carrying it out. Therefore we thought that we would be on safe ground if we accepted the ten years' period. But certain circumstances have since arisen. Our people have responded beyond our expectations. The degree of success we have attained has astounded and surprised the world; and our people are all clamouring for the suppression of the opium evil in China. I may say that since this Commission has opened its Sessions, we have received dozens of telegrams from different parts of our Empire, the gist of which has been to request us to ask the British Delegation to make further concessions by allowing us to reduce the period from ten years to a shorter period. We have not troubled this Commission by having all these telegrams read, because their purport is in every case the same. We think we are justified in asking Great Britain to meet us half-way, and therefore we come forward to-day, sooner than we expected, to ask that the British Delegation may be good enough to entertain that proposal."

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"It appears to me that this is hardly the proper time to discuss a question pending between the British and Chinese Governments."

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"It is very important that there should be no misunderstanding in this Commission upon the situation as regards Great Britain and China. I have been astounded at the words which have fallen from Mr. T'ANG. He has refused to tell us point blank whether the utterances delivered to-day have been in accordance with the instructions of his Government. He indicated that since China entered into the agreement with Great Britain the circumstances have altered; and he takes upon himself the responsibility of absolutely denying the statement which has been made from Peking, delivered only in January, which was to the effect that China was entirely satisfied with the arrangement which had been come to, and did not wish it altered."

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.—"May I ask if that reply precluded the Chinese Delegation from bringing up the question and getting an expression of opinion?"

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"It appears to me that we are drifting into an examination of a diplomatic question between China and Great Britain. My understanding of the work of this Commission is that it is to be one of investigation from a scientific and material point of view."

"In a note dated November 15th, 1907, addressed by His Excellency Mr. O'Brien, Ambassador of the United States in Tokyo, to His Excellency Count Hayashi, then H.I.J.M.'s Minister for Foreign Affairs, the proposal of the United States was thus described:—

'To conduct a joint and impartial investigation of the scientific and material conditions of the opium trade and opium habit in the Far East, which affect the possessions and direct interests of those Governments' (*i.e.*, of the Governments of Japan, Great Britain, France, Germany, The Netherlands and China) 'in that part of the world.'

"I am of opinion that the discussion which has been going on with reference to the ten years' arrangement is out of order."

Dr. TENNEY.—"I confess I have much sympathy with the view which has just been expressed that the line of discussion which has been taken up is not appropriate to the words of the resolution before you, and is entirely unnecessary. The resolution reads (Dr. TENNEY here read the resolution again).

"I confess I am surprised that this has not been cordially supported by the British Delegation and by every Delegation here. How can any right-minded man object to the principle which is embodied here! Whether it affects any agreement between Great Britain and China or not has nothing to do with it. China may be able to effectively prohibit importation of opium in ten years or she may not, but whenever she is able to furnish proof that the production of opium has been effectively prohibited, would it not be grossly unjust for any nation to insist in forcing the drug on her."

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"I repeat that it appears to me as though we were entering into a diplomatic question. Not that I am opposed to this principle, which may be eminently just in itself, as Dr. TENNEY observes, but in view of the fact that it is one which has to be considered in the light of existing Treaty obligations, the question is whether this is the proper place in which to discuss it."

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"Of course the British Delegation entirely concurs with the remarks of the Chief Commissioner for Japan. This is not the place for discussing diplomatic engagements, and we would not have drifted into such discussion had it not been that the mover, in addressing us on the resolution, stated that it only referred to China and the ten years' agreement. But, as has been said by the Chief Commissioner for Japan, this is not a subject which can be dealt with by this Commission, and I demur at once to the statement made that it will be unjust to call upon China to follow out engagements entered into by Treaty. If Treaties or Agreements are to be treated as waste paper by any one Power I might say that we could get rid of all Agreements at once."

The Chief Commissioner for France stated that in his opinion it did not fall within the province of the Commission to examine questions which were of a diplomatic order between Great Britain and China. Consequently the French Delegation were of opinion that Dr. TENNEY'S proposal was outside the scope of discussion, and dangerous besides.

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"I beg to move that before a vote is taken on the adoption of the resolution before us a previous question be put as follows:—

'Whether the consideration of the resolution presented by Dr. Tenney for the American Delegation is within the scope of submission to this International Commission.'

Dr. TENNEY.—"I protest that this is a subterfuge."

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"I beg to ask the Chair whether Dr. TENNEY is in order in stating that the question moved by the Japanese Delegation is a subterfuge?"

The PRESIDENT ruled Dr. TENNEY out of order, and announced that the previous question was before the House.

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"In order that there may be no misunderstanding, I propose that, in the voting, "Aye" shall mean that the resolution is within the scope, and "No" that it is beyond the scope of submission to this Commission."

The result of the voting was as follows:—

<i>Aye.</i>	<i>No.</i>
United States.	Austria-Hungary.
China.	Netherlands.
Germany.	France.
	Great Britain.
	Japan.
	Persia.
	Portugal.
	Russia.

(The Siamese Delegation abstained from voting).

The PRESIDENT.—“In the judgment of the House the resolution is not in order in that it is outside the scope of submission to this Commission.”

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, on behalf of his Delegation, brought forward four resolutions, and moved the adoption of the first, as follows:—

That the Commission recognises the unwavering sincerity of the Government of China in their efforts to eradicate the production and consumption of opium throughout the Empire; the increasing body of public opinion among their own subjects by which those efforts are being supported; and the real, though unequal, progress already made in a task which is one of the greatest magnitude.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.—“May I ask first of all what the particular object of this resolution is?”

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—“We think that this Commission should let it be known to the world the view we take of the attitude of China.”

The resolution on being put to the vote was adopted unanimously.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH then presented the second resolution, which read:—

That the representatives of China in this Commission are unfortunately not yet able to produce reliable statistical evidence of the actual extent of the diminution in the production of opium; and the Commission also apprehends that in some respects this fundamental element of the problem of prohibition may present increasing difficulties: the Commission would accordingly strongly recommend that the different Governments interested should enter into negotiations with the Government of China with a view to the initiation of more systematic methods of dealing with the question of production.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—“I think it will be patent to all from the excellent speech which was made by Mr. T'ANG when he laid the report of China before us that there has not been in the past two years, since the Imperial Edict was issued, a statistical return which would enable any Government to form a definite opinion as to what has taken place in regard to the carrying out of that Edict; and I think we shall all recognise that this is a matter of importance in dealing with this question, more especially as it effects agreements with other countries, and that there should be a system introduced into China which will ensure their being official statistics upon which everybody can rely.

“The language of this resolution has been so framed, I trust, as not in any way to encroach upon the privileges which China enjoys as a sovereign Power.

“I trust it will be an expression from this Commission of the real importance of accurate statistical information, and that we think it is a proper subject for our Governments to bring to the direct notice of the Chinese Government. Without these statistics it is hardly possible for us to follow China in the task she has undertaken—a task which has been described by Mr. T'ANG himself as a gigantic one. All that we have in our minds is that we think our respective Governments can very properly urge upon China to get this information before the ten years have elapsed, and it is with that view that the British Delegation submits this resolution for adoption by the House.”

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—“As remarked by Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE, there would seem to be grave doubts whether the statistics in the Chinese report are of such a character as could be accepted by any Western Statistical Society. But if I am not greatly mistaken Mr. T'ANG clearly stated in explanation that in many cases the figures given were merely estimates, and did not claim to be statistical records. I hardly deem it proper, therefore, that we should pass judgment on the accuracy of these statistics.

“This is an International body composed of Delegates from all parts of the world,—from all continents except South America and Africa. That this Commission composed of Delegates from different countries having different traditions, different forms of administration, and different degrees of accuracy in taking statistics, that they should all combine in passing judgment upon the statistics which have been presented by the Chinese Delegates seems hardly proper. I must refrain from instituting comparisons of the reports submitted by the different Delegations, but I have no hesitation in saying that the area of investigation covered by the Chinese report was immense. China had the largest problem to report upon, and

in view of these facts I think that the Chinese Delegation is to be highly complimented on the work accomplished, and with your permission I tender them my hearty congratulations. It seems to me that it would hardly be correct to vote on a resolution which has the effect of passing judgment as to the value to be attached to the report of the Chinese Delegates.”

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN.—“The Chinese Delegation beg to thank His Excellency the Chief Commissioner for Japan for the kind words he has just spoken with reference to the difficulties they had to contend against in preparing their Report. With reference to the resolution before us, we consider it is couched in most reasonable and just terms, and we appreciate the fair manner in which the British Delegation criticises our shortcomings. No one is more sensible than we ourselves of our defects in statistical matters, but I might submit to the consideration of this honourable House that not only in China, but in India and all other countries where proper methods of land survey do not exist, the same confusion would be experienced. No one knows better than the honourable Member of the British Delegation, Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE, the confusion which exists at present in China in regard to the system of land survey, and therefore we need not dilate on the fact that it was impossible for us to produce satisfactory statistics. At the same time we do not deplore the less this chaotic state of affairs, and whether the resolution passes the House or not it shall be the duty of the Chinese Delegation to draw the attention of the Central Government to our present inadequate system for compiling of records, and it shall also be our duty to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that the lack of such proper statistics will give rise to a certain amount of difficulty when we come to adjust matters with Great Britain.”

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—“May I rise at once to express my high appreciation of what has fallen from Mr. T'ANG. I think from what he has said that the resolution is not at all necessary. We are quite satisfied with the assurance he has given to us that his Delegation will do as proposed, and, as it is a statement which will be duly noted in the Minutes, I would ask permission to withdraw the resolution.”

(Resolution withdrawn).

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—“As regards the next resolution, you will be aware that it is only putting into proper language the resolution which has been already adopted by this International Commission.

The resolution is:—

That as this Commission is not constituted in such manner as to undertake the investigation from a scientific point of view of anti-opium remedies and of the properties and effects of opium and its products, and deems such investigation to be of the highest importance, the Commission desires that each delegation shall recommend this branch of the subject to its own Government for such action as that Government may think necessary.”

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—“The discussion which took place on the 19th instant on the resolution which was presented on the 18th instant by the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH,—the discussion and the vote taken on that resolution disclosed the fact that a wide divergence of views existed regarding the work which is to engage the attention of this Commission. The proposal to submit the question to an investigation from a medical point of view having being rejected, it now remains for us to determine what shall be done, and it seems to me that nothing now remains but to urge the importance of having the question examined from a scientific standpoint by our respective Governments. I therefore beg to second this alternative resolution which I hope will be unanimously carried.”

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.—“Our Delegation would be quite willing to vote for this resolution providing some other word could be found for ‘scientific.’ We think that as it stands, considering that we have two eminent scientists on the Japanese Delegation who are concerned with the opium problem, the language might be modified in some way. We still think that the work of the Commission should have included scientific investigation, although we are willing to abide by the decision arrived at on the 19th February.”

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—“Might I point out to Dr. WRIGHT that what we say here is that this Commission is not constituted in such a manner as to undertake the investigation of this important subject. We have already heard from the French Delegation that they are precluded by their instructions from dealing with this matter from a scientific

point of view. Monsieur RATARD read his instructions which showed quite clearly that he is prevented from entering into an examination of the problem from a medical point of view. We are in exactly the same position. We have absolutely no instructions for dealing with the matter in that way. We do not for one moment imply that there are no medical men on this Commission qualified to report upon this phase of the question. What we say is that the Commission as a Commission is unable to deal with the question, and it is from that point of view that we have drawn up the resolution in the form in which it is now submitted."

Dr. RÖSSLER.—"I wish to make an amendment to this proposal. I move that the resolution shall be altered to read as follows:

"That this Commission deems an investigation from the scientific point of view of anti-opium remedies, and of the properties and effects of opium and its products to be of the highest importance: the Commission therefore desires that each Delegation shall recommend this branch of the subject to its own Government for such action as that Government may think necessary."

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"This Delegation which has two scientific men as its Members is prepared to admit that the Commission, as a whole, is not so constituted as to make an International scientific investigation possible. I am therefore prepared to vote on the original resolution. But if reference to the constitution of this Commission is to be expunged, and it is to be merely stated that this Commission deems scientific investigation to be of the highest importance, it may perhaps be better."

The Amendment was put to the vote, with the following result:—

Ayes.	Noes.
Austria-Hungary.	France.
China.	Great Britain.
Germany.	The Netherlands.
Japan.	Persia.
	Portugal.
	Russia.
	Siam.

(The United States Delegation abstained from voting).

After a suggestion by Dr. WRIGHT that the word *undertake* should be substituted by *permit* had been accepted by the mover, the original resolution was voted on with the following result:—

Ayes.	Abstain.
France.	United States.
Great Britain.	Austria-Hungary.
Japan.	China.
The Netherlands.	Germany.
Persia.	
Portugal.	
Russia.	
Siam.	

The resolution was declared carried *nem. diss.*

The following resolution originally put forward by the British Delegation, was withdrawn for re-consideration:—

That the Commission finds that the use of opium in any form otherwise than for medical purposes is held by almost every participating country to be a matter for prohibition or for careful regulation; and that each system of regulation now in force aims, as opportunity offers, at progressively increasing stringency. In view of the widely varying conditions prevailing in the different countries the Commission is unable to pronounce that any one system of regulation is decisively superior to others; but it would urge on the attention of the different Governments concerned the desirability of a re-examination of their systems of regulation in the light of the experience of other countries dealing with the same problem.

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"I beg to move an adjournment until 2.30 p.m. to-morrow. This will allow us time to hold the informal conference which has been proposed between my own and the American Delegation."

The motion was adopted, and the Commission adjourned at 4.40 p.m.

Minutes of the Twelfth Session

24th FEBRUARY, 1909

THE House was called to order at 2.30 p.m. The Chief Commissioner for Japan submitted a further reply to the question presented by Mr. R. LAIDLAW, M.P., during the fifth Session.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the Delegate for Russia found it impossible at the moment to present a report about the opium question as regards his country, but that it would be forthcoming later. On this there was some discussion as to the printing of the Minutes and the Reports. The PRESIDENT enquired whether it would not be possible to have them printed in Shanghai, and the SECRETARY was requested to obtain particulars as to cost, etc.

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN asked the Japanese Delegation to inform him what was the amount of Import Duty on Morphia entering the leased territories of Kuantung. An answer was promised for the next Session.

In reply to a question from the Chief Commissioner of the Netherlands, the Portuguese Delegation declared that no further information in connection with the opium question in Timor, beyond what had been already presented in the Report on Macao, could be obtained from the Portuguese Government.

The Chair stated that the business immediately before the House was the result of the Conference between the British and the American Delegations.

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"The Conference suggested by our colleague the Chief Commissioner for France took place this morning, when we had a thorough exchange of views on the various points dealt with in the resolutions which have been already submitted to the Committee. I need not delay bringing before the Commission the results of our Conference, but will at once state what are the resolutions which the American Delegation and the British Delegation beg to submit for the favourable consideration of the Commission:

1.—That in view of the action taken by the Government of China in suppressing the practice of opium smoking, and by other Governments to the same end, this Commission recommends that each delegation concerned move its own Government to take measures for the gradual suppression of the practice of opium smoking in its own territories and possessions, with due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned.

2.—That the Commission finds that the use of opium in any form otherwise than for medical purposes is held by almost every participating country to be a matter for prohibition or for careful regulation; and that each country in the administration of its system of regulation purports to be aiming, as opportunity offers, at progressively increasing stringency. In this connection the Commission recognizes the wide variations between the conditions prevailing in the different countries, but it would urge on the attention of the different Governments concerned the desirability of a re-examination of their systems of regulation in the light of the experience of other countries dealing with the same problem."

Continuing, Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH said "Should these resolutions meet with the approval of the Commission, I understand that the American Delegation will withdraw their first and second original resolutions, and in order that I may bring this matter before the House for discussion I beg to move the formal adoption of the first of the resolutions that I have read."

Mr. DE JONGH.—"The Delegation for the Netherlands quite agrees with the first resolution as it now stands, but would state that they intend to put forward another resolution with a wider scope later on."

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.—"I wish to put on record that the principle adopted by our Government is the principle of total prohibition, otherwise I vote for the resolution."

The PRESIDENT.—"The Chair would say there is no reservation whatsoever, but in giving their affirmative vote the American Delegation make the statement that they have adopted and cling to the principle of prohibition for all that appertains to the United States of America."

The resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously, the Portuguese Delegation alone reserving its vote.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH moved the adoption of the second resolution.

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN.—“I would like to enquire what was in the minds of the British and American Delegations when putting in the word *almost*? It appears to me that every nation participating in this Commission holds the view that the use of opium is a matter for either prohibition, or careful regulation, and therefore I do not quite see the necessity for the word *almost*.”

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—“Might I explain to the Chinese Delegate that at any rate there are two countries represented in this room which, as far as we understand, do not go as far as this resolution recommends, i.e., prohibition or careful regulation, and we have therefore thought it safer to put in the word *almost*. My friend Mr. POTIER had already reserved his vote on this matter, which indicates that Portugal is not prepared to go as far as recommended by the resolution.”

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.—“This resolution was drawn up on data presented to us in the various reports and that alone, and in accepting it we understood that there was no mental reservation in regard to any point in the resolution itself.”

The resolution was then read by the SECRETARY, and put to the vote. It was adopted unanimously: the Portuguese Delegation reserving its vote as before.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.—“The American Delegation withdraws from final discussion before this Commission its Resolutions Nos. 1, 2, 6 and 7.”

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—“May I ask Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT in what stage Resolution No. 3 now stands?”

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.—“That also is withdrawn.”

The CHAIR.—“There are before the House the resolutions put forward by the Netherlands and the Chinese Delegations. The first for consideration will be those by the Netherlands Delegation.”

Mr. DE JONGH.—“Mr. President: this morning the various Commissioners received in writing copies of our resolutions, but may I observe that after discussions between the Delegation of Great Britain and America, which I had the honour to attend this morning, I think it better to make some alteration in Resolution 1 as submitted in writing. These alterations have to be made in order to avoid the words *opium regime*. I intended to recommend that system because I think it is the best system, but I know there is some objection from the British Delegation, and to meet their opinion I think I can do no better than to make these alterations. Our first resolution now reads as follows:—

- 1.—Whereas, the total eradication of the use of opium within a few years is to be considered a high but at present an unattainable ideal, in order to check the use of opium much may be expected from taking systematic measures which are gradual in their effect, a careful practising of such measures requires the management of the opium business to be carried on in such a way that no person concerned in the management be interested in the amount of sale.

Be it Resolved:—

To recommend to the Governments of the countries where other systems prevail:—

- (a.) that it be decided in principle that the opium business in its entirety shall be managed in such a way that no person concerned in the management be interested in the amount of sale, and that the establishment of such a way of managing shall not be put off longer than the circumstances require;

- (b.) that disregarding the fact whether or no such a method has already been put in force, the following measures shall be taken at once for the purpose of restricting the use of opium:—

- (i) to make it clear to the European and native officials, who are able to influence the consumption, that Government is in earnest to check the same;
- (ii) not to allow anybody who makes use of opium to enter upon any office in the Government Civil Service, or in the Army and Navy;
- (iii) to impress pupils at school and grown-up people ever and anon with the evils resulting from the use of opium; in short to instruct national opinion to the purpose by every suitable means; in order to develop this anti-opium tendency, the aid should be called in of private Societies intending to promote the moral concerns of special sections of the population, should their objects and methods be found satisfactory;
- (iv) to prohibit the sale of opium to children;
- (v) to set forth publicly and to offer for sale at cost price any anti-opium medicine, in case a medicine should be discovered which contained neither morphia nor any other unwholesome ingredient;
- (vi) to maintain the forbidden areas—if existing—in the present compass and if feasible to increase them;
- (vii) to exclude special sections of the population from the use of the drug;
- (viii) to decrease the number of places of sale and divans, and to diminish the hours during which they may remain open;
- (ix) To enhance the retail price of opium.”

Mr. de JONGH proceeded to explain the reasons which had led his Delegation to bring forward this resolution. He particularly emphasized the necessity for devising measures which should prevent any person concerned in the management of a monopoly or farm from being interested in any degree in the sale of opium.

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN.—“In the first sentence of the preamble it is stated that the total eradication of the use of opium within a few years is a high but unattainable ideal. The Chinese Delegation does not think the word *unattainable* is proper in this connection. With regard to China we must say that the eradication of the use of opium within a few years is *not* unattainable. There are two sets of opinions with regard to this question. On one side there is such high authority as Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE, who expressed his firmest conviction when he said that China will not be able to accomplish this within ten years. We respect his opinion and we say that there is no opinion in China at present which can command a higher respect. At the same time we do not forget there is another opinion—the opinion of those who are supposed to know the conditions of China,—and that opinion is that China *can* accomplish the total suppression of the opium evil within a few years. We have therefore to judge between these two sets of opinions, both equally commanding respect and worthy of our belief. But I wish to bring to the attention of this Commission that the situation at present in China is most unique. The sentiment of the people has been stirred as it has never been stirred before during two thousand odd years of history; and as the Chairman has stated that sentiment rules the world so it rules China to-day, and we firmly believe that, where a people are convinced that a certain moral reform ought to be carried out, sentiment can overcome almost insurmountable difficulties. I daresay that two years ago, if the question had been put to Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE as to what China could accomplish in two years, he would hardly have dared to prophesy she could accomplish what she has done; and therefore considering what we have done during the last two years, what is there to prevent our accomplishing even more in the two or three years to come? The awakening sentiment in China is something astounding. The people heretofore have been slow to realise what concerns the welfare of the Empire. Now, to give an example of what we can do I have to state that we have recently received a telegram announcing that the opium divans that existed in Chengtu (China Report: page 18) have all been closed. In view of this fact I do not think we are justified in being too pessimistic, and, even supposing there was good ground to doubt the ability of China to fulfil her promises, I think we should give her the benefit of the doubt until she has proved her inability to accomplish what she has set out to do.”

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—“May I ask the Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands whether the resolution now presented by him is intended as an amendment to the first of those just adopted?”

Mr. DE JONGH.—“No, it is not meant as an amendment but as a resolution with a wider scope. Afterwards, perhaps, it would be possible to mould the two resolutions together. I think it should be the task of the Committee after all the resolutions have been adopted, to try and put them into such shape as will be acceptable, and I have no objection to changing my proposal—if necessary. It is not against the other resolution, but is meant to go in conjunction with it.”

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—“If that is the intention of the Netherlands Delegation I must confess that I find difficulty in reconciling the two for this reason, that, according to the resolution which has just been adopted regarding the gradual suppression of opium smoking in the territories of the Governments concerned, it is recommended that this Commission shall move its Government to take proper measures—in other words, to take measures which in their own judgment seem proper, after taking into consideration the various circumstances of each country concerned. But Resolution No. 1 of the Netherlands Delegation seems to lay down rules which each Government should follow, and I find it difficult to reconcile the principles upon which these two resolutions are based.”

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—“I desire to associate myself entirely with the remarks of the Chief Commissioner for Japan, and if he will allow me to say so I think he has struck a very serious defect in the proposal brought before the House by the Netherlands Delegation.

“The two are, as he says, incompatible, and on that ground alone we shall be unable to fall in with the Netherlands Delegation. But there are other grounds. The Netherlands Delegate wishes us, for instance, to lay down that no one connected with the opium business should be interested in the amount of sale. Now, if he will pardon me for referring to what took place at the Conference this morning, there is some misapprehension in his mind which tends towards supposing that it is absolutely impossible to be connected with the sale of opium without being interested in the price of it. In the Report of the States Commission which I mentioned this morning there is ample evidence to show that such is not necessarily the case. My friend the Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands also recommends to us in his resolution various measures which every civilised Government has already taken. Surely in 1909 it cannot be necessary to tell a Government not to appoint anyone who makes use of opium to any position in the Army or Navy. Then as to what is to be done in the schools: that everybody recognises as most important. Then again, the sale of opium to children: this has already been carried out, I should think, by every civilised country.

“With regard to the proposal to enhance the retail price of opium, is it not perfectly clear that if you enhance the price of opium beyond a certain point, the inevitable result is evil and not good? I trust, therefore, that on reconsideration my friend will not press these on the Commission, because to decline them will indicate that we are not in earnest in the steps that we have taken in this important matter. There is not a single civilised Government but is trying to do its best, and to pass such resolutions would indicate that Governments are not doing their best, and it is on that ground that not only shall I not support the motion but trust it will be thrown out by the Commission.”

Mr. DE JONGH, replying, said that he was still of opinion that some of the measures recommended in his resolution had not been generally adopted, and he was convinced that the enhancement of the retail price of opium would have a good result. He was quite willing to leave it to the House as to the form in which the resolution should be worded, but they wanted the world to know the practical work accomplished by his Government in Netherlands-India.

Dr. RÖSSLER.—“In view of the objections which have been lodged, I would like to propose that the resolution be withdrawn for the present and presented again—say perhaps—tomorrow in some form which would meet with the approval of the Delegations.”

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.—“May I state that I think our Delegation are in thorough sympathy with many of the suggestions made in this resolution. As far as the United States is concerned they have been put in operation by our national laws, and it seems to me that the details here expressed might be embodied as a general principle and left to the Governments concerned to put them into operation. I think this would be more acceptable, and I propose that the resolution be embodied in the records of the Commission as expressing the views of the Netherlands Delegation. It need not then be passed in the form of a resolution.”

This proposal met with the approval of the House, and the resolution, as such, was withdrawn.

The PRESIDENT observed that by being incorporated in the Minutes, the recommendations put forward by the Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands would be of value, and could be acted on by any individual Government.

Mr. DE JONGH moved the adoption of the second Netherlands resolution, which read as follows:—

2. —Whereas, smuggling of opium counteracts the various measures taken by different Governments for the purpose of checking the use of opium, the smuggling causes a great loss of Revenue to the Treasury, moreover it necessitates large expenses for the purpose of preventing the evil, it has a demoralising effect both on private people mixing up with that trade and on Custom House and Police Officers, experience has taught that the smuggling of opium, because of its great value in a small volume, is difficult to check by the means practised up to the present time by the various Governments individually, therefore the eradicating of the evil of smuggling should be striven after by action of the various Governments in common accord; such International action is possible only after the opium business everywhere has been taken under Government control;

Be it Resolved:—

to recommend to the various Governments, after having established such a system that nobody concerned in its management is interested in the amount of sale, to enter into diplomatic deliberations to the purpose that henceforth the wholesale trade in opium be allowed only between the Governments of opium-producing and opium-consuming countries and be forbidden to any private person.

The PRESIDENT.—“In the understanding of the Chair that is already covered by the first resolution adopted by this House, *viz.*, the fourth of the American resolutions. Will the SECRETARY please read that resolution.”

The SECRETARY having read the resolution, the Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands expressed the opinion that it did not cover everything contained in their resolution, which he again read.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT thought that as far as his Government was concerned the measures recommended in the resolution under discussion might mean a change in the Constitution.

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—“May I observe that this second resolution is also at variance with the principles on which the other resolutions are based. The other series of resolutions which we have voted on, and which have been accepted by the Commission, lay down some fundamental principles, the execution of which is left entirely to the Governments concerned. In this resolution it is recommended that the Governments shall act in a specific manner. If the Netherlands Delegation has no objection, I respectfully beg to suggest that the same course be followed with this as with the first resolution, *viz.*, that it be incorporated in the Minutes.”

The House approved of this proposal.

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN.—“Mr. President and Gentlemen of the International Opium Commission—I beg to submit herewith, in behalf of the Commissioners for China, their resolutions on the subject which has brought together this Commission. It is a fact too well known to need comment that China, greatly to her misfortune, is more deeply interested in the outcome of this Commission than any other Power. With most of you the opium habit is one of many problems which are before your country, and not perhaps among the most important. With us, on the other hand, it is one of the most acute moral and economic questions which as a nation we have to face.

“I wish to make clear in the very beginning that we realise that at last it is a question the solution of which depends on us and on us alone. However much help we may have from others, the largest part remains to us. We must work out our own salvation. Our Government—

Imperial, provincial, and local—is aware of this, and the people, from the highest to the lowest, with a clearness which we could hardly have expected in the present condition of general education, have definitely arrived at the same conviction. I would not have you think, Sir, that China comes to this Commission in a spirit of impotence, crying to the world to rid her of a foe with which she had not the moral strength and courage to do battle. We understand the enormous difficulties; we have counted the cost; we are determined to rid ourselves of this curse. And yet, however fully we realise our own responsibility, and whatever proportion of the task of eliminating from our midst the improper use of opium is ours and ours alone, we should be blind indeed did we not take new courage and inspiration from this gathering and from the action of your respective Governments which has made this Commission possible, for there can be no doubt that international action and co-operation are essential to a successful dealing with the question. And with China in particular the question is so large and has such wide ramifications that our own efforts, however earnest and determined, have their complete success conditioned upon the co-operation of other nations. We are especially glad to meet here the representatives of Great Britain, which, next to China, is perhaps most interested in this problem. Since the days of Lord Shaftesbury, that name which illumined the pathway for so many world-wide schemes of philanthropy and reform, the delicate and difficult task of the abolition of the opium traffic has commanded the time, thought, and practical efforts of some of your greatest men. More and more will China claim, by right of her large indebtedness to them, a part in the glory of such names as Lord Morley, Sir Joseph Pease, Alexander, Broomhall, and Taylor. The labour of such as these culminated last year in that splendid action of Parliament reaffirming its conviction that the Indo-Chinese opium trade is morally indefensible, and requesting His Majesty's Government to take such steps as may be necessary for bringing it to a speedy close—an action where every consideration of prudence and convenience are buried beneath the moral aspect of the question. I doubt whether parliamentary action of any Government has ever reached a higher moral elevation. It lifts perforce all subsequent discussion of the subject into the clear air of this attitude. The manifest sympathy with which the proposals of the Government of China during the past two years for the regulation of the traffic have met with from the British Government has been one of the greatest encouragements to China in dealing with this question. The calling of this Commission by the President of the United States is but one of the many marks of disinterested friendship on the part of that Government. Moreover, the earnest and effective way in which the American Government is dealing with this question in her own borders not only offers a model to China, but insures her sympathy with us in our attempt at the solution of the same problem on an infinitely larger scale. Let me express also my appreciation of the presence of the delegates from Germany. It is from Germany pre-eminently, with her spirit of scientific exactness and research, that we have the most authoritative revelations of the effects of opium upon the human system. We know that the friendship of Germany for China puts the results of your incomparable laboratories and learned investigators at our disposal. And to Japan, our nearest neighbour and closest of kin, who has so successfully turned back the wave of disaster which has wellnigh overwhelmed us, who has even succeeded in regulating the traffic in Formosa, where it had a strong hold, to you I turn with especial confidence in your co-operation. To France and Russia, also, that duumvirate which has been the mainstay of peace in Europe for nearly a quarter of a century, we desire to express our feelings of appreciation for their sympathy in our struggle for reform. Time fails me to name each of those Powers which have expressed a willingness to co-operate with us in dealing with the opium question. I should, however, not only be recreant to my duty but should misrepresent my colleagues and my country if I did not pause to express China's deep gratitude for this unselfish interest. I wish to express also our gratification at the unanimous and spontaneous recognition on the part of other countries of the sincerity of China's intention in her recent efforts to exterminate this evil.

"In dealing with a question with so many and such far-reaching relationships, motives may easily be misinterpreted, and the fact that there has been no disposition whatever to do this augurs well for the successful outcome of the efforts of this Commission. There were not a few, to be sure, Chinese as well as foreigners, who at first doubted the ability of China to grapple successfully with this evil in her own borders. This, however, should not occasion surprise. The curse was so widespread, the difficulty of breaking the opium habit is so great, the clandestine use of the drug is so easy, and the difficulties so baffling and enormous, that it is not strange if anyone should have conceived success to be impossible. To these doubts, however, the national sentiment against opium has proven an effective answer. Of the strength, genuineness, and widespread dissemination of this sentiment there can be no question. The determined action taken by the Throne in September 1906, and the loyal co-operation

and energetic measures of such Viceroys as Their Excellencies Tuan Fang, Hsi Liang, Yang Shih-hsiang, and Hsü Shih-chang are indicative of the official attitude; but more encouraging than the determination of the Imperial or provincial authorities has been the response on the part of the people.

"Heretofore the arousing of public sentiment on any question has seemed almost an impossible thing in China. Foreign wars have been conducted and peace concluded without arousing any considerable interest from the people in large sections of the Empire. Reforms have interested a few, but only a few; or some section, but only a section. This is the first question which can be said to have aroused intense interest from one end of the country to another. All classes of people—officials, scholars, gentry, farmers, and the humblest labourers have united in the determination to see the land freed from this curse. It is in this aroused public sentiment that our greatest hope of ultimate success lies. Many have wondered how we should deal with the grave fiscal question which will be incurred by the loss of the large revenue from opium. Were not the people so thoroughly determined, this difficulty might easily block the way of the reform; but with public sentiment as it is at present, any taxes which might be suggested to or by the Honourable Commission as being necessary to make up any deficiency of revenue will be gladly submitted to if it is connected in their minds with freedom from opium. Every day of further study into the question on the part of the Chinese Commissioners—and we have not failed to face unflinchingly the difficulties—has more deeply convinced us that China can speedily and completely stamp out this evil if she has the co-operation of the other civilised Powers.

"I have said 'speedily,' Mr. President, with intention, because the experience of the past two years convinces us that under the present circumstances speed in the extermination, instead of increasing the difficulties, will minimise them. Public opinion is now at a high pitch; the determination of the people is roused to a high degree. It is a well-known fact that such an intensity is difficult to maintain over an extended period. The public mind cannot be kept centred for a long period of years upon a single reform. When a people is ready to abolish an evil, it should be done as soon as possible. Delay increases difficulties immeasurably. It has often been said, and rightly, that legislative regulation should not go too far ahead of public opinion; it may with equal truth be urged that it should not lag too far behind. Neither must the actions of the Government be different from the wishes of the people, for any such difference will have the effect of augmenting the difficulties of control, and the loss of control might entail serious discontent and disturbance, which, again, might bring about international interference and complications.

"I shall not yield to the temptation to describe the effects of opium in China. The leaders of the Chinese people look upon it as a dangerous foe to our very existence as a nation. Every instinct of self-preservation cries out against it. The past few years have brought some strange and notable apologists for opium—some strange and notable apologists for China as an opium-using country. Would that we Chinese, who are best in position to know the facts, could follow them with conviction! Would that we could dispel the sternness of the facts with this softness of speech!

"But go with me, gentlemen of this Commission, over that broad and once fair stretch of Western China, where the ravages of the curse have been most evident—the provinces of Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow, Kansu, and Shensi,—an area comprising a large proportion of the eighteen provinces. Visit the dismal and wretched hovels, which, were it not for opium, would be happy homes; see the emaciated, depraved multitude of victims to this vice; observe the abject poverty,—and notice for the cause of it all the wide fields once covered with waving gold of ripening grain now given over to the cultivation of the poppy.* Read what Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce says on Kansu: 'One blot, and that no small one, lies on the people of Western Kansu. It is that men and women are, to a fearful extent, habitual and confirmed opium smokers.' Monseigneur Otto, Catholic Bishop of Kansu, who has spent thirty years of his life in China, reckons six men out of every eight of the population as confirmed in the habit.

"The economic burden imposed upon China by the use of opium has now become almost unbearable. As is shown in our report, a conservative estimate of the annual production of native opium for 1906 is 584,800 piculs; this we may value at Tls. 220,000,000. To this must be added for imported opium Tls. 30,000,000, taking the value of the importation for 1905; this gives us a total expenditure in cash on the part of the Chinese for opium of Tls. 250,000,000. The land now given over to the production of opium, were it planted with wheat or other more useful crops, would yield an annual return of, let us say, at least Tls. 150,000,000. This sum, added to the loss of Tls. 250,000,000 mentioned above, means that the cultivation of opium costs the nation Tls. 400,000,000 a year. To estimate the loss to the

country in the earning capacity of the victims of the opium habit is more difficult. Our investigations have convinced us that there are 25 million men in China addicted to the use of opium. This number, unfortunately, includes many from among the more highly productive classes; but if we suppose their average earning capacity, were they not addicted to the habit of opium, to be one-fifth a tael a day, and that this is reduced one-quarter by their use of opium, we have here a daily loss to the nation of Tls. 1,250,000, or an annual loss of Tls. 456,250,000. If there is added to this the items which I have mentioned above, we have a total annual loss to China of Tls. 856,250,000. It is needless for me to call your attention to how ill-prepared we are as a people at the present stage of our industrial development to bear such a burden as this. No account is here taken of the capital loss involved.

"This economic loss affects not only China but all of the leading nations of the world. We live in the era of improved transportation, which means an era of increased foreign trade. Within the past 28 years the world's foreign trade has grown from Gold \$2½ *per capita* to Gold \$14. While China's trade has been backward, she has not failed to feel the impulse of this world movement. In 1867, when the Chinese Customs statistics assumed their present shape and furnished the first data for comparison with the present, the value of China's imports was less than 69½ million taels; in 1905 it was over 447,000,000 taels, an increase of more than sixfold; and yet the foreign trade of China is still lamentably small. The imports of China *per capita* are about 2s. 5d., while those of Japan are 15s. 10d.—nearly seven times as much, and of the United States about 30 times as much *per capita*. There is no part of the world in which there is a field for such an enormous extension of foreign trade as is presented to-day in China. In fact, who can estimate the influence upon the trade of the world when China comes to her own commercially and industrially? If the world sold to each Chinese as much as it does to each Japanese, it would receive 3 billion taels annually from China.

"There has been a conspiracy of causes to hamper trade of China. Our lack of adequate means of transportation, the influence of the *likin* tax, the comparatively small number of open ports, and other causes, might be mentioned; but it is interesting to note that already these factors are gradually passing away, leaving, however, two powerful hindrances to the growth of our foreign trade, namely, the productive inefficiency and the poverty of the Chinese people—two factors which for the present purpose we may count as one, factors which are enormously aggravated by the opium evil. The conditions surrounding China's foreign trade to-day and that of 50 years ago are essentially different: then the Chinese demanded little from abroad except opium and silver. The problem was not so much to find what the West wanted from China; as what China wanted from the West. Even cotton goods, which to-day form 44 per cent. of China's imports, were scarcely demanded at all by the Chinese people, and the Empire, was practically non-existent. To-day the demand for foreign goods has reached the utmost limits of the Empire, and with improved transportation might have an almost boundless expansion, had the Chinese either money or goods to give in return. The balance of trade is, however, a sad commentary upon our productive inefficiency. The excess of imports over exports during 1903 was 31 per cent., a fair average of the past few years if we except 1904 and 1905, when it reached the alarming figures of 43 per cent. and 95 per cent. respectively. The range and extent of China's wants have grown enormously; the severest drain upon her ability to satisfy those wants is the opium habit.

"Now, Sir, place in the columns of China's foreign trade what is being lost to the nation from the use of opium—only this, and nothing more. We then offer to the world a commercial prize worthy of the most strenuous endeavours of all nations. When one faces the possibilities of China's future trade, how insignificant does the value of the opium traffic seem. When this trade formed 46 per cent. of China's imports, as it did in 1867, there might have been plausible, though false, arguments in favour of protecting it; but to-day, when it forms only 7½ per cent. no such arguments can be urged. No greater commercial folly can be imagined than that of fostering what is at present 7½ per cent. of China's foreign trade at the expense of the almost infinite expansion of that trade. In fact, there can be no doubt about it, the opium traffic is *economically*, as well as morally, indefensible. Of course, there are special interests which must suffer from any such change as will come from the abolition of opium, and we may expect from those who are blind to anything larger than the loss of their immediate gain every effort to cloud the issue; but as we look at it in the mass there can be no doubt of the facts: opium is an economic loss to the world too great to be further endured. Moreover, there is another fatal influence which opium has upon trade which cannot be put into the columns of statistics. Rightly conceived, commerce is a blessing, not a curse. Queen Elizabeth well put this in her first message to the Emperor of China, when she said, 'By intercourse and traffic no loss, but rather most exceeding benefits, will redound to the princes and subjects of both kingdoms, and thus help and

enrich one another.' And she sent forth her ships, as she beautifully said, 'For the greater increase of love and commerce.' But inject into trade that which makes commerce a curse instead of a blessing, which makes it spread poverty instead of wealth in its wake, and you have not only placed an inhibition upon trade itself, but have furnished a fruitful cause of misunderstanding and prejudice.

"When we consider, therefore, how vitally and directly the trade of each one of the great commercial Powers is affected by the results of our battle with this great curse, we feel the more justified in expecting a large degree of international co-operation.

"The opium evil is in another sense a question of international import. For several decades the great Powers of the world have rightly been concerned as to the progress of reform in China. The history of the diplomacy of the past few years reveals how deeply the statesmen of the world feel the menace of an enfeebled or decadent China, and with what hopefulness they look towards China as a vigorous, modern State. This solicitude on the part of other nations is not unnatural; the relationship between nations has become so close that the cause of reform in China is of world-wide importance, and the cause of reform in China is indissolubly connected with this question of opium. As has been well stated by a foreign observer, 'Whenever any progressive wave of opinion has burst upon China, the abolition of the opium habit has been in the forefront.' To fail therefore to take full advantage of the present anti-opium sentiment throughout the Chinese Empire, directing it and enabling it to culminate in some successful achievement, is the most effective possible blow to the reform and progressive element in China, a blow from which there can be no speedy recovery.

"And still, again, this is an international issue, because China's relationship with the rest of the world is vitally affected by it, and by relationship here I mean the larger and even more important relationship than that of foreign trade. There has been for not a few years in China a body of men who have deprecated their country's isolation, because they saw clearly its lamentable consequences. This small body of men within the past five years has multiplied more than a thousandfold. At last we see China upon the threshold of a new life and a new relationship with the rest of the world. And yet no one who has looked much into the matter can doubt that the opium habit and the opium traffic stand as a great menace to China's coming into this new relationship of friendship and understanding with the rest of the world. By every argument, therefore, which has been used to induce China to discard the old policy of exclusion, by every act of kindness by which our integrity has been preserved and our very national existence maintained during the perilous period of the past 50 years, we may invoke the co-operation of the other civilised Powers in our determination to free ourselves from the curse of opium.

"And, Sir, I may confess that it is not only as a barrier to keep us from entering into the brotherhood of the modern and progressive nations that we deprecate this curse, but also as a thing which will prevent our being worthy of this brotherhood. For while we were slow to realise our isolation and its lamentable cost, now that we do realise it I hope that I may be pardoned for saying that our endeavours to prove ourselves worthy of our new place have not been inconsiderable. A great student of world conditions has recently declared in London that 'China has made greater progress in the last five years than any other country of the world.' Another publicist has said that China has changed more in the past three years than in the preceding three thousand. Even if these statements may be open to the charge of some exaggeration, no one acquainted with the magnitude of the task which three years ago presented itself to us—a mass of 400 millions of people—to move, millenniums of entrenched social customs to change, an ignorance of the life upon which we were entering almost colossal, a lamentable lack of equipped leadership,—no one acquainted with these things, I say, can be insensible to the fact that the achievements which have been wrought, although very imperfect in themselves, are proof of a deep and widespread desire on the part of the people of China to have her take her place among the modern States. The change in our educational examination system, the modern college rising on every hand from the ashes of the long-cherished system, our young men going literally by the thousands to the ends of the earth to gain knowledge, our princes and high officials on tours of investigation in Europe and America, our beginnings in railway construction, mining and modern manufactures, and our plans for a constitutional government, can have but one interpretation. We are committed to the path of progress and reform. The day of exclusion and isolation is, we trust, in the past. We have progressives and conservatives, to be sure; but our conservatives of to-day would have been considered radicals 15 years ago. From east to west, from north to south, throughout all of our borders, we are making ready for the new life and its new responsibilities. For may I be pardoned if I confess that we have an ambition not to be altogether unworthy of our new station. This ambition is an inheritance from our fathers. We cannot deny a

degree of pride in the part which the China of their day played in the civilisation of Eastern Asia. In those days of poor transportation and comparative national isolation the influence of every land was much restricted in its scope, and yet the laws, literature, and institutions of China cast their spell over Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, Japan, Tibet, Assam, Siam, Cochin-China, and were felt even in Burma and India. This I say with no spirit of idle boasting; I am too sensible of how unworthy we of the present China have accepted the high obligations of the past, how we have dimmed the glory of our inheritance; but I mention it to explain how great is our aspiration now to play a high part in the brotherhood of nations, a higher part in the brotherhood of nations, a higher part than can be played by men of enfeebled bodies, enslaved will, broken pride, and weakened moral character.

"China looks, therefore, to the fullest co-operation of all of the civilised Powers in her attempt to throttle the opium evil. It trusts that such restrictions of the existing treaties as may be found to hamper her efforts in dealing with this question may not be used to this end.

"And, finally, Mr. President, may I say that China joins the other Great Powers in looking upon the opium habit as a great moral issue and approves heartily of making the moral influence of opium a special feature of the Commission's inquiry. I make no apology for having dwelt upon the economic and other results of the opium traffic: such results must demand the most careful consideration; but we are not insensible of the fact that it is by none of these considerations primarily that the question is ultimately to be settled, nor is it by this standard that our actions as a Commission will be judged. Our considerations offer no place on the one hand for shallow sentiment or emotionalism, neither on the other hand any for opportunism. We shall agree that it is not right to speak of moral issues as coming under the denomination of sentiment. No investigation will command confidence which fails to take full account of the influence of opium, not only upon the resources of the country, but also of its baneful effects upon the bodies, minds and most of all the character of men; and it is in dealing with it as a moral issue that there lies the fullest hope of our success. It is as such that it has aroused the attention of the Chinese people. Read the Chinese press, hear the speeches at the anti-opium meetings, study the present anti-opium movement where you will, and you will see that its appeal is a moral and patriotic appeal. The agitation seems to prophesy a mighty revival in national righteousness, reaching into every avenue—political, social, and commercial. With all of the shortcomings of China's old educational system it had this to commend it, that it insisted upon a thorough study of the ethics of Confucius and Mencius, and the result is a large fund of moral sentiment. This is our greatest force in entering into this contest, and outside of China also one is conscious of that mighty force, greater than the world's combined navies and armies, greater than the power of all the world's gold and silver—the Christian conscience. With these forces behind us we may enter with confidence into what may be rightly called one of the greatest moral crusades of the twentieth century, for whatever laws the nations of the world may decide to adopt towards each other, we may not forget that there is a law higher than all human laws, a law greater than all economic laws, a law that transcends even the law of nature, and that is the eternal law of Heaven, which, through Confucius, says, 'Do not unto others what thou wouldst not have others do unto you,' and which, through Jesus Christ, says, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'"

The resolutions submitted by the Chinese Delegation for the consideration of the International Opium Commission were as follows:—

1.—That the Commission recognising the earnest desire of the Government and people of China to eradicate the production and consumption of opium throughout the Empire and acknowledging that certain progress has already been made in this direction, agrees to recommend that, in order to assist China to solve the great task she is attempting as expeditiously and as effectively as possible, all the Delegates who are assembled in this Commission should urge their respective Governments to promise their co-operation and readiness to reduce the importation of opium into China *pari passu* with the reduction of the cultivation of the poppy within her own borders.

2.—That the International Opium Commission strongly urges all Governments possessing Concessions or Settlements in China, which have not yet taken effective action toward the closing of opium divans and opium-shops in the said Concessions and Settlements, to take steps to that end on the lines already adopted by several Governments.

3.—That the International Opium Commission strongly urges all Governments possessing Concessions or Settlements in China to take the necessary steps to prohibit the sale in the said Concessions or Settlements of any form of anti-opium medicine containing either opium or morphia or any of their derivatives, except on qualified medical advice.

4.—That the International Opium Commission recognizes the immense harm now being done to the people of China by the use of morphia for injecting purposes and recommends to the various Governments taking part in this Commission the urgent need of the immediate enactment of laws prohibiting the importation of, and sale of, morphia and its derivatives, or hypodermic syringes, by any of their subjects or citizens in China, except the sale to duly qualified medical practitioners for medical purposes only. The Commission also recommends that the laws enacted shall provide for the adequate punishment of such subjects or citizens contravening their stipulations, and that it be distinctly understood that the unauthorised possession of morphia and its derivatives or hypodermic syringes, is to be considered *prima facie* evidence of guilt.

On the motion of Dr. TENNEY the discussion of the Chinese resolutions was deferred until the next sitting of the House.

Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE having presented the report of the Committee appointed to investigate into the question of poppy cultivation and the production of opium, the Commission rose at 5 p.m., the next Session being fixed for 10.30 a.m. on the 25th February.

Minutes of the Thirteenth Session

25th FEBRUARY, 1909

THE business of the Commission commenced at 10.30 a.m. The PRESIDENT read a letter which he had received from the Delegate for Italy, who regretted that he was still unable through illness to attend. A communication was also read from Mr. Charles B. Towns, who had placed a formula for the cure of victims of the opium habit in the hands of the President.

Dr. TENNEY read the summary of a report submitted by the Committee on existing National Agreements covering the Opium Traffic. The Chief Commissioner for Portugal pointed out that the Agreement between Portugal and China for controlling the opium trade at Macao was not included in the Committee's report, and the Chair directed that this omission should be rectified.

The Chinese resolutions then came up for discussion.

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"We listened, I need hardly say, with very great interest and, I might add, admiration to the particulars delivered to us yesterday by Mr. T'ANG, and I trust I may be allowed to say a few words in connection with the first of the resolutions before us:—

"I am obliged, after the line which we have already taken on this subject, with the approval of a large majority of the House, to take exception to this resolution on the point of order: and in strictness, that being our intention I ought, perhaps, to refrain from saying more. But I believe that in the special circumstances of this renewed appeal, I shall have your permission and the indulgence of the House in adding some further observations, which I hope will soften the possible appearance of harshness in our refusal to join in a discussion which has now been raised on two occasions.

"Our position is simply this: that it is impossible for the British delegates, unless specifically instructed in that sense, to discuss with representatives of China a matter which has been the subject of diplomatic negotiations between the two countries, and still less permissible for us to acquiesce by our continued presence here in such discussion by third parties. No such instructions have been communicated to us, nor could there, in our judgment, be any reasonable expectation in any quarter that such instructions would be given, seeing that of the thirteen Powers represented here only two are directly and practically concerned in the matter with which this resolution really deals.

"I trust, therefore, that in spite of our adherence to a position from which it would be presumption for us to depart, the Chinese delegates will remain satisfied that we have not withdrawn, at this late stage of the proceedings of the Commission, from the sympathetic standpoint which we assumed at the outset and have sought to maintain throughout: and will

remember that this is the standpoint of our own Government from whom, in the inception of her great task, China obtained an immediate and spontaneous assurance of support, and afterwards, in its execution, an active practical co-operation which have counted and will count for infinitely more than any irresponsible pronouncement to which we might commit ourselves in this place."

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"With the permission and indulgence of the Commission, I beg to express the sense of sincere satisfaction with which this Delegation has heard the most sympathetic statement from the British Delegation. I am sure that the Chinese Delegation has the entire sympathy of the various Delegations here present in the gigantic task which she has undertaken, and no statement of profound sympathy is more welcome than that from the British Delegation. I therefore beg to express the sincere satisfaction with which this Delegation has heard the declaration of the Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH."

Mr. T'ANG.—"After the kind words which have fallen from the Right Hon. Chief Commissioner for Great Britain, the Chinese Delegation does not insist upon putting the first resolution to the vote of this House; nevertheless we wish to have it put on record that it is the desire of the Government and people of China to have the abolition of the opium evil effected as quickly as possible. It was hoped that in view of the universal sympathy manifested for China,—in view of the almost universal recognition of our earnestness and progress in this moral reform,—that the British Delegation might see their way to recommend to their Government a speedier measure for the abolition of the opium evil, thereby placing China under a still greater debt of obligation to Great Britain. Hitherto the complaint has been that China was unwilling to take up the matter of opium reform—that she was too fond of the revenue derived, and that she would not assume the leadership in starting this opium campaign; but having now assumed the leadership and striven her utmost to carry out this reform, we think that we were justified in hoping that Great Britain would not only follow us but maybe surpass the lead that China has assumed. It was with these hopes that we put forward this resolution, but we are now prepared to withdraw it under the assurance which has been expressed by the Right Hon. Commissioner for Great Britain."

Mr. T'ANG moved the adoption of the second Chinese resolution.

Monsieur RATARD rose, on behalf of the French Delegation, to enquire if the Chinese Government had issued orders for the closing of opium-shops, and not only of divans. He had to inform the Chinese Delegation that in Kuangchowwan his Government had a contract with the opium farmers which would last until the end of the year 1911: until that date it was impossible for his Government to accept any suggestion to break such contract. He suggested that the words *opium-shops* should be deleted, and the words *as soon as they may deem it advisable* inserted after the words *to that end*.

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"In connection with the resolution which is now before us, I beg to make a statement in reference to Antung, regarding a passage which occurs in Mr. Leech's report contained in the British Parliamentary paper, China No. 1. In that report it is stated that there are any number of Japanese divans in Antung. I am very glad to be able to give categorical assurance in the presence of the various Delegations here present that every one of the opium divans, with which any Japanese subject had any connection whatever, has been strictly forbidden and closed."

Mr. T'ANG.—"In support of our Resolution No. 2, may I be allowed to make some remarks. Before doing so, however, I would like to answer the question put by the French Delegation as to whether we have closed all opium-shops as well as opium divans. The words *opium-shops* appear by mistake in the resolution and should be struck out. Our Government is well aware that so long as the opium habit has not been given up, the closing of opium-shops will be impossible, and that the closing of opium-shops must be effected concurrently with the abandonment of the opium habit. What was in the mind of the Chinese Delegation when drawing up Resolution No. 2 was to request those Governments which had opium-divans in their Concessions to take speedy steps to close them, and perhaps with the permission of this House we may be permitted to advance one or two arguments in favour of our proposal. I think on a previous occasion the French Delegation was good enough to give two reasons, as propounded by the French Municipality in Shanghai, for the temporary continuance of opium-

divans in the French Concession. I think that these reasons were not taken into serious consideration by this House. You will remember that these reasons were, firstly, that the closing of opium divans would force the people to smoke in their own houses, and that, as a consequence of such step, the number of opium lamps would be greatly augmented, and the danger of fires increased thereby. According to the statistics of insurance companies which we have taken the trouble to obtain, we find that the number of fires caused by the ignition of opium lamps is practically *nil*. It is well known that opium smokers use a very slow burning and entirely unflammable oil, and therefore the danger of fire from opium lamps is more imaginary than real. I need not take up any more time of this House by further statements to repudiate the pertinency of the arguments brought forward. I might, however, with the permission of the French Delegation, draw attention to the fact that in their Report, page 4, they state that on June 19th, 1907, a Government proclamation was issued forbidding the opening of opium divans throughout the territory of Annam and Tonkin, and laying down that no new divans should be authorised in Cochin-China and Cambodia. If there were valid reasons for forbidding the opening of opium divans in Tonkin it appears to me that the same reasons might apply to the French Concessions in China, unless our friends the French Delegation can adduce evidence showing the difference of conditions in Cochin-China and Tonkin from those prevailing in Shanghai. It appears to the Chinese Delegation that in considering a moral issue of this kind we ought to look facts squarely in the face, and not delude ourselves in any way; that in deciding a matter of such momentous importance, we should not allow ourselves to clog the issue by private interests. I might add that the existence and the continuance of opium divans in the French Settlement is exerting a very discouraging effect upon certain sections of our people; that the news of the fact is being conveyed by the Chinese Press to the farthest corner of our Empire. The fact that all other Governments have ordered the closing of public divans in their Concessions, whilst the French Government has reasons for continuing them for a further period is, I repeat, exerting a very discouraging affect, and we, therefore, beg their sympathetic co-operation. We appeal to their sense of international justice and fair play, and hope that our appeal will not be in vain."

Monsieur RATARD said that it was very difficult to give a complete reply to Mr. T'ANG'S statement. He wished to declare, however, that as soon as the Anti-Opium movement began in China, immediate steps had been taken by the French Municipal Council to prevent the issue of any new licences in the Concession. Moreover, the tax had been doubled, the effect being to diminish the number of couches by 30 per cent during the first year. They were determined not to tolerate the opening of more dens, in spite of the fact that more were being opened, if rumour was correct, in the Chinese city. They would completely suppress opium divans in the French Concession. They had engaged to do it, but they wished to be assured that China herself was in earnest. They were ready to take all measures which might aid China in eradicating opium, but they wished to do it thoroughly. He moved the adoption of the resolution as amended by him.

The vote resulted as follows:—

<i>For the amendment.</i>	<i>Against.</i>
France.	America.
Great Britain.	China.
Persia.	Germany.
Portugal.	Japan.
Russia.	Siam.
Netherlands.	

The Austro-Hungarian Delegation reserved its vote.

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"I understand that the reservation of a vote is permissible only with the concurrence of the Commission as a whole."

The CHAIRMAN.—"As the Chair understands it, a reasonable time for consideration should be given, and then if the vote is not recorded, the Chair would have to rule that the Delegate abstained from voting—but a reasonable time ought to be given, and, unless ordered otherwise in the present instance, the Chair would rule that this procedure should be observed."

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—“I would beg to remind the Chinese Delegation that we are at a critical moment. There is danger that their resolution will be rejected by the Commission on the ground of a tie vote arising under the reserve. Considering that several of the Delegations here present would not like to place themselves in the position of opposing some particular Government which has a particular Concession, I believe that the whole difficulty would be obviated if the Chinese Delegation could see their way to accede to the amendment proposed by Monsieur RATARD.”

Mr. T'ANG.—“I beg to propose an amendment to the amendment of the French Delegation, and that is, instead of the words *as soon as they may deem it advisable* the words *as soon as possible* be substituted.”

The CHIEF COMMISSIONER FOR FRANCE.—“I am sorry that I cannot agree to the imperative tone of the words *as soon as possible*. I would also like to voice my strong objections to the sentence used by Mr. T'ANG relating to *private interests*. I consider it an insult to my Government, and would ask of the Chair whether such remark is in order?”

The PRESIDENT.—“Mr. T'ANG is not in order; he will perhaps explain the remark objected to.”

Mr. T'ANG stated that he did not mean the words *private interests* to apply to private individuals.

The PRESIDENT.—“The Chair considers that a reasonable time has been allowed the Delegate for Austria-Hungary to record his vote.”

Dr. RÖSSLER.—“I would beg to remind the House that in one of the earlier Sessions it was agreed that every proposal and amendment should be handed to each Delegation in writing for the reason that not all are able to follow alterations made in the course of debate, and I think this a reasonable method. I do not know my honourable friend's reason for withholding his vote, but I think that it is only fair that he should be allowed to do so. The Chief Commissioner for Portugal has reserved his vote on every single occasion.”

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT.—“I would ask the Chinese Delegation to reconsider the language in the last clause of the resolution. It is only a verbal distinction, and I do not think the Chinese Delegation have any intention of using an imperative term.”

Replying, Mr. T'ANG said that if it was the desire of the majority of the House, the Chinese Delegation was prepared to fall in with Monsieur RATARD's suggestion, but he would like the word *possible* to take the place of *advisable*.

Monsieur RATARD having agreed to this slight change, the resolution as amended by him was again put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN, moving the adoption of the third Chinese resolution, said: “In submitting this resolution I do not think that the Chinese Delegation need make a long speech. The evils arising from so-called anti-opium medicines are so well recognised that it would seem almost a waste of time to speak of them at length before this House. Everyone who has observed the conditions in China knows what a danger anti-opium pills and medicines constitute in this Empire. Every writer who has written on the opium evil mentions anti-opium medicines as a greater danger than the opium habit itself, and as I stated on a previous occasion, Sir John Jordan has on more than one occasion remarked to our Foreign Office that it would be quite futile for China to make efforts to stop the consumption of opium smoking and to allow the habit of morphia eating to continue and spread over the Empire; and he strongly urged upon our Government to see that the evil is eradicated concurrently with the abolition of the smoking habit. It would, therefore, seem superfluous for us to appeal to the co-operation of the various Delegations here in this respect. I might add, however, that while it is a deplorable fact that our Chinese people are the most interested in the manufacture and sale of these harmful medicines, the nationals of other countries also have a share in the trade. For instance, in the International Settlements in Shanghai we find British, French, Austrian and Japanese druggists, and others, selling these so-called anti-opium medicines. We have

had many of these samples analysed, and, with one notable exception, all of the samples analysed contained either opium or morphia. I may say also, and I crave the pardon of my Japanese friends for drawing attention to this fact, that a sample of pill manufactured by a Japanese firm commands the largest sale in China, and it goes to all corners of our Empire, owing to the enterprising spirit of the manufacturer. But we are most gratified to know that Japan is more than willing to assist China to drive these harmful drugs out of the market; that all China has need to do is to draw the attention of the Japanese authorities, who will at all times be prepared to lend their fullest co-operation. We therefore feel confident that this resolution will meet with the sympathy and support of this House and I need not further take up time by explanatory remarks.”

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—“In presenting this statement in reference to this resolution it is necessary for me to say distinctly that the resolution as put forward has the profoundest sympathy of the Japanese Delegation. I regret, however, that the question of anti-opium medicines, manufactured by Japanese subjects and sold by Japanese merchants in China, was not brought to the attention of the Japanese Government before. In August, 1908, this Delegation was organised in Japan as a Commission to make investigations into the question of opium, morphia and other derivatives, as far as Japan was concerned. As I stated in presenting our report to you, we followed the line of investigation which was presented and laid before us by the Government of the United States. In the course of our investigations we found that there were unofficial rumours, statements from unofficial sources—travellers and others—that so-called anti-opium pills, manufactured presumably in Japan, or manufactured in Shanghai and elsewhere by Japanese subjects from morphia or other drugs imported into Japan, were finding a large sale. It was a matter of profound regret and astonishment to us that such a state of affairs remained unknown. This Commission as then organised *in toto* was very much hampered in its work, as one of its ablest members was stationed in Formosa. The work of the Commission was therefore naturally unavoidably delayed, but a thorough investigation of the archives of the Department for Foreign Affairs showed us that no official report has been received from the Japanese officials in the towns in China. They were therefore instructed to report. About the time that we were preparing to leave Japan for this Commission, reports were being received in the Foreign Office giving the details as requested. Before leaving Japan we made arrangements that all samples which might arrive were to be promptly forwarded to the Hygienic Laboratory for Home Affairs, to be carefully examined by chemists who are employed in that laboratory under the direction of Dr. Tahara, and that all the reports from the Consular Officers in China should be forwarded to us. We have thus had the opportunity of seeing all the reports, and have the satisfaction of knowing that these so-called anti-opium pills have been subjected to careful analysis at the Tokyo laboratory. We were most anxious as to when we might be able to present the result of such analysis, and Dr. Tahara has telegraphed to his subordinates in the Tokyo laboratory for the results. We have received an answer to the effect that they were nearly through with the work, but that they were not quite ready to forward to him the results of their analysis. From this you will see that, as soon as this subject was brought to the attention of the Japanese Government, they have promptly taken action to make a thorough investigation, and you need no assurance from me that the Japanese Government will do everything in its power to prohibit the sale and distribution of drugs detrimental to health in China. I would not like to place myself as in any way objecting to the most reasonable resolution put forward by China, but the point to which I beg to draw the attention of the Chinese Delegation is the fact that no communication has been made to the Japanese officials, who are well able to deal with the matter. Under such circumstances I have great doubts whether this is the proper procedure that should be followed, and I therefore hope that the Chinese Delegation will not press for a vote on this resolution.”

Monsieur RATARD.—“I would like to ask the Chinese Delegation what they consider to be ‘qualified medical advice’? Is anyone who represents himself to be a doctor in China a qualified medical adviser? Another matter I want to draw the attention of the Chinese Delegation to is that the sale of some of the products referred to is not prohibited by our Treaties. It would be much better for China to arrange diplomatically with regard to these products, as has been done in the case of morphia.”

Mr. T'ANG.—“As a general rule we do not consider our Chinese doctors as qualified medical practitioners except those who have taken a medical course in some recognised

medical institution either abroad or in China, but those who usually set themselves up as doctors we do not regard as coming under the category of medical practitioners. The Honourable Chief Commissioner for France referred to the action that has already been taken with regard to Morphia. In reply, I beg to state that as regards morphia we have very stringent laws, in fact I may say that decapitation is the penalty for anyone caught openly selling morphia for illegitimate purposes. But there are no laws in China, nor, as far as we are aware, in foreign countries, against so-called anti-opium medicines. Of course it is a well-known fact that in the settlements in Shanghai these medicines are not sold under the head of poisons. No druggist thinks of putting a label on his box or bottle naming the ingredients of his medicines, or labelling them as poisons. It therefore goes out in the form of medicine which does not come under the operation of the law, and in order to check the spread of these drugs the Chinese Delegation is of opinion that separate legislation ought to be taken whereby these harmful drugs may be eliminated from the market. It is a well-known fact that hardly a boat goes into the interior of China but carries more or less of these packages of so-called medicines, and our country is being flooded with the poison. It is most important for China, if we are to put an effective stop to opium and its derivatives, that we should take into consideration the question of anti-opium medicines, and for this reason we have ventured to bring this resolution forward for the favourable consideration of this House."

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"The remarks which have just been offered by Mr. T'ANG seem to me to emphasize rather than to negative the suggestion that this is a proper subject on which the Chinese Government should approach the Governments concerned through the ordinary diplomatic channels. It seems entirely out of place for this Commission to be voting upon a matter which would easily be adjusted by ordinary diplomatic process."

Dr. WRIGHT.—"I quite agree with what both the French Delegation and the Japanese Delegation have suggested, viz., that this is a subject for diplomatic negotiations, but I think it could be carried through more quickly if this Commission as a whole called the attention of the various Governments by this resolution to the facts of the case."

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"I would beg to add that my remark does not imply that I am not going to call the attention of the Imperial Japanese Government to the matter. On the contrary, I am going to make the strongest recommendation to the Imperial Government; only my point is that, in my opinion, this is hardly a proper subject on which to take the vote of the Commission. I would respectfully suggest to the Chinese Delegation that a similar recommendation be made to the Government in Peking, suggesting this as a proper subject for diplomatic negotiations, and as far as Japan is concerned we are more than willing to make the most sympathetic allusion to this phase of the question, for we have in this Delegation one gentleman who is charged with the difficult problem of suppressing the evil in Formosa, who is fully aware that no measures for the suppression of the opium habit is productive of results unless this phase of the question be properly attended to."

Monsieur RATARD.—"We cannot interfere with legitimate trade in foreign concessions. It would not be so easy to control the sale of anti-opium medicines as the Chinese Delegation think. We are heartily with them, however, and we would like very much to see measures taken for preventing the unrestrained sale of such remedies. I beg to move as an amendment the following resolution:—

"That the International Opium Commission recommends strongly that each Delegation move its Government to enter into negotiations with the Chinese Government, with a view to effective and prompt measures being taken in the various foreign concessions and settlements in China for the prohibition of the trade and manufacture of such anti-opium medicines as contain opium or its derivatives."

Mr. T'ANG.—"I need hardly say how gratified we are with the remarks that have been made by the Chief Commissioner for Japan, but with all due respect perhaps we might be allowed to remind him that the attitude he has taken in this matter has only reference to his own country, and that is why it is the desire of the Chinese nation, as represented by our Delegation here, to secure, if possible, a unanimous expression from this House condemning the anti-opium medicines as sold in the foreign settlements and in China—to secure, I say, if possible, a general expression of disapproval from this House and the general assurance that each Delegation will urge upon its respective Government the necessity of taking measures to

prevent the manufacture and sale of these injurious medicines in their Settlements and Concessions in China. In other words, since each civilised country has its own laws and statutes against the sale of poisons and all medicines containing poisons, we do not think we are asking too much if we request each civilised power to make its laws effective in its respective Concessions and Settlements in China, that is to say, to transfer the operation of its laws as existing in its own country over to China, where the Powers enjoy extra-territorial rights for their subjects. Of course China will do her part in preventing her people from participating in this illegal traffic, but it appears to us that unless we have the practical co-operation of all the civilised Powers who are represented in the various Concessions in China, the task of eliminating the anti-opium evil will be too much for us to overcome, and ultimate success will be very doubtful, if not impossible."

Dr. WRIGHT.—"I wish to move that the question be put to the vote."

The resolution as amended by Monsieur RATARD was adopted unanimously on being put to the vote.

Mr. T'ANG moved the adoption of the fourth of the Chinese resolutions. After a desultory discussion with regard to the wording, it was decided to defer the consideration of the resolution until after the mid-day recess.

Before adjourning, the Chair reverted to the objection which had been taken by the Chief Commissioner for Germany to his ruling in connection with the reserved vote of the Austro-Hungarian Delegation. Hitherto in the reservation of a vote the House had not been put in the predicament of having its business suspended indefinitely, and under such circumstances the Chair did not consider that it would be right to allow the reservation. Technically, the objection raised by the Chief Commissioner for Germany was a sound one.

The Commission adjourned at 12.40 p.m.

On re-assembling at 2.30 p.m., the PRESIDENT declared that the business before the House was the further discussion of the fourth Chinese resolution.

Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN announced that during the interval he had held a consultation with Dr. RÖSSLER and Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT, and that by their suggestion he now wished to move the following in the place of his original resolution:—

That the International Opium Commission recommends that each Delegation move its Government to apply its pharmacy laws to its subjects in the Consular districts, Concessions and Settlements in China.

Monsieur RATARD stated that he would have no hesitation in accepting the resolution as altered.

The resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

On the suggestion of Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT it was decided to appoint a Committee of three to superintend the printing of the proceedings of the Commission, after the close of the sittings. The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH also moved the appointment of a Committee for revising the resolutions that had been adopted. It would be necessary to modify the language in certain instances, and to finally pass the resolutions at the next meeting.

The Chair selected Dr. WRIGHT, Mr. BRUNYATE and Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN as the Committee of Revision and Sir ALEXANDER HOSIE, Monsieur BRENIER and Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN as the Printing Committee. At Mr. T'ANG's request, Mr. J. L. CHALMERS, Associate Delegate for China, was permitted to act for him on the latter Committee.

Monsieur RATARD, on behalf of the French Delegation, made the following statement:—

"Although neither French Indo-China nor France are opium-producing countries, and although the use of opium is practically unknown in France, and has scarcely any ill-effects on the native population of her colonies, the French Delegation desires to announce before the closing of this International Opium Commission that:—

- (a) As concerns French Indo-China, the Government will continue strictly to observe the measures described in the Report presented to the Commission, which have already had the effect of considerably reducing the importation of raw opium and the consumption of *chandu*;
- (b) As concerns Kuangchowwan, where the French Government is tied by a contract with the present farm until the end of the year 1911, the French Delegation consider it to be their duty towards their Chinese colleagues on the Commission to announce that it is the firm intention of the Governor-General of Indo-China to apply to the whole territory of Kuangchowwan similar measures to those which may have been effectively adopted by China at the time when the contract with the opium farm expires."

The PRESIDENT.—"The Chair would remind the House that there are still some reports to be presented, which presumably will not be ready in time. There is still the report on Trade Statistics, report on Revenue Statistics, Tariffs, etc., and also one from the Committee on Ways and Means."

Mr. LAIDLAW.—"On behalf of the Committee for Trade Statistics, I am sorry to say we are not quite ready. There has been a great deal of work involved in translation of figures into one common language and we don't expect the report will be ready until Saturday morning."

Dr. WRIGHT.—"May I suggest that in that case the different reports be incorporated in the proceedings."

A discussion then took place respecting the assessment of any expenditure over and above funds in hand, after which Dr. TENNEY moved an adjournment of the House until Saturday morning.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH expressed the hope that the last meeting of the Commission might take place the following day.

It was eventually decided to adjourn until the following day at 2.30 p.m.

Dr. TENNEY said that he would like to tell the Delegates that he had seen demonstrations given by Mr. TOWNS in connection with his cure for opium smoking, which had previously been referred to, and that in his judgment, and in the judgment of men more competent than himself, those demonstrations were highly satisfactory. It seemed to him a matter well worth looking into.

Dr. HAMILTON WRIGHT supported the last speaker. He said that he had always opposed from a professional point of view any serious consideration of Mr. Towns' remedy until it had been made public, but now that it had been made public he had no hesitation in expressing the opinion that the remedy was an excellent one, and had successfully accomplished the cure of many patients. He concluded his remarks by inviting the experts on the Commission to meet him for the purpose of making observations in their private capacity.

Monsieur RATARD having read extracts from two letters which he had received from French officials resident in Szechwan, relative to the continued cultivation of the poppy in that province, the House adjourned at 4.30 p.m.

Minutes of the Fourteenth Session

26th FEBRUARY, 1909

The PRESIDENT took the Chair at 2.30 p.m.

The Chief Commissioner for Portugal, Senhor POTIER, addressed the House:—

"Duly authorized by my Government, I have the honour to make the following Declaration:—

"Considering that this is a Commission of study, the Portuguese Government wishes to carefully examine the text, conditions and basis of the proposals presented by the various delegates, as well as the reports and information furnished by the local Authorities of the colonies interested, with regard to the means how to render effective the desirable measures to be adopted, and therefore reserves its vote until after the Minutes of the International Commission and the documents referring to the subject have been perused, when its decision will be communicated to all the Powers represented in the Commission."

The Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands, Mr. A. A. DE JONGH, laid on the table the following statement embodying the two resolutions offered for consideration at a previous Session:—

The Delegation for the Netherlands brings forward two resolutions, the first of which reads as follows (for text *vide* Minutes of the Twelfth Session).

"In explaining the reasons for presenting this resolution, the Chief Commissioner for the Netherlands draws the attention of the House to the first two sections of the preamble, where it is said that 'the total eradication of the use of opium within a few years is to be considered as a high, but at present an unattainable ideal,' and further that 'in order to check the use of opium much may be expected from taking systematic measures which are gradual in their effect,' and goes on as follows: 'judging by experience gained in Netherlands-India our Delegation is of opinion that the best way of reaching that object is the establishment of an opium system, managed by officials who are not in the least interested in the amount of sale. As appears from Appendix III to the Memorandum on the Opium Régie in Netherlands-India, presented together with our report, under that system in a period of fifteen years the average annual consumption of *chandu* per head of the population in Java shows a decrease from 0.042 tahlil to 0.025 tahlil, which means a little over 40 per cent. I wish to state that this decrease took place gradually, and that therefore there is good reason to expect that it will prove to be a constant one and will go on progressively."

"The Netherlands Delegation on this ground, being proud of the Java Régie system, and also deeply convinced of its useful effect in other regards, has taken the liberty to present the above-mentioned memorandum for the purpose of putting forward the principles on which the system is based, and with the hope that the study of it may stimulate other Governments to practise it in their own territories or possessions, as soon as circumstances make it possible to do away with the prevailing systems of farming or of free retail trade in opium."

"As for the second part of the same resolution, I beg to draw the attention of the House to the circumstance that the resolutions heretofore accepted deal with the prevalence of smuggling, the checking of the morphine evil, the study of the medical side of the opium question, the re-examination of the prevailing opium revenue systems, a courteous statement in order to compliment the Government of China for what has been done in the last two years for checking the use of opium in that Empire, and lastly, a recommendation to our Governments to take measures for the gradual suppression of the practice of opium smoking."

"As yet not a single resolution has been moved to suggest definite measures on the subject which, in the diplomatic correspondence on the matter, has been put forward as the main object of our Commission, *vis.*, to devise means to limit the use of opium. By throwing back this task on the shoulders of the various Governments, our Commission does not do what is expected from it. Therefore it might greatly contribute to a practical result if a resolution were put forward recommending some definite measures to the effect above mentioned. As such measures may be considered, those which have been enumerated under the numbers I to IX of our proposed resolution, which have in part been practised in Java for many years and have, in part, been lately taken into consideration, in order to show to the world which is

waiting for practical results, that our Commission has not forgotten to give some practical hints for a satisfactory solution of the opium question, the Netherlands Delegation thinks it useful that the second part of this resolution be adopted.

"I do not think it necessary to say much about each of these measures, as all of them speak sufficiently for themselves. However, I am prepared to give any additional information that may be asked for."

The second resolution runs as follows (for text *vide* Minutes of the Twelfth Session).

"Experience has taught that the smuggling of opium (which for the reasons mentioned in the preamble is in itself a great evil), cannot be extirpated as long as opium remains an ordinary article of trade, and so goes through the hands of private wholesale dealers and of smugglers who buy it from them.

"Therefore it is most urgent that the trade in opium be withdrawn from those persons, and be limited to the Governments of opium-producing and opium-consuming countries. This measure may do an immense deal of good for the solution of the Opium problem, and therefore, in our opinion, should be recommended on this occasion to the Governments concerned, even though realisation of its principle will be possible in the future only."

Monsieur MIYAOKA read a reply to the question asked by the Chinese Delegation during the Twelfth Session, regarding the rate of import duty on morphia imported into Kuantung.

Mr. R. LAIDLAW, M.P., presented the Report of the Committee on Trade Statistics.

Monsieur MIYAOKA.—"As there is no business just for the moment, I may, perhaps avail myself of this occasion to make a reply to a question which was privately submitted to me by Dr. Tenney. I take this course because I believe the information will be of interest to the Commission as a whole. Dr. Tenney did not put it in the form of a question formally submitted before the International Opium Commission, but as a report to the effect that a large quantity of morphia is being re-exported from the port of Kobe to Korea, Manchuria and China proper; that there were large quantities of morphia which came in from abroad which were not landed,—at least no steps were taken regarding the usual formalities at the Custom House,—but that it was re-shipped from Kobe (implying that the morphia in question was for transshipment from one ship to another, or that it was landed temporarily at the Customs sheds, and placed on board out-going ships), and that the amount thus dealt with in Kobe was a very large amount.

"I have made enquiries on the subject, and am now informed that during the year 1908 there was one transshipment of morphine which corresponded with the circumstances occasion on which re-shipment was made. Dr. Tenney further wished for information regarding the Provisions of the Japanese Law under which such a step is possible. Art. 38 of the Customs Law (No. 61) of Japan, promulgated in March 1899, reads as follows:—

"The provisions relating to exportation apply *mutatis mutandis* in all respects to the re-exportation of goods. But this rule does not apply to the re-shipment of goods which have been temporarily landed."

Thus, all goods coming from abroad, but which have been only temporarily landed for the purpose of re-exportation, will be exempt from the provisions relating to re-exportation, and I am now informed that the only case of morphine was this one package containing 15-lb. which was exported to Chemulpo. To show you that no re-shipment or transshipment at Kobe is possible without the knowledge of the Customs officials, it is sufficient, I think, to point out to you the Provisions of Art. 12 of the same Law to which I have referred. Art. 12 provides that:

"Vessels carrying foreign goods cannot, excepting in cases where the permission of the Superintendent of the Customs has been obtained, put on board or discharge cargo until after the production of the Manifest. But this rule does not apply to passengers' hand-baggage and postal matter."

So you will see that unless the Manifest is presented to the Customs, no vessel can unload any goods coming from abroad."

Mr. BRUNYATE, on behalf of the Committee of Revision, presented the resolutions as adopted, for final endorsement by the Commission.

[See after Minutes of Fourteenth Session.]

The Right Hon. Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH moved the final adoption of the resolutions. This proposal was carried unanimously.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"I hope I am not wrong in intervening at this point but the question naturally arises: What validity by any action of this Commission should be given to the resolutions which we have now adopted? I venture to think that the proper course for us to adopt is to move that the PRESIDENT, on behalf of the Commission, do sign the resolutions as having been passed by the Commission. It seems to me that it would be more properly done thus than by getting signatures from all the members of the Commission, and I beg to move accordingly in that sense."

This proposition also met with unanimous approval.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"We have now passed the formal resolutions which this Commission has arrived at after a somewhat long period of deliberation, but there is one resolution more—maybe more than one—which we should wish to move before separating:—

"That a cordial vote of thanks be offered to the Right Reverend Bishop Brent for the dignity, impartiality, and ability with which he has discharged the duties of President of the International Opium Commission." (General applause.)

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH.—"May I rise to say that that vote is passed with acclamation?"

The PRESIDENT.—"My honourable Colleagues: If, perchance, you deem that you have grounds to justify an expression of thanks to your President, he for his part has still more abundant justification for voicing his sense of appreciation to you. The spirit of co-operation and sympathy which has characterized this distinguished body from the moment I took the chair until now has never abated, and has robbed a responsibility of many anxieties and converted it into sheer privilege and honour. It is not difficult to rule, as has been my lot, over an assembly of men who, by virtue of their normal habit of life, contribute to order wherever they may be and in whatever business they may engage. That representatives of thirteen nations could so readily mould themselves into a family in the brief period of a month augurs well for the future.

"I congratulate this House not only that in the findings reached, all the resolutions put to vote were adopted *nemine contradicente*, but also that four out of the nine call for action on the part of one nation in behalf of the interests of another. The tide of sympathetic relationship between the ends of the earth is not yet at the flood, but as the history of the International Opium Commission proclaims anew, it is rising. There is the utmost frankness in the expression of conviction regarding national rights in the International relations of our day, and nations were never clearer as to what constitutes their rights, but there is also increasing considerateness for the well-being of sister nations and a gratifying readiness to make local sacrifices for the universal good. No nation, as no individual, is asked even by the loftiest altruistic code to love his neighbour *better* than, but only *as*, himself. We are progressing toward this coveted goal.

"The conclusion of our work as an International Commission has been reached. The reports of the various countries represented have been laid before the House and discussed with ability and thoroughness. After careful examination Committees have reported on Trade Statistics; the Growth of the Poppy and production of Opium; Revenue Statistics, Tariffs, Excise, etc; Treaties and International Agreements.

"In our resolutions based upon the evidence in hand we have touched various phases of the subject, though we do not pretend to have exhausted them. A complimentary resolution expressing sympathy with China in her task has been adopted; drastic measures for the suppression of the morphine habit and the gradual suppression of opium smoking, are advocated as a principle; three resolutions are aimed at correcting the abuse of opium and its derivatives in foreign Concessions and Settlements in China; in countries where opium is not prohibited for other than medical purposes a revision of the existing systems of regulation is recommended

to the Governments concerned; each Delegation is urged to advise its own Government to investigate scientifically for itself the matter of anti-opium remedies, and the effect of opium and its products; International co-operation is advocated to prevent the smuggling of opium into countries where a prohibitory law prevails.

"In two instances the Commission judged itself unable to consider questions brought forward on the ground that they were beyond its province of action; the first one being that of the scientific investigation of anti-opium remedies and of the properties and effects of opium and its products, which, however, was reached in another form as just indicated; and the second, that of a resolution which involved existing International Treaties and Agreements.

"There is one phase of the subject which the casual reader of the resolutions might suppose we have not duly considered—the moral aspect. But we who have had this weighty problem under advisement know that such has not been the case. It has from time to time been on the lips of the various speakers and always, I incline to think, before the mind's eye of the whole assembly. All of us alike value character as the one indispensable possession of human life, and it is our undivided desire to take such measures as will safeguard the moral freedom of the young and undefiled, and make for the restoration of those who have lost their heritage through the evils connected with opium. I assert with confidence our sympathy has never flagged.

"But sympathy in its earlier stages differs from its later embodiment. In its youth it spends much of its force in kindly emotion; in its matured form it moves with balanced nerves and purposeful tread directly toward measures of succour and relief. Indeed science considered in its practical bearings is a developed form of sympathy. Our immediate function has been to deal with the matter before us with a view to practical aid. We were, so to speak, the physician who has come to the bedside of the sick man, not to tell him he is sick but rather to consider how he may be made whole. The man in the street cannot understand what good people from disease. Koch or Kitasato studying germs are at the same moment precluding the possibility of the widow's tears and the orphan's desolation.

"Similarly, we have been working at the root of the matter. Behind the raw statistics and cold sentences of our deliberative language and of most of our resolutions stand the pitiable army of moral slaves, in whose behalf we have been labouring in order that they may gain the greatest of all gifts—moral freedom. We have not wasted effort in heaping epithets upon a patent evil. The calling a bad thing by a bad name with little or no argument is a powerful means of impressing the public with the conviction that they must rid themselves of it. Indeed, it is necessary to rob an evil of its good or tolerable reputation in order to destroy it. But the evil of the abuse of opium is too well-established to require of us any fresh execrations. Just as slavery reached a point when among its opponents it was no longer a mere question of morals or an academic theory but 'an actual perplexing problem continually appearing in every direction and in various forms,' so has it come to be with the evil before us, and we have, we trust, not wholly failed in carrying the problem a stage nearer its final solution. Much still remains to be done by our respective Governments and the nations which we represent. As we move out to meet our responsibility the appeal of one of the world's more recent heroes comes to us—'Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.'"

Monsieur MIYAOKA moved a vote of thanks to the Secretaries in the following terms:—

"With your permission and the indulgence of the members of the International Commission I beg to give expression to the sense of high appreciation in which we hold the services rendered by the Secretaries. It is unnecessary for me to commend to your attention the care, and the diligence, and the energy which they have brought to bear on the execution of their onerous duties. Owing to local circumstances beyond our control, these officers were compelled to rely for assistance upon a staff which, in proportion to the volume of work involved, must be pronounced to be inadequately small. In looking back upon the work which they have already accomplished and in looking upon what is now being done and what still remains to be done, we cannot be blind to the enthusiasm with which they and the members of their staff are applying themselves to their task.

Delegations. In this connection I may also be permitted to remark that the call of various offices upon the good offices of the Secretaries have been both frequent and numerous. Those appeals to their assistance have been invariably responded to not only with the utmost courtesy and admiration of their part, but with that good-natured willingness which has commanded the all. I feel, therefore, confident that I am correctly interpreting the general

sentiment, when I venture to move that an expression of cordial thanks of the International Opium Commission may be tendered to the Secretaries and their staff, and that the fact may be recorded in the Minutes of our proceedings."

The Chair declared the vote carried by acclamation.

An informal discussion took place as to the advisability of making public the resolutions adopted by the Commission. Mr. T'ANG KUO-AN expressed, on behalf of his Delegation, a desire that the results arrived at should be communicated to the Press as soon as possible. He said that the whole of China was looking towards Shanghai, anxious to know the conclusions of the Commission, and he thought that, unless the House was of an entirely contrary opinion, some consideration might be shown to both the Press and the people of China. His Delegation were taking immediate steps to acquaint the Chinese Government with the substance of the resolutions that had been passed.

The PRESIDENT thought that the matter might well be left to the Press Committee, who would take into consideration what Mr. T'ANG had said.

Monsieur RATARD was of opinion that the resolutions should not be published until they had been submitted to, and had been approved of, by the various Governments represented.

SIR CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH and Monsieur MIYAOKA concurred with Monsieur RATARD's remarks. They thought that it would be an unusual and improper course to publish the resolutions before the Governments they represented had had an opportunity of perusing them.

It was finally decided that publication of the resolutions should be deferred until authorised by the Government of each or of any country concerned.

The Chair having expressed the thanks of the Commission to the Chinese Delegation for their hospitality in arranging for the accommodation of the Commission during its sittings, announced that the business of the House was concluded, and he declared that the International Opium Commission stood adjourned *sine die*.

The proceedings terminated at 4.40 p.m.

(Signed) FRED. W. CAREY

(Signed) XAVIER DE LAFORCADE

Hon. Secretaries to the International Opium Commission.

Shanghai, 22nd March, 1909.

The following are the Resolutions as adopted, in their revised form :—

BE IT RESOLVED :

1. That the International Opium Commission recognises the unswerving sincerity of the Government of China in their efforts to eradicate the production and consumption of Opium throughout the Empire; the increasing body of public opinion among their own subjects by which these efforts are being supported; and the real, though unequal, progress already made in a task which is one of the greatest magnitude.

2. That in view of the action taken by the Government of China in suppressing the practice of Opium smoking, and by other Governments to the same end, the International Opium Commission recommends that each Delegation concerned move its own Government to take measures for the gradual suppression of the practice of Opium smoking in its own territories and possessions, with due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned.

3. That the International Opium Commission finds that the use of Opium in any form otherwise than for medical purposes is held by almost every participating country to be a matter for prohibition or for careful regulation; and that each country in the administration of its system of regulation purports to be aiming, as opportunity offers, at progressively increasing stringency. In recording these conclusions the International Opium Commission recognises the wide variations between the conditions prevailing in the different countries, but it would urge on the attention of the Governments concerned the desirability of a re-examination of their systems of regulation in the light of the experience of other countries dealing with the same problem.

4. That the International Opium Commission finds that each Government represented has strict laws which are aimed directly or indirectly to prevent the smuggling of Opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations into their respective territories; in the judgment of the International Opium Commission it is also the duty of all countries to adopt reasonable measures to prevent at ports of departure the Shipment of Opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations, to any country which prohibits the entry of any Opium, its alkaloids, derivatives and preparations.

5. That the International Opium Commission finds that the unrestricted manufacture, sale and distribution of Morphine already constitute a grave danger, and that the Morphine habit shows signs of spreading: the International Opium Commission, therefore, desires to urge strongly on all Governments that it is highly important that drastic measures should be taken by each Government in its own territories and possessions to control the manufacture, sale and distribution of this drug, and also of such other derivatives of Opium as may appear on scientific enquiry to be liable to similar abuse and productive of like ill effects.

6. That as the International Opium Commission is not constituted in such a manner as to permit the investigation from a scientific point of view of Anti-Opium remedies and of the properties and effects of Opium and its products, but deems such investigation to be of the highest importance, the International Opium Commission desires that each Delegation shall recommend this branch of the subject to its own Government for such action as that Government may think necessary.

7. That the International Opium Commission strongly urges all Governments possessing Concessions or Settlements in China, which have not yet taken effective action toward the closing of Opium divans in the said Concessions and Settlements, to take steps to that end, as soon as they may deem it possible, on the lines already adopted by several Governments.

8. That the International Opium Commission recommends strongly that each Delegation move its Government to enter into negotiations with the Chinese Government with a view to effective and prompt measures being taken in the various foreign Concessions and Settlements in China for the prohibition of the trade and manufacture of such Anti-Opium remedies as contain Opium or its derivatives.

9. That the International Opium Commission recommends that each Delegation move its Government to apply its pharmacy laws to its subjects in the Consular districts, Concessions and Settlements in China.

[NOTE.—The Portuguese Delegation reserved its vote on these resolutions in every instance. With regard to the vote of the Italian Delegation, attention is called to the following correspondence.]

SHANGHAI, 15th March, 1909.

To Signor R. FARAONE,

Delegate for Italy to the International Opium Commission.

DEAR MR. FARAONE,

In accordance with the desire expressed by the President in his letter to you of the 25th February, I now beg to send you for perusal a copy of the Minutes, and shall be glad if you will record your vote where necessary. I may draw your attention to the following:—

Page 57: 11th Session: Previous question moved by Mr. Miyaoka, during the discussion on Dr. Tenney's Resolution;

Page 60: Dr. Rössler's Amendment to the third of the Resolutions put forward by the British Delegation;

Page 60: The third of the British Resolutions;

Page 73: 12th Session: Monsieur Ratard's Amendment to the Second of the Resolutions submitted by the Chinese Delegation.

I am also enclosing a copy of the Resolutions as they were finally adopted by the Commission.

With your permission, I propose to insert this letter and your reply at the end of the Minutes for the 14th Session.

I remain, etc.

(Signed) FRED. W. CAREY,

Hon. Secretary to the International Opium Commission.

SHANGHAI, 15th March, 1909.

To THE SECRETARY of the

International Opium Commission.

DEAR MR. CAREY,

In reply to your letter of to-day's date, I beg to record my vote on the Resolutions adopted by the International Opium Commission, as follows:—

11th Session (page 57): Mr. Miyaoka's 'previous question': *No*;

11th Session (page 60): Dr. Rössler's Amendment: *Aye*;

11th Session (page 60): Original Resolution: *Aye*.

In explanation of my vote here, I may say that, it having been decided by a majority that the Commission was not so constituted as to permit the investigation from a scientific point of view of the properties and effects of opium and its products, I concur with Mr. Miyaoka's view that all that remains for us to do is to recommend that phase of the question to our respective Governments.

12th Session (page 73): Monsieur Ratard's Amendment:

With reference to this Amendment, since the Resolution as finally adopted by the Commission entirely meets my views, it is obvious that I need not now consider any previous discussion *pro* or *con*.

I agree to all other Resolutions as finally and unanimously adopted by the Commission, and I shall be glad if you will insert this correspondence in the Minutes as you suggest.

I remain, etc.,

(Signed) R. FARAONE,

Delegate for Italy to the International Opium Commission.

Commission Internationale de l'Opium.

SOMMAIRE DES PROCÈS-VERBAUX EN FRANÇAIS.

PREMIÈRE SEANCE,

1 FÉVRIER 1909.

La Commission s'est réunie pour la première fois le 1er Février 1909, à Shanghai, dans le Palace Hotel. Son Excellence Toan Fang, viceroy des Deux Kiang, spécialement nommé par rescrit impérial, souhaite la bienvenue aux délégués dans une adresse qui fut ensuite répétée en anglais par le taotai Wan Ping-tchoung. Le vice-roi, après une référence à l'édit impérial du 20 Septembre 1906, déclare que la surface cultivée en pavot a déjà été réduite considérablement, et que la consommation de l'opium a diminué de moitié. Son Excellence exprime l'opinion, qu'il ne faudra pas, pour la suppression totale de l'opium, plus de deux ans, au lieu du délai entier de dix ans assigné. Il indique la nécessité d'un monopole du gouvernement, pour assurer le contrôle plus effectif du mouvement et de la vente de l'opium; mais il craint que l'établissement d'un pareil monopole ne soit contraire aux Traités et recommande cette question à l'attention de la Commission. Son Excellence termine en vantant les motifs de bienveillance qui ont poussé le gouvernement Américain à prendre l'initiative de cette Commission.

Son Excellence se retire à 11h.40, après une remarque de M. Ratard, premier délégué français au sujet de l'emploi de la langue française, et la séance préliminaire de la Commission commence aussitôt, le public étant exclus.

Le Taotai Ling Yu-ling, premier délégué chinois propose comme président de la Commission, le T. R. Evêque Brent, chef de la délégation Américaine. La proposition appuyée par Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, chef de la délégation britannique, est adoptée à l'unanimité.

Le T. R. Evêque Brent prend la présidence à 11h.45 du matin. Dans une discours d'ouverture, il remercie les délégués de l'avoir choisi comme président. Il s'excuse de son inexpérience et sollicite leur collaboration pour l'aider à soutenir la responsabilité de sa position. Nous allons, dit-il, avoir à nous occuper d'une question importante et difficile; il faudra, pour arriver à une heureuse issue de nos travaux, du courage et de la sincérité. Tout grand problème, d'après son opinion, passe par deux étapes: la première, de sentiment, parfois plus détachée des faits que la question ne le porterait. La seconde scientifique, froide analyse des faits. Le problème posé devant la Commission est arrivé maintenant à cette seconde phase. Le Président appuie sur ce point qu'ils sont réunis en Commission et non en Conférence. Il propose que toutes les discussions soient débarrassées des sujets de controverse et que les questions à côté soient écartées. En conclusion, il rappelle aux délégués qu'ils sont réunis avec l'idée et l'espoir d'accomplir un travail qui vaudra le plus grand crédit à leurs pays respectifs et dont bénéficiera l'Humanité entière.

Sur la proposition du Président, M. F. W. Carey, délégué adjoint pour la Chine est nommé Secrétaire, et M. L. De Giéter, secrétaire adjoint de la Commission.

Le Président donne lecture de la liste des membres des diverses délégations dont les noms ont été notifiés au Gouvernement Américain. Monsieur Ratard, secondé par Monsieur Kleimenow, propose alors que les réunions n'aient lieu que l'après-midi. Mais il est décidé qu'un comité sera nommé pour discuter la question des heures des séances et les autres questions de procédure et de réglementation.

Sir Cecil Clementi Smith propose que, vu l'importance de ce comité chaque délégation y soit représentée par un de ses membres, le comité choisissant lui-même son président. (adopté).

Le comité de procédure et de réglementation est alors composé comme suit:

Etats Unis d'Amérique	DR. HAMILTON WRIGHT.
Autriche-Hongrie	DR. KARL BRENAUER.
Chine	M. T'ANG KUO-AN.
France	M. BRENIER.
Allemagne	DR. W. ROESSLER.
Grande-Bretagne	M. R. LAIDLAW, M.P.
Italie	M. FARAONE.

Japon	M. MIYAOKA.
Pays bas	M. A. A. DE JONGH.
Portugal	M. O. G. POTIER.
Russie	M. KLEIMENOW.
Siam	M. PHYA SAKDISINIE.

Sur la proposition de M. Potier, secondée par le Dr. Hamilton Wright, M. R. Laidlaw, M.P., est élu président de ce comité.

La séance est levée à 12h.45.

DEUXIÈME SEANCE,

2 FÉVRIER 1909.

Le Président ouvre la séance à 2h.30.

Avant d'aborder les affaires inscrites à l'ordre du jour, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, s'adressant au bureau, demande en son nom et au nom des membres de la Commission que le discours d'ouverture du Président soit imprimé in extenso et qu'il en soit fourni un exemplaire à chaque Délégué. Le Président accède à cette demande. (V. texte anglais de ce discours).

Le procès-verbal de la précédente réunion de la Commission est lu par le secrétaire et adopté.

Le Président fait la déclaration suivante:

"En proclamant hier les noms des Commissaires accrédités, le Bureau a cru devoir omettre ceux de deux membres de la délégation chinoise: S. E. Joei T'ch'eng et S. E. Ts'ai-Nai-Hoang; bien qu'ils soient dûment désignés par leur Gouvernement et portent des lettres du Wai-ou-pou, leurs noms n'avaient pas été notifiés à la Puissance chargée des convocations. Maintenant, cependant, une demande a été faite pour que cette notification soit effectuée, en sorte que la formalité nécessaire pour placer ces délégués dans une position régulière sera remplie ultérieurement."

Le Président donne lecture du télégramme suivant reçu le matin du Président des Etats Unis: "J'exprime aux Commissaires qui sont réunis aujourd'hui mes meilleurs souhaits et ma conviction que leurs travaux seront de la plus haute importance en vue de la suppression du fléau de l'opium dans le monde entier." Signé: Théodore Roosevelt.

Le secrétaire donne lecture de nombreux télégrammes adressés à la Commission par diverses sociétés d'éducation et de lutte contre l'opium dans les provinces du Kiangsôu, Fokien, et Koangtoug (La copie en est annexée au chapitre Correspondance).

Sur la proposition du Dr. Hamilton Wright il est décidé qu'à l'avenir les télégrammes ne présentant pas un caractère d'urgence adressés à la Commission, ne seront pas lus, mais qu'un nombre suffisant de copies en seront tirés et distribués aux Délégués pour leur information.

Le Comité de Procédure et de Réglementation donne lecture de son rapport et des règles proposées:

- 1) Le Président sera désigné par les termes "M. le Président."
- 2) Aucun Délégué ne pourra prendre la parole sans l'autorisation du Président.
- 3) Chaque Délégation à son tour (alphabétiquement) déposera un rapport contenant ses données sur la question de l'opium sur le Bureau de la Commission, sans discussion ni débat; une sous-Commission sera alors désignée parmi les noms remis au Président par les diverses Délégations, et les rapports dont il s'agit seront renvoyés à cette sous-Commission qui les discutera et fera son rapport à l'assemblée plénière. La Commission nommera le président de la sous-Commission; la sous-Commission nommera son rapporteur et ses secrétaires.
- 4)etc.

Les Règles 1 et 2 sont adoptées sans discussion.

M. de Jongh propose d'amender la règle 3 en supprimant la seconde partie commençant par "une sous-commission sera alors désignée" et en la remplaçant par la clause suivante: "La Commission Internationale siégera d'ordinaire en séance plénière; une ou plusieurs sous-commissions pourront être nommées quand il apparaîtra qu'une étude préliminaire par un nombre limité d'experts est nécessaire pour traiter avec succès une partie spéciale du problème posé."

L'amendement est soutenu par Sir Cecil Clementi Smith qui considère que la discussion de points importants ne saurait être conduite d'une façon satisfaisante par aucun membre des délégations individuellement.

Après une courte discussion l'amendement de M. de Jongh est mis aux voix et voté par 15 contre 10.

La proposition, faite par Sir C. Clementi Smith, que les règles soient renvoyées au Comité pour un nouvel examen est acceptée.

La Commission s'ajourne alors au 5 février à 11 heures du matin.

TROISIÈME SÉANCE,

5 FÉVRIER 1909.

La Commission se réunit à 11 heures du matin; le Président annonce que le procès-verbal de la séance précédente ne sera pas lu à moins de demande formelle.

M. de Giéter ayant donné sa démission, M. de Laforcade est nommé secrétaire adjoint pour le remplacer sur la proposition de M. Ratard, M. True est nommé sténographe officiel de la Commission.

Un Comité des voies et moyens est formé; le Président nomme pour en faire partie les délégués suivants: MM. Bernauer, Faraone, Kleimenow, Potier et Ratard; la fonction de ce Comité sera d'autoriser toutes les dépenses supportées par la Commission dans son ensemble et d'aviser aux moyens de couvrir ces dépenses. Les communications sur ce sujet devront être adressées au président du Comité par les chefs des délégations.

Le Président, prenant le rapport de la Conférence de la Paix tenue à la Haye en 1907, lit des extraits des instructions données par le Secrétaire d'Etat américain aux délégués représentant son Gouvernement à cette Conférence. Il rappelle aux délégués qu'ils ne sont ni Envoyés extraordinaires ni Ministres plénipotentiaires; qu'il a été clairement entendu qu'aucun des Gouvernements représentés ne serait tenu d'accepter les conclusions, ou d'agir selon les recommandations de la Commission; qu'en conséquence les vues qu'ils pourraient exprimer individuellement ou collectivement, pendant le cours de cette enquête, n'obligeraient en rien leurs Gouvernements. C'est leur devoir d'examiner à fond toute question qui sera présentée devant eux, et, ce faisant d'exprimer leur opinion en toute liberté; autrement il serait presque impossible d'arriver à aucune solution pratique et la Commission resterait sans utilité.

Les noms suivants ayant été notifiés à la Puissance chargée des convocations sont ajoutés à la liste officielle des membres dument accrédités des Délégations:

WU-PAO-YEN	délégué adjoint pour la Chine
F. A. CARL	do. do.
J. L. CHALMERS	do. do.
F. W. CAREY	do. do.
C. CLEMENTI	assesseur pour la Grande-Bretagne
W. D. DARNES	do. do.

Le Comité de réglementation et de procédure a fait distribuer le texte de règles qu'il a revues et qui sont maintenant ainsi conçues:

- 1.—Le président sera désigné par les termes: M. le Président
- 2.—Aucun délégué ne pourra prendre la parole sans l'autorisation du président.
- 3.—En cas de vote, chaque délégation n'aura qu'une voix. En cas de partage égal des voix, le Président aura une voix décisive.
- 4.—Immédiatement après l'adoption des présentes règles, le Président invitera les délégations prenant part à la Commission internationale de l'opium, à présenter leurs rapports concernant les divers aspects de la question de l'opium dans les territoires et dépendances de leurs pays respectifs.
- 5.—Chaque délégation par ordre alphabétique déposera alors devant la Commission sans discussion ni débat un rapport contenant ses données sur la question de l'opium.
- 6.—Un temps suffisant sera accordé aux membres de la Commission en général, pour l'examen des rapports présentés.
- 7.—Bien que la Commission doive en général siéger in pleno, un ou plusieurs Comités pourront être nommés en vue d'étudier les rapports dont il est question aux articles 4, 5 et 6, ou toute partie spécifiée de ceux-ci, lorsqu'il apparaîtra qu'une étude préliminaire par un nombre limité d'experts est nécessaire pour arriver à une conclusion au sujet d'un problème posé.

8.—Tout comité ainsi nommé pour l'étude détaillée d'un rapport ou d'une partie de rapport devra, à la fin de ses travaux, exposer le résultat de son examen à la Commission en séance plénière et la discussion du rapport de ce comité sera alors mise à l'ordre du jour.

9.—Le nombre et la constitution des Comités seront décidés en tout cas par la Commission en séance plénière, mais chaque Comité sera autorisé à compléter sa propre organisation.

10.—Les Comités seront formés de la façon suivante:

Chaque délégation remettra le nom d'un de ses membres au Président qui, parmi ces noms, choisira le nombre nécessaire pour former chacun des Comités.

11.—Toute proposition soumise à la Commission devra être remise par écrit au Président de la Commission (ou du Comité) et la copie en sera fournie sur demande à chaque Délégation.

12.—Le public ne sera pas admis aux séances de la Commission, mais les communications regardant la marche générale des travaux qu'il paraîtra utile ou expédient de rendre publiques seront faites à la Presse par un Comité de trois membres élu à cet effet.

13.—Les procès-verbaux des séances plénières de la Commission donneront un résumé succinct des délibérations; une épreuve en sera distribuée en temps opportun aux membres de la Commission; les procès-verbaux ne seront pas lus au commencement des séances, à moins qu'il n'en soit fait expressément la demande. Chaque délégué aura cependant le droit de demander l'insertion en entier de ses déclarations spéciales conformément au texte qu'il en délivrera au Secrétaire, et de faire des observations au sujet des procès-verbaux.

14.—La langue anglaise sera reconnue comme la langue officielle de la Commission. Le secrétaire, avec le consentement de l'orateur, veillera à ce que tout discours prononcé dans une autre langue soit résumé oralement en anglais.

15.—Chaque Délégation aura le droit de se faire assister pendant les séances de la Commission par un "secrétaire de délégation" pourvu que ce secrétaire exerce des fonctions réelles au service de son gouvernement. Exception pourra être faite à cette règle pour les Délégations des pays n'ayant pas en Chine de représentants Diplomatiques ou Consulaires; mais en aucun cas il ne sera admis de secrétaire qui ne soit bonâ fide. Les noms des secrétaires de délégations devront être notifiés au Bureau.

16.—Sauf décision contraire de la Commission les séances auront lieu de 10h. 30 à midi 30 et de deux heures à cinq heures de l'après midi, tous les jours excepté les samedis et dimanches.

M. Laidlaw (Président du Comité) en présentant ce nouveau, texte, propose que, jusqu'à ce que ces règles aient été acceptées ou votées chaque délégué conserve son droit de vote individuel.

Comme amendement à cette proposition le Dr. Hamilton Wright propose que "les règles soient prises en considération et votées dans l'ordre du rapport présenté par le Comité, et que chaque règle entre en application aussitôt adoptée." Après une longue discussion la proposition de M. Laidlaw est adoptée.

Les règles 1 et 2 ayant déjà été acceptées à la séance précédente, la règle 3 vient en discussion. M. Ratard propose d'ajouter les mots "en matière de procédure et de discipline" et la règle, ainsi amendée, est adoptée.

Les règles suivantes sont adoptées sans discussion: nos. 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, et 15.

La règle 5 est acceptée avec l'addition suivante proposée par Sir C. Clementi Smith: "Le Président pourra, pour des motifs reconnus valables autoriser un délai dans la remise desdits rapports."

Sir C. Clementi Smith propose que la règle 6 soit altérée et lue comme suit: "Un exemplaire de chaque rapport sera fourni à chaque membre de la Commission et un temps suffisant sera donné aux membres de la Commission en général pour l'examen de ce rapport; par la suite le Président invitera la Commission à discuter tout rapport qui se trouvera prêt pour l'enquête" (adopté sans discussion).

M. Roessler propose comme amendement à la règle 7 que les mots "bien que la Commission doive en général siéger in pleno" soient supprimés et que le mot "experts" soit remplacé par "délégués." Après avoir repoussé un nouvel amendement proposé par M. de Jongh la Commission adopte la règle, amendée selon la proposition de M. Roessler.

Sir C. Clementi Smith propose l'addition suivante à la règle 10: "tout délégué qui n'est pas membre lui-même d'un Comité pourra assister aux séances de ce Comité sans prendre part à ses délibérations." La règle est adoptée avec cette addition.

Sur la proposition de M. Ratard la règle 14 est altérée et doit se lire ainsi d'après le texte adopté: "L'anglais et le français seront reconnus en principe comme langues de la Commission et les mesures seront prises pour que les délibérations soient traduites, si nécessaire, et que les procès-verbaux soient rédigés dans les deux langues."

En ce qui concerne la règle 16 le Dr. Tenney propose que la Commission siége les samedis matin, mais la proposition, mise aux voix, est repoussée.

La Commission s'ajourne alors à deux heures de l'après-midi.

L'ensemble des Règles adoptées après cette discussion forme le texte suivant :

- 1.—Le président sera désigné par les termes : M. le Président.
- 2.—Aucun délégué ne pourra prendre la parole sans l'autorisation du président.
- 3.—En cas de vote, chaque délégation n'aura qu'une voix. Pour les questions de procédure et de discipline, en cas de partage égal des voix, le Président aura une voix décisive.
- 4.—Immédiatement après l'adoption des présentes règles, le Président invitera les Délégations prenant part à la Commission internationale de l'opium, à présenter leurs rapports concernant les divers aspects de la question de l'opium dans les territoires et dépendances de leurs pays respectifs.
- 5.—Chaque Délégation par ordre alphabétique déposera alors devant la Commission sans discussion ni débat un rapport contenant ses données sur la question de l'opium. Le Président pourra, pour motifs reconnus valables, autoriser un délai dans la remise desdits rapports.
- 6.—Un exemplaire de chaque rapport sera fourni à chaque membre de la Commission et un temps suffisant sera accordé aux membres de la Commission en général, pour l'examen de ce rapport : par la suite, la Président invitera la Commission à discuter tout rapport qui se trouvera prêt pour l'enquête.
- 7.—Un ou plusieurs Comités pourront être nommés en vue d'étudier les rapports dont il est question aux articles 4, 5 et 6, ou toute partie spécifié de ceux-ci, lorsqu'il apparaîtra qu'une étude préliminaire par un nombre limité de délégués est nécessaire pour arriver à une conclusion au sujet d'un problème posé.
- 8.—Tout comité ainsi nommé pour l'étude détaillée d'un rapport ou d'une partie de rapport devra, à la fin de ses travaux, exposer le résultat de son examen à la Commission en séance plénière et la discussion du rapport de ce comité sera alors mise à l'ordre du jour.
- 9.—Le nombre et la constitution des Comités seront décidés en tout cas par la Commission en séance plénière, mais chaque Comité sera autorisé à compléter sa propre organisation.
- 10.—Les Comités seront formés de la façon suivante :—Chaque Délégation remettra le nom d'un de ses membres au Président qui, parmi ces noms, choisira le nombre nécessaire pour former chacun des Comités ; tout délégué qui n'est pas membre lui-même d'un Comité pourra assister aux séances de ce Comité sans prendre part à ses délibérations.
- 11.—Toute proposition soumise à la Commission devra être remise par écrit au Président de la Commission (ou du Comité) et la copie en sera fournie sur demande à chaque Délégation.
- 12.—Le public ne sera pas admis aux séances de la Commission, mais les communications regardant la marche générale des travaux qu'il paraîtra utile ou expédient de rendre publiques seront faites à la Presse par un Comité de trois membres élu à cet effet.
- 13.—Les procès-verbaux des séances plénières de la Commission donneront un résumé succinct des délibérations ; une épreuve en sera distribuée en temps opportun aux membres de la Commission ; les procès-verbaux ne seront pas lus au commencement des séances, à moins qu'il n'en soit fait expressément la demande. Chaque délégué aura cependant le droit de demander l'insertion en entier de ses déclarations spéciales conformément au texte qu'il en délivrera au Secrétaire, et de faire des observations au sujet des procès-verbaux.
- 14.—L'anglais et le français seront reconnus en principe comme langues de la Commission, et les mesures seront prises pour que les délibérations soient traduites, si nécessaire, et que les procès-verbaux soient rédigés dans les deux langues.
- 15.—Chaque Délégation aura le droit de se faire assister pendant les séances de la Commission par un "secrétaire de délégation" pourvu que ce secrétaire exerce des fonctions réelles au service de son Gouvernement. Exception pourra être faite à cette règle pour les Délégations des pays n'ayant pas en Chine de représentants Diplomatiques ou Consulaires ; mais en aucun cas il ne sera admis de secrétaire qui ne soit "bonâ fide." Les noms des secrétaires de délégations devront être notifiés au Bureau.
- 16.—Sauf décision contraire de la Commission les séances auront lieu de 10h. 30 à midi 30 et de deux heures à cinq heures de l'après midi, tous les jours excepté les samedis et dimanches.

A la reprise les délégués suivants sont désignés par le Président pour faire partie du Comité de Presse : Sir A. Hosie, Dr. Takaki, et M. Brenier.

La délégation des Etats-Unis présente alors son rapport en conformité des règles 4 et 5 ; le Président cède temporairement son fauteuil à Sir C. Clementi Smith. Le Dr. H. Wright lit un sommaire du rapport pour les Etats-Unis et le district de Columbia. Le T. R. Evêque Brent lit ensuite son rapport sur la question de l'opium aux Philippines.

Sir C. Clementi Smith donne lecture des rapports pour la Grande Bretagne, l'Australie, Hong-kong, Ceylon, les Etablissements du Détroit et Wei-Hai-Wei.

M. Tsunejiro Miyaoka présente les rapports pour le Japon et Formose. Il est décidé que les questions de fait relatives à ces rapports seront posées seulement après que ceux-ci auront pu être étudiés suffisamment, et la séance est levée à 4h. 30. de l'après-midi.

QUATRIÈME SÉANCE,

8 FÉVRIER 1909.

Le Président monte à son fauteuil à 10h 30 du matin. M. Miyaoka appelle l'attention sur une ambiguïté dans le rapport sur le Japon, à la page 27, à l'article achats et ventes. Les quantités sont, dit-il, données en kilogrammes avec trois chiffres décimaux.

Le Dr. Tenney demande si la Délégation japonaise a l'intention de présenter un rapport sur la question de l'opium en Corée. M. Miyaoka répond que la Corée a été omise du rapport par mégarde mais qu'une enquête se poursuit actuellement et que les renseignements nécessaires seront donnés ultérieurement. (V. rapport japonais, in Fine.)

Le Président fait remarquer que les questions du genre de celle que vient de poser le Dr. Tenney doivent être remises par écrit au Président.

M. Tang-kouo-an présente un rapport sur l'opium en Chine et dans un discours durant près d'une heure et demie traite verbalement des sujets compris sous différentes rubriques : culture de l'opium ; production ; consommation ; morphine ; remèdes contre l'opium ; mesures contre l'opium. Il explique les contradictions qui apparaissent entre les estimations de Morse, de Leech, des douanes. En ce qui concerne les chiffres donnés par le bureau des Finances il déclare qu'environ 25% de l'opium produit en Chine échappe à l'impôt et qu'un tiers seulement des taxes perçues revient au Trésor Impérial, les deux autres tiers étant retenus par les différentes Provinces pour des besoins d'administration locale. Au sujet des chiffres donnés pour la consommation, il reconnaît que l'estimation à 50 millions de la population adulte mâle peut être considérée comme inférieure à la réalité, mais le nombre exact importe peu : aucune interprétation des statistiques ne saurait changer le fait que plus de 600,000 piculs d'opium ont été consommés annuellement jusqu'en 1909.

M. T'ang considère que, dans l'ensemble, la situation de la Chine au point de vue du fléau de l'opium est réellement encourageante, et il conclut en exprimant l'espoir que le mouvement dont les regrettés Souverains de la Chine ont pris l'initiative par le mémorable édit du 20 septembre 1906 se terminera par un plein succès.

Le Dr. Roessler présente ensuite le rapport pour l'Allemagne, y compris Kiao-tchéou, en notant que fort heureusement le problème de l'opium n'est grave ni en Allemagne ni à Kiao-tchéou.

Le Président annonce que l'Amérique, le Japon, la Perse, la France et la Chine ont notifié au Bureau les noms de leurs "Secrétaires de délégation" conformément à l'art. 15 du Règlement de Procédure.

M. de Jongh donne alors lecture d'un memorandum concernant le Monopole de l'opium aux Indes Néerlandaises.

La Commission s'ajourne à midi 30.

A la reprise de la séance à deux heures du soir M. Miyaoka propose la résolution suivante :
"Autant que possible avis préalable des rapports, questions ou propositions à soumettre et des discours ou remarques à faire sera donné au Président de façon à mettre celui-ci en mesure d'annoncer avant la fin de chaque séance quel ordre d'affaires la Commission aura à traiter dans sa prochaine séance."

Pendant la courte discussion qui suit Sir Cecil Clementi Smith suggère que les mots "discours et remarques" soient retranchés de cette résolution ; M. Ratard pense de même qu'il est impossible de savoir à l'avance la nature des discours que l'on peut-être amené à prononcer. Le Dr. Hamilton Wright parle en faveur de la résolution qui, mise aux voix, est repoussée.

A trois heures, après avoir écouté un rapport sur la question de l'opium au Siam, présenté par Phya Sakdisinie, la Commission se sépare en renvoyant la prochaine séance au mercredi 10 février.

CINQUIÈME SÉANCE,

10 FÉVRIER 1909.

A dix heures trente, le Président monte à son fauteuil et ouvre la séance.

M. J. B. Brunyate présente un rapport sur l'opium et la morphine aux Indes Anglaises et en Birmanie, en donnant verbalement ses commentaires sur les points les plus importants.

Parlant d'abord de la Morphine, M. Brunyate déclare que sa diffusion, toute récente aux Indes, et moins rapide que celle de la cocaïne, a été arrêtée, aussitôt que le Gouvernement en a eu connaissance, par des mesures réglementaires très sévères. Chaque individu ne peut posséder légalement que 10 grains de morphine aux Indes et 5 grains en Birmanie. Les médecins et les pharmaciens eux-mêmes ne peuvent posséder la drogue qu'en se soumettant à des règlements très stricts.

Passant ensuite à l'opium, M. Brunyate fait une distinction fondamentale entre celui qui est produit dans les territoires soumis au contrôle direct du Gouvernement et celui qui est produit dans ceux des Etats Indigènes qui ont conservé le droit de cultiver le pavot. Pour le premier, le Gouvernement peut prendre et a déjà pris des mesures restreignant la culture; pour le second, son action se borne à maintenir l'exportation dans les limites permises. La difficulté dans les Etats de Malwa est de trouver une culture rémunérative à substituer à l'opium, et cela dans un délai très rapproché, car les stocks accumulés suffisent à fournir les quantités nécessaires à l'exportation, sans production nouvelle, pendant la majeure partie de la période de 10 ans prévue par l'arrangement conclu avec la Chine.

De plus, l'opium du Bengale (Patna et Bénarès) est acheté aux cultivateurs pourvus de licences par le Gouvernement qui se charge aussi de la préparation de la drogue; il n'y a donc pas d'intérêts commerciaux privés jusqu'au moment de la vente à Calcutta pour l'exportation ou pour la consommation dans les Indes. En ce qui concerne l'opium de Malwa, au contraire, de grands intérêts commerciaux sont en jeu depuis le moment où la drogue sort des mains du cultivateur jusqu'à celui où il est concentré entre les mains de quelques grandes maisons de Bombay qui en font ensuite la distribution dans tout l'Extrême-Orient.

M. Brunyate fait remarquer ensuite que les chiffres donnés pour l'exportation ne doivent pas faire préjuger de l'avenir puisque l'Arrangement du 1er janvier 1908 avec la Chine prévoit, dans l'exportation vers cette contrée une diminution de 5.100 caisses par an pendant trois ans et même pendant 10 ans si le Gouvernement chinois arrive lui-même à diminuer dans la même proportion la production locale et l'importation de l'opium turc et persan. A la fin de ces 10 années l'exportation de l'opium indien vers d'autres pays que la Chine resterait limitée à 16.000 caisses par an. Cet Arrangement a été accepté avec reconnaissance par le Gouvernement chinois qui, après une année d'expérience, vient d'en exprimer toute sa satisfaction au Ministre de Grande-Bretagne à Pékin.

M. Brunyate donne ensuite le sommaire des mesures prises pour contrôler et régler la possession et la consommation individuelle de l'opium depuis et y compris l'opium act de 1878. L'opium est généralement avalé à l'état cru plutôt que fumé aux Indes; il est aussi employé dans certaines cérémonies comme un accessoire indispensable.

Après avoir analysé les statistiques de la consommation et montré les raisons de l'augmentation apparente des deux ou trois dernières années (contrebande à destination de la Birmanie où une politique prohibitive avait été inaugurée en ce qui concerne les Birmans) M. Brunyate décrit les étapes de la politique prohibitive adoptée par le Gouvernement de Birmanie et les résultats obtenus. Rapide diminution, puis augmentation plus rapide encore de la consommation jusqu'à ces dernières années où la tendance est décidément à la diminution grâce aux mesures prises pour déterminer la consommation réelle de chaque consommateur et pour limiter à leurs besoins personnels les quantités qui peuvent leur être délivrées. Les statistiques des prisons indiquent d'une façon approximative la proportion des Birmans qui ont conservé, malgré la prohibition, l'habitude de l'opium: cette proportion décroît surtout depuis 1902, époque à laquelle ont été prises les mesures ci-dessus indiquées.

M. Brunyate indique ensuite l'importance des revenus tirés de l'opium, pour certains Etats Indigènes d'abord et pour le Gouvernement de l'Inde lui-même. Ce dernier tire de l'opium environ £1.000.000 pour la consommation intérieure et £3.750.000 pour l'exportation; de ce chiffre un peu moins de £3.000.000 sont dues à l'exportation vers la Chine.

En terminant, M. Brunyate cite les paroles prononcées par S.E. le Comte de Minto, Vice-Roi des Indes, au cours de la discussion du budget des Indes, au sujet de l'Arrangement, alors en projet, avec la Chine:

"... Nous ne saurions, sous prétexte de perte de recettes, refuser d'aider la Chine. J'admets que la Chine s'est attelée à une tâche qui risque d'être au-dessus de ses forces, et que, en acceptant la réduction "des importations provenant des Indes, nous avons parfaitement le droit de demander une preuve "satisfaisante que la Chine a, de son côté, réduit sa production intérieure d'opium. Mais, malgré "la perspective d'une grande perte de recettes, j'espère que nous pouvons accepter cette vue que, pourvu "que la période de transition s'étende sur un nombre suffisant d'années, nous n'avons pas à appréhender "un désastre financier."

La séance est levée à midi 45 et reprise à 2h 15 de l'après-midi.

M. Ratard donne lecture en français d'un rapport sur l'importation de l'opium et de ses dérivés en France. M. Brenier donne la traduction anglaise de ce document; il en résulte que les statistiques officielles démontrent le peu d'importance du problème de l'opium en ce qui concerne la France proprement dite.

M. Ratard fait ensuite quelques remarques sur les mesures restrictives adoptées par le Conseil d'Administration Municipale de la Concession française pour supprimer l'opium à la suite de la promulgation des Edits contre l'opium. Il fut considéré comme peu pratique de fermer les fumeries, toutes enregistrées officiellement, aussi longtemps que la vente de la drogue ne serait pas interdite, car,

entre autres considérations, les dangers d'incendie augmenteraient en proportion du nombre du fumeurs faisant usage de lampes dans leurs propres maisons. En conséquence le plan adopté fut d'augmenter annuellement les taxes payables par les fumeries enregistrées (d'après le nombre de lits) de façon à amener la fermeture automatique de ces établissements en diminuant leurs bénéfices. La taxe a déjà été doublée deux fois en deux années, le résultat étant une diminution de 5% dans le nombre des établissements et de 25% dans le nombre des lits utilisés.

M. Brenier dépose ensuite un rapport sur la question de l'opium en Indochine française et donne un court résumé des points qui y sont traités. Il mentionne que l'importation la manufacture et la vente de l'opium sont l'objet d'un monopole d'Etat. Il n'y a pratiquement pas de culture de pavot en Indochine excepté dans les districts de la frontière chinoise dont la production est même insignifiante. En général le sol et les conditions locales du Tonkin sont peu favorables à cette culture. La consommation est presque exclusivement bornée aux riches classes annamites ou chinoise. Le revenu tiré de l'opium constitue 1/6 du budget de la Colonie.

Un rapport sur la question de l'opium à Macao est présenté ensuite par M. G. O. Potier qui promet de fournir en outre, aussitôt qu'il les aura reçues, les informations concernant le Portugal lui-même et ses autres Colonies.

M. Jongh propose la résolution suivante; que " Dans l'article 16 du Règlement de procédure les " mots 2h 30 à 5 heures soient substitués aux mots 2h à 5 heures."

La proposition soutenue par M. Ratard est adoptée à l'unanimité des Délégations moins une.

A 3h 30 Sir C. Clementi Smith propose un ajournement jusqu'au vendredi 12 février afin de permettre aux délégations d'étudier les rapports qu'elles ont reçus.

La Commission ayant approuvé cette suggestion, M. Laidlaw pose aux Délégations japonaise, chinoise et néerlandaise plusieurs questions auxquelles il sera répondu ultérieurement et la séance est levée.

N.B.—Les questions posées au cours de séances et les réponses qui leur ont été données sont reproduites à la suite de chacun des Rapports qu'elles concernent dans le Vol. II.

SIXIÈME SÉANCE,

12 FÉVRIER 1909.

Le Président ouvre la séance à 10h. 30 du matin.

M. Bernauer, Délégué de l'Autriche-Hongrie, donne lecture d'un rapport concernant la question de l'opium et de la morphine dans cette contrée, où le problème ne s'est jamais posé avec beaucoup d'acuité.

M. Rizaëff présente ensuite un rapport sur l'opium en Perse. La culture, la production et l'exportation ont une certaine importance dans ce pays, mais les fumeurs, peu nombreux, sont recrutés presque exclusivement dans les basses classes de la population, et ne jouissent que d'une médiocre considération. Il ne paraît pas que l'on doive redouter une grande extension de l'opiumisme en Perse.

M. Faraone propose alors en son nom et au nom de la Délégation russe d'amender l'article 5 du règlement de procédure en ajoutant in fine les mots "En attendant le dépôt de ceux-ci la Commission pourra alors passer outre et continuer ses travaux."

Cette proposition est adoptée.

L'ordre du jour appelle la discussion du rapport de la Délégation chinoise.

Sir Alexander Hosie, dans un discours dont le texte est publié in extenso dans le corps des minutes anglaises (V. la première partie de ce volume), présente ses observations sur ce rapport.

Il se déclare tout d'abord en parfaite sympathie avec le gouvernement chinois dans ses efforts pour supprimer la culture du pavot et la consommation de l'opium dans son Empire, et exprime l'espoir que les critiques faites par lui ne seront pas attribuées à un esprit de dénigrement mais bien à son désir d'assister la Chine dans sa tâche en aidant, dans la mesure de ses forces, à faire la lumière sur certains points restés obscurs.

M. T'ang a, dit-il, désarmé les critiques en avouant qu'il n'a pas été possible de se procurer des statistiques sérieuses et complètes de l'étendue des surfaces cultivées en pavot ou du nombre des fumeurs, malgré les ordres contenus à ce sujet dans le décret Impérial du 26 juin 1907 et dans le règlement du 29 mai 1908. Il aurait pu tout autant de raison faire une déclaration semblable en ce qui concerne la production d'opium; là, cependant, une tentative a été faite pour fournir des chiffres comparatifs entre 1906 et 1908; mais l'estimation donnée perd beaucoup de sa valeur si l'on admet, avec le Rapport lui-même, que pour les provinces de l'intérieur, celles qui produisent le plus d'opium, elle n'est qu'un travail

morcelé. Les efforts pour donner le nombre des fumeurs et sa proportion avec la population d'adultes mâles, basés sur des chiffres absolument incertains, ne peuvent donner également qu'un résultat sans valeur.

Avant de passer à la production et à la consommation, l'orateur critique les tableaux donnés aux pages 5 et 6 du Memorandum chinois, d'où résulterait que les seules provinces où la consommation de l'opium étranger aurait augmenté en 1908 seraient le Kiangsi et le Nganhoui; une fois entré en Chine l'opium peut fort bien avoir passé d'une province à l'autre sans que ces mouvements aient pu être contrôlés par les Douanes Maritimes Impériales.

Les chiffres très bas donnés à la page 10 du memorandum comme représentant le revenu tiré de l'opium chinois pourraient conduire à de graves erreurs d'interprétation car ils n'indiquent que la taxation sur cette drogue effectuée par les soins des Douanes Maritimes Impériales, et nous savons que rien qu'à Ichang il est perçu sur l'opium descendant de la Haute Vallée du Yangtsé un total de 5.960.105 kouping taëls, soit plus que les recettes totales sur l'opium importé de l'étranger pendant la même année. La Délégation Chinoise peut-elle fournir à la Commission le chiffre total de la taxation sur l'opium indigène pendant une des dernières années?

En ce qui concerne la production, les estimations données comme rapportées par les Douanes en 1906 et 1908 paraissent bien avoir été compilées à une seule et même époque, à la fin de 1908; et l'on ne saurait attacher grande valeur au raisonnement par lequel on nous affirme qu'il y a eu une réduction, dans une proportion déterminée, des surfaces cultivées, alors que l'étendue de ces surfaces reste inconnue. C'est par de pareils raisonnements que l'on arrive à déclarer que la production de l'opium chinois a été diminuée de 37% entre 1906 et 1908. Sir A. Hosie doute que ces conclusions paraissent satisfaisantes à aucune Société de Statistiques occidentale.

Dans les extraits de Télégrammes annexés au Rapport, il est dit que la culture de l'opium a été entièrement supprimée dans le Fengtien. Or le pavot, en Mandchourie, se cultive l'été; il sera donc temps, après l'époque des semailles, de dire si la culture est supprimée pour l'année 1909. Pour le Shantung le chiffre de la production donné par le Gouverneur est de 1.482 piculs et celui que donne la Douane est de 12.000; on peut croire que les mesures nécessaires pour abolir la production seraient différentes dans l'un ou l'autre cas. Les chiffres donnés tant sur la production que sur la réduction de celle-ci dans le Rapport chinois ne sauraient donc être pris comme une base sérieuse.

Sir A. Hosie critique enfin les estimations données par le même Rapport au sujet du nombre des fumeurs et de leur proportion en regard de la population mâle adulte et démontre l'impossibilité de se fier aux chiffres donnés. Quoi qu'il en soit, dit-il, le fait reste établi et ne doit pas être perdu de vue que l'opium est un fléau pour la Chine et que le seul moyen d'en guérir est de supprimer la tentation.

Terminant son discours, il répète que ses observations ne procèdent nullement d'un esprit de dénigrement, et reconnaît qu'un certain progrès a déjà été atteint dans plusieurs provinces. Beaucoup reste à faire mais le Gouvernement Chinois, dont la sincérité ne fait pas question, peut être assuré qu'il a toute la sympathie de la Délégation Britannique et de la Commission dans ses efforts pour supprimer le fléau de l'opium.

Sir A. Hosie, pose des questions écrites précises, au sujet de la surface actuellement cultivée en pavot, du nombre des fumeurs dans les différentes provinces, etc. (Cf. Vol. II, à la suite du Rapport Chinois).

M. Laidlaw retire alors les questions déjà posées par lui à la Délégation Chinoise, et qui se confondent avec les nouvelles questions plus nettes de Sir A. Hosie.

Sir C. Clementi Smith s'élève contre l'exagération de certaines estimations concernant la contrebande d'opium entre Hongkong et la Chine maintenant ou avant la création des nouveaux postes des Douanes Impériales.

M. Ratard et M. Brenier posent deux questions relatives aux taxes de likin sur l'opium, et au nom des districts du Szechouen où la culture de l'opium aurait cessé.

Un des Délégués Chinois n'ayant pu assister à la séance à cause d'une indisposition les réponses aux questions et remarques ci-dessus est remise à plus tard.

M. Miyaoka et de Jongh, et Sir C. Clementi Smith déclarent qu'ils ont demandé télégraphiquement les informations nécessaires en vue de répondre aux questions qui leur ont été posées.

M. Miyaoka propose que "désormais les questions relatives aux rapports soient posées par écrit et que copie en soit fournie aux Délégations par les secrétaires." M. Ratard demande que les "réponses" soient faites et communiquées de la même manière. Ces propositions sont adoptées, étant bien entendu, sur l'observation faite par Sir C. Clementi Smith, que le Président aura le pouvoir de ne faire appliquer cette règle que dans la mesure où elle ne sera pas de nature à retarder d'une façon exagérée les travaux de la Commission, et lorsqu'il lui paraîtra que le compte rendu sténographique serait insuffisant.

Il est décidé que la discussion du rapport de la Délégation néerlandaise sera mise à l'ordre du jour de la prochaine séance.

Le Dr. H. Wright exprime le désir que la Délégation Britannique fournisse des informations au sujet de l'opium et de la réglementation relative à sa consommation en Nouvelle-Zélande et dans l'Afrique du Sud.

M. Bernauer demande que des rapports soient fournis au sujet des Concessions et settlements étrangers en Chine. Il est entendu que le Président écrira au Doyen du Corps Consulaire de Shanghai en vue d'obtenir des informations sur la question de l'opium dans le Settlement International; pour les autres Concessions en Chine, après une discussion animée la proposition est retirée provisoirement.

Sur la proposition du Dr. Hamilton Wright il est décidé de nommer:

1/ Un Comité de trois membres chargé de coordonner les statistiques du commerce de l'opium contenues dans les différents rapports soumis à la Commission et d'établir un rapport international sur ce sujet.

2/ Un Comité de trois membres chargé de coordonner les renseignements relatifs à la culture du pavot et à la production de l'opium cru contenus dans les différents rapports soumis à la Commission et d'établir un rapport international à ce sujet.

3/ Un Comité de trois membres chargé de coordonner les statistiques des revenus tirés de l'opium contenues dans les différents rapports soumis à la Commission et d'établir un rapport international à ce sujet.

La formation, également proposée par le Dr. H. Wright, de Comités chargés d'étudier les questions de l'opium au point de vue médical et des remèdes contre l'opiomanie, est repoussée après discussion, la Commission estimant qu'elle ne comprend pas un nombre suffisant d'experts en ces matières.

La séance est levée à midi 30 et renvoyée au lundi 15 février.

SEPTIÈME SÉANCE,

15 FÉVRIER 1909

La séance est ouverte à 10 h 30 du matin.

Le Président donne lecture des désignations faites pour les Comités dont la formation a été décidée à la séance précédente. (Cf. liste des Comités au début de ce volume).

Sir Cecil Clementi Smith répond à une question posée verbalement à la Délégation Britannique, au cours de la séance précédente, par le Dr. Hamilton Wright au sujet de l'importation et de l'exportation de la morphine dans le Royaume-Uni. Le Dr. H. Wright dit que sa question n'a pas été comprise exactement. Ce qu'il désirait savoir, c'est la destination finale de l'importation nette de morphine dans le Royaume-Uni; il remettra la question par écrit.

Un rapport sur la production et l'usage de l'opium en Italie est lu ensuite par M. Faraone. Il déclare qu'il n'y a pas de loi spéciale sur l'opium dans ce pays mais qu'une réglementation très stricte est en vigueur pour le commerce des "remèdes contenant des poisons," toute infraction étant sévèrement punie; l'opium est compris sous cette rubrique générale.

Le Président déclare ouverte la discussion du rapport néerlandais.

Le texte de diverses questions est soumis à la Délégation Néerlandaise par MM. Roessler, Laidlaw, et le Dr. Tenney. M. de Jongh fournit aussitôt les réponses à ces questions (V. à la suite du rapport néerlandais, au Vol. II.)

M. Miyaoka ayant lu les réponses aux questions qui lui avaient été posées par la Délégation Britannique à la séance précédente, M. Laidlaw demande si les chiffres donnés sous la rubrique "dépenses de l'usine d'opium" comprennent les paiements faits pour le compte des services destinés à combattre la contrebande. M. Miyaoka répond que ces dépenses sont comprises au budget général de la Police et des Douanes.

M. T'aug-kouo-an lit les réponses aux questions posées par la Délégation Britannique aux Commissaires chinois. (V. Vol. II, à la suite du rapport chinois).

Se référant au discours de Sir A. Hosie (voir 6^e séance) il dit que ses collègues et lui apprécient hautement les sentiments exprimés par la Délégation Britannique à l'égard des efforts accomplis contre l'opium par le Gouvernement Impérial. Basée comme elle l'est sur son expérience de la vie, sur ses voyages répétés dans les provinces occidentales de la Chine, et sur ses observations personnelles, l'opinion de Sir A. Hosie, admettant franchement les maux résultant de l'opiomanie, aura certainement le plus grand poids auprès de la Commission. Il est convaincu que les critiques faites sur le memorandum chinois par Sir A. Hosie ne procèdent pas d'un esprit de chicane. La Chine a besoin de beaucoup de sympathies comme celles qu'a exprimées Sir A. Hosie. Il espère que les travaux de la Commission aboutiront à des résolutions condamnant l'usage de l'opium et de ses dérivés sauf pour un usage strictement médical.

L'expression de cette opinion agira, il en a l'assurance, comme un nouvel éperon pour encourager ses concitoyens dans l'œuvre de la suppression de l'opiomanie dont l'envahissement menace le bonheur de 400 millions d'hommes et l'existence même de la Chine en tant que nation.

M. T'ang fait aussi la déclaration suivante en réponse aux observations faites à la dernière séance par Sir C. Clementi Smith au sujet de l'exactitude des indications données dans le rapport chinois sur la contrebande entre Hongkong et la Chine :

A la page 4 de notre memorandum il est dit qu' "avant 1887, la quantité d'opium introduite en Chine chaque année en dehors des voies légales s'élevait à 20.000 piculs." Sir C. Clementi Smith pense que cette estimation est exagérée. Les chiffres donnés sont ceux de Morse dans son livre "Trade and administration of the Chinese Empire" page 342. M. Morse était un observateur consciencieux et son livre est considéré comme une histoire impartiale des questions chinoises qui y sont traitées. De plus son estimation est, en grande partie, justifiée par la comparaison entre les quantités d'opium entrées dans le Kouang-toung par les ports de Soua-tao, Canton et Pakhoi pendant les six années avant 1887 et les quantités entrées dans la même province par les mêmes ports, en y ajoutant Kowloon et Lappa, pendant les six années suivant 1887.

L'importation annuelle dans le Kouang-toung pendant les années 1881-1886 a été de 6,114 piculs et pendant les années 1888-1893 de 23,246 piculs, soit 17,132 piculs de différence. Ces chiffres représentent la quantité d'opium qui a payé les droits d'entrée et de Likin aux bureaux des douanes indiqués, sans faire entrer en ligne de compte tout ce qui a pu éviter les Douanes. Dans les "rapports des Douanes sur les amendes et confiscations" publiés pour les mêmes années le nombre de saisies effectuées montre la fréquence des tentatives de contrebande. On doit aussi se rappeler que la contrebande de l'opium n'était pas limitée au Kouang-toung, mais s'étendait plus ou moins, d'après les mêmes rapports des douanes, à presque tous les "ports ouverts" de Chine. Les chiffres donnés par le memorandum ne s'appliquent pas seulement à Hongkong, car on sait que la contrebande d'opium se faisait aussi de Singapour, par jonques, et par les équipages des vapeurs touchant à Singapour, à Penang et aux ports de l'Inde.

En conséquence les Délégués chinois ne croient pas exagérer en estimant la contrebande de l'opium à 20,000 piculs avant 1887 et à 5,000 piculs depuis cette année.

Les questions posées par la Délégation Française avaient échappé aux yeux de la Délégation Chinoise.

H. T'ang exprime ses regrets à ce sujet et dit que les renseignements demandés seront fournis le plus tôt possible.

Le premier délégué Néerlandais fait ensuite la déclaration suivante :

"Maintenant que les Délégués à la Commission Internationale de l'Opium ont pris connaissance de notre rapport, et de notre memorandum sur le système de la Régie adopté aux Indes Néerlandaises ; après les questions posées par eux et les réponses données par nous ; nous pensons qu'ils sont convaincus que l'objet poursuivi par notre système, le but que nous nous efforçons d'atteindre, est d'arrêter la consommation de l'opium, graduellement mais continuellement, et par tous les moyens en notre pouvoir.

"En conformité de cette politique les délégués des Pays-Bas sont autorisés à déclarer que :

"1/ Leur Gouvernement, convaincu qu'il est désirable de supprimer l'usage de l'opium, ne se laissera jamais arrêter par des considérations financières lorsqu'il y aura lieu de prendre telles mesures qui, dans son opinion, seraient de nature à amener une diminution graduelle de cet usage ;

"2/ Leur Gouvernement n'aurait pas d'objections à apporter au système de la Régie tels changements qu'il considérerait être de nature à combattre l'usage de l'opium et à étendre les moyens d'empêcher la contrebande par terre ou par mer ;

"3/ Dans les provinces où existe encore le système d'affermage, la substitution de la Régie à ce système est d'ores et déjà à l'étude."

Lo Dr. Roessler appelle l'attention sur une faute d'impression dans le rapport sur Kiaochéou. A la dernière page, chapitre 3, les mots "Average smokers use at least 2 liang" doivent se lire "average smokers... at least 0.2 liang." Le Dr. Hamilton Wright remet par écrit deux questions posées par lui à la Délégation Britannique au sujet de l'importation de l'opium cru en Grande-Bretagne, et de l'usage de l'opium dans l'Afrique du Sud. (V. à la suite du rapport britannique, V. II.) M. T'ang, se référant aux déclarations antérieures sur le pourcentage des fumeurs d'opium en Chine, rapporte des informations qu'il a obtenues sur le pourcentage des fumeurs parmi la population chinoise des Philippines. Il dit que 23% des résidents Chinois de cet archipel sont fumeurs enregistrés ; en plus un certain nombre ont pu, pour une raison ou pour une autre, échapper à l'enregistrement ; on peut donc estimer que 25% des Chinois résidents aux Philippines sont fumeurs. Ceci à l'appui des estimations données par sa Délégation sur l'étendue de l'opiomanie en Chine, les pourcentages cités étant beaucoup plus élevés que ceux qu'on admet habituellement pour la Chine.

Le T. R. Evêque Brent, quittant la Présidence (assumée pendant quelques minutes par M. Potier) fait une déclaration personnelle et explicative en réponse à l'observation ci-dessus de M. T'ang. Pour prévenir toute erreur d'appréciation, dit-il, il croit nécessaire de remarquer que tous les fumeurs enregistrés aux Philippines sont Chinois, les indigènes n'étant pas autorisés à prendre des licences. La majorité des Chinois viennent d'Amoy, où, croit-il, l'habitude de fumer l'opium est très répandue.

Enfin presque toute la population Chinoise est composée d'adultes mâles, et le fait qu'il y a très peu de femmes ou d'enfants explique le haut pourcentage de fumeurs.

Ces remarques sont complétées par le Dr. H. Wright qui dit que le résultat de ses recherches parmi la population Chinoise aux Etats-Unis est que 20% des adultes mâles sont grands fumeurs et 20% petits fumeurs, soit au total 40% usant en moyenne 1½ mace d'opium préparé par jour. Cette estimation est peut-être un peu élevée mais il peut déclarer avec une certitude presque absolue que 30% des Chinois adultes mâles sont adonnés à l'opium aux Etats-Unis.

A midi 15 la séance est levée.

A la reprise, à 2h. 30 le rapport austro-hongrois est mis en discussion. Aucune question n'est posée mais le Dr. Roessler demande seulement au Délégué Austro-Hongrois de fournir quelques renseignements sur l'usage et la vente de l'opium dans la concession autrichienne de Tientsin.

Le T. R. Evêque Brent déclare que la Délégation Française a attiré son attention sur quelques erreurs, dans le rapport publié par la "Commission Américaine de l'opium aux Philippines," dont il était membre, au sujet des recettes tirées de l'opium par Indo-Chine. Les mesures seront prises, dit-il, pour corriger ces fautes.

L'ordre du jour appelle ensuite la discussion des rapports allemand et persan. Le Dr. H. Wright aura certaines questions à poser sur ces rapports à la prochaine séance.

A la suite d'une remarque faite par Sir C. Clementi Smith, le Président admet que les Comités nommés pour étudier des parties spéciales des rapports pourront rouvrir la discussion à propos des sujets qui leur sont soumis si de nouveaux renseignements leur paraissent utiles.

La Commission accepte une suggestion du Dr. Roessler tendant à ce que le Comité désigné pour faire un rapport sur les questions de Revenus de l'opium étende ses recherches aux tarifs de douane et autres impôts frappant l'opium.

Une discussion s'élève ensuite au sujet des stipulations relatives à l'opium contenues dans les Traités signés entre les divers pays représentés ; le Président indique que chaque Délégation pourrait, si cela paraît utile, obtenir les renseignements nécessaires sur ces stipulations, ou qu'un Comité pourrait être nommé pour étudier la question.

Le Dr. Roessler propose alors la résolution suivante :

"Qu'un Comité soit nommé pour réunir les accords internationaux existant au sujet de l'opium."

Après discussion cette proposition est adoptée.

Le Dr. Roessler demande aux Délégués Néerlandais s'ils déposeront un rapport sur l'opium aux Pays-Bas proprement dits. M. de Jongh répond par la négative, mais il n'existe, à sa connaissance aucune culture de pavot dans cette contrée. Cependant si on le désire, il s'efforcera d'obtenir des renseignements plus précis.

Une discussion s'élève alors sur le point de savoir si, originairement, l'enquête devait s'étendre à d'autres contrées que l'Extrême-Orient. Les premiers Délégués de France et de Portugal déclarent qu'ils ont compris que les recherches de la Commission se borneraient à l'Extrême-Orient. Le Dr. H. Wright déclare de son côté que le Gouvernement américain avait proposé l'étude de toutes les phases de la question de l'opium dans chacun des pays représentés et suggéré que les recherches soient faites avant la réunion de la Commission de façon à faciliter le travail de celle-ci.

Le Président met fin au débat en indiquant que chaque pays représenté pourra obtenir, sur l'opium dans la métropole, des renseignements suffisants pour éclairer la Commission et la mettre en mesure de mener ses travaux à bonne fin.

La Commission s'ajourne alors au jeudi 18 février ; l'ordre du jour de cette séance sera :

- 1.—Présentation du rapport sur le Canada (s'il est prêt) ;
- 2.—Continuation de la discussion du rapport chinois ;
- 3.—Discussion des rapports sur la Grande Bretagne et ses Possessions ;

HUITIÈME SÉANCE,

18 FÉVRIER 1909.

En ouvrant la séance à 10 h. 30 du matin le Président proclame les noms des Délégués désignés pour faire partie du Comité sur les Traités et les Accords Internationaux existant au sujet du trafic de l'opium. (Cf. liste des Comités, au début de ce Volume.)

M. Brunyate annonce qu'il a demandé télégraphiquement au Gouvernement des Indes les derniers chiffres concernant la morphine, mais il ne croit pas que la réponse doive affecter beaucoup les statistiques données par lui dans son rapport.

M. Mackenzie King, à qui le Président souhaite d'abord la bienvenue, présente son rapport sur la question de l'opium au Canada en s'excusant de son arrivée tardive.

La discussion du rapport chinois est ensuite à l'ordre du jour mais aucune nouvelle question n'est posée.

M. Cornillon, au nom du Comité de statistique des Revenus indique qu'une étude préliminaire des Rapports a déjà fait paraître la nécessité que toutes les Délégations adoptent des unités communes de monnaies, de poids et de mesures afin de faciliter la réduction du rapport International, et il soumet les propositions suivantes:

1.—Que les superficies, quantités et poids soient exprimés d'après le système métrique en hectares et kilogrammes.

2.—Que toutes les monnaies soient réduites en monnaie anglaise au change de 25 francs la £.

3.—Que l'étude des statistiques soit bornée à cinq années, 1903 à 1907 inclus, ce qui sera suffisant pour qu'une opinion générale puisse se former.

Ces propositions rencontrent l'approbation générale de l'Assemblée, mais les calculs qu'elles peuvent entraîner sont confiés aux soins du Comité. Après une remarque du Premier Délégué du Portugal sur le change à adopter, l'ordre du jour appelle la discussion du rapport sur la Grande-Bretagne et ses Possessions.

M. T'ang-kouo-an, le Dr. Tenney et M. H. Wright posent quelques questions relatives à la portée de l'accord Anglo-Chinois et à la culture, à l'exportation de l'opium dans les Etats Indigènes de l'Inde. M. Brunyate donne des réponses verbales provisoires en se réservant de les fournir par écrit à la prochaine séance. (Cf. Vol. II. à la suite du rapport sur l'Inde).

M. Miyaoka pose une question à la Délégation Persane au sujet de l'importation à Formose de l'opium de Perse. (Cf. Vol. II. à la suite du rapport sur la Perse).

M. T'ang-kouo-an propose la résolution suivante :

"Qu'un Comité de 5 membres soit nommé pour étudier les aspects médicaux de la question de l'opium y compris les meilleures méthodes de guérir l'opiomanie sans recourir à l'opium ou à aucun de ses dérivés."

Une discussion s'élève sur la recevabilité de cette motion qui semble se présenter comme semblable à celle qui a déjà été proposée par le Dr. H. Wright à la sixième séance et repoussée.

Le Président dit qu'à son avis la présente proposition revêt une forme entièrement différente de la précédente; dans la résolution repoussée la portée de l'enquête était réduite à l'étude du sujet d'après les rapports déposés seulement, tandis que la résolution actuellement proposée est conçue sur un plan beaucoup plus large; c'est à l'Assemblée de décider si elle entend ou non procéder à cette enquête plus étendue.

M. T'ang explique que, lorsque la proposition repoussée avait été proposée, le Premier Délégué Chinois et lui-même étaient absents, et, par conséquent, n'ont pas pu exprimer leurs vues sur la question.

"Dans notre esprit, dit-il, cette question ne le cède en importance qu'à celle de la suppression même de l'opium en Chine; nous pensons qu'il serait vain d'essayer d'enrayer l'habitude de fumer si nous devons continuer à absorber le poison sous d'autres formes, en pilules par exemple. C'est pourquoi, si cette Commission veut justifier son existence, et si elle désire arriver à des résultats satisfaisants il est nécessaire, à notre avis, que cette question soit discutée à fond. Pour montrer quelle importance y est attachée par tout le monde, on me permettra de rappeler que le Ministre de Sa Majesté Britannique à Pékin a souvent demandé à notre Gouvernement quel avantage la Chine trouverait à restreindre la culture de l'opium si, sous d'autres formes (et par là il entendait l'usage de pilules contre l'opium etc.) le fléau de l'opium devait continuer à s'étendre sans obstacle dans l'Empire."

"Je prie donc cette honorable Commission de considérer la question avec soin afin qu'elle puisse remplir son devoir tout entier et non pas seulement en partie; je ne crois pas en effet que l'intention de mon Gouvernement ni celle d'aucun autre Gouvernement ici représenté nous bornions nos discussions aux matières relatives à la culture de l'opium."

"Au contraire je crois que nous sommes ici pour retourner la question sous toutes ses faces; et c'est aussi l'idée exprimée par les Sociétés contre l'opium et par l'opinion publique dans tous les pays civilisés. En présentant ma résolution je demande donc instamment l'aide et la coopération de cette Commission."

Le Dr. Tenney déclare qu'il partage les vues exprimées par le Délégué Chinois. Il pense que la Commission serait blâmée à juste titre si elle se séparait sans présenter ses vues sur la question. Lorsque la proposition soumise précédemment à la Commission a été repoussée elle n'a pas été pesée suffisamment peut-être et il est possible que le vote n'ait pas été l'expression d'un jugement mûri de l'Assemblée. S'il est nécessaire de soumettre de nouveau la motion à l'Assemblée il propose qu'il soit procédé au vote par appel nominal.

M. Ratard suggère qu'une copie de la résolution soit remise à chaque Délégation afin d'en permettre l'étude, et que l'on ne passe au vote que dans deux ou trois jours. Dr. Tenney propose que la question soit mise en tête de l'ordre du jour pour la prochaine séance (adopté). A midi la séance est levée et renvoyée au 10 février.

NEUVIÈME SÉANCE,

19 FÉVRIER 1909.

LA séance est ouverte à 10 h. 30 du matin; l'ordre du jour appelle la discussion de la résolution présentée par M. T'ang-kouo-an à la séance précédente et ainsi conçue:

"Un comité de cinq membres sera nommé pour étudier et faire un rapport sur les aspects médicaux de la question de l'opium y compris les meilleures méthodes de guérir l'opiomanie sans avoir recours à la drogue ou à aucun de ses dérivés."

Sir C. Clementi Smith, se levant pour continuer la discussion, dit que l'attitude qu'il prend au nom de la Délégation Britannique en s'opposant à la nomination d'un Comité médical n'est en aucune façon dirigée contre une enquête pratique sur ce sujet dont il reconnaît l'importance; elle est basée simplement sur le fait qu'il ne considère pas la Commission comme comprenant un nombre suffisant d'hommes compétents pour traiter cette question. Il déclare que personne, dans la Commission, ne peut sympathiser avec l'objet poursuivi par M. T'ang plus que lui et ses collègues, et il pense qu'on reconnaîtra que le Gouvernement Britannique a prouvé son désir d'aider la Chine à résoudre le problème de l'opium; mais il considère que toute assistance accordée à la Chine doit revêtir une allure pratique et qui puisse être universellement reconnue comme telle.

Il insiste sur ce fait que la Commission n'a pas été formée sur une base scientifique. Il ne croit pas se tromper en disant que, sauf le Dr. H. Wright et le savant distingué qui fait partie de la Délégation Japonaise, il n'y a parmi les membres présents personne qui soit qualifié pour traiter des sujets comme les remèdes contre l'opium, etc.; c'est en s'attachant fortement à ce point de vue, et parce qu'elle sent en même temps que la question présente une grande urgence et qu'elle a été laissée trop longtemps de côté, que la Délégation Britannique désire que des mesures soient prises sans retard. Bien que le Gouvernement Chinois ait publié des règlements stipulant expressément que les pilules contre l'opium ne devront pas contenir d'opium ou de morphine, c'est un fait bien connu que des pilules contenant une large proportion des drogues prohibées sont vendues sur une large échelle en Chine. Sir C. Clementi Smith pense que, si des mesures étaient prises pour mettre effectivement en vigueur ces règlements, une grande partie des maux affectant la Chine seraient supprimés. Il ajoute que, bien que la question des remèdes contre l'opium ne se soit pas posée avec une grande ampleur encore pour les Gouvernements des colonies orientales, ceux-ci, néanmoins, ont déjà reconnu la nécessité de restreindre l'usage de l'opium sous cette forme.

Continuant son discours l'orateur observe que les maux produits par l'usage de la morphine ont eu des effets terribles. Un accord, bientôt en vigueur, a cependant été fait récemment avec la Chine pour arrêter la diffusion de la morphine, et il espère avec confiance que cet accord aura l'effet désiré par tous les intéressés. Il répète que la Délégation Britannique ne trouve pas la Commission composée de façon à admettre qu'un Comité puisse être choisi, parmi ses membres, capable de mener une enquête d'une manière pratique au sujet des aspects médicaux de la question de l'opium; mais il pense pouvoir saisir l'occasion présente de suggérer aux différents Délégués que ce sujet soit signalé directement et rapidement à leurs Gouvernements respectifs qui, seuls, sont en mesure de nommer des Comités compétents et de procéder aux recherches utiles en vue d'atteindre le but poursuivi. Ce n'est pas une question qu'on puisse régler localement mais qui doit être traitée par les plus Hautes Institutions Scientifiques des deux Mondes. La nomination du Comité préconisé par M. T'ang gênerait plutôt qu'elle n'avancerait l'enquête nécessaire. C'est pourquoi il termine son discours en soumettant à la Commission l'amendement suivant; si celui-ci est adopté il demandera, en temps utile, qu'il soit inséré parmi les Résolutions formelles adoptées par la Commission en fin de session:

"Eu égard à la constitution de cette Commission qui, parmi ses membres, ne comprend pas un nombre suffisant d'hommes compétents pour former un Comité d'enquête, à un point de vue scientifique, sur les remèdes contre l'opium et sur les propriétés et les effets de l'opium et de ses produits, la Commission désire que chaque Délégation recommande cette branche du sujet à son Gouvernement pour que celui-ci prenne telles mesures qu'il croira nécessaire à cet égard."

Le Dr. H. Wright, après avoir remercié Sir C. Clementi Smith des compliments personnels à lui adressés, fait remarquer qu'il y a, dans la Délégation Chinoise, un expert médical, ayant fait des études occidentales et qui, au point de vue scientifique, est parfaitement compétent. Il y a donc dans la Commission trois médecins capables d'entreprendre l'enquête proposée. La Commission Royale Britannique ne comprenait qu'un expert médical dont le rapport a beaucoup influencé le jugement final de ladite Commission, mais ne paraît pas avoir satisfait la majorité des médecins qui l'ont examiné en détail. Il serait temps qu'une autre opinion, basée sur des faits récemment connus puisse être exprimée, et, sans mettre en cause les capacités de l'expert médical ci-dessus désigné, d'autres peuvent être aussi bien que lui à même d'examiner la question. Si un expert a suffi à la Commission Royale, trois peuvent sans doute satisfaire la Commission Internationale.

En adoptant la proposition de M. T'ang on atteindra l'un des buts de cette Commission qui doit être de reprendre la question médicale sur un pied plus moderne.

H. T'ang-kouo-an demande la permission de répondre à quelques-unes des remarques de Sir C. Clementi Smith.

Il déclare que dans les règlements publiés par la Chine il y a deux ans pour la suppression de l'opium une des questions traitées était les "remèdes contre l'opium." Depuis lors la Chine a pris des mesures pour contrôler la vente de ces remèdes dans l'intérieur. Par exemple à Tchentou, capitale du Szechouen, aucun remède contre l'opium ne peut être vendu sans l'autorisation de la police, et, dans d'autres endroits, la Police s'efforce de restreindre la vente de ces remèdes. Mais, et c'est un fait déplorable, la masse de ces remèdes est fabriquée et introduite dans l'intérieur par les Ports à Traités; la Chine, pour ce motif, est impuissante à empêcher la diffusion de ces drogues de charlatans sans la coopération des Puissances à Traités. C'est une des raisons qui l'ont décidé à rédiger la Résolution actuellement à l'examen.

De plus, en supposant qu'il n'y a pas, comme le pense la Délégation Britannique, un nombre suffisant d'experts dans la Commission pour traiter la question, rien n'empêche, à sa connaissance, soit dans la constitution, soit dans les règles de la Commission, que celle-ci ne prenne l'avis d'experts du dehors.

Le Dr. Rössler soutient la proposition de M. T'ang dans les termes suivants :

"D'après la correspondance échangée entre le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis et les Puissances intéressées dans la question de l'opium, cette Commission doit faire une enquête générale et impartiale sur les conditions scientifiques et matérielles du commerce de l'opium et de l'opiomanie. Je craindrais que le rapport que nous soumettrons à nos Gouvernements soit incomplet si nous omettions l'aspect médical de la question de l'opium."

"Le côté médical de la question de l'opium est au début de la campagne contre l'opium et, pour cette raison, toutes les Commissions de l'opium qui ont fonctionné jusqu'à ce jour ont fait une enquête soigneuse sur ce côté de la question. On me permettra, à ce sujet, de citer les rapports des Commissions de Ceylan, des Etablissements des Détroits et de la Commission Royale sur l'opium aux Indes, qui contiennent tous des informations précieuses de cette nature."

"Vous n'ignorez pas que les médecins n'ont pas sur ce sujet une opinion unanime. Il serait d'autant plus intéressant d'entendre ce que les trois éminents médecins qui font partie de cette Commission peuvent avoir à dire sur ce sujet. On sait que les médecins de nos métropoles ont peu ou pas d'expérience en ce qui concerne les effets de l'opium fumé car il n'y a pas de problème de ce genre dans les Pays occidentaux. Au contraire les trois médecins faisant partie de cette Commission ont acquis leur expérience dans l'Extrême-Orient; c'est pourquoi je pense que nous devons leur donner l'occasion de déclarer leurs opinions. Pour ces raisons je suis en faveur de la Proposition de la Délégation Chinoise."

L'amendement de Sir C. Clementi Smith est alors mis aux voix et adopté par 7 voix contre 6 :

Pour l'amendement :

Grande-Bretagne
France
Pays-Bas
Perse
Portugal
Russie
Siam

Contre l'amendement :

Etats-Unis d'Amérique
Autriche-Hongrie
Chine
Allemagne
Italie
Japon

M. Miyaoka répond ensuite aux questions qui lui ont été soumises par M. Laidlaw, et M. Brunyate à celles que lui ont posées les Délégations Américaine et Chinoise. (V. les réponses à la suite des rapports japonais et britannique, dans le Volume II).

Le Président suggère que la présentation de résolutions pourra commencer lundi prochain (22 février). S'il y avait quelque point nouveau à discuter sur les Rapports distribués depuis peu, leur discussion serait à l'ordre du jour de lundi matin et l'assemblée pourrait, en attendant la présentation de résolutions sur les objets soumis à la Commission. Il ne croit pas nécessaire d'attendre les rapports des Comités avant de prendre en considération les résolutions qui pourraient être présentées.

M. de Jongh, Premier Délégué des Pays-Bas, propose que toute résolution soit distribuée par écrit avant d'être soumise à la Commission afin que les Délégués aient le temps de les étudier.

Le Président reconnaît que cette procédure est conforme aux règles adoptées et appliquées jusqu'à ce jour.

M. Ratard donne dans les termes suivants une explication spontanée du vote de la Délégation française sur la proposition de M. T'ang repoussée tout à l'heure par l'adoption de l'amendement de Sir C. Clementi Smith.

"Si vous le permettez j'exposerai les raisons pour lesquelles j'ai voté contre la proposition de M. T'ang."

"J'ai sous les yeux la correspondance échangée entre les Gouvernements français et Américain au sujet du programme de cette Commission, correspondance sur laquelle ont été basées les instructions données à notre Délégation. La question a été soumise au Gouvernement français par S.E. l'Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis à Paris à deux reprises : les 15 et 24 juillet 1908."

"La communication du 15 juillet donne l'énumération suivante des points que la Conférence aura à traiter, et que le Gouvernement Américain invite chaque Pays représenté à faire étudier d'avance par ses Délégués :

- "1.—Importation de l'opium à l'état cru, de ses dérivés et du chandoo;
- "2.—Consommation intérieure de l'opium cru;
- "3.—Fabrication et usage du chandoo;
- "4.—Fabrication et la morphine et autres dérivés;
- "5.—Usage de la drogue à l'état cru;
- "6.—Préparation et usage de la morphine et autres dérivés;
- "7.—Extension licite et illicite de la culture du pavot (en Amérique); possibilité de sa culture;
- "8.—Lois (fédérales) relatives à l'usage de l'opium et de ses dérivés."

"La réponse officielle du Gouvernement Français à S.E. l'Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis à Paris, datée du 5 août 1908, déclare que, conformément au désir exprimé par le Gouvernement Américain, le Gouvernement de la République ne désignera que des Commissaires au fait de toutes les questions soulevées par le commerce de l'opium, documentés sur les intérêts français qu'il touche, et munis d'instructions limitatives."

"Les instructions données par le Gouvernement français au chef de la Délégation française, après avoir rappelé les points du programme limitatif ci-dessus, indiquaient que la question de l'opium présentait un intérêt considérable pour l'Indochine dont les Finances peuvent être affectées par les travaux de la Commission, et recommandaient aux Commissaires français de ne s'écarter en aucun point de leurs instructions limitatives."

"Le vote que la Délégation française a exprimé tout à l'heure est donc pleinement justifié par ces citations; aucune délégation ne ressent plus de sympathie que nous pour les efforts du Gouvernement Chinois pour se débarrasser du fléau de l'opium et je m'associe pleinement aux sentiments exprimés à cet égard par Sir Alexander Hosie; les questions scientifiques et médicales soulevées par l'opium sont d'une importance telle que je crois, comme Sir C. Clementi Smith, qu'il serait très intéressant et très utile de les soumettre aux plus hautes autorités scientifiques et médicales des Pays intéressés dans la question de l'opium. Cette Délégation était cependant dans l'impossibilité de dévier en quoi que ce soit des instructions qu'elle a reçues."

Le Dr. Hamilton Wright, au nom de la Délégation Américaine, déclare qu'il est parfaitement d'accord avec M. Ratard sur le sens de la correspondance échangée entre les Gouvernements Américain et Français.

M. Miyaoka explique, de son côté, dans les termes suivants, les raisons pour lesquelles il a voté contre l'amendement présenté par Sir C. Clementi Smith :

"Avec la permission de l'assemblée j'ai l'honneur de donner l'explication du vote que j'ai émis au nom de la Délégation Japonaise. Dans une note adressée par S.E. M. O'Brien, Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis près la Cour Impériale de Tokyo en date du 12 mai 1908, à S. E. le Comte Hayashi, alors Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, il est dit :

"L'idée du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique est que les Commissaires de chaque Gouvernement procéderont indépendamment et immédiatement dans le but ;

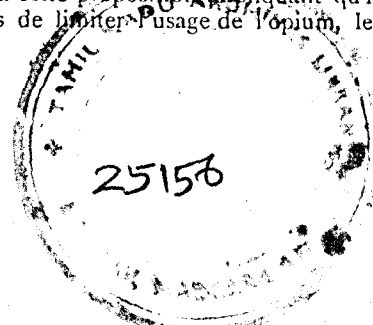
"(1) de rechercher les moyens de diminuer l'usage de l'opium dans les possessions de ce pays ;

"(2) d'assurer, s'il existe un trafic de l'opium parmi les nationaux de ce pays dans l'Extrême-Orient, les meilleurs moyens de supprimer ce trafic ;

"(3) que les Délégués respectifs soient, lorsqu'ils se réuniront à Shanghai au mois de janvier (février), en position de coopérer et de présenter, conjointement ou séparément, des suggestions définies de mesures tendant à la suppression graduelle de la culture de l'opium, aussi bien que de son trafic et de son usage, dans les possessions extrême-orientales, et que leurs Gouvernements respectifs seraient prêts à adopter. De cette façon les membres du Gouvernement Chinois seront aidés à déraciner le mal dans leur Empire."

"Ceci, comme on le voit, se trouve dans une note de l'Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis datée du 12 mai 1908. Le Gouvernement Impérial du Japon accéda à cette proposition en déclarant qu'il était prêt à nommer une Commission pour rechercher des moyens de limiter l'usage de l'opium, les meilleurs

22 (2001) pl. 1006
NOS. 2



"moyens de supprimer le trafic de cet article, et les meilleurs moyens de supprimer graduellement non seulement la culture mais aussi l'usage de l'opium. Sachant que les plans et systèmes qui ont pour objet la suppression de l'opium et de son usage ne peuvent être efficacement discutés que par des hommes qui ont une connaissance particulière des propriétés chimiques de l'opium et des effets qu'il a sur la constitution de l'homme, le Gouvernement Impérial du Japon a cru bon de choisir comme Délégués un chimiste éminent, le Dr. Tahara, et un médecin également éminent, le Dr. Takaki, lequel, ajouterai-je, est, à Formose, à la tête de tout ce qui regarde le contrôle de l'opium. Donc, lorsque cette Délévation a été nommée par le Gouvernement du Japon, il était entendu que nous devions aborder la question de la suppression de l'opium, y compris naturellement la guérison de l'opiomanie. La Délévation japonaise a, pour ces motifs, cru devoir voter contre l'amendement proposé par Sir C. Clementi Smith, afin d'avoir l'occasion de donner sa voix à la résolution proposée par M. T'ang."

Le Dr. Tenney retire une proposition tendant à siéger samedi et la Commission accepte la motion d'ajournement à lundi (22 février) proposée par M. Miyaoka.

A 11h. 40 la séance est levée.

(Au cours de la séance le Président, au nom de l'Assemblée, souhaite la bienvenue à M. Chalmers, associé à la Délévation chinoise, qu'une maladie avait jusqu'à présent empêché d'assister aux séances de la Commission).

DIXIÈME SÉANCE

22 FÉVRIER 1909

La séance est ouverte à 10h. 30 du matin.

Le Président annonce, en exprimant ses regrets, que le Délégué de l'Italie est souffrant et ne peut assister à la séance. Il exprime également ses regrets de ce que le nom du Secrétaire de la Délévation Persane a été omis sur la liste officielle des représentants. Le secrétaire de la Commission prendra, dit-il, les mesures nécessaires pour corriger cette erreur. Le nom de M. B. A. Somekh sera inscrit dans le compte-rendu imprimé des séances. (Cf. liste des Délégations en tête de ce Volume).

Le premier Délégué des Pays-Bas donne les informations qu'il a reçues télégraphiquement sur l'opium en Hollande. (Cf. Vol. II, rapport sur la Hollande).

Les Délégations Britannique et Japonaise donnent lecture de réponses aux questions qu'elles ont reçues respectivement des Délégations Américaine et Britannique. M. T'ang-kouo-an, au nom de la Délévation Chinoise répond à trois questions posées par les Délégations Britannique et Française au cours de la sixième séance.

Une réponse aux questions posées par la Délévation Américaine est donnée par la Délévation Persane et la Délévation Chinoise demande à la Délévation Britannique de fournir certaines statistiques concernant le nombre des fumeurs d'opium à Hongkong et dans les Etablissements des Détroits. (V. ces questions et réponses à la suite des rapports qu'elles concernent au Vol. II).

M. T'ang-kouo-an, se référant à ces dernières questions, déclare que sa Délévation saisit cette occasion d'exprimer combien elle apprécie les mesures récemment prises par les autorités de Hongkong contre la contrebande de l'opium vers la Chine, laquelle, d'après le commissaire des Douanes à Kowloon, a beaucoup diminué depuis les dernières années.

Deux questions sont soumises par M. T'ang-kouo-an à la Délévation Française au sujet de la quantité d'opium importée à Kouan-tchéou-ouan. (V. Vol. II à la suite du rapport français).

Sir C. Clementi Smith exprime ses remerciements à M. T'ang pour ses remarques au sujet de l'action des autorités de Hongkong. D'après les informations qu'il possède le Gouvernement de Hongkong est au courant de tout ce que devient l'opium introduit dans ce Port et a de bonnes raisons de croire qu'il n'existe actuellement aucune contrebande de Hongkong vers le territoire Chinois.

Les rapports imprimés du Portugal et des Etats-Unis sont distribués et le Président annonce que la discussion de ces rapports sera à l'ordre du jour.

Le premier Délégué de France demande que, s'il y a d'autres questions à poser sur le rapport français, elles soient présentées sans délai.

Le Dr. H. Wright ayant posé une question à la Délévation Britannique sur la quantité d'opium à fumer embarquée à Hongkong ou dans les Etablissements des Détroits pour les Philippines, le Président demande si quelque Comité est prêt à soumettre son rapport à la Commission.

Le Dr. Tenney, au nom du Comité des Traités et Accords Internationaux existant sur le trafic de l'opium déclare que le rapport, non imprimé, ne peut pas encore être déposé, mais qu'il peut le lire; il ajoute que le Comité a pris la liberté d'ajouter à son nom les mots "et de ses dérivés."

Après la lecture de ce rapport Sir C. Clementi Smith exprime l'opinion que ni lui ni ses collègues n'ont jamais prévu que le Comité ferait des extraits de certains Traités ou Accords et donnerait son interprétation de la signification exacte de ces extraits. Lui, en tout cas, n'oserait pas faire quoi que ce soit de ce genre et il considère cela comme un procédé extrêmement dangereux, ces questions étant généralement laissées à l'interprétation des Gouvernements intéressés.

Finalement il est décidé de laisser le rapport en l'état jusqu'à ce que les diverses Délégations aient eu le temps de l'étudier.

Aucune autre question n'étant présentée, le T. R. Evêque Brent constate que la Commission a atteint son premier objet et déclare que la présentation de résolutions sera maintenant à l'ordre du jour. Avant de passer à ce genre de travail il attire l'attention de l'Assemblée sur certaines considérations et certaines principes qui lui paraissent importants dans cette occurrence. Il cite un passage du Rapport sur la seconde Conférence de la Haye au sujet des Conférences et Commissions similaires à celle qui est actuellement réunie à Shanghai; il est rappelé, dans cet extrait, que le but des Conférences et des Commissions est d'arriver à un accord et non à une contrainte; que l'accord doit être réel et non apparent seulement; et qu'il est préférable de laisser un sujet temporairement de côté, de le renvoyer à une Conférence ultérieure, plutôt que d'en arriver à irriter l'une ou l'autre des Puissances représentées.

Convaincu que ces principes sont ceux de la Commission, le Président insiste sur la responsabilité qu'elle encourt, ainsi que lui, personnellement, comme son chef. Les résultats de cette Commission seront directs et indirects; directs en ce qu'ils sont appelés à prendre éventuellement la forme de lois dans les divers pays représentés; indirects en ce qu'ils produiront leur impression sur l'opinion publique en faisant naître des sentiments, arbitres suprêmes dans toutes les grandes questions. Le monde attend de cette Commission quelque chose de définitif, sinon de final, et la Commission a devancé elle une matière suffisante pour qu'elle puisse arriver à des conclusions précieuses.

Il est probable qu'avant d'arriver à l'entente il y aura à traverser l'épreuve de la discussion, mais le Président espère avec confiance que chacun gardera le respect des convictions d'autrui et observera la plus parfaite courtoisie.

Des résultats de cette Commission, dépendent deux grandes questions; d'abord le principe même de l'étude internationale de questions controversées, car l'institution des Commissions Internationales est encore récente, et, selon les résultats donnés par celle-ci, il peut gagner ou perdre dans l'estime publique. Ensuite, si la Commission n'arrive pas à des résultats pratiques et appréciables, la question de l'opium risque de retomber aux mains des agitateurs et des extrémistes pour la plus grande confusion de l'opinion publique.

Le Président est convaincu que l'Assemblée est consciente de sa responsabilité et espère qu'elle remplira noblement son devoir.

Il la remercie de la courtoisie et de la dignité qui a caractérisé ses travaux sans qu'il ait eu à intervenir pour maintenir l'ordre, et espère que jusqu'à la fin ces qualités continueront à prévaloir au sein de la Commission.

Il suggère enfin que, suivant la méthode suivie jusqu'à ce jour les résolutions soient présentées par les différentes Délégations dans l'ordre alphabétique des Pays qu'elles représentent, la discussion ne venant qu'après le dépôt de toutes les résolutions.

Il est décidé de procéder ainsi, mais sans fixer aucune limite de temps pour le dépôt des résolutions.

La séance est levée et la prochaine réunion remise au 23 février à 10h 30 du matin.

PROCÈS-VERBAL DE LA ONZIÈME SÉANCE,

23 FÉVRIER 1909

LA séance est ouverte à 10 h. 30 du matin.

Après lecture par le premier Délégué Britannique de réponses (Cf. Vol. II) aux questions qui lui ont été posées par les Délégations Américaine et Chinoise, le Dr. Rössler propose que les résolutions à soumettre à la Commission soient préalablement discutées par un Comité afin d'éviter des débats inutiles. Sir C. Clementi Smith pense que les résolutions doivent être renvoyées à un Comité après leur adoption et non avant d'avoir été soumises à la Commission. Le Premier Délégué de France partage ce point de vue.

Mise aux voix la proposition du Dr. Rössler est écartée par 6 contre 5.

La Commission se trouve à ce moment en présence des textes suivants distribués d'avance aux différentes Délégations :

(a) Résolutions proposées par les Délégués Américains et basées sur l'étude des différents rapports présentés par les diverses Délégations à la Commission Internationale de l'opium.

1.—Considérant que les rapports soumis à la Commission de l'Opium par les Délégations des Puissances reconnaissent que l'opium, ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés sont ou devraient être réservés aux usages légitimes de la médecine ;

Pour ces motifs la Commission Internationale de l'Opium est d'avis qu'un effort commun devrait être fait par les pays représentés en vue de confiner immédiatement ou dans un avenir prochain, l'opium, ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés aux usages légitimes de la médecine ;

De plus la Commission Internationale de l'Opium est d'avis que chaque Gouvernement représenté est le mieux qualifié pour déterminer, en ce qui concerne ses nationaux respectifs et les peuples dépendants ou protégés, ce qui doit être considéré comme usage médical légitime.

2.—Considérant que les rapports soumis à la Commission Internationale de l'Opium par les Délégations reconnaissent que, par suite d'une connaissance insuffisante des effets désastreux qu'entraîne l'usage immodéré et inconsidéré de l'opium, de ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés, et faute d'une opinion Internationale commune sur la question générale de l'opium en ce qui concerne la production et le libre usage de l'opium, de ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés, certains problèmes budgétaires dépendent étroitement et principalement de la production, de la vente et de l'usage de l'opium, de ses alcaloïdes préparations et dérivés ;

Pour ces motifs, la Commission Internationale de l'opium reconnaît que ces problèmes budgétaires existent encore et que leur solution demandera un certain temps ;

Elle est d'avis cependant qu'aucun Gouvernement, ne devrait soit par principe soit par nécessité, continuer à dépendre étroitement et principalement de la production de l'opium, de ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés, comme faisant partie essentielle de ses recettes ;

Elle est encore d'avis que les problèmes budgétaires, tels qu'ils existent, ne sont pas de nature à déjouer les efforts des Gouvernements qui doivent les résoudre ; et qu'une solution devrait être donnée aussitôt que possible en vue de réléguer l'opium, ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés à leurs usages propres, et légitimes, en matière médicale.

3.—Considérant que les rapports soumis à la Commission Internationale de l'opium par les Délégations déclarent qu'il est défendu à leurs nationaux de fumer l'opium ; considérant en outre que quelques-uns desdits rapports déclarent que la même prohibition s'étend aux peuples dépendants ou protégés de certains Gouvernements représentés ;

Pour ces motifs, la Commission Internationale de l'opium est d'avis que le principe de la prohibition totale de la fabrication, de la distribution et de l'usage de l'opium à fumer est le vrai principe qui doit être appliqué à tous les peuples, aussi bien dépendants ou protégés que nationaux ; et qu'aucun système pour la fabrication, la distribution ou l'usage de l'opium à fumer ne devrait continuer à exister si ce n'est dans le but expresse et unique de supprimer au plus tôt les maux qu'entraîne l'habitude de fumer l'opium.

4.—Considérant que les rapports soumis à la Commission Internationale de l'Opium par les Délégations rappellent que chacun de leurs Gouvernements a des lois strictes dont le but direct ou indirect est d'empêcher sur leurs territoires respectifs l'entrée en contrebande de l'opium, de ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés.

Pour ces motifs la Commission Internationale de l'Opium est d'avis qu'il est un devoir pour tous les Pays qui continuent à produire l'opium, ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés, d'empêcher aux ports de sortie l'embarquement d'aucun alcaloïde, préparation ou dérivé de l'opium, et d'interdire d'un pays qui interdit l'entrée sur son territoire desdits alcaloïdes, préparations ou dérivés de l'opium.

5.—Considérant que les rapports soumis à la Commission Internationale de l'Opium par les Délégations indiquent que l'abus de la morphine, de ses sels et dérivés, est indissolublement lié à l'abus de l'opium lui-même, et que leur usage accompagne, et, tôt ou tard, dépasse l'usage de l'opium lui-même ;

Pour ces motifs, la Commission Internationale de l'Opium est d'avis que des Accords Internationaux très stricts sont nécessaires pour contrôler la fabrication, le commerce et l'abus présent ou futur de la morphine, de ses sels et dérivés par les ressortissants des Gouvernements représentés à la Commission Internationale de l'Opium.

6.—Considérant que les rapports soumis à la Commission Internationale de l'Opium par les Délégations indiquent que, bien que chaque Gouvernement représenté soit le mieux qualifié pour régler par ses lois nationales les problèmes intérieurs soulevés par la fabrication, l'importation ou l'abus de l'opium, de ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés, cependant aucun desdits Gouvernements représentés ne peut résoudre complètement ses problèmes intérieurs de l'opium sans l'aide de tous les Gouvernements intéressés dans la production et la fabrication de l'opium, de ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés ;

Pour ces motifs la Commission Internationale de l'Opium est d'avis que des efforts concertés doivent être faits par les Gouvernements représentés à la Commission Internationale de l'Opium en vue de s'assister mutuellement pour la solution de leurs problèmes intérieurs respectifs soulevés par l'opium.

7.—Considérant que les rapports soumis à la Commission Internationale de l'Opium par les Délégations reconnaissent directement ou indirectement que les résolutions ci-dessus ne peuvent devenir effectives que par l'action combinée des Gouvernements intéressés ;

Pour ces motifs il est décidé que la Commission Internationale de l'Opium dans son ensemble, et chaque Délégation en ce qui concerne son Gouvernement, recommande la convocation aussi rapide que possible d'une Conférence Internationale chargée de négocier une Convention définitive basée sur les conclusions de la Commission Internationale de l'Opium et sur les résolutions qu'elle aura adoptées.

(b) Résolution séparée proposée par la Délégation Américaine.

Considérant que l'un des objets formels de la Commission Internationale de l'Opium est d'encourager la Chine dans ses efforts pour débarrasser l'Empire de l'abus de l'opium, de ses alcaloïdes préparations et dérivés ;

La Commission Internationale de l'Opium est d'avis que toutes les nations ayant des traités avec la Chine ont le devoir de notifier au Gouvernement Chinois qu'elles consentiront à la prohibition complète de l'importation de l'opium, de ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés aussitôt que la Chine aura prouvé d'une façon satisfaisante que la prohibition de la culture du pavot en Chine est devenue effective ; et que, cette preuve étant fournie, tout traité, stipulation ou accord spécial qui pourrait gêner la libre action de la Chine vis-à-vis de l'opium étranger devrait être abrogé.

(c) Résolutions proposées par la Délégation Britannique.

1.—La Commission reconnaît la sincérité inébranlable du Gouvernement Chinois dans ses efforts pour déraciner la production et la consommation de l'opium à travers l'Empire ; l'importance croissante de la partie de l'opinion publique qui, parmi ses ressortissants, fait corps pour soutenir ces efforts ; et le progrès, réel bien qu'inégal, déjà accompli dans une tâche qui est d'une ampleur immense.

2.—Les représentants de la Chine à cette Commission sont malheureusement hors d'état de fournir des preuves statistiques sûres témoignant de la portée actuelle de la diminution obtenue dans la production ; et la Commission redoute qu'à certains égards cet élément fondamental du problème de la prohibition ne présente de plus en plus de difficultés : en conséquence la Commission recommande fortement aux Gouvernements intéressés d'entrer en négociations avec le Gouvernement Chinois en vue d'inaugurer des méthodes plus systématiques de traiter la question de la production.

3.—La Commission trouve que le manque de restrictions à la fabrication, à la vente et à la distribution de la morphine constitue d'ores et déjà un grave danger pour la Chine, et que la morphinomanie, tend à se répandre parmi les autres peuples de l'Extrême-Orient et ailleurs : la Commission, en conséquence désire insister fortement auprès de tous les Gouvernements sur l'importance que présenterait l'établissement de mesures draconiennes par chaque Gouvernement sur son propre territoire et dans ses possessions pour contrôler la fabrication, la vente et la distribution de cette drogue ainsi que des autres dérivés de l'opium qu'une enquête scientifique pourrait signaler comme susceptibles d'abus semblables et d'effets similaires à ceux de l'opium.

4.—La Commission trouve que l'usage de l'opium sous quelque forme que ce soit autre que l'usage médical est considéré par presque tous les pays représentés comme devant être prohibé ou soigneusement réglementé : et que chacun des systèmes de réglementation actuellement appliqués a pour but, selon les occasions, d'augmenter progressivement les restrictions. Considérant la grande diversité des conditions prévalant dans les différentes contrées, la Commission n'est pas en mesure de prononcer que l'un quelconque des systèmes de réglementation est décisivement supérieur aux autres ; mais elle attire l'attention des Gouvernements intéressés sur l'opportunité d'un nouvel examen de leurs systèmes de réglementation à la lumière de l'expérience des autres pays ayant à traiter les mêmes problèmes.

5.—La Commission, qu'elle est constituée, ne saurait entreprendre l'enquête à un point de vue scientifique sur les maux causés par l'opium et sur les propriétés et les effets de l'opium et de ses produits ; mais elle croit qu'une enquête de ce genre aurait la plus haute importance et désire en

conséquence que chaque Délégation recommande cette branche du sujet à son Gouvernement pour que celui-ci prenne telles mesures qu'il croira nécessaire à cet égard.

Le Président annonce que les Résolutions seront présentées dans l'ordre alphabétique de la liste officielle des Délégations.

Le Dr. Hamilton Wright se lève alors pour présenter à la Commission les Résolutions rédigées par la Délégation Américaine, en exprimant l'espoir qu'elles rencontreront l'approbation unanime de la Commission. Elles ont été conçues dans le même esprit qui a animé le Gouvernement Américain lorsqu'il a entrepris de convoquer cette Commission, esprit de sympathie aussi bien pour les peuples qui ont à faire face à des problèmes financiers soulevés par l'opium que pour ceux qui se trouvent handicapés dans la lutte des affaires commerciales par l'usage et l'abus de cette drogue. Toutes les Délégations avant et surtout depuis leur arrivée à Shanghai ont étudié profondément la question de l'opium et, l'orateur n'en doute pas, toutes ont pu se rendre compte de la difficulté du problème, surtout en ce qui concerne la Chine et l'Inde. Il étend sa sympathie non seulement à la Chine, pour les malheurs que l'opium cause à sa population, mais, poussant plus loin que Sir A. Hosie, aux Gouvernements de l'Inde anglaise, de Hong-Kong, des Etablissements des Détroits, de l'Indochine française, du Siam, du Portugal et des Pays-Bas, qui ont à traiter de graves problèmes financiers résultant de la production, de la fabrication ou du commerce de l'opium dans ces pays.

Cependant, dit-il, la Délégation Américaine a conclu à l'abolition du trafic de l'opium qu'elle considère comme aussi nécessaire qu'a pu l'être autrefois l'abolition du trafic des esclaves. La situation n'est pas sans offrir quelque analogie avec celle qui existait à propos de la traite des noirs, et c'est avec admiration que l'on voit de nouveau la même grande nation se préparer à sacrifier un gros revenu dans le but de faire cesser un grand mal. Le temps de Warren Hastings n'est plus et maintenant un autre grand homme d'Etat, grand philosophe aussi, Lord Morley ne craint pas de dire qu'il n'est pas entièrement d'accord avec la Commission Royale de l'Opium aux Indes, et de recommander à la Chambre des Communes les conclusions de la Commission des Philippines, déclarant que l'usage de l'opium est un mal tel qu'aucun bénéfice financier ne saurait le compenser; et le même homme d'Etat insiste sur ce point que la Grande-Bretagne, tout en entraînant la Chine à exécuter ses engagements, ne doit pas faire dépendre uniquement de là l'extinction graduelle du commerce de l'opium, et qu'elle doit être prête à accueillir toute proposition du Gouvernement chinois tendant à abréger le délai dans lequel cette suppression sera effectuée.

La Grande-Bretagne ne s'arrêtera pas, continue le Dr. Hamilton Wright, dans la voie qu'elle a adoptée, et saura sacrifier s'il le faut ses arrangements particuliers et ses traités désuets comme elle sacrifie ses navires démodés. A l'époque actuelle, la question de l'opium n'est plus une affaire entre deux Puissances qui y sont directement intéressées mais une affaire à laquelle peuvent et doivent prendre part aussi les Puissances qui ont pu éviter ce problème dans leurs frontières.

A l'époque actuelle, espérons-le, et par la voix de cette Commission Internationale, l'opium sera relégué et confiné à ses usages propres et légitimes, et ne descendra plus de la place qu'il occupe comme un don de la nature destiné à apaiser le souffrance pour retomber au rang d'un aliment des vices de l'humanité.

Personnellement, le Dr. Hamilton Wright a pu se rendre compte de la difficulté qu'éprouvent même les médecins dument qualifiés à ne pas céder à la tentation, trop fréquente, de recourir à l'opium pour endormir la douleur physique ou mentale de leurs malades; et il est pour cette raison plus convaincu encore que l'opium, sous toutes ses formes, ne doit être employé que dans les cas extrêmes.

C'est dans cet esprit que la Délégation Américaine a étudié le problème international qui soulève des questions de revenus, de traités entre différentes Puissances sur la question de l'opium et d'Arrangements particuliers entre deux Puissances pour le contrôle et la réduction de l'usage de l'opium parmi ces peuples qui considèrent l'opium comme un remède toujours prêt pour toutes leurs petites peines physiques ou morales. Elle n'a pas voulu se borner au point de vue médical ou moral ou financier ou historique, mais a tenté d'embrasser le problème sous toutes ses formes et elle présente ses Résolutions avec l'espoir qu'elles pourront être acceptées par la Commission dans son ensemble et que bientôt pourra être enregistré le premier pas International fait vers la solution de cette question de l'opium.

Le Dr. Hamilton Wright donne lecture ensuite des Résolutions proposées par sa Délégation en les commentant et en expliquant à propos de chacune les motifs qui la recommandent à la Commission.

M. Miyaoka s'enquiert auprès du Président si chaque Délégation a le droit d'introduire aucune résolution à quel moment que ce soit pendant le cours des travaux de la Commission Internationale des Résolutions. Le Président dit que c'est à l'Assemblée de décider s'il lui paraît prudent d'accepter les Résolutions déjà déposées ou d'accepter la présentation de toutes celles qui pourraient être présentées et de les discuter *seriatim*. Il croit savoir que les Résolutions Chinoises ne sont pas encore distribuées. Sir C. Clementi Smith suggère que l'Assemblée procède à l'examen des Résolutions proposées par la Délégation Américaine sans plus tarder, et cette proposition est acceptée.

Le Dr. Hamilton Wright propose alors l'adoption de la première Résolution Américaine;

Au nom de la Délégation Britannique Sir C. Clementi Smith expose les raisons pour lesquelles il lui est impossible de donner son concours à cette proposition: d'abord elle interprète d'une façon erronée certains des Rapports présentés à la Commission lorsqu'elle dit, dans son préambule, que ces Rapports reconnaissent que l'usage de l'opium doit être limité aux pratiques médicales; cela est vrai pour certains des Pays représentés, les Etats-Unis et le Canada, la Chine même où le caractère particulier de la machine administrative ne semble pas laisser d'alternative possible entre la prohibition totale et la licence sans restriction. Mais dans d'autres pays la question se présente sous un aspect totalement différent; ou bien ils n'admettent pas que l'opium doive être confiné dans ses usages médicaux, ou, s'ils l'admettent, c'est comme un but très éloigné et non comme un guide pratique de leur action dans un avenir rapproché; tel est le cas de l'Inde où la politique déclarée est la réglementation et non la prohibition, sauf en Birmanie où une expérience de la prohibition est actuellement tentée. L'habitude de l'opium est répandue dans l'Inde depuis des siècles, mais il suffit de comparer ses statistiques avec l'extension rapide prise en Chine par la culture du pavot pour s'assurer que le système de réglementation adopté dans l'Inde a été efficace pour prévenir les abus. Des mesures despotiques dans ce pays ne se justifieraient que si l'habitude de l'opium avait causé une dégradation sociale étendue, ce dont nous n'avons pas la preuve, ou si l'opinion publique devenait favorable. Les difficultés ne seraient pas seulement, ni même surtout financières, mais plutôt politiques. Il suffit de mentionner que tout le long de la frontière septentrionale et dans le cœur même de l'Inde se trouvent des Etats indépendants ou protégés qui conservent le droit de produire, et fourniraient bien vite aux demandes des opiomanes si la prohibition était adoptée par le Gouvernement de l'Inde. Le passé répond du présent et de l'avenir à ce point de vue. En Birmanie même, avec le soutien de la meilleure et de la plus grande partie de l'opinion publique la prohibition a été tenue en échec pendant plus de 15 années et peut à peine être regardée comme établie définitivement à l'heure actuelle. Si le Gouvernement se décidait à prohiber l'opium, comme plus dangereux que l'alcool ou le chanvre dont il règle déjà la consommation, il est clair que ce ne pourrait être qu'après une longue période de préparation par la poursuite persévérante de la politique de réglementation.

Il est également clair, ajoute l'orateur, que le Gouvernement de l'Inde ne saurait priver les indigènes d'une drogue qui fait le fond de toute leur médication: même si la Résolution était acceptée il faudrait pendant longtemps encore donner l'interprétation la plus étendue aux termes "usage médical légitime," ce qui rendrait la prohibition purement nominale.

Pour ces raisons la Délégation Britannique ne croit pas pouvoir recommander à son Gouvernement l'adoption du principe de la prohibition, auquel les informations présentées à cette Commission n'apportent aucun appui nouveau. Elle est d'accord avec la Commission pour employer tous les moyens pratiques d'empêcher les abus de l'opium, mais croit que ce but sera atteint par l'adoption de la quatrième des Résolutions proposées par la Délégation Britannique.

Le Dr. Hamilton Wright et le Dr. Roessler suggèrent alors quelques changements de mots dans la rédaction de la Résolution, mais Sir C. Clementi Smith déclare qu'il ne peut pas accepter, sous aucune forme, une déclaration du principe que l'opium doit être confiné simplement et seulement aux usages de la médecine, car son Gouvernement ne partage nullement ce point de vue. Le Dr. Hamilton Wright reconnaît qu'une des plus grandes difficultés que le Gouvernement de l'Inde rencontrerait serait la définition de ce qui constitue "l'usage légitime de la médecine" car il est impossible d'appliquer le critérium médical de l'Occident à un grand pays colonial comme l'Inde. Après discussion plus étendue il est décidé sur l'initiative de M. Ratard que la prise en considération de la Résolution en question sera remise à plus tard de façon à permettre la recherche d'un terrain d'entente entre les Délégations Américaine et Britannique, par une conférence préalable et privée entre les intéressés.

Le Dr. Hamilton Wright propose l'adoption de la seconde des Résolutions américaines. Au nom de sa Délégation Sir C. Clementi Smith indique qu'il ne lui est pas possible d'accepter cette proposition dans son préambule, car ce n'est pas par suite de l'ignorance des effets désastreux qu'entraîne l'usage immodéré et inconsideré de l'opium que sont nés les problèmes budgétaires auxquels il est fait allusion. Chacun sait au contraire que les plus gros revenus sont procurés par les systèmes de réglementation les plus efficaces. De plus, le premier Délégué de Grande-Bretagne ne voit pas pourquoi la Commission chercherait à dissimuler la gravité de ces problèmes budgétaires, ni comment elle peut songer à empiéter sur le domaine fiscal d'aucune nation.

Monsieur Ratard fait remarquer que les considérations fiscales ont un grand poids dans certains pays. A Java et dans l'Indochine française par exemple, l'accroissement des recettes signifie en réalité que l'opium est taxé et lourdement qu'il est mis hors de la portée des populations indigènes. Sur la suggestion du Dr. Roessler la discussion de cette résolution est remise à plus tard.

La troisième Résolution Américaine est également retirée après discussion pour être modifiée. Le Dr. Hamilton Wright propose la quatrième Résolution qui après discussion est adoptée avec quelques modifications.

La cinquième Résolution Américaine est également retirée en faveur d'une de celles qui sont présentées par la Délégation britannique (no. 3), laquelle est adoptée avec quelques légères altérations qui lui donnent une portée plus générale.

Le séance est levée à midi 30.

A la reprise à 2h. 30 la sixième résolution américaine, qui venait en discussion est retirée comme se confondant avec celle (no. 4), qui a été d'abord adoptée. dans sa nouvelle forme. La septième résolution est également retirée provisoirement.

Le Dr. Tenney se lève alors pour proposer l'adoption de la résolution séparée présentée par la Délégation Américaine, et dont le texte, modifié depuis le matin, est maintenant le suivant :

"La Commission Internationale est d'avis que toute nation qui prohibe effectivement la production de l'opium et de ses dérivés sur son propre territoire devrait être libre de prohiber l'importation sur ses territoires de l'opium ou de ses dérivés, excepté pour l'usage médical."

A l'appui de cette proposition le Dr. Tenney prononce un discours, insistant sur la situation particulière de la Chine, seule nation qui n'ait pas les mains libres lorsqu'il s'agit de défendre ses populations contre le fléau de l'opium. On peut avoir confiance cependant dans l'excellence de l'opinion publique chinoise en ce qui concerne les problèmes moraux clairement posés devant elle.

Il est vrai, et la Délégation chinoise l'admet aussi bien que les autres, que le Rapport présenté par elle est incomplet et ne fournit que des estimations très approximatives, mais trois faits restent établis solidement : Le Gouvernement Impérial a pris à coeur le mouvement de réforme anti-opium ; il y a eu en faveur de cette campagne un mouvement d'opinion remarquable ; et des progrès très satisfaisants ont déjà été accomplis depuis l'Edit Impérial de 1906. Il faut que cette Commission tende la main aux Chinois et leur donne toute l'assistance possible ; il sera plus facile à la Chine de faire un effort énergique et rapide que de se maintenir pendant une longue période dans les hauteurs de l'héroïsme moral et du sacrifice. Il faut donc qu'elle profite du mouvement actuel pour se débarrasser d'un seul coup du fléau de l'opium.

Ceci, insiste le Dr. Tenney, n'est nullement dirigé contre la Grande-Bretagne ; le consentement de toutes les Puissances à Traités est nécessaire pour permettre à la Chine d'agir en toute souveraineté dans cette question de l'opium. La Résolution proposée donnerait à la Chine une belle occasion de montrer qu'elle est vraiment désireuse d'aboutir et qu'elle est capable de s'aider elle-même. Et si elle n'est pas capable de s'aider elle-même, alors le blâme en retombera uniquement sur elle. C'est un devoir pour toutes les nations de l'aider dans cette conjoncture, et par conséquent il n'y a pas lieu de demander des compensations.

M. T'ang-kouo-an, en soutenant cette Résolution, déclare son adhésion absolue à toutes les paroles du Dr. Tenney. Au cours de la discussion celui-ci indique que sa Résolution est destinée à remplacer celle qui avait été distribuée auparavant. Le Premier Délégué de Grande-Bretagne considère que l'effet de cette Résolution serait une entière abrogation des Traités et il exprime sa confiance dans la Commission pour repousser toute déclaration qui impliquerait que les Nations peuvent rompre les Accords qu'elles ont solennellement adoptés. M. T'ang-kouo-an déclare que l'intention du Gouvernement Chinois n'est nullement de répudier aucun Accord signé par lui, mais qu'il apprécierait toute nouvelle concession que le Gouvernement Britannique croirait pouvoir consentir. Après quelque discussion M. Miyaoka exprime l'opinion que la Commission est en train de se lancer dans l'examen d'une question qui a le caractère diplomatique entre la Chine et la Grande-Bretagne, et que toute discussion sur un sujet de cette nature dépasse la compétence de la Commission. Cette opinion est partagée par le Premier Délégué de France. M. Miyaoka pose alors la question préalable suivante :

"La prise en considération de la Résolution du Dr. Tenney est-elle dans les limites de la compétence de la Commission?"

L'assemblée répond négativement et écarte ainsi la Résolution.

Les Résolutions britanniques viennent alors en discussion. La première est adoptée à l'unanimité. La seconde est retirée après une intervention de M. Miyaoka, faisant l'éloge de la manière dont la Délégation chinoise a accompli la tâche ardue de préparer un Memorandum sur la question de l'opium, et provoquant ainsi de la part de M. T'ang une promesse d'inciter son Gouvernement à inaugurer des méthodes plus systématiques d'étudier la question de la production de l'opium. La troisième a déjà été adoptée comme amendement à une des propositions américaines. La discussion de la Résolution 4 est remise à plus tard. En ce qui concerne la suivante, Sir C. Clementi Smith explique que c'est la même qui a déjà été adoptée par la Commission dans sa Neuvième séance. M. Miyaoka déclare qu'il donne son appui à cette Résolution qui lui paraît la seule alternative laissée en dehors de l'enquête sur l'opium au point de vue médical qui a été repoussée. Après quelque discussion, à laquelle prennent part le Dr. H. Wright et le Dr. Roessler, ce dernier en proposant un amendement qui est repoussé au vote, la Résolution est adoptée avec une seule modification, la substitution du mot "permettre" au mot "entreprendre."

La discussion des Résolutions chinoises dont le texte vient d'être lu est mise à plus tard et la séance est levée à 4h., 40.

DOUZIÈME SÉANCE,

25 FÉVRIER 1909.

La séance est ouverte à 2h. 30 de l'après-midi.

Le Premier Délégué du Japon fournit une nouvelle réponse à la question posée par M. Laidlaw, M.P. au cours de la cinquième séance.

Le Président annonce que le Délégué de Russie se trouve dans l'impossibilité de fournir un rapport actuellement sur la question de l'opium dans son pays, mais espère que les renseignements nécessaires lui arriveront ultérieurement. Une discussion s'élève alors sur la publication des procès-verbaux et rapports. Le Président demande s'il ne serait pas possible de les imprimer à Shanghai, et le Secrétaire est invité à s'informer du prix et autres conditions de publication.

M. T'ang-kouo-an s'enquiert auprès de la Délégation japonaise du montant du droit d'importation imposé à la morphine entrant dans le "Territoire à bail" de Kuangtoug. La réponse est promise pour la prochaine séance. Répliquant à une question du Premier Délégué néerlandais, la Délégation Portugaise déclare qu'elle n'est pas en mesure de fournir en plus de son rapport sur Macao des informations sur la question de l'opium à Timor.

Les deux résolutions suivantes sont alors soumises à la Commission par les Délégations américaine et britannique conjointement.

1.—En vue de l'action exercée par le Gouvernement Chinois pour supprimer la pratique de fumer l'opium et par d'autres Gouvernements dans le même but, la Commission Internationale de l'opium recommande que chaque Délégation intéressée incite son Gouvernement à prendre des mesures pour la suppression graduelle de la pratique de fumer l'opium dans ses Territoires et Possessions en tenant compte des circonstances variables pour chaque Pays intéressé.

2.—La Commission Internationale de l'opium trouve que l'usage de l'opium, sous quelque forme que ce soit, autre que l'usage médical, est considéré par presque tous les Pays représentés comme devant être prohibé ou soigneusement réglementé ; et que chaque Pays dans l'administration de son système de Réglementation entend avoir pour but, selon les circonstances, d'augmenter progressivement les restrictions. En formulant ces conclusions la Commission Internationale de l'opium reconnaît la grande diversité des conditions prévalant dans les différentes contrées, mais elle attire l'attention des Gouvernements intéressés sur l'opportunité d'un nouvel examen de leur système de réglementation à la lumière de l'expérience des autres Pays qui ont à traiter les mêmes problèmes.

Le Premier Délégué des Pays-Das déclare que, tout en acceptant la première de ces Résolutions telle qu'elle est, sa Délégation a l'intention de présenter une résolution similaire mais plus compréhensive. La Première résolution est alors mise aux voix et adoptée à l'unanimité, la Délégation Portugaise réservant seule son vote.

Sir C. Clementi Smith propose ensuite l'adoption de la seconde résolution dont il donne lecture et qui est votée dans les mêmes conditions que la première.

Le Dr. Hamilton Wright annonce que la Délégation Américaine retire définitivement les résolutions qu'elle a originellement proposées sous les Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, et 7.

M. de Jongh présente alors les résolutions proposées par la Délégation Néerlandaise, ainsi conçues :

I.—Considérant que la suppression totale de l'usage de l'opium dans un délai de quelques années doit être considérée comme un idéal élevé mais impossible à atteindre pour le moment ;

qu'en vue de combattre l'usage de l'opium on peut attendre beaucoup de mesures prises systématiquement et ayant un effet graduel ;

qu'une pratique soigneuse de pareilles mesures ne se conçoit que si la direction des affaires d'opium est conservée en mains propres (du Gouvernement) de façon qu'aucun individu n'ait intérêt, à augmenter la vente de la drogue ;

qu'un tel système a sur beaucoup d'autres un grand avantage qui le rend recommandable, c'est qu'il garantit contre la diffusion de l'habitude de fumer dans les districts où cette habitude est encore inconnue.

Il est résolu de recommander aux Gouvernements des Pays où des systèmes différents sont en vigueur :—

(a) qu'il s'efforce de faire que tout ce qui regarde l'opium dans leur ressort sera dirigé par l'Etat et que l'Etat ne sera pas retardé plus longtemps que les circonstances ne l'exigeront ;

(6) que, sans s'occuper de savoir si le Contrôle direct du Gouvernement a déjà été mis en vigueur ou non, les mesures suivantes soient prises immédiatement pour restreindre l'usage de l'opium.

(1). faire bien comprendre aux fonctionnaires européens ou indigènes qui sont capables d'avoir une influence sur la consommation que le Gouvernement est résolu à combattre celle-ci;

(2). ne pas permettre à qui que ce soit faisant usage de l'opium de servir dans l'administration civile, militaire ou maritime.

(3). imprimer dans l'esprit des enfants à l'école et des adultes partout et toujours les maux résultant de l'usage de l'opium; en un mot instruire l'opinion publique à ce sujet par tous les moyens; afin de développer la tendance contraire à l'opium, faire appel à l'aide de sociétés privées ayant en vue d'améliorer la moralité de parties spéciales de la population, et dont le but et les méthodes paraîtront satisfaisantes;

(4). Prohiber la vente de l'opium aux enfants;

(5). Donner toute publicité, y compris la vente à prix courant, à tout remède contre l'opium au cas où un tel remède se répandrait à l'étranger qui ne contienne ni morphine ni aucun ingrédient malsain;

(6). Maintenir s'il en existe, dans leur étendue actuelle, et si possible augmenter les surfaces soumises à la défense, en combinant ou non avec le système de donner des licences aux fumeurs habituels;

(7). Exclure de l'usage de la drogue des sections spéciales de la population.

(8). Diminuer le nombre des débits et fumeries, et diminuer le nombre d'heures pendant lesquelles ils peuvent rester ouverts;

(9). Relever les prix de l'opium au détail.

II.—Considérant que la contrebande de l'opium va à l'encontre des mesures variées prises par les divers Gouvernements en vue de combattre l'usage de l'opium;

que la contrebande cause de grandes pertes aux Trésors, et de plus nécessite de grandes dépenses pour la combattre;

qu'elle a un effet démoralisant à la fois sur les individus qui se livrent à ce commerce et sur les officiers de Douanes et de Police;

que l'expérience enseigne que la contrebande de l'opium, à cause de la grande valeur de ce produit sous un petit volume, est extrêmement difficile à combattre par les moyens employés jusqu'à ce jour individuellement par les divers Gouvernements;

qu'il y a lieu en conséquence de s'efforcer de supprimer la contrebande par une action concertée des divers Gouvernements;

et qu'une pareille action internationale n'est possible qu'après que dans tous les Pays l'opium aura été pris en mains propres (des Gouvernements);

Il est résolu:

de recommander aux divers Gouvernements, après qu'ils auront établi un système de contrôle direct de l'opium, d'entrer en négociations, par la voie diplomatique, dans le but que par la suite le Commerce en gros de l'opium ne soit permis qu'entre les Gouvernements de pays producteurs et consommateurs d'opium, et soit défendu à toute personne privée.

M. de Jongh propose l'adoption de la première de ces Résolutions. Le Premier Délégué du Japon demande si la Délégation Néerlandaise considère cette résolution comme un amendement à celles qui viennent d'être présentées par les deux Délégations Américaine et Britannique réunies et adoptées par la Commission. M. de Jongh répond que, dans son esprit, ce n'est pas un amendement, mais une résolution basée sur des principes plus larges; cependant il serait peut-être possible de les comprendre dans un texte unique. A l'avis de la Délégation Japonaise les deux résolutions sont incompatibles, et telle est aussi l'opinion du Premier Délégué de la Grande-Bretagne qui critique les différentes dispositions de la proposition néerlandaise, toutes inutiles ou inopportunes à son avis. Le Dr. Hamilton Wright propose que la Résolution en question soit retirée de la discussion, et soit rapportée sous forme de Déclaration de la Délégation néerlandaise au procès-verbal. Elle aurait sous cette forme à peu près le même effet que si elle était adoptée comme Résolution par la Commission. Cette suggestion, acceptée par M. de Jongh, est approuvée par l'assemblée.

M. de Jongh propose alors l'adoption de sa seconde résolution. Une nouvelle discussion s'ensuit, les dispositions de ce texte paraissant inacceptables à certains tandis que leur utilité est reconnue par d'autres Délégations. Finalement il est entendu que, de même que pour la première, il y aurait lieu d'incorporer cette résolution dans le procès-verbal sous forme de déclaration.

La Délégation chinoise présente à la Commission quatre Résolutions. En les soumettant à l'Assemblée dans leur ensemble, M. T'ang Kouo-an prononce un discours éloquent où il expose le point de vue chinois sur la question de l'opium.

Pour la Chine le problème de l'opium est une des questions économiques et morales les plus aiguës qu'elle ait à traiter actuellement en tant que nation. La solution dépend d'elle principalement et a mesuré toutes les difficultés, calculé les pertes, et est déterminée à se débarrasser du fléau de l'opium coûte que coûte; elle n'oublie qu'une collaboration internationale est essentielle au succès.

La Délégation Chinoise est heureuse de constater la présence des Délégués de la Grande-Bretagne, le pays qui avec la Chine a le plus grand intérêt dans la question de l'opium, et qui a accueilli avec tant de sympathie les propositions chinoises depuis deux années; la présence des Délégués de l'Amérique, ce pays qui a donné en convoquant cette réunion une si grande marque d'amitié désintéressée; de ceux de l'Allemagne, de la France, de la Russie, à l'action desquelles la Chine se plaît à rendre hommage ainsi qu'aux autres contrées qui ont bien voulu se faire représenter. La Chine est heureuse de se sentir entourée de toutes ces sympathies et se sent assurée de la coopération internationale qui lui est nécessaire.

On pourrait douter que la Chine soit capable de prendre en main elle-même le problème de l'opium, mais l'action déterminée du Gouvernement et des Hauts Fonctionnaires est soutenue par le sentiment public qui a été remué jusque dans ses fondements. Avec l'appui de ce sentiment la question financière elle-même, qui était susceptible de neutraliser les efforts tentés, paraît pouvoir être résolue facilement car le peuple acceptera sans difficulté les taxes de remplacement nécessaires.

Il faut pourtant se hâter, car il est difficile de garder au sentiment public toute son intensité pendant une période étendue. Quand un peuple est préparé à abolir un mal, le remède doit être apporté sans aucun retard. Tout délai augmente les difficultés.

Entrer dans la description des effets de l'opium en Chine est inutile. Les chefs du peuple chinois regardent cette drogue comme un ennemi dangereux de la nation, et la plus grande partie des dix-huit Provinces en est infestée. Dans le Kansou, l'Evêque Catholique, Mgr. Otto admet que six hommes sur huit sont confirmés dans l'habitude de l'opium!

La Chine se voit imposer par l'opium un fardeau économique qu'elle ne peut plus supporter. Elle dépense pour la drogue une somme que l'on peut évaluer à Tls. 250.000.000; la culture du pavot la prive du bénéfice d'autres cultures qui rapporteraient au bas mot Tls. 150.000.000, soit déjà une perte annuelle de Tls. 400.000.000 et si l'on y ajoute la perte subie sous forme de diminution de productivité des fumeurs on peut admettre que l'opium coûte plus de Tls. 800.000.000 par an à la Chine. Ces pertes n'affectent pas seulement la Chine mais encore toutes les principales nations du monde, car au premier rang des causes qui retardent l'essor du commerce de la Chine avec les Puissances étrangères se trouve la pauvreté et le rendement inférieur de la population chinoise, deux facteurs qui n'en font qu'un seul en réalité, et qui sont terriblement aggravés par le fléau de l'opium. Revenue à un état normal et développant son commerce dans la même proportion que le Japon a pu le faire, la Chine devrait importer plus de 3 milliards de taëls de produits étrangers chaque année au lieu des 450 millions qu'elle absorbe actuellement. En regard de ce développement presque illimité, que doit peser la valeur présente du commerce de l'opium? Ce serait une folie commerciale que de maintenir ce trafic qui forme à peine 7½% du commerce extérieur chinois aux dépens de l'expansion future de ce commerce extérieur. C'est pourquoi la Délégation Chinoise se croit justifiée en comptant sur la plus large coopération internationale.

Il ne faut pas oublier non plus que, si l'on manque de tirer tout le parti possible du mouvement d'opinion actuel on portera un coup peut-être irréversible à l'élément réformiste et progressiste chinois, et qu'on retardera d'autant l'essor de cette contrée, essor dont les autres nations sont appelées à tirer un si grand bénéfice.

N'est-il pas évident aussi que l'opiomanie fait beaucoup pour retarder l'entrée de la Chine dans le Concert des Nations, et pour l'empêcher même de se sentir digne de faire partie de cette grande famille internationale? La Chine est entrée dans la voie des réformes et du progrès; elle se prépare à sa vie et à ses responsabilités nouvelles, et a l'ambition d'arriver à tenir parmi les nations une place digne de celle qu'elle a occupée dans l'histoire lorsqu'elle a répandu sa civilisation au delà de ses frontières dans la Mongolie, la Mandchourie, la Corée, le Japon, le Tibet, le Siam, la Cochinchine et même dans la Birmanie et dans l'Inde.

La Chine espère donc la coopération la plus complète de tous les pays civilisés dans ses efforts pour se débarrasser de l'opium, et elle compte que toute restriction, existant dans les Traités, qui serait de nature à gêner ces efforts, ne sera pas invoquée par les intéressés, fussent quelques intérêts privés en souffrir.

Enfin la Chine, comme les autres Puissances, considère la question de l'opium comme une question morale surtout, et c'est à ce point de vue que la campagne contre cette drogue a obtenu d'attirer et retenir l'attention du peuple chinois; la campagne anti-opium a été morale et patriotique; l'agitation semble être le prélude d'une puissante résurrection politique, sociale et commerciale; avec tous les défauts de son éducation la Chine a gardé un grand fonds de sentiment et de morale tiré de l'étude de Confucius et de Mencius. C'est sa grande force quand elle aborde un problème aussi compliqué, et cette force se double, à l'extérieur, d'une autre grande force de même nature, la conscience chrétienne. C'est avec cet appui que l'on peut entreprendre cette immense croisade morale du XXe siècle.

Après ce discours de M. T'ang, le Dr. Tenney propose que la discussion des Résolutions chinoises soit remise à la prochaine séance, ce qui est adopté sans difficulté.

Sir A. Hosie présente le rapport du Comité nommé pour réunir les éléments parsemés dans les divers Rapports sur la culture du pavot et la production de l'opium, après quoi la Commission lève la séance en fixant la prochaine séance au 25 février, à 10h. 30.

TREIZIÈME SÉANCE,

25 FÉVRIER 1909.

La séance est ouverte à 10h.30 du matin.

Le Président donne lecture d'une lettre reçue du Délégué italien qui regrette de ne pouvoir assister à la séance pour cause de maladie, ainsi que d'une communication de M. Charles B. Towns qui dépose entre ses mains une formule pour guérir les opiomanes.

Le Dr. Tenney lit le sommaire du rapport, corrigé depuis la dixième séance, composé par le Comité sur les Accords et Traités Internationaux existant au sujet du trafic de l'opium. Le Premier Délégué du Portugal fait remarquer que ce rapport laisse de côté l'accord sino-portugais relatif au commerce et à la contrebande de l'opium à Macao; le Président invite le Comité à tenir compte de cette observation dans la rédaction définitive de son rapport.

L'ordre du jour appelle alors la discussion des résolutions chinoises dont le texte, est ainsi conçu :

1.—La Commission, reconnaissant l'ardeur du Gouvernement et du peuple chinois dans leur désir de déraciner la production et la consommation de l'opium à travers l'Empire, et admettant qu'un certain progrès a déjà été accompli dans cette direction, est d'accord pour recommander que, en vue d'aider la Chine à résoudre aussi rapidement et aussi efficacement que possible la tâche immense qu'elle a entreprise, tous les Délégués assemblés dans cette Commission pousseront leurs Gouvernements respectifs à promettre leur coopération et à se déclarer prêts à réduire l'importation de l'opium en Chine *pari passu* avec la réduction de la culture du pavot dans les limites de cette contrée.

2.—La Commission Internationale de l'opium recommande vivement à tous les Gouvernements possédant des Concessions ou Settlements en Chine qui n'ont pas encore agi effectivement pour la fermeture de toutes les fumeries et de tous les débits d'opium dans lesdits Settlements et Concessions, de prendre dans ce but des mesures similaires à celles qui ont déjà été adoptées par plusieurs Gouvernements.

3.—La Commission Internationale de l'opium recommande fortement à tous les Gouvernements possédant des Concessions ou Settlements en Chine de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour prohiber dans lesdits Settlements ou Concessions la vente, sous quelque forme que ce soit, de remèdes contre l'opium contenant de l'opium, de la morphine ou aucun de leurs dérivés.

4.—La Commission Internationale de l'opium reconnaît les maux immenses actuellement causés à la population chinoise par l'usage des injections de morphine et signale aux différents Gouvernements prenant part à la Commission le besoin urgent de faire immédiatement des lois prohibant l'importation et la vente de la morphine et dérivés ainsi que des seringues hypodermiques à tous leurs sujets ou citoyens en Chine, à l'exception de la vente à des praticiens dument qualifiés et pour un usage exclusivement médical. La Commission recommande également que les dites lois, lorsqu'elles seront passées, prévoient la punition adéquate de toute contravention à leurs stipulations par lesdits sujets ou citoyens, et qu'il soit bien compris que la possession, sans autorisation, de morphine, de ses dérivés ou de seringues hypodermiques sera considérée *prima facie* comme une preuve suffisante de culpabilité.

M. T'ang propose d'abord l'adoption de la première de ces Résolutions.

Sir C. Clementi Smith fait une déclaration pour exprimer ses regrets de ne pouvoir soutenir une résolution qui, de toute évidence lui paraît sortir des attributions de la Commission, et ajoute que la Délégation britannique ne retire rien de la sympathie qu'elle a exprimée dès le début; il pense que l'aide et la coopération active fournie à la Chine par la Grande-Bretagne comptera infiniment plus que n'importe quelle déclaration irresponsable à laquelle sa Délégation pourrait se laisser entraîner.

M. Miyaoka exprime sa satisfaction très sincère pour la déclaration sympathique du premier Délégué Britannique dont la Chine saura, croit-il apprécier le prix.

M. T'ang-kouo-an dit que la délégation chinoise n'insiste pas pour la mise aux voix de la première de ses résolutions, mais exprime le désir de la voir incorporée dans le rapport de la Commission comme exprimant les vues de la Délégation chinoise et du peuple chinois.

M. T'ang propose alors l'adoption de la seconde Résolution rédigée par la Délégation Chinoise.

M. Ratard, Premier Délégué de France, demande si l'intention de la Délégation Chinoise est bien de demander la fermeture des débits en même temps que des fumeries d'opium. Jusqu'à présent il avait cru le contraire. D'autre part il ajoute que le contrat pour Kouang-tchéou est obligatoire jusqu'en 1911 et que le Gouvernement français ne peut songer à le rompre. Il propose donc que les mots "et de tous les débits" soient supprimés, et que les mots "pour prendre dans ce but" soient ajoutés après les mots "de prendre dans ce but."

M. Miyaoka saisit l'occasion de cette discussion pour demander un passage du rapport de Leech, il n'existe plus aucune fumerie japonaise d'opium.

M. T'ang, répondant à M. Ratard, admet la suppression des mots "et de tous les débits" car l'opinion du Gouvernement Chinois est bien que les débits ne pourront être fermés que concurremment avec l'abandon de l'habitude de fumer. Il considère que les dangers d'incendie, auxquels M. Ratard a fait allusion dans sa première déclaration sur l'opium dans la Concession française de Shanghai, ne sauraient être un argument sérieux pour maintenir les fumeries, car les statistiques des Compagnies d'assurance démontrent que le nombre des incendies dus aux lampes des fumeurs à domicile est pratiquement nul. L'existence de fumeries sur la Concession française exerce une action décourageante sur les Chinois qui en sont informés par la Presse jusqu'aux confins de l'Empire. Il fait un pressant appel au sentiment de la justice internationale chez les Français et espère qu'ils ne refuseront pas de fermer les fumeries dans la Concession.

M. Ratard répond que des mesures ont été prises dès la publication de l'Edit Impérial, et qu'elles ont déjà eu un certain résultat. La Concession française est décidée à fermer les fumeries aussitôt qu'elle aura la preuve que la Chine a réellement fermé les siennes.

Il est procédé alors à un vote par appel nominal sur l'amendement proposé par M. Ratard, le résultat étant six voix pour et cinq voix contre, le Délégué d'Autriche-Hongrie déclarant réserver son vote. Une discussion s'élève alors sur la possibilité de maintenir cette réserve qui arrête la discussion, et sur le temps qu'elle pourra durer. Pour résoudre cette difficulté, M. Miyaoka demande à la Délégation Chinoise de faire quelque concession afin d'entrer dans les vues de M. Ratard. M. T'ang propose alors de modifier l'amendement de M. Ratard en substituant les mots "aussitôt que possible" aux mots "aussitôt qu'ils le jugeront utile," et exprime l'espoir que la France ne se laissera pas arrêter par des considérations d'intérêt privé.

M. Ratard déclare ne pouvoir accepter les mots "aussitôt que possible" dont le sens est trop impératif; il proteste énergiquement contre l'allusion offensante faite par M. T'ang à des "intérêts privés," affirmant que des considérations de cet ordre n'entrent absolument pour rien dans les motifs de la politique suivie par la Concession française à propos des fumeries d'opium. Le Président déclare que ces paroles de M. T'ang doivent être retirées, et M. T'ang explique qu'il n'a pas voulu dire que l'intérêt personnel d'aucun individu pourrait être pris en considération, mais bien l'intérêt privé de la Concession au point de vue de ses recettes budgétaires.

Sur une nouvelle intervention du Dr. Roessler et du Dr. Hamilton Wright, M. T'ang accepte l'amendement de M. Ratard, en substituant le mot "possible" au mot "utile."

Cet amendement, avec cette nouvelle rédaction: "aussitôt qu'ils le jugeront possible" est mis aux voix et adopté alors à l'unanimité.

M. T'ang propose ensuite l'adoption de la troisième Résolution Chinoise en redisant que les soit-disant pilules contre l'opium, qui contiennent de l'opium, de la morphine ou tout autre dérivé de l'opium, se répandent avec une rapidité inquiétante, et que plusieurs nationalités étrangères prennent une très grande part à ce commerce, spécialement le Japon.

M. Miyaoka déclare que cette Résolution a la sympathie de la Délégation Japonaise, mais regrette que l'existence de fabriques japonaises et d'un commerce japonais des pilules en question n'ait pas été signalée plus tôt au Gouvernement Japonais. Au cours de l'enquête faite par sa Délégation ce sujet a attiré son attention et des analyses sont faites actuellement à Tokio. Mais, comme aucune communication n'a été faite à cet égard aux fonctionnaires Japonais résidant en Chine, et qui étaient tout désignés pour être saisis de la question, M. Miyaoka ne croit pas pouvoir appuyer la Résolution dont il s'agit, et espère que la Délégation Chinoise voudra bien la retirer.

En réponse à une demande de M. Ratard, M. T'ang reconnaît que les docteurs et médecins chinois n'ayant pas fait d'études occidentales ne peuvent pas être considérés comme des praticiens qualifiés pour ordonner ou non l'usage de la morphine.

M. Ratard pense que le sujet de la Résolution serait mieux traité par la voie diplomatique qu'au sein de cette Commission. M. Miyaoka, le Dr. Hamilton Wright partagent cet avis, mais ce dernier pense que l'adoption d'une Résolution relative aux pilules contre l'opium ne pourra que hâter la négociation. M. T'ang insiste sur ce point que les pilules ne sont encore visées par aucune loi ni aucun traité, au contraire de l'opium et de la morphine. Le premier Délégué de France pense qu'il est difficile d'intervenir dans ce commerce; en France une pareille intervention ne peut être autorisée que par une loi, et même si l'initiative législative devait être soumise au Parlement pour sa ratification. Il propose, comme amendement, que la Résolution soit rédigée dans les termes suivants: "Le Gouvernement de la France prie le Gouvernement Japonais de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour empêcher la fabrication et la vente de pilules contre l'opium qui contiennent de l'opium, de la morphine ou tout autre dérivé de l'opium."

Cette nouvelle rédaction, acceptée par la Délégation chinoise est adoptée à l'unanimité.
La séance est levée à 12h.30.

A la reprise, à 2h.30 l'ordre du jour appelle la discussion de la quatrième résolution chinoise. Dans sa forme originelle, elle n'avait pas paru acceptable à la majorité des Délégations et, sur la suggestion des Délégués américains, elle est présentée après modifications et ainsi conçue :

"La Commission recommande fortement que chaque Délégation incite son Gouvernement à appliquer ses lois sur la pharmacie à ses sujets dans les districts consulaires, Concessions ou Settlements en Chine."

Ainsi amendée cette résolution est acceptée à l'unanimité. (N. B. La Délégation portugaise a réservé son vote dans toutes ces décisions. Le vote de la Délégation italienne n'a pas été donné, M. Faraone étant absent.)

Le Premier-Délégué de la France lit des extraits de deux lettres qu'il a reçues du Szechouen d'après lesquelles la culture du pavot continue dans cette province comme par le passé. Il lit ensuite la déclaration suivante :

"Bien que ni l'Indo-Chine française ni la France ne soient des pays producteurs d'opium et que l'usage de l'opium, pratiquement inconnu en France, ne fasse en Indo-Chine pour ainsi dire aucun ravage dans les populations indigènes."

"La Délégation tient à déclarer avant la clôture des travaux de la Commission Internationale de l'Opium."

"(1) Qu'en ce qui concerne l'Indo-Chine française l'administration française continuera à tenir fermement la main à l'observation des prescriptions exposées dans la note qui a été présentée à la Commission et dont l'effet a été déjà de réduire dans une très notable proportion les importations de l'opium brut et la consommation du chandoo."

"(2) Qu'en ce qui concerne Quang-tcheou-wan où le Gouvernement français est lié par un contrat avec la Ferme existante jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1911, les Délégués français croient de leur devoir vis-à-vis de leurs Collègues chinois d'être ici les interprètes de la ferme intention de M. le Gouverneur Général d'appliquer dans tout le Territoire de Quang-tcheou-wan des dispositions analogues à celles qui seraient effectivement prises par la Chine au moment de l'expiration de notre contrat."

Il est décidé que les rapports non encore présentés par les divers Comités seront insérés dans le Rapport final de la Commission et les décisions nécessaires sont prises au sujet de l'exécution de ce travail. Un Comité spécial est désigné pour arrêter les derniers détails à ce sujet. Un autre Comité est également désigné pour revoir le texte des Résolutions adoptées et en présenter une rédaction définitive.

La séance est levée à 4h.30 du soir.

QUATORZIÈME SÉANCE,

26 FÉVRIER 1909.

La séance est ouverte à 2h.30 de l'après-midi.

Le Premier Délégué du Portugal, dûment autorisé par son Gouvernement, fait la déclaration suivante :

"Considérant que ceci est une Commission d'études, le Gouvernement Portugais désire examiner avec soin le texte, les conditions et la base des propositions présentées par les différents Délégués, aussi bien que les rapports fournis par les autorités locales de ces colonies intéressées en ce qui concerne les moyens de rendre effectives les mesures désirables qui seraient adoptées, et pour ces raisons réserve sa délibération jusqu'à ce que les procès-verbaux de la Commission Internationale et les documents relatifs au sujet aient été étudiés, après quoi il communiquera sa décision à toutes les Puissances représentées à la Commission."

Le Premier Délégué des Pays-Bas, conformément à la décision prise à la douzième séance, dépose la Déclaration suivante dans laquelle sont incorporées les Résolutions proposées originellement à l'Assemblée :

"La Délégation Néerlandaise a proposé deux Résolutions ; la première est ainsi conçue ;
..... Considérant que la suppression totale de l'usage de l'opium dans un délai de quelques années doit être considérée comme un idéal élevé mais impossible à atteindre pour le moment ;
qu'en vue de combattre l'usage de l'opium on peut attendre beaucoup de mesures prises systématiquement et ayant un effet graduel ;
qu'une pratique soigneuse de pareilles mesures ne se conçoit que si la direction des affaires d'opium est conservée en mains propres (du Gouvernement) de façon qu'aucun individu n'ait intérêt à augmenter la vente de la drogue ;

Il est résolu de recommander aux Gouvernements des Pays-Bas les systèmes suivants en vigueur :—

(a) qu'il soit décidé en principe que l'usage de l'opium ne sera autorisé que dans les cas où son usage est dirigé par l'Etat et que l'établissement d'un système de culture contrôlée par l'Etat sera encouragé ;
l'exigence :

(b) que, sans s'occuper de savoir si le Contrôle direct du Gouvernement a déjà été mis en vigueur ou non, les mesures suivantes soient prises immédiatement pour restreindre l'usage de l'opium.

(1) faire bien comprendre aux fonctionnaires européens ou indigènes qui sont capables d'avoir une influence sur la consommation que le Gouvernement est résolu à combattre celle-ci ;

(2) ne pas permettre à qui que ce soit faisant usage de l'opium de servir dans l'administration civile, militaire ou maritime.

(3) imprimer dans l'esprit des enfants à l'école et des adultes partout et toujours les maux résultant de l'usage de l'opium ; en un mot instruire l'opinion publique à ce sujet par tous les moyens ; afin de développer la tendance contraire à l'opium, faire appel à l'aide de sociétés privées, ayant en vue d'améliorer la moralité de parties spéciales de la population, et dont le but et les méthodes paraîtront satisfaisantes ;

(4) Prohiber la vente de l'opium aux enfants ;

(5) Donner toute publicité, y compris la vente à prix courant, à tout remède contre l'opium au cas où un tel remède se répandrait à l'étranger qui ne contienne ni morphine ni aucun ingrédient malsain ;

(6) Maintenir s'il en existe, dans leur étendue actuelle, et si possible augmenter les surfaces soumises à la défense, en combinant ou non avec le système de donner des licences aux fumeurs habituels.

(7) Exclure de l'usage de la drogue des sections spéciales de la population.

(8) Diminuer le nombre des débits et fumeries, et diminuer le nombre d'heures pendant lesquelles ils peuvent rester ouverts ;

(9) Relever les prix de l'opium au détail.

"En expliquant ses raisons pour présenter cette Résolution, le Premier Délégué des Pays-Bas attire l'attention de l'Assemblée sur les deux premières sections du préambule où il est dit que "la suppression totale de l'usage de l'opium dans un délai de quelques années doit être considérée comme un idéal élevé mais impossible à atteindre pour le moment," et plus loin que "en vue de combattre l'usage de l'opium on peut attendre beaucoup de mesures prises systématiquement et ayant un effet graduel" ; il continue son discours ainsi : "jugant d'après l'expérience acquise aux Indes Néerlandaises, notre Délégation est d'avis que la meilleure manière d'atteindre cet objet est l'établissement d'un système d'opium dirigé par des fonctionnaires qui ne sont aucunement intéressés dans le montant des ventes. Comme il est montré dans l'appendice III au memorandum sur la Régie de l'opium aux Indes Néerlandaises, présenté en même temps que notre Rapport, sous ce système, pendant une période de quinze années, la consommation moyenne annuelle de chandoo par tête d'habitant à Java est tombée de 0.042 tahlil à 0.025 tahlil, soit une diminution d'un peu plus de 40%. Je rappelle que cette diminution a eu lieu graduellement et que par conséquent il y a de bonnes raisons de croire qu'elle sera durable et se développera progressivement."

"La Délégation Néerlandaise, basée sur ces faits, fière du système de la Régie de Java et profondément convaincue de son utilité à d'autres égards, a pris la liberté de présenter le memorandum précité dans le but d'exposer les principes sur lesquels ce système est basé, et avec l'espoir que l'étude de ce memorandum pourrait inciter d'autres Gouvernements à pratiquer le même système dans leurs territoires et possessions aussitôt que les circonstances leur permettraient de supprimer les systèmes de ferme ou de libre commerce de l'opium."

"En ce qui concerne la seconde partie de cette Résolution, j'ai l'honneur d'attirer l'attention de l'Assemblée sur ce fait que les Résolutions adoptées jusqu'à présent s'occupent de la contrebande, de la morphinomanie, de l'étude du côté médical de la question de l'opium, de l'opportunité de réexaminer les systèmes en vigueur de recettes d'opium, de complimenter le Gouvernement Chinois pour ce qui a été fait pendant les deux dernières années en vue de combattre l'usage de l'opium dans son Empire, et enfin d'une recommandation à nos Gouvernements les invitant à prendre des mesures pour la suppression graduelle de la pratique de fumer l'opium."

"Jusqu'à présent aucune Résolution n'a été proposée pour suggérer des mesures définies sur le sujet qui, dans la correspondance diplomatique était indiqué comme l'objet principal de notre Commission : chercher les moyens de limiter l'usage de l'opium. En rejetant cette tâche sur les épaules des différents Gouvernements, notre Commission ne fait pas ce qu'on attend d'elle. C'est pourquoi ce sera peut-être contribuer grandement à un résultat pratique que de présenter une Résolution recommandant des mesures définies à cet effet. On peut considérer comme rentrant dans cette catégorie de mesures celles qui ont été énumérées sous les numéros 1 à 9 de notre Résolution proposée, et qui, en partie ont déjà été appliquées à Java depuis de longues années, en partie ont été récemment prises en considération, afin de montrer au monde, qui attend des résultats pratiques, que notre Commission n'a pas négligé de donner quelques avis pratiques pour une solution satisfaisante de la question de l'opium. C'est pourquoi la Délégation Néerlandaise croit utile que la seconde partie de cette Résolution soit adoptée."

"Je ne crois pas nécessaire d'en dire plus long à propos de ces mesures qui s'expliquent d'elles-mêmes. Je suis prêt cependant à donner toute information complémentaire qui serait demandée."

"En second lieu, le Premier Délégué des Pays-Bas, en expliquant ses raisons pour présenter cette Résolution, attire l'attention de l'Assemblée sur les deux premières sections du préambule où il est dit que "la suppression totale de l'usage de l'opium dans un délai de quelques années doit être considérée comme un idéal élevé mais impossible à atteindre pour le moment," et plus loin que "en vue de combattre l'usage de l'opium on peut attendre beaucoup de mesures prises systématiquement et ayant un effet graduel" ; il continue son discours ainsi : "jugant d'après l'expérience acquise aux Indes Néerlandaises, notre Délégation est d'avis que la meilleure manière d'atteindre cet objet est l'établissement d'un système d'opium dirigé par des fonctionnaires qui ne sont aucunement intéressés dans le montant des ventes. Comme il est montré dans l'appendice III au memorandum sur la Régie de l'opium aux Indes Néerlandaises, présenté en même temps que notre Rapport, sous ce système, pendant une période de quinze années, la consommation moyenne annuelle de chandoo par tête d'habitant à Java est tombée de 0.042 tahlil à 0.025 tahlil, soit une diminution d'un peu plus de 40%. Je rappelle que cette diminution a eu lieu graduellement et que par conséquent il y a de bonnes raisons de croire qu'elle sera durable et se développera progressivement."

qu'elle a un effet démoralisant à la fois sur les individus qui se livrent à ce commerce et sur les officiers de Douanes et de Police ;

que l'expérience enseigne que la contrebande de l'opium, a cause de la grande valeur de ce produit sous un petit volume, est extrêmement difficile à combattre par les moyens employés jusqu'à ce jour individuellement par les divers Gouvernements ;

qu'il y a lieu en conséquence de s'efforcer de supprimer la contrebande par une action concertée des divers Gouvernements ;

et qu'une pareille action internationale n'est possible qu'après que dans tous les Pays l'opium aura été pris en mains propres (des Gouvernements) ;

Il est résolu :

de recommander aux divers Gouvernements, après qu'ils auront établi un système de contrôle direct de l'opium, d'entrer en négociations, par la voie diplomatique, dans le but que par la suite le Commerce en gros de l'opium ne sera permis qu'entre les Gouvernements de pays producteurs et consommateurs d'opium, et sera défendu à toute personne privée.

"Au sujet de cette Résolution le Premier Délégué des Pays-Bas dit que son objet est de marquer le désir de supprimer la contrebande de l'opium en prohibant le commerce de la drogue entre particuliers, ce qui toutefois n'est possible qu'après que la direction du Monopole de l'opium aura été prise par chaque Gouvernement intéressé en mains propres.

"L'expérience a enseigné que la contrebande de l'opium (qui, pour les raisons exposées dans le préambule, est un grand mal en elle-même) ne peut pas être complètement extirpée aussi longtemps que l'opium reste un article ordinaire de commerce et par conséquent passe par les mains de négociants en gros particuliers et de là aux mains des contrebandiers qui achètent la marchandise.

"En conséquence il est urgent que le commerce de l'opium soit retiré des mains de ces personnes et confié exclusivement aux Gouvernements des Pays producteurs ou consommateurs. Cette mesure peut faire un bien immense pour la solution du problème de l'opium, et par conséquent, à notre avis, elle doit, dans cette occasion, être recommandée aux Gouvernements intéressés, même si la réalisation de son principe ne doit être possible que dans l'avenir."

M. Miyaoka lit une réponse à la question posée par la Délégation chinoise au cours de la séance précédents. Il répond aussi à une question que le Dr. Tenney lui avait posée en particulier au sujet de la morphine réexportée du port de Kobé (Cf. à la suite des rapports.)

M. Laidlaw dépose le Rapport du "Comité sur les statistiques de commerce." Le Comité de Revision soumet alors les résolutions à l'approbation finale de la Commission. Après un léger changement dans l'ordre de leur présentation elles sont dument adoptées.

Sur la proposition de Sir C. Clementi Smith il est décidé que le texte des Résolutions sera signé par le Président au nom de la Commission.

En félicitant chaleureusement le Président de l'heureuse issue des travaux de la Commission, Sir C. Clementi Smith propose la résolution suivante, adoptée par acclamation :

"La Commission présente ses remerciements cordiaux au T. R. Evêque Brent pour la dignité, l'impartialité et l'habileté avec lesquelles il s'est acquitté de ses devoirs de Président de la Commission Internationale de l'Opium."

Répondant à cette manifestation, le Président remercie l'Assemblée de la dignité et de la courtoisie qu'elle n'a cessé de montrer pendant tout le cours des débats. Sa tâche dit-il a été très facile car dans cette période de moins d'un mois, il semble que les représentants de 13 nationalités différentes se soient coulés dans le moule d'une grande famille. C'est là un bon signe pour l'avenir.

Il félicite l'Assemblée non seulement de ce que ses Résolutions ont été prises à l'unanimité, mais aussi de ce que quatre d'entre elles invitent une nation particulière à agir dans l'intérêt d'une autre nation, ce qui montre jusqu'où va présentement la sympathie des relations entre les Nations des deux mondes. Les Nations sont plus que jamais conscientes de leurs droits souverains, mais elles ont de plus en plus de considération pour le bien-être des Nations voisines, et sont prêtes à faire des sacrifices locaux pour le bien universel.

Le Président rappelle le travail accompli par la Commission : dépôt et discussion des Rapports de chaque Pays, rédaction de Rapports Internationaux sur plusieurs sujets particuliers, adoption de Résolutions.

Ces dernières tâches ont été accomplies et la question de l'opium, qui a été le sujet principal de la Commission, est maintenant épuisée. En conséquence la Commission s'est dissoute. Le Président propose de faire elle-même une enquête sur l'état de la question de l'opium dans le monde existant.

On pourrait croire que la Commission a négligé l'aspect moral de la question de l'opium. Il n'en est rien, car ce point de vue, parfois exprimé, a toujours été présent à l'esprit de tous les Délégués. Mais la sympathie de la Commission pour les victimes de l'opium ne n'est pas contenté d'être purement émotionnelle ; elle s'est manifestée d'une façon plus virile sous forme de mesures pratiques pour secourir ces victimes. De même que le biologiste en son laboratoire travaille pour le bien de l'humanité, ainsi, derrière les statistiques revêches et les froides expressions des délibérations et des Résolutions de la Commission, se retrouvait la pensée de la pitoyable armée d'esclaves moraux pour le bien desquels la Commission travaillait.

Il reste encore beaucoup à faire après la dissolution de cette Commission, mais, le Président en exprime la confiance, c'est déjà beaucoup d'avoir déterminé ce qui est bien, ce qui est le droit, car le droit porte en lui-même une force qui le fait triompher en définitive.

M. Miyaoka propose un vote de remerciements aux Secrétaires dans les termes suivants :

"Avec votre permission et l'indulgence des membres de la Commission Internationale, j'ai l'honneur d'exprimer ici combien nous apprécions les services rendus par les Secrétaires. Je n'ai pas besoin d'appeler votre attention sur le soin, la diligence et l'énergie qu'ils ont déployés dans l'accomplissement de leur lourde charge. En raison de circonstances locales, auxquelles nous ne pouvions rien, ils ont dû se contenter de l'aide d'un personnel qu'on ne peut, en regard du travail qui leur incombait, hésiter à déclarer trop peu nombreux. En considérant ce qu'ils ont déjà fait et ce qu'il leur reste à faire comme ce qu'ils accomplissent à l'heure actuelle, nous ne pouvons pas rester aveugles à l'entraîn qu'ils ont apporté, ainsi que leur personnel à l'accomplissement de leur tâche.

A cet égard il me sera permis de remarquer aussi que les appels faits par les Diverses Délégations aux bons offices des Secrétaires ont été fréquents et nombreux. Ces appels à leur assistance ont été invariablement reçus non seulement avec la plus parfaite courtoisie de leur part, mais aussi avec cet empressement naturel qui a commandé l'admiration de chacun. Je suis donc persuadé que j'interprète exactement le sentiment général en proposant que des remerciements cordiaux soient offerts par la Commission Internationale de l'Opium à ses Secrétaires et à leur personnel, et que ce vote soit consigné dans les procès-verbaux de nos séances."

Le Président constate que cette proposition est adoptée par acclamations.

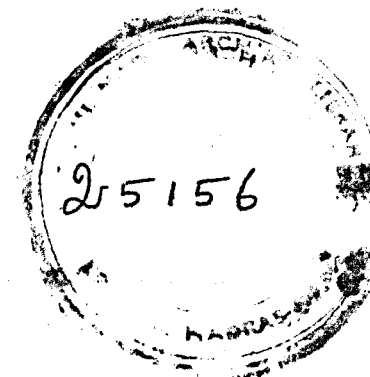
Une discussion s'élève sur l'opportunité de rendre publiques, en les communiquant à la Presse, les Résolutions adoptées par la Commission. Finalement il est décidé que la publication sera retardée jusqu'à ce qu'elle ait été autorisée par le Gouvernement de chaque pays ou de l'un des Pays intéressés.

Après avoir exprimé au nom de la Commission ses remerciements à la Délégation chinoise pour l'hospitalité qu'elle a offerte à la Commission en aménageant la salle de réunion, le Président annonce que les travaux de la Commission sont terminés et déclare l'assemblée ajournée sine die.

(Signé) FRED. W. CAREY,

(Signé) XAVIER DE LAFORCADE,

Secrétaires.



R

7:413 p. 1, No 9

No 9

*TEXTE DES RÉSOLUTIONS ADOPTÉ DANS LA SÉANCE
FINALE.*

1. La Commission reconnaît la sincérité inébranlable du Gouvernement Chinois dans ses efforts pour déraciner la production et la consommation de l'opium à travers l'Empire; l'importance croissante de la partie de l'opinion publique qui, parmi ses ressortissants, fait corps pour soutenir ces efforts; et le progrès, réel bien qu'inégal, déjà accompli dans une tâche qui est d'une ampleur immense.

2. En vue de l'action exercée par le Gouvernement Chinois pour supprimer la pratique de fumer l'opium et par d'autres Gouvernements dans le même but, la Commission Internationale de l'opium recommande que chaque Délégation intéressée incite son Gouvernement à prendre des mesures pour la suppression graduelle de la pratique de fumer l'opium dans ses Territoires et Possessions en tenant compte des circonstances variables pour chaque Pays intéressé.

3. La Commission Internationale de l'Opium trouve que l'usage de l'opium, sous quelque forme que ce soit, autre que l'usage médical, est considéré par presque tous les Pays représentés comme devant être prohibé ou soigneusement réglementé; et que chaque Pays, dans l'administration de son système de Réglementation, entend avoir pour but, selon les circonstances, d'augmenter progressivement les restrictions. En formulant ces conclusions la Commission Internationale de l'opium reconnaît la grande diversité des conditions prévalant dans les différentes contrées, mais elle attire l'attention des Gouvernements intéressés sur l'opportunité d'un nouvel examen de leur système de réglementation à la lumière de l'expérience des autres Pays qui ont à traiter le même problème.

4. La Commission Internationale de l'opium trouve que chacun des Gouvernements représentés a des lois strictes dont le but direct ou indirect est d'empêcher sur leurs territoires respectifs l'entrée en contrebande de l'opium, de ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés; dans l'opinion de la Commission Internationale de l'Opium, c'est aussi un devoir pour tous les Pays d'adopter des mesures raisonnables en vue d'empêcher, aux ports de sortie, l'embarquement d'opium, de ses alcaloïdes, préparations et dérivés, à destination d'un Pays qui interdit l'entrée sur son territoire de l'opium, de ses alcaloïdes, préparations ou dérivés.

5. La Commission Internationale de l'opium trouve que le manque de restrictions à la fabrication, à la vente et à la distribution de la morphine constitue d'ores et déjà un grave danger et que la morphinomanie tend à se répandre: la Commission, en conséquence désire insister fortement auprès de tous les Gouvernements sur l'importance que présenterait l'adoption de mesures draconniennes par chaque Gouvernement sur son propre Territoire et dans ses Possessions pour contrôler la fabrication, la vente et la distribution de cette drogue ainsi que des autres dérivés de l'opium qu'une enquête scientifique pourrait signaler comme susceptibles d'abus semblables et de mauvais effets similaires à ceux de l'opium.

6. La Commission Internationale de l'Opium n'est pas constituée de façon à permettre d'entreprendre une enquête à un point de vue scientifique sur les remèdes contre l'opium et sur les propriétés et les effets de l'opium et de ses produits, mais considère qu'une enquête de ce genre serait de la plus haute importance; elle désire en conséquence que chaque Délégation recommande cette branche du sujet à son Gouvernement pour que celui-ci prenne telles mesures qu'il croira nécessaire à cet égard.

7. La Commission Internationale de l'Opium recommande vivement à tous les Gouvernements, possédant des Concessions ou Settlements en Chine, qui n'ont pas encore agi effectivement pour la fermeture immédiate de toutes les fumeries d'opium dans lesdits Settlements et Concessions, de prendre dans ce but aussitôt qu'ils le jugeront possible des mesures similaires à celles qui ont déjà été adoptées par plusieurs Gouvernements.

8. La Commission Internationale de l'opium recommande fortement que chaque Délégation incite son Gouvernement à entrer en négociations avec le Gouvernement Chinois dans le but que des mesures promptes et effectives soient prises dans les diverses Concessions ou Settlements en Chine pour prohiber le commerce et la fabrication de remèdes contre l'opium qui contiendraient de l'opium, ou aucun de ses dérivés.

9. La Commission Internationale de l'Opium recommande que chaque Délégation incite son Gouvernement à appliquer ses lois sur la Pharmacie à ses sujets dans les districts consulaires, Concessions et Settlements en Chine.

R
x2 (5471) pl, 1976

NOS. 15