



FINAL REPORT

of the

DELEGATES OF INDIA

to the

**EIGHTH (ORDINARY) SESSION
OF THE ASSEMBLY**

of the

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(1927).

R
VIN VIN 27t

N 27

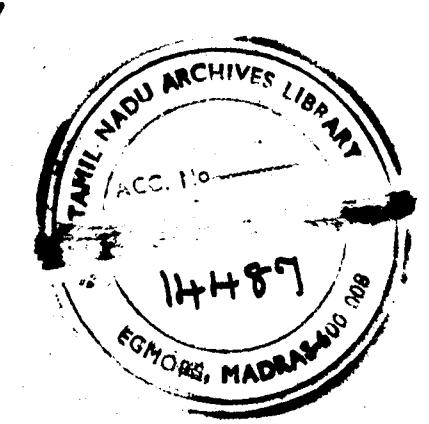


TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Introductory - - - - -	4
The Indian and British Empire Delegations - - - - -	4
Opening of the Eighth Assembly - - - - -	4
Speech of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar - - - - -	5
The Technical Work of the League - - - - -	6
Relation of Greater and Smaller Powers - - - - -	6
Elections to the Council - - - - -	7
Assembly Debate on Arbitration, Security and Disarmament - - - - -	7
Sphere of Action of the League - - - - -	9
Subjects referred to Committees - - - - -	10
COMMITTEE I.	
Codification of International Law - - - - -	11
Accession to International Agreements given subject to Ratification - - - - -	13
COMMITTEE II.	
World Economic Conference - - - - -	13
Economic Organisation of the League - - - - -	14
Work of the Health Organisation - - - - -	15
Alcoholism - - - - -	16
Intellectual Co-operation - - - - -	17
Creation of an Educational Cinematographical Institute - - - - -	19
Relations between League of Nations and institutes or bodies set up under its authority - - - - -	19
Economic Committee - - - - -	20
Opening of a Convention relating to the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards - - - - -	21
Financial Committee (including settlement of Greek refugees and Greek Financial Reconstruction Scheme and settlement of Bulgarian refugees) - - - - -	21
Organisation for Communications and Transit - - - - -	22
International Relief Union - - - - -	23
COMMITTEE III.	
Arbitration, Security and Reduction of Armaments - - - - -	23
COMMITTEE IV.	
The League Budget - - - - -	27
Supplementary Estimates and Financial Control - - - - -	29
Allocation of Expenses - - - - -	30
Construction of New League Buildings - - - - -	31
Rockefeller Gift for Endowment of a Library - - - - -	32
COMMITTEE V.	
Child Welfare - - - - -	32
Traffic in Women and Children - - - - -	33
Production of Opium in Persia - - - - -	33
Traffic in Opium and Dangerous Drugs - - - - -	34
Permanent Central Board to be set up under the Opium Convention of 1925 - - - - -	34
Protection of Women and Children in the Near East - - - - -	35
Russian and Armenian Refugees - - - - -	35
COMMITTEE VI.	
Slavery Convention - - - - -	35
System of Single Transferable Vote for Election of non-permanent Members of the Council - - - - -	36
Mandates - - - - -	37
Conference of Press Experts - - - - -	37
Concluding Remarks - - - - -	37
Appendices - - - - -	39

FINAL REPORT OF THE DELEGATES OF INDIA TO THE EIGHTH (ORDINARY) SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (1927).

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD,
HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

My Lord,

We beg to submit our Report on the Eighth (Ordinary) Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations held at Geneva from the 5th to the 27th September, at which we had the honour to represent India.

2. Following the precedent of previous years, we have already submitted an Interim Report in order to give as early an account of our proceedings as possible. The Interim Report consisted of a survey of matters of general interest, and a description of those in which the interests of India are affected, and of the part played by delegates of India in the discussions. This Report reproduces the bulk of the Interim Report, together with the text of the Resolutions adopted by the Assembly, and certain reports of Committees and speeches, and other matter necessary to complete the record.

The Indian and British Empire Delegations.

3. Numerically the Indian Delegation was the same as last year, but we had the advantage of including among us four members—His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Sir Edward Chamier and Sir B. K. Mullick—who had had previous experience of the work of the Assembly. We held no meeting of the Delegation before leaving London, on account of the practical difficulty of assembling a sufficient number of delegates. On most occasions such a meeting would be desirable, if not necessary, but on this occasion there was in fact no question of outstanding importance affecting India except the resolutions of the Economic Conference, and the majority of us were generally familiar with the position and were not in need of guidance on matters of practice and principle. A meeting of the Delegation was held on the day on which we reached Geneva, and on the same day we attended a meeting of all the Delegations of the British Empire convened by the leader of the British Delegation, Sir Austen Chamberlain. Throughout the period of the Assembly we maintained coherence among ourselves by meetings of the Delegation and otherwise, and co-ordination was effected between the Empire Delegations by meetings of leaders and by meetings of the delegates who represented the Empire Delegations on the several Committees. It will be obvious that the Delegations of the British Empire exercise a very great influence in the League so long as they are united, and on the big political questions in which other groups of Powers who are not united by an Imperial bond such as ours act in concert, it is especially desirable that the British Empire should pursue a single policy. The Indian Delegation is not constitutionally in the same position as those of the Dominions, but we believe that the obligation to make the action of the Indian Delegation conform to that of the British Delegation is practically confined to those questions on which the Empire Delegations must of necessity, and in fact do, act together, and that Indian policy is determined on independent lines in those matters in which India really possesses an independent interest. Moreover, those problems of a political character in which the attitude of India might be affected by her present constitutional position are predominantly of an European character and have little direct interest for India, whereas those departments of the work of the League in which India has the greatest practical interest are scarcely, if at all, influenced by political and constitutional relations. It follows accordingly that, in our view, the actual liberty of the Indian Delegation to follow an independent policy corresponds to the liberty which the Indian Delegation would in fact exercise if the constitutional status of India within the Empire were different.

Opening of the Eighth Session.

4. The proceedings of the Assembly were opened on the 5th September by His Excellency M. Enrique Villegas (Chilian Ambassador at Rome and representative on the Council of the League), acting as President of the Council. The credentials of the delegates were verified by a Committee on which His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala served. A list of the members of each Delegation will be found in Appendix I.

5. Forty-nine States were represented out of a total number of 55 States; Spain, Brazil, and certain other South American States being absentees. The Assembly was attended by a larger number of Foreign Ministers (21) than has ever previously been present, by the President of the Swiss Confederation, and by the Prime Ministers of Luxemburg and Lithuania. His Excellency Dr. Alberto Guani (first delegate of Uruguay) was elected President after a close contest, in which His Excellency Count Mensdorff (the first delegate

of Austria) was the other candidate. The election of Vice-Presidents, members of the General Committee and of the Agenda Committee proceeded in accordance with the usual routine which has been described in reports of previous delegations.

6. The Assembly opened in an atmosphere of some uncertainty and even depression as to the present position and future outlook of the League. This atmosphere had been precipitated by the resignations not long before the date on which the Assembly met of Viscount Cecil and M. de Jouvenal from the British and French Delegations respectively. These resignations were taken as indicating a view that the Great Powers were showing a tendency to settle problems among themselves without resort to the League, and that too uncompromising an attitude was being adopted in regard to the great problem of Disarmament by some of those on whose attitude progress mainly depended. The general debate was expected to range over these two topics, and it was felt in many quarters that the Eighth Assembly, although having before it an agenda of no abnormal importance, might be of critical significance in regard to the future of the League. These expectations were not falsified. There were a number of subjects in which fundamental questions were treated from all points of view, and there was a tendency to precipitate dramatic developments. If some of the results which emerged were of moral, rather than of political or constitutional importance, it should be realised that the ideals on which the League is based represent a fundamental change in the practice of international politics; that such a change can only proceed with safety on evolutionary lines, and that for the purpose of such an evolution a moral stimulus may be effective when instruments of precision would be premature and dangerous. Before indicating in greater detail the lines of the debate, we shall express our belief that the general issue afforded no justification for pessimism, while at the other end of the scale it emphasised the necessity for a proper relation between ideas and facts. The need for tempering enthusiasm with patience is, in our view, admirably expressed in the Report of the Director of the International Labour Office for 1927 which was placed before the Assembly, from which the following passage may be usefully reproduced:—

“It is impossible not to realise the immense gulf which separates what has been achieved from what was hoped in 1919, when mankind for a brief moment rose to heights unknown before. At that time, immediately after the great catastrophe of the war, an effort was made to organise human life on a basis of solidarity and peace, and the nations collaborated with one another in setting up a new structure. At that time almost everyone cherished the illusion that international life would at once come into being and that a new era was on the point of beginning.

“The reality is not what was then supposed. International institutions can only establish themselves by long, obstinate and patient efforts. This has been the experience of the League of Nations as regards international security and disarmament. The apprehensions and anxieties which have been deeply rooted in the heart of mankind by centuries of war cannot be uprooted all at once. The sovereign States are still inclined to rely on themselves for securing the necessary guarantee of security.”

7. Although these political and constitutional subjects dominated the debate, many speakers concerned themselves with pointing out that other subjects might be regarded as of no less importance; that for non-European Members these subjects might even be of greater importance, and that while there might be an apparent and temporary lack of success in the League's treatment of political subjects, notable successes in the non-political spheres of activity did much to restore the balance. Conspicuous among these is the success of the International Economic Conference of last May, and other spheres in which valuable work has been, or is in course of being, done are those of Health, Intellectual Co-operation, International Law and Social Reforms.

Speech of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar.

8. The General Debate in the Assembly was opened by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, in a speech which emphasised this aspect of the work of the League. The text will be found in Appendix III, Annex I, but we will reproduce here a summary.

9. After congratulating the Secretary-General and his staff on the comprehensiveness and thoroughness of which the documents before the Assembly were an indication, he referred to the unique position of India in the League, and spoke of the effect which the world opinion developed by the League might have upon India. He said that the quest of the ideal was one of the strongest characteristics of his race, and that as an Indian he felt at home in an Assembly which expected and indeed assumed the existence of idealism in all its members. While appreciating the value to his own country of its participation in the League, he expressed the hope that the presence of delegates from India and other distant countries was of some value to the League by preserving its character of universality and marking the distinction between a real League of Nations and a mere concert of Powers. He then referred, with examples, to the way in which India had been fulfilling in practice the ideals of the League. It was a matter for sincere congratulation that the League was in its turn realising the importance of Indian and eastern problems. But it was not easy for his countrymen,

referred to the Third Committee a proposal by the Polish Delegation that the Assembly should record a declaration that all wars of aggression are and always shall be prohibited, that every pacific means must be employed to settle disputes of every description which may arise between States, and that States Members of the League are under an obligation to conform to these principles. Many Delegations pointed out that this resolution would add nothing to what was already contained in the Covenant, but others maintained that a solemn declaration of this kind was of great value. In deference to the views of the latter the Third Committee accepted the proposal and the Assembly passed a resolution accordingly.

15. The debate in the Assembly was of intense interest, and all aspects of the question were frankly and fully deliberated. It would be impossible to summarise the discussion briefly, and we must content ourselves with indicating some of its leading features. Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland, the first delegate of the Netherlands, referring to the Dutch resolution which we have alluded to above, reminded the Assembly that in 1926 the first delegate of the Netherlands had used the following words: "The Protocol is not dead; it is most certainly not buried, it but slumbers. Do not let us seek now to remodel or perfect it, rather let it rest." He said that, while these words were fully justified and entirely reasonable on the eve of the conclusion of the Locarno Treaties, he thought that if this state of rest were to be prolonged it might degenerate into lethargy. It was necessary to continue the study of the important principles underlying the Protocol, and the Assembly must realise that public opinion in different countries was moving in this direction, and that, particularly in overseas countries, there was a growing current of opinion which had adopted as its watchword "The outlawry of war." The principle of compulsory international jurisdiction was a necessary complement of these ideas, but if this end was to be achieved the Great Powers must not continue to shirk obligations. The speech of the Dutch delegate and the resolution which he moved profoundly influenced the current and character of the subsequent debates, and it is a conspicuous example of the part played by the lesser Powers in the Eighth Assembly. M. Politis, the Greek delegate and one of the authors of the 1924 Protocol, said that, if he had rightly understood the speech with which the Dutch proposal was introduced, the purpose in view was to revert to the idea of general compulsory arbitration. This would be the idea of the Protocol, with its fundamental basis of compulsory arbitration but without the system of sanctions. He did not believe that, in the present state of affairs, it would be wise or practicable to bring up the Protocol again, this belief being based on the fact that the obstacles which wrecked its progress before were still unchanged. Circumstances hardly warranted the hope that there was at present any likelihood of overcoming the obstacles to compulsory arbitration, and even if that were not so he could not conceive of compulsory arbitration as an element of security unless accompanied by an adequate system of sanctions. The cause of the Protocol would be hindered rather than served if a demand were made to take it up in fractions or segments, and he thought that the counsel of wisdom was to wait patiently in the belief that public opinion would soon declare itself in a manner which would enable the Protocol to emerge as an international reality. He went on to say that if security was a necessary preliminary to disarmament, and if security itself was founded on justice, justice in its turn was based on the existence of law, and he therefore attached great importance to the work which the League had done and would continue to do in the development and enrichment of international law.

16. Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, said that he could not be content with the pessimistic policy of waiting which had been advocated by M. Politis. He could not believe that the proposal of the Polish Delegation for a solemn declaration prohibiting all wars of aggression if adopted by the Assembly would have no effect on the present situation. Many might prefer to work by means of Conventions having binding force, but he felt that faith in an ideal could be as important as a legal formula. It was not the mere clauses of a treaty which brought about peace, but the spirit of the peoples and the consciences of their responsible leaders. As evidence of the belief of the German Government in arbitration, he intended during the present session of the Assembly to append his signature to the optional clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. A promise had been made that the disarmament of the nations which were vanquished in the war should be a preliminary to general disarmament, and he appealed to the Assembly not to betray the faith which had been placed in the sanctity of this pledge. Dr. Stresemann further developed the German view in regard to disarmament in a speech in the Assembly after the report of the Third Committee had been presented. He said that Germany was emphatically of opinion that the commencement of general disarmament should not be dependent on fresh guarantees of security, which was indeed the standpoint of the Assembly of 1926. He welcomed the resolutions of the Third Committee as being a satisfactory result of difficult negotiations. Every step forward in general disarmament would itself provide fresh elements of security for the whole world. Armaments could not, and should not, form the basis of security, and they were not even the most effective protection. The success of Germany in overcoming the psychological difficulties of disarmament presented by her great military traditions ought to make it easier for other countries to follow suit. He concluded by saying that the entire institution of the League could not live and be effective until the duty of

general disarmament had been discharged and until in consequence the conditions necessary for that atmosphere required for a common and collective guarantee of peace had been fulfilled.

17. M. Briand made a speech such as the Assembly has learnt to expect of him, which appeared to be designed rather to create a favourable atmosphere and to restore confidence than to make any precise or concrete contribution to the subject-matter of the debate. He said that the strength of the League lay in the trust of the peoples; they did not always reason, but they had an instinctive feeling of trust in the League; they knew that without reason, but they had an instinctive feeling of trust in the League; they knew that without the League there was always the danger of a renewal of strife. Alluding to the speech of M. Politis, he said that the peoples were prepared to wait, but not to wait indefinitely.

18. Sir Austen Chamberlain, who was the last of the representatives of the Great Powers to speak in the opening debate, said that Great Britain had proved by her deeds her desire to see a real and large reduction of armaments; the British Army had been reduced immediately peace was secured to less than its pre-war level, and the British Fleet could not be compared with the Fleet which Great Britain had maintained not merely during the war but before the war. Turning from disarmament to arbitration, he asked the Assembly to bear in mind the special conditions of the British Empire, which was not a unitary system of government, such as prevailed in other countries, but a great community of free and equal nations, each autonomous, united in the oldest League of Peace in the world. It was not easy for such an Empire to accept obligations which could be readily undertaken by a homogeneous State speaking with the voice of a single Government. He claimed that Great Britain had arbitrated more grave problems than any other country in the world, and gave as a special instance the case of the Iraq frontier, in which Great Britain had used the verdict which had been given in her favour to open negotiations with Turkey and to make acceptable to her an award which could have been rigidly enforced. Passing on to security, he said that Great Britain had not merely accepted all the obligations of the Covenant, but had also become parties to the Locarno Agreement, knowing what it was to give a guarantee and the cost of keeping a guarantee. He asked whether other parties could not accept liabilities similar to those accepted at Locarno with a view to guaranteeing other troubled frontiers in the same way as Great Britain had guaranteed the western frontiers of France. Those who asked Great Britain to guarantee every frontier as she had guaranteed one in the Treaty of Locarno were asking her to undertake an obligation which was beyond her strength. All parties did not look upon the League in the same way; their faith was the same and their purpose was the same, but the way in which they would reach their purpose varied with their circumstances, their temperaments and their responsibilities. In the organic world it was not those organisms which came most quickly to maturity that reached the greatest strength or lasted the longest; and he regarded the League in the light of this analogy.

19. This speech naturally made a deep impression and had a decisive influence in ensuring that the subsequent discussion, which might otherwise have wasted itself in theory and idealism, was directed into channels calculated to lead to important practical results. Dr. Nansen, of Norway, in a speech in the Assembly on one of the last days of the session, paid a notable tribute to the force and conviction of Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech. He said that no one who had worked at Geneva had failed to realise that Great Britain, since the beginning of the League, had given the most consistently powerful support to it and its existing provisions. If Great Britain had hesitated to increase those commitments, they all realised that it was chiefly because she took those commitments so seriously and that she was anxious not to weaken her power to honour existing engagements by contracting new ones. They also realised the special position of Great Britain and of the Empire, and also the fact that owing to the British Navy any additional commitments in regard to arbitration and sanctions would be more onerous for Great Britain than for other countries. Even if they might regret the course which events had taken, they understood the reasons which in a large measure determined it. It is an important fact that Governments of the British Empire should thus receive recognition of their policy of not accepting obligations unless they fully intend and are assured of their ability to carry them out scrupulously. India, we believe, can claim to enjoy this reputation as much as any other part of the Empire.

Sphere of Action of the League.

20. At the Seventh Assembly Viscount Cecil had proposed that a Committee should be appointed to consider and report what questions are, and what are not, within the sphere of action of the League, within the meaning of the Preamble to, and Articles III and IV of, the Covenant. Lord Cecil had explained that this proposal was not animated by any desire to restrict or diminish the legitimate activities of the League; but it was felt in some quarters that there was a tendency which should be checked, to encourage the League to take up subjects which were foreign to the purpose for which it was founded, viz. to secure international co-operation making for the peace of the world. The proposal to set up a Committee was not accepted, and the Seventh Assembly not being able to agree upon any alternative formula, decided that the question should be postponed for further consideration at the Eighth Assembly. But before the Eighth Assembly opened the British Government informed the League that they believed that the consideration which the matter had already received had to a large extent met their object, and lessened the probability of the recurrence of those dangers to which attention had been called. In these circumstances they proposed that the

question should not be further pursued for the present. Accordingly no further discussion occurred at the Eighth Assembly. We think that the ventilation of the question has undoubtedly been useful in creating a public opinion which will cause each new proposal for an extension of the League's operations to be carefully scrutinised. This was evident on several occasions this year, and notably when the proposal for taking up the question of alcoholism came before the Second Committee.

Work of the Six Committees.

21. We now turn to the work of the six Committees which were constituted as follows in accordance with precedent:—

COMMITTEE I.

Constitutional and Legal Questions.

Chairman: Monsieur Adatei (Japan); *Delegates of India:* Sir Edward Chamier, Sir B. K. Mullick.

COMMITTEE II.

Technical Organisations.

Chairman: Mr. Dandurand (Canada); *Delegates of India:* Earl of Lytton, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Sir Fazl-i-Husain.

COMMITTEE III.

Reduction of Armaments.

Chairman: Dr. Benes (Czecho-Slovakia); *Delegates of India:* Earl of Lytton, His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, Sir Edward Chamier.

COMMITTEE IV.

Budgetary and Financial Questions.

Chairman: Jonkheer van Eysinga (Netherlands); *Delegates of India:* Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Sir Fazl-i-Husain.

COMMITTEE V.

Social and General Questions.

Chairman: Mr. Hambro (Norway); *Delegates of India:* Earl of Lytton, His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, Sir B. K. Mullick.

COMMITTEE VI.

Political Questions, Mandates, Slavery, &c.

Chairman: Monsieur Bech (Luxemburg); *Delegates of India:* His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, Sir B. K. Mullick.

22. The following questions were referred by the Assembly to the various Committees for consideration and report:—

FIRST COMMITTEE.

Constitutional and Legal Questions.

1. Codification of international law.
2. Proposal by the delegation of Paraguay for the preparation of a general and comprehensive plan of codification of international law.
3. Accession to international agreements given subject to ratification.

SECOND COMMITTEE.

Technical Organisations.

1. Work of the Health Organisation.
2. Results of the mission carried out in certain Latin-American countries by the President of the Health Committee.
3. Results of the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit.
4. Work of the Economic Committee.
5. Results of the International Economic Conference. Economic Organisation of the League of Nations.
6. Opening of a Convention relating to the execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards.
7. Work of the Financial Committee.
8. Settlement of Greek refugees and financial reconstruction scheme.
9. Work for the settlement of Bulgarian refugees.
10. Results of the Conference for the Creation of an International Relief Union.
11. Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
12. Proposal by the Italian delegation for the creation of an International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome.
13. Relations between the League of Nations and institutes or bodies set up under its authority.

THIRD COMMITTEE.

Reduction of Armaments.

1. Declaration concerning wars of aggression.
2. Arbitration, security, disarmament and the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.
3. Private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.

FOURTH COMMITTEE.

Budgetary and Financial Questions.

1. Audited accounts and Budget of the League, and other financial questions.
2. Contributions in arrears.
3. Construction of an Assembly Hall and of new buildings for the use of the Secretariat.
4. Question of the cost of living and the adjustment of salaries.
5. Establishment of an Administrative Tribunal.

FIFTH COMMITTEE.

Social and General Questions.

1. Traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs.
2. Work of the Committee of Enquiry regarding the Production of the Opium Poppy in Persia.
3. Work of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People:
Traffic in women and children.
Child welfare.
4. Protection of women and children in the Near East.
5. Measures in favour of Armenian and Russian refugees.

SIXTH COMMITTEE.

Political Questions—Mandates, Slavery, &c.

1. Mandates.
2. Slavery Convention.
3. Results of the Conference of Press Experts.
4. System of the single transferable vote and the principle of proportional representation in general, in connection with the problem of the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council.

COMMITTEE I.—Constitutional and Legal Questions.

CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

23. Last year the First Committee was unable to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the instructions to be given to the Committee of Experts appointed to consider the possibility of codifying international law, of which Sir Mohammad Rafique is a member as an expert on Moslem law. That Committee accordingly continued its work as before and in April 1927 presented a report to the Council to the effect that seven subjects were in certain of their aspects ripe for regulation by international action, namely:—

- (1) Nationality.
- (2) Territorial waters.
- (3) Diplomatic privileges and immunities.
- (4) Responsibility of States for damage done in their territory to the person or property of foreigners.
- (5) Piracy.
- (6) The procedure of International Conferences and procedure for the drafting of treaties.
- (7) Exploitation of the products of the sea.

24. The Committee of Experts recommended that subject No. 6 should in the first instance be studied by the Secretariat, and that subject No. 7 should be examined by the Economic Committee of the League or by the Permanent International Council for the Exploration of the Sea at Copenhagen, and that the Council should then consider whether any further action was possible or desirable. Doubt had been expressed whether subjects Nos. 3 and 5 were of sufficient interest at the present time to justify the inclusion of them in the programme of an International Conference, but recommended that after the completion of such preparatory work as might be necessary, an International Conference should be convened to deal with subjects Nos. 1, 2 and 4. This report was referred by the Assembly to the First Committee.

25. After a lengthy discussion of the report and of a proposal made by the Paraguayan Delegation that a Committee of Experts should be entrusted with "the preparation of a general and comprehensive plan of codification of International Law, paying due regard as far as possible to the work of codification which is being carried on in America," the First Committee appointed a strong Sub-Committee to examine the whole subject and eventually submitted a report to the Assembly recommending that an International Conference should be convened to deal with subjects Nos. 1, 2 and 4 only, and that to that end a Preparatory Committee consisting of five persons possessing a wide knowledge of international practice,

legal precedents and scientific data relating to those questions should be appointed to prepare a report detailing the bases of discussion at the Conference. The Committee recommended, also, that the Council should attach to the invitation to be issued to States to join in the Conference draft regulations for the procedure of the Conference indicating the general rules which should govern the discussions.

26. The Dutch Government had offered to convene the Conference and also supervise the necessary preliminary work, but the First Committee considered that this should be undertaken entirely by the League. It recommended, however, that the Council should, if possible, arrange to have the Conference held at The Hague, and expressed the hope that the Dutch Government would agree to this. As regards the method of dealing with subjects Nos. 6 and 7, the First Committee approved generally the proposals of the Committee of Experts. The Assembly passed a resolution adopting all the recommendations of the First Committee on this matter. There was, however, a considerable controversy as to the provision of funds to enable the Committee of Experts to continue its work in 1928. This is referred to later in connection with the Budget and Supplementary Estimates.

27. With reference to the proposal of the Paraguayan delegation, the Assembly, on the recommendation of the First Committee, requested the Committee of Experts to consider at its next session under what conditions the work referred to in that proposal could be undertaken, and reserved a decision as to the course to be adopted until the Committee of Experts had made its suggestions and the Council had had an opportunity of considering them. The speeches delivered in the First Committee indicated that the general opinion was that the Paraguayan proposal was too ambitious, and that in any case it was desirable to await the result of the efforts to be made to deal with the three subjects specified above before attempting anything in the nature of the general codification of International Law. But the Assembly seemed to be in general agreement with the view that the classification and extension of International Law had a close relation with the problem of security, as it would extend the scope of arbitration. In principle, therefore, the work of codification has acquired a new importance.

On 27th September the Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

1. The Assembly:

Having considered the documents transmitted to it by the Council in conformity with its resolution of 13th June 1927, and the report of the First Committee on the measures to be taken as a result of the work of the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law;

Considering that it is material for the progress of justice and the maintenance of peace to define, improve and develop international law;

Convinced that it is therefore the duty of the League to make every effort to contribute to the progressive codification of international law;

Observing that, on the basis of the work of the Committee of Experts, to which it pays a sincere tribute, systematic preparations can be made for a first Codification Conference, the holding of which in 1929 can already be contemplated;

Decides:

(1) To submit the following questions for examination by a first Conference:—

- (a) Nationality;
- (b) Territorial waters; and
- (c) Responsibility of States for Damage done in their Territory to the Person or Property of Foreigners;

(2) To request the Council to instruct the Secretariat to cause its services to study, on the lines indicated in the First Committee's report, the question of the Procedure of International Conferences and Procedure for the Conclusion and Drafting of Treaties;

(3) To instruct the Economic Committee of the League to study, in collaboration with the Permanent International Council for the Exploration of the Sea at Copenhagen and any other organisation specially interested in this matter, the question whether and in what terms, for what species and in what areas, international protection of marine fauna could be established. The Committee will report to the Council the results of its enquiry, indicating whether a Conference of Experts should be convened for such purpose at an early date;

(4) To ask the Council to make arrangements with the Netherlands Government with a view to choosing The Hague as the meeting-place of the first Codification Conference, and to summon the Conference as soon as the preparations for it are sufficiently advanced;

(5) To entrust the Council with the task of appointing, at the earliest possible date, a Preparatory Committee, composed of five persons possessing a wide knowledge of international practice, legal precedents, and scientific data relating to the questions coming within the scope of the first Codification Conference, this Committee being instructed to prepare a report comprising sufficiently detailed bases of discussion on each question, in accordance with the indications contained in the report of the First Committee;

(6) To recommend the Council to attach to the invitations draft regulations for the Conference, indicating a number of general rules which should govern the discussions, more particularly as regards—

- (a) the possibility, if occasion should arise, of the States represented at the Conference adopting amongst themselves rules accepted by a majority vote;
- (b) the possibility of drawing up, in respect of such subjects as may lend themselves thereto, a comprehensive convention and, within the framework of that convention, other more restricted conventions;
- (c) the organisation of a system for the subsequent revision of the agreements entered into; and
- (d) the spirit of the codification, which should not confine itself to the mere registration of the existing rules, but should aim at adapting them as far as possible to contemporary conditions of international life.

(7) To ask the Committee of Experts at its next session to complete the work it has already begun.

Assembly
Resolutions
(27 Sept.).

2. The Assembly.

Having taken note of the First Committee's report on the proposal of the delegation of Paraguay for the preparation of a general and comprehensive plan of codification of international law;

Desires to place on record the importance which it attaches to the spirit underlying the proposal of the delegation of Paraguay;

Requests the Council to invite the Committee of Experts to consider at its next session under what conditions the work referred to in the said proposal could be undertaken;

And will decide later upon the course to be adopted after taking note of the suggestions of the Committee of Experts and the opinion of the Council in regard thereto.

ACCESSION TO INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS GIVEN SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION.

On 23rd September the Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The procedure of accession to international agreements given subject to ratification is an admissible one which the League should neither discourage nor encourage.

Nevertheless, if a State gives its accession, it should know that, if it does not expressly mention that this accession is subject to ratification, it shall be deemed to have undertaken a final obligation. If it desires to prevent this consequence, it must expressly declare at the time of accession that the accession is given subject to ratification.

Assembly
Resolution
(23 Sept.).

COMMITTEE II.—Technical Organisations.

WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

28. The success of the Economic Conference held at Geneva in May was the most important achievement of the League in the last 12 months. We have already referred to the subject in general in our account of the opening debate of the Assembly. With the exception of the group of questions relating to arbitration, security and disarmament, this was the most vital topic on the agenda of the Eighth Assembly. Broadly speaking, the issue which the Report of the Conference raised was whether, both in principle and in practice, it would be reasonable to recognise and possible to effect in the domain of economics a closer international relationship than in the past.

29. Two main questions presented themselves, viz. the degree in which the Assembly should accept the conclusions of the Conference and advocate their pursuance, and the developments which would accordingly be necessary in the economic organs of the League for the purpose of the new policy.

30. Those who wish to study the problem in detail are advised to refer to the Report of the Conference and the Report of the Indian Delegation which have been published in a convenient form in India. Many countries had already found themselves able to endorse the conclusions of the Conference and to express their intention to co-operate in carrying them into effect. This was not yet possible in the case of India for reasons which were explained in a declaration made in the Second Committee by our leader. This declaration is quoted textually in Appendix III, Annex VIII, and the following is a summary:—

31. The Earl of Lytton said that India supported unhesitatingly the general principle that the economic policy of States should be directed towards the peace and prosperity of the world, and would welcome the elimination of any economic factors calculated to cause friction or misunderstanding. He believed there was no important recommendation of the Conference which was inconsistent with the past or present economic policy of India, and that India on the whole stood to gain by the adoption throughout the world of the general recommendations of the Conference. If on minor points there were any inconsistencies the Government of India would seek to reconcile them. The future policy of India was likely to be as much in conformity with the recommendations of the Conference as that of the past. His inability to accept those recommendations without reserve was due not to the fact that any action was contemplated in the future which was inconsistent with them, but rather to the lack of opportunity of ascertaining public opinion in India during the short time that had elapsed since the Conference was held and the undesirability of committing the peoples of India to agreement with a document which they had not yet studied. It would militate against ultimate acceptance by India were she committed in advance of the study and discussion of the Report for which facilities were being provided. He referred to the recent grant of a large measure of fiscal autonomy to India and to the natural desire of the Indian people to guard their recently gained freedom. The policy of discriminating protection did not conflict with the principles laid down by the Conference. He had very little doubt that the Report of the Conference, when it had been fully examined by the public in India, would be found to be in general conformity with Indian economic policy, and that if the decision of India was left unhampered by premature commitments the spirit in which the Conference performed its task would be appreciated and its recommendations generally accepted.

32. A Resolution was submitted to the Second Committee by one delegate proposing to endorse the conclusions of the Conference as a whole and without reserve, but we were instrumental in influencing the form of the resolution finally adopted so that it gave satisfaction to our point of view. This resolution noted with satisfaction that many Governments had made declarations accepting the principles and stating their intention of co-operating in their application, while no declaration in the contrary sense had been made.

It expressed a belief that there was every reason to hope for universal approval when the public opinion of all countries had been sufficiently instructed, and it recommended the resolutions of the Conference to the favourable consideration of all Governments, and trusted that those Governments which had not yet declared their support would shortly be able to do so.

ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The following is the text of the Resolution adopted by the Assembly on 24th September:—

Assembly
Resolution
(24 Sept.)

The Assembly:

Takes note of the Report of the Economic Conference held in May last, in accordance with the initiative taken by the Assembly at its Sixth Ordinary Session;

Congratulates sincerely the President and the members of the Conference appointed by the Governments of 50 countries upon the fact that, comprising so many qualifications and representing every variety of responsible opinion, they were able to agree unanimously upon recommendations at once definite in character and wide in range, whose adoption would effect a substantial improvement in the present economic policy of the world;

Notes with satisfaction that many Governments have already made declarations accepting the principles laid down by the Conference and stating their intention of co-operating in their application, while no declaration in the contrary sense has been made;

Believes, therefore, that there is every reason to hope for universal approval when the public opinion of all countries has been sufficiently instructed;

Recommends the Resolutions of the Conference, as the Council did in June 1927, to the favourable consideration of all Governments, and trusts that those Governments which have not yet declared their support will shortly be able to do so;

Invites the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations to prepare as soon as possible a summary of the replies of the various Governments as to their attitude to the recommendations of the International Economic Conference, and to make known the action that the various Governments have taken or may take in pursuance of the recommendations of the Economic Conference;

Trusts that the economic policies of all countries may develop in accordance with the principles laid down by the Conference and desires that the Economic Organisation of the League should take these recommendations as the basis of its work;

Trusts, in particular, that the recommendations of the Conference relating to tariffs and commercial policy will be put into effect, not only by national action and bilateral agreements, but also, whenever practicable, by collective conventions reached by means of international conferences of accredited representatives with the aim of gradually evolving among the trading nations of the world, and particularly among those of Europe, common lines of policy beneficial to all and not subject to the uncertainties of purely bilateral bargaining, careful attention being given to the special conditions existing at any moment and to the necessity of realising this policy by stages and without undue disturbance;

Expects the Council of the League of Nations and the Economic Organisation to devote their untiring efforts to the realisation of this urgent task and hopes that the Governments will give to it their cordial support and active collaboration.

33. The development of the economic organisation of the League had been much discussed at the Economic Conference itself, which in the end had contented itself with recording a resolution to the effect that, while offering no suggestions for a permanent organisation, it could not do better than draw the Council's attention to the well-balanced composition of the Preparatory Committee, which had achieved excellent results in the preparatory work of the Conference. The problem was referred by the Council to the Assembly, and it is a fact of some significance that it was the Assembly and not the Council which worked out the scheme of organisation described below. The possibilities ranged from a continuance of the Economic Committee in its existing form—that is to say, a committee of 14 members nominated for their personal expert qualifications—to an independent organisation on the lines of the International Labour Organisation. Each extreme had its advocates. The continuance of the Economic Committee on its existing footing was advocated on the ground of practical efficiency, while those who proposed other schemes were influenced by a desire to introduce the principle of representation, whether it should be national or functional representation, so as to secure the widest possible authority and the greatest support. The resolution which embodied the conclusions of the Second Committee was a compromise combining both ideas. The Economic Committee will be increased from 14 to 15 members and the basis of appointment will remain the same, with some modification of its actual membership. It will continue to be the organ through which the Council deals with economic affairs, and its principal work in the near future will lie within the sphere of the economic relations between States and their economic policies so far as they have international aspects. Under a new provision it will have power, subject to Council provision, and in consultation with the States in question, to name economic correspondents in countries which have no member on the Committee. In addition to the Economic Committee there is to be created an Advisory Committee, the object of which will be to follow the application of the recommendations of the Economic Conference. It will be similar in numbers, and in the equilibrium of interests represented by its members, to the Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference, and will include persons competent in industry, commerce, agriculture, finance, transport, labour questions, and questions relative to consumption. The International Labour Office will be invited to submit the names of three labour members, and arrangements will be made to secure the co-operation of the International Institute of Agriculture and of the International Chamber of Commerce. Its meetings will be attended by five members of the Economic Committee. It will submit its report directly to the Council of the League,

at the same time forwarding a copy of its decisions to the Economic Committee and to the other technical organisations concerned.

34. The respective functions of the two bodies are not very clearly defined, and this lack of clarity is the result of a certain divergence of views. But the differences in the constitution and in the character of membership of the two bodies will probably tend in themselves to produce a differentiation of function, and will lead empirically to a solution of the difficulty which could not be entirely resolved in debate.

35. India has not hitherto been represented on the Economic Committee, but she was represented on the Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference. We think that she has much to gain from representation, and a strong claim to it. That claim has been presented in the proper quarter, and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar referred to it in a speech in the Second Committee (see Appendix III, Annex X), in which he pointed out not only the necessity for representing agricultural interests, but also the special difficulty of doing so owing to the comparative lack of organisation in agriculture. In the report which he presented to the Second Committee, and which was approved, M. Loucheur pointed out that the programme which the Economic Conference had drawn up for the League could not be successfully carried out unless agricultural interests were represented as widely as possible in the economic organisation of the League, and declared that it was the unanimous recommendation of the Second Committee that the Council should give very special attention to this important question of the representation of agriculture. There is further a need for the representation of Asia. We believe that the claim of India has since been recognised.

On 24th September the Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

Whereas, in addition to the economic tasks hitherto undertaken by the League, much important and extensive work will result from the recommendations of the Economic Conference;

Whereas it is essential that the different interests and organisations which collaborated in the preparation of the Conference should continue to give their support and advice in the work of securing effect to its recommendations; and

Whereas the Conference took the following resolution:—

“The Conference wishes in the first instance to express its high appreciation of the work of the Economic Committee and the Secretariat of the League.

“The Conference is of opinion that the success of its work will depend upon the execution of the principles laid down.

“With regard to the action to be taken on its recommendations, the Conference, while offering no suggestion as to a permanent organisation, cannot do better than draw the Council's attention to the well-balanced composition of the Preparatory Committee, which has yielded excellent results in the preparatory work of the Conference.”

The Assembly considers:

(a) That the Economic Committee should continue to be, as at present, the organ through which the Council deals with economic affairs and that it should be constituted—under such rules as the Council may consider appropriate for its effective functioning—so as to be best suited for its principal work which, in the near future at least, will lie within the sphere of the economic relations between States and their economic policies so far as they have international aspects. It should consist of not more than 15 members.

(b) That the Economic Committee should have the power to appoint temporary sub-committees of experts for preparatory work and, subject to Council approval and in consultation with the States in question, to name economic correspondents in countries which have no member on the Committee.

(c) That a “Consultative Committee,” the object of which is to follow the application of the Economic Conference recommendations, should be constituted by the Council.

It might be composed of about thirty-five members, as was the Preparatory Committee, and the conditions of equilibrium attained in the latter between the various elements should be maintained as far as possible.

It should therefore include, among others, persons competent in industry, commerce, agriculture, finance, transport, labour questions, and questions relative to consumption.

The International Labour Office should be invited to submit the names of three labour members for this Committee.

The Council will doubtless also wish to secure for the Committee the co-operation of the International Institute of Agriculture and of the International Chamber of Commerce.

Five members chosen by the Economic Committee should take part in the work of the Consultative Committee with the same rights as the other members.

The Consultative Committee should submit its report directly to the Council of the League of Nations. At the same time, it would forward a copy to the Economic Committee and to the other technical organisations concerned.

WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

36. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar had indicated in his speech in the Assembly, of which we have already given a summary, that the Health activities of the League had a special interest for India. It was therefore a very appropriate compliment to India and to the Indian Delegation that he was elected *Rapporteur* for the general work of the Health Organisation. The report which he presented, first to the Health Committee and later to the Assembly, and his remarks in connection with it, is reproduced in Appendix III, Annex III. It will suffice to say here that, in the resolution which he submitted to the Second Committee, and which was in turn submitted by the Second Committee to the Assembly and approved, the Indian point of view was explicitly recognised. In the report note was made of the tendency towards universality in the work of the Health Organisation and of the circumstance that the activities of the Singapore Bureau form the chief physical link between Eastern countries

Assembly
Resolution
(24 Sept.)

and the League Organisation. The report stated further that those countries, some of whom like India are large contributors to the general budget, appreciated this aspect of the League's work, as was evident from their close co-operation with it. It also referred to the interchange of Public Health officers which is being arranged to take place in India in the approaching winter, and of the possibility that the President of the Health Committee and the Director of the Health Section might be able to join the party. It referred also to the hope of the Government of India that the League's Malaria Commission might be able to visit India during the latter part of 1928. Reference was also made to the participation by Colonel Graham in the Health Committee's work and to the departmental Rabies Conference in which India was represented. It is particularly satisfactory to record that the necessity for an assurance of the permanence of the Singapore Bureau, and of its adequate financing, was emphasised.

37. The universality of this department of the League's activities was further marked this year by the initiation of health work in Latin America.

On 20th September the Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

The Assembly:

Having taken note of the reports dealing with the work of the Health Organisation of the League during the past year, expresses its gratification at the continued development of its international activities; Notes with satisfaction the growth and increasing usefulness of the work of the Epidemiological Intelligence Bureau at Singapore, due in large measure to the sympathetic co-operation of all Eastern Administrations, in whose interest it was primarily created;

Notes with satisfaction the terms of the Agreement concluded between the League of Nations and the Permanent Committee of the Office International d'Hygiène Publique, whereby the services of the Singapore Bureau will be made available in the discharge, on behalf of the Office, of certain of the obligations imposed by the International Sanitary Convention of Paris, 1926, and also the further agreement recently concluded with the object of increasing the mutual co-operation in other directions between the Health Organisation and the Office International d'Hygiène Publique;

Expresses its appreciation of the work accomplished by the Malaria Commission, the Sleeping-Sickness Commission, and the International Rabies Conference, and of the progress made in the investigations now being carried out with regard to infant mortality and health insurance.

Further, the Assembly, noting the recommendations which have been made by the International Pacific Health Conference held in Melbourne in December 1926 in relation to the work which might be undertaken by the Health Organisation for the study of health problems in the Pacific area, expresses its hope that the possibilities of action in this sense will receive full and early consideration by the Health Committee.

The Assembly records its unqualified approval and appreciation of the services rendered to international public health by the Health Committee and its expert Commissions.

The Assembly:

1. Having taken note of the report of the President of the Health Committee on the possibilities of technical co-operation with public health and medical authorities in Latin-American countries, and also of the report on the work of the Conference of Health Experts on Infant Welfare held at Montevideo;

2. Notes with satisfaction that the activities of the Health Organisation of the League of Nations have extended to several countries of Latin-America and that fruitful co-operation may be anticipated as the result of the Health Committee's mission;

3. Welcomes the practical suggestions for continued co-operation which have been made by the health authorities and experts of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay;

4. Considers that the realisation of these suggestions would result in creating links between the health work of the League and the activities of national health administrations in these countries and would represent a good method of developing the work of the League's technical organisations in Latin-America;

5. Requests the Council, after having obtained the Health Committee's advice on these different suggestions for co-operation with Latin-American countries, to consider how they may be put into practice.

ALCOHOLISM.

38. At the Assembly of 1926 the delegations of Finland, Poland and Sweden submitted a proposal to the effect that the League of Nations should include the question of Alcoholism in the programme of its work. Consideration of this proposal was adjourned until the Eighth Assembly. Meanwhile, the Foreign Ministers of Finland, Poland and Sweden, with whom were also associated the Foreign Ministers of Belgium, Denmark and Czecho-Slovakia, had sent in a memorandum giving a more precise description of what they had in mind. This memorandum contained two definite proposals: (1) that the Assembly should request the Council to convene a conference with a view to the framing of a general International Convention regulating the smuggling of alcohol, and (2) that the Assembly should request the Council to appoint an Advisory Committee on Alcoholism, or a Sub-Committee of the Health Committee to deal with Alcoholism, which the various organs of the League might consult when studying questions connected with the problem and which might be generally available for information or investigations.

39. Although these were the specific proposals which the Committee had primarily to discuss, their presentation raised a general question of some importance, because, except in the isolated cases of the Mandated Territories and the Protection of Women and Children, the League had not hitherto had occasion to touch the subject of Alcoholism, and it was felt in various quarters that the general subject would be an unsuitable, and even dangerous, one for the League to take up.

40. As soon as the question was raised in the Committee the delegation responsible for its promotion was challenged as to its admissibility under the Articles of the Covenant. In reply

paras. (c) and (f) of Article 23 were quoted, referring respectively to the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs and to the Prevention and Control of Disease. A considerable debate followed, and the weight of opinion in the Committee was against acceptance of the proposal in the form in which it was presented. No general agreement was reached as to the admissibility of Alcoholism under the Covenant, but it seemed to be recognised by all that, whether or not a subject was admissible under the Covenant, it might be taken up by the League with the consent of all the States Members. Eventually the Finnish delegate and those associated with him agreed not to pursue the proposals in their existing form, but declared their intention of bringing up the question of Alcoholism later in another form. Accordingly at one of the final sessions of the Assembly an application was made for the subject to be placed in a new form on the agenda of the Ninth Assembly.

41. As to the position taken up in the debate by the Indian Delegation, our instructions were to oppose the proposal for the creation of a new Advisory Body for Alcoholism, on the grounds that no case had been made out for the necessity of such a body, as there were other sources from which advice and information could be obtained, and that it was undesirable, from the general, and especially the financial, point of view, to sanction the creation of a new body except for imperative reasons. But we had been given discretion as to the attitude we should adopt towards the proposal for a conference on smuggling. Intervening in the debate, Sir Fazl-i-Husain stated (for text of speech see Appendix III, Annex VI), that opinion in India in regard to alcoholism was very strong and decidedly in favour of a policy of controlling the supply of liquor, while there was a strong body of public opinion actually in favour of prohibition. If prohibition had not yet been adopted in India it was chiefly for the reason that it would be so difficult to enforce it. He said that alcoholism was treated in India as an evil, although it was not yet a very serious problem there. But, as elsewhere, it tended to spread with the growth of industrialism. In regard to the question whether alcoholism should be dealt with as an international matter, he wished to reserve his opinion, but he recognised the existence in the Committee of a strong body of opinion against the proposals, and he found himself in complete agreement with those who maintained that in this debate the case for the proposals had not been made out. He felt that it would be wiser that those who supported the proposals should not pursue them further for the present, but should wait for a more appropriate occasion. He urged those in favour of them to realise that the result of a division might be prejudicial to the cause which they had at heart.

The following is the text of the Resolution by which the Assembly decided on 23rd September that the subject should be brought up in a new form next year:—

The Assembly decides to place on the agenda of its Ninth Ordinary Session the following proposal by the Finnish, Polish and Swedish Delegations:

"Whereas it is desirable to co-ordinate the work which the League of Nations has undertaken, or will be called upon to undertake, on the subject of alcoholism, the Assembly requests the Council:

- "(1) To appoint a Committee of experts on alcoholism;
- "(2) To instruct this Committee to study the aspects of the question of alcoholism which come within the competence of the League of Nations, and which might be made the subject of scientific or practical work."

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

42. This Organisation consists of (1) a League Committee formed on the initiative of the French to carry out a resolution of the First Assembly on "the educational influence which it is the duty of the Council to exert with a view to developing a liberal spirit of goodwill and world-wide co-operation," and (2) an Institute which was founded in Paris some years later, at the expense of the French Government, to act as the executive organ of the Committee. The Indian Delegation has always been sympathetic in its attitude to this Organisation, and India is represented on the Committee by Sir Jagadis Bose.

43. It would be impossible to describe briefly the numerous activities of a scientific, artistic and literary nature which the Organisation at present has in hand. The resolution which was adopted by the Assembly this year refers to projects for the creation of an international co-ordination service of information offices attached to libraries, for co-ordination between the organs of bibliography for the various sciences, for an international office for annual tables of constants and mathematical quantities, for a congress on popular arts, for an international agreement with regard to casts, and for an extension of the work of museums as a means of artistic education.

44. When the work of this Organisation was under discussion in the Second Committee, Sir Fazl-i-Husain made a speech (reproduced in Appendix III, Annex IV) in which he said it was impossible to over-estimate this work in the scheme of League activities, for in his opinion the disarmament of ideas, which was in fact the breaking of the barriers of prejudice, was no less important than Disarmament strictly so-called. He paid a tribute of appreciation and admiration to those who had served on the Committee and to the beneficial character, both for all Members of the League and for non-members as well, of the various schemes which were in hand. It seemed to him that the work might possibly gain in its character of universality if kindred fields of work in the Orient were included within its scope, and he mentioned Indian and Mesopotamian archaeology as being at least comparable with that of Europe. The term "international" was not limited in any way to the nations of Europe, and the evolution of international culture should afford every opportunity for the

culture of the East to contribute towards it equally with that of the West. He finally appealed to the authorities of the Organisation to consider means of ensuring that what was best in the culture of the Orient should be reflected in the texture of the international culture of the future. His remarks were afterwards referred to with sympathy and approval by the delegates of Great Britain and Germany.

45. The Assembly, in the resolution which it adopted, expressed its appreciation of the increase in the number and activity of the national committees on Intellectual Co-operation, and stated that the regular co-operation between well-organised national committees and the International Committee was of ever-increasing utility to the work of Intellectual Co-operation. The Assembly accordingly invited States which had not already done so to consider the possibility of providing the necessary funds to meet the expenses of their respective national committees. We understand that the League was informed in 1925, as regards India, that the Inter-University Board wished to be recognised as an institution with which the Intellectual Co-operation Committee might correspond with a view to the formation of a national committee in India. But, so far as we know, no progress has been made in this direction. We therefore venture to bring to notice suggestions which have been made by Sir Fazl-i-Husain, who, as already mentioned, acted as the Indian representative on this subject, and who is much impressed with the belief that India might derive great benefit from contact with this Organisation. His view is that, education being a transferred Provincial subject, there is need of a central agency to disseminate information to the various Provinces such as existed until a few years ago in the All-India Advisory Board on Education. He considers that there should be the same *liaison* between the intellectual activities of the Indian Provinces as the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation serves to create under the League between those of the different nations. Such an institution would enable India both to derive benefit from the international movement and to contribute to its success.

46. Two years ago there was set up, under the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation, a Sub-Committee of Experts for the instruction of children and youth in the existence and aims of the League of Nations. Its Interim Report came before the Assembly of 1926, and it had since held further meetings and had drawn up a more comprehensive Report which was submitted to the Eighth Assembly. The Indian point of view has been represented on this Sub-Committee by Mr. S. N. Chaturvedi. The Interim Report has already been under the Government of India's consideration, and we were informed that the Government of India were in general agreement with the recommendations, save that on several points modifications would be necessary to suit the present educational conditions of India. We were further informed that, as education was a Provincial subject, action would have to be taken by Local Governments responsible to their Legislatures and by Universities which are partially autonomous bodies. Unfortunately, this information reached us after the discussion of the subject in the Second Committee was finished. We venture to express the hope that the later and more comprehensive Report of the Sub-Committee will be examined in India with every desire to carry out its recommendations as far as possible, because we believe that the purpose of these recommendations must be considered of first-class importance by all who recognise the necessity for consolidating the principles on which the League is founded. Incidentally, we would call attention to one recommendation of the Sub-Committee proposing the establishment of a corps of international lecturers, with special reference to countries where geographical or other considerations render League instruction particularly difficult. We understand that the circumstances of India were specially present to the Sub-Committee when this recommendation was proposed to it and adopted. For financial reasons consideration of this recommendation has been deferred.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution on 22nd September:—

The Assembly has noted with satisfaction the favourable reports presented by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. These reports show that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has now in hand a large number of definite and practical undertakings of international co-operation in regard to various scientific, artistic and literary activities, and that results have already been obtained.

The Assembly observes that, during the past year, several nations, in response to the appeal it made in the previous year, have made a grant to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. The countries making such grants are at present as follows: Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Hungary, Italy, Monaco, Poland, Switzerland. The Assembly hopes that their example will be followed by the other nations. The reports now before it show clearly that it is only the smallness of its financial resources which prevents the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation from rendering all the services which may now be expected of it.

The Assembly is glad to see the increase in the number and activity of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation. The regular co-operation between well-organised National Committees and the International Committee is of ever-increasing utility to the work of intellectual co-operation. The Assembly would therefore refer to the recommendation it made in 1924 and invite the States Members of the League which have not already done so to consider the possibility of providing the necessary funds to meet the expenses of their respective National Committees.

The Assembly notes, as being particularly worthy of attention and encouragement, the proposals of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in regard to the following points:—

1. The creation at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation of an international co-ordination service of information offices attached to libraries. The Assembly emphasises the importance, in this connection, of national information offices, and trusts that such offices may be established in those countries where they do not already exist.

Assembly
Resolution
(22 Sept.).

2. The proposals for co-ordination between the organs of bibliography for the various sciences drawn up by the Committees of experts under excellent technical conditions, in such a way as to give every satisfaction to the persons concerned.

3. The recommendation made by the International Committee in favour of the International Office for Annual Tables of Constants and Mathematical Quantities. Governments, scholars and industrial organisations are equally interested in the continuance of this enterprise, which is at present in danger owing to lack of funds. An understanding between Governments is extremely desirable in order to ensure the regular publication of the Tables.

4. The steps taken with a view to:—

Preparing for the Popular Arts Congress;

An international agreement with regard to casts;

An extension of the work of museums as a means of artistic education, &c.

The Assembly thanks the Czecho-Slovak Government for the subsidy so generously granted in order to facilitate the holding of the Popular Arts Congress at Prague. It congratulates the Swiss Federal Government, and more particularly the city of Berne, on the initiative regarding an International Exhibition of Popular Arts to be held in that city. The Assembly requests the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to render every assistance in their power to the promoters of this enterprise.

The Assembly has noted the remarkable report presented by M. Jules Destrée on behalf of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Children and Youth in the Existence and Aims of the League of Nations. It approves the recommendations made by the experts, and instructs the Secretary-General to communicate them to the Governments of the States Members of the League of Nations, requesting them, so far as may be possible in each particular case, to take the necessary measures to give effect to the recommendations.

The Assembly approves the creation of a League of Nations Educational Information Centre under the conditions laid down by the Sub-Committee of Experts. It decides that the Sub-Committee of Experts shall continue its work on the lines suggested by the French representative in his report approved by the Council at its meeting of 2nd September 1927.

CREATION OF AN EDUCATIONAL CINEMATOGRAFICAL INSTITUTE.

47. The Italian Delegation submitted for the approval of the Assembly an offer on the part of the Italian Government to create at Rome an International Educational Cinematographical Institute. This Institute would be under the direction of the League of Nations, but would be carried on at the expense of the Italian Government, and established in a palace offered by that Government. The proposal was referred to the Second Committee, which dealt with it in connection with Intellectual Co-operation. Some anxiety was felt in regard to it by those who chiefly espouse the cause of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris, which had already given some consideration to cinematography. It was obviously necessary to avoid any possibility of duplication or conflict between two League bodies, and it was further desirable to establish safeguards in regard to an institution which would be in a special relation to a particular national Government and would have as its object the guidance or inspiration, in the name of the League, of the policy of other Governments in a branch which is likely to be of increasing importance of such a subject as education. A Sub-Committee was appointed to reconcile the divergent opinions, and Sir Fazl-i-Husain served on this Sub-Committee. The Sub-Committee agreed upon a formula eventually approved by the Second Committee and by the Assembly, which acknowledged with gratitude the generous offer of the Italian Government, and left the decision as to the steps to be taken to the Council of the League, after consultation with the competent organisations, more particularly the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and in agreement with the Italian Government. It is understood that the Second Committee will have a further opportunity of discussing the subject in detail next year.

On 20th September the Assembly approved the Report of the Second Committee on this subject, which was as follows:—

The proposal of the Royal Italian Government, submitted by Senator Cippico to the Assembly at its Eighth Ordinary Session on the 6th instant and referred to the Second Committee for consideration by the Assembly's resolution on the 9th instant, provides the means of carrying out certain suggestions made by M. Breitscheid, *Rapporteur* to the Second Committee for questions of intellectual co-operation, and happily extends their scope.

M. Breitscheid has already pointed out that cinematography was an important factor in education, summarising thus the results of very wide experience and endorsing the resolutions of various congresses and of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

The Italian Government's proposal has in view the creation at Rome of an International Educational Cinematographic Institute, under the direction of the League of Nations, but to be carried on at the expense of the Italian Government and established in a palace offered by that Government. The Assembly is therefore asked to acknowledge with gratitude the generous offer of the Royal Italian Government, the decision as to the steps to be taken being reserved for the Council, after consultation with the competent organisations, more particularly the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and in agreement with the Italian Government.

RELATIONS BETWEEN LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND INSTITUTES OR BODIES SET UP UNDER ITS AUTHORITY.

48. It was in consequence of the discussion on the last subject that the Hon. Dame Edith Tyttelton, of the British Delegation, submitted to the Assembly a proposal that the general question of the relations between the League of Nations and institutes or bodies set up under its authority but not forming part of its organisation should be studied, and that the principles which should govern their acceptance by the League should be laid down by

Assembly
Resolution
(20 Sept.).

the Council. The Second Committee examined this proposal, and on its recommendation the Assembly invited the Council to have the question studied, and asked that a report should be submitted to next year's Assembly.

On 26th September the Assembly approved the Report of the Second Committee on this subject, which was as follows :—

Assembly
Resolution
(26 Sept.).

The Second Committee has made a preliminary examination of the draft resolution presented by the Hon. Dame Edith Lyttelton with regard to institutes or bodies set up under the authority of the League of Nations.

It has noted the great importance of this question, and proposes that the Assembly should invite the Council to have this question studied and to ask that a report on this subject should be submitted to the Assembly in its Ninth Ordinary Session in 1928.

ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

49. This Committee has hitherto dealt with a number of matters of a severely technical character, and of somewhat second-class importance. As a result of the resolution which we have already described in the Report of the Economic Conference, these activities are in future to be broadened, and the Committee will have a certain measure of responsibility in regard to the first-class questions of economics, including, above all, the question of tariffs. During the last year the normal activities of the Committee have been subordinated to those connected with the Economic Conference, and some of the subjects under consideration, for instance, the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions, became merged in the agenda of the Conference. It has, however, continued to do useful work, and one subject which is referred to under the next heading is the draft Protocol on the execution of foreign arbitral awards.

50. Sir Fazl-i-Husain spoke in the debate in the Second Committee on the work of the Economic Committee (for text of speech see Appendix III, Annex V), and congratulated the Economic Committee on a good year's work in spite of the fact that its activities had been naturally overshadowed by the Economic Conference. With reference to the approaching conference for the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions, he said that India welcomed this conference because, like other such conferences, it would contribute to the mutual understanding which followed a frank examination of circumstances. He stated that India was prepared to incur responsibilities which others were ready to incur, to the same extent and simultaneously, and that it was on reciprocity that a country in the position of India was bound to rely. With regard to the subject of the treatment of foreign nationals and enterprises he called attention to a defect in the draft resolution, and proposed an addition which was accepted. He stated the position of India with regard to the Protocol on commercial arbitration and expressed the view that the objection which had hitherto been taken to this Protocol on the part of India might be withdrawn when it and the Convention which was being drawn up on the execution of awards came to be considered together. On the subject of economic statistics he agreed that there could be no two opinions as to the desirability of unification, but he pointed out that the statistics which were desired might not be always available, and that their collection might be so costly that some States would not feel justified in incurring the requisite expenditure. He stated, finally, that the importance of economic barometers could not be over-estimated. The economic barometer of the future would have to be one which was extremely sensitive and delicate, and which served for all countries, all climes and all continents. He thought that the work was one which in its universality was an ideal work for the League to accomplish.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions on 20th September :—

Assembly
Resolution
(20 Sept.).

The Assembly :

1. Reiterating its conviction that the conclusion of an International Convention for the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions would greatly facilitate the recovery and future development of world trade, appeals to all Governments to send duly authorised representatives to the Conference which will take place at Geneva on 17th October 1927, and expresses the most earnest hope that no efforts will be spared to bring the work of the Conference to a successful issue ;

2. Notes with satisfaction that steps have already been taken by the Council to set in motion the preparatory work connected with the execution of certain urgent resolutions of the International Economic Conference, in particular those relating to tariffs and commercial treaties, to the unification of Customs nomenclature and to the treatment of foreign nationals and enterprises duly admitted to carry out their activity on the territory of a foreign State ;

3. Takes note of the ratifications of the International Convention relating to the simplification of Customs Formalities and of the Protocol of 1923 on Arbitration Clauses during the past year, and expresses the hope that those States which have not yet found it possible to adhere to these two international Acts will do so at an early date ;

4. Notes with satisfaction that it is proposed to convene a Conference in the near future with a view to achieving greater uniformity in economic statistics ;

5. Notes with approval that the recommendation that the Economic and Financial Section of the Secretariat should issue a *Statistical Yearbook* has now borne fruit, and recommends that this valuable volume should become one of the annual publications of the League ;

6. Observes with satisfaction the progress which the Economic Committee has made in the study of the question of false declarations in Customs matters, of the progressive assimilation of laws relating to bills of exchange and cheques, and of economic barometers, and hopes that no effort will be spared to bring this work to a successful issue ;

7. Notes with satisfaction the progress made in the Economic Section's enquiries regarding the direct and indirect means placed at the disposal of foreign purchasers in the different countries for the purpose of satisfying themselves of the quality of the goods which they acquire in those countries ;

Recommends that these enquiries should be pursued on the lines indicated in the provisional pamphlet communicated to the Second Committee and that the Governments should assist the Secretariat in order that a further publication, which should be as complete as possible, may be issued at an early date.

OPENING OF CONVENTION RELATING TO THE EXECUTION OF FOREIGN ARBITRAL AWARDS.

51. A Protocol on commercial arbitration was adopted at the Fourth Assembly recognising the universal validity as between Signatory States of clauses for the settlement of disputes by arbitration, which are voluntarily inserted in commercial contracts between the nationals of different countries. This Protocol has been ratified on behalf of Great Britain and various parts of the British Empire, and a considerable number of foreign countries, but not by India. On the whole, the number of accessions has been considered disappointing, and this is believed to be due to the absence of any arrangements for the execution of arbitral awards. The Economic Committee has further been engaged in drawing up provisions to supplement the Protocol in this respect, and the result of their labours came before the Eighth Assembly in the form of a draft supplementary Protocol for the execution of awards. The Second Committee, to whom this draft was referred, determined to refer it, together with the comments and observations of various Governments, to a Sub-Committee of legal experts for final preparation. A member of our Delegation, Sir Edward Chamier, served on this Sub-Committee, and his knowledge of the British and Indian system of law was of great value in ensuring that the Protocol was not modified to meet the requirements of Continental law in such a manner as to make it unacceptable to countries in which the other system prevails. The new Convention (the Protocol form having been replaced by that of a Convention) is now open for signature, together with the original Instrument, and we understand that the Government of India will be prepared to consider adhesion to the two Instruments taken together. We understand that this Convention which, owing to its highly technical character, did not receive much general attention, may be ranked among the most solid achievements of the Eighth Assembly.

The following Resolution was adopted by the Assembly on 26th September :—

Whereas the World Economic Conference recommended the Economic Committee to endeavour to promote the extension in all countries of recourse to commercial arbitration ;

Whereas, in connection with that recommendation, the Conference was of opinion that the beneficial results of the Protocol of 24th September 1923, in regard to the recognition of arbitration clauses in private contracts, and particularly in commercial contracts, would not be fully realised until provision was made ensuring the enforcement of arbitral awards ;

And whereas the Economic Conference recommended the Council of the League of Nations to take steps to submit to all States for signature at an early date the text of an agreement providing for the execution of arbitral awards in commercial matters ;

The Assembly :

Recognising the great importance which commercial circles attach to the settlement of this question ;

And having regard to the favourable report submitted to it by the Second Committee which considered the various observations submitted and the various amendments proposed as a result of the communication of a first draft to the Members of the League ;

Decides to open the annexed Convention* immediately for signature by all the Members of the League and by non-Member States which are already Contracting Parties to the above-mentioned Protocol of 1923 ;

And invites the Council to take whatever measures it may deem expedient to draw the attention of all Members of the League and all non-Member States to the value of the above-mentioned Protocol and Convention and to the conditions under which they may become Contracting Parties to these agreements.

Assembly
Resolution
(26 Sept.).

FINANCIAL COMMITTEE (INCLUDING SETTLEMENT OF GREEK REFUGEES AND GREEK FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION SCHEME AND SETTLEMENT OF BULGARIAN REFUGEES).

52. This Committee has hitherto played a more prominent rôle than that of its twin organisation, the Economic Committee, but the result of the resolution adopted by the Assembly in regard to the Economic Conference will no doubt be to adjust this disparity. The principal tasks of the Financial Committee have been the restoration of the Austrian and Hungarian currencies and a number of other financial measures of almost equal importance, such as those in connection with Danzig and Estonia, and the financial supervision of the settlement of Greek and Bulgarian refugees. Probably the League has not up to date made any contribution to the general cause of peace and prosperity greater than those which are covered by these headings. These important and valuable works have been mainly of interest to Europe, but another problem which has been under the consideration of the Financial Committee, viz., that of double taxation and fiscal evasion, is of more general application. The latter questions have now reached a stage at which four draft Conventions have been drawn up after long and exhaustive technical examination, and have been circulated to Governments for consideration.

53. The Committee has also made much progress with an interesting new scheme, which is believed to contain great possibilities. This is a scheme for the financial assistance of States which may be the victims of aggression. It arises from proposals submitted by the Finnish Delegation to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, and its

* Not reprinted.

importance lies in the fact that it is a concrete application of the principle of Article 16 of the Covenant, which provides in principle that Members of the League who are attacked by another State should receive economic and financial assistance from other Members. The project had only been circulated a short time before the Assembly, and many Governments, including the Government of India, had not had an opportunity of examining it and formulating their attitude. In these circumstances the Assembly could not do more than recommend it for further favourable consideration in the light of the views of Governments, when these have been collected. The British Delegation welcomed the scheme, and undertook to co-operate in it on the understanding that it formed part of a general settlement of the Disarmament problem. This scheme is referred to further in para. 59.

54. Sir Fazl-i-Husain spoke in the course of the debate in the Second Committee on the work of the Financial Committee (see Appendix III, Annex IX). He referred to the valuable work which the Committee had done in enabling countries which were suffering from acute financial crises to stabilise their currency and to effect budget equilibrium, and to obtain through the credit and prestige of the League necessary loans at a lower rate of interest than would have been possible otherwise. Help given in this way was, he said, help to individual countries, and in countries outside Europe there was a section of the public which was disposed to emphasise the fact that the beneficent work of the League was limited to a certain tract in Europe, and was therefore not international in the larger sense of the term. As a rule it was only delegates from countries directly affected by the work of the Financial Committee who took part in this debate, and he felt obliged, as a delegate from a country which could not be included in this description, to meet the criticism which he had indicated. This work showed emphatically that the League was not a body of talkers, and it proved how effectively the League could deal with practical problems. He rejoiced in this work because it enabled the League to consolidate its position, and he was sure that if requests similar to those which had come from Austria, Hungary and other countries were to come from another continent they would receive the same sympathetic consideration as was extended to the European countries.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions on the 20th and 22nd September:—

The Assembly takes note of the activities of the Financial Committee and expresses its great satisfaction with the highly useful work accomplished by it.

The Assembly,

Has learned with great interest of the successful result of the negotiations which have taken place with a view to the issue, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of a loan to enable the Greek Government to take measures of financial and monetary reorganisation, and to proceed with the settlement of the refugees;

In particular, expresses its appreciation of the plan which has been drawn up for the creation of a new bank of issue and for the stabilisation of the Greek currency;

Expresses its appreciation to all those who have collaborated in these investigations, and especially to the Greek Government and to the Financial Committee;

Approves the progress made in the refugee settlement work and expresses the hope that this work will soon be successfully brought to a close;

In conclusion expresses the hope that the entire scheme which has now been elaborated will be fully successful.

The Assembly,

(1) Welcomes with great satisfaction the successful flotation of the Bulgarian refugee loan, providing funds for the carrying out of the scheme approved by the Council;

(2) Takes note of the progress already made in the work of making land and houses available for the occupation of the refugees;

(3) Expresses the hope that, during the coming year, it will be possible to record the completely satisfactory progress of the work of settlement;

(4) Desires to express its appreciation of the courage and resolution displayed by the Bulgarian Government and the Commissioner of the League of Nations in carrying out the scheme.

ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

55. Apart from the general Conventions drawn up at the First and Second General Conferences of this Organisation at Barcelona and Geneva in regard to questions of navigation and maritime ports, &c., the activities of the Organisation have been almost entirely confined to Europe, including such questions as navigation of the Danube and the international railway services. The Assembly Resolution of 1926 had expressed a hope that the Third General Conference would consider the question of improving, as far as possible, technical *liaison* between the work of the Organisation and the specialised administrations and experts of non-European countries. The Third General Conference was held at Geneva just before the Eighth Assembly, and it adopted a new constitution which is designed to facilitate the representation and participation of distant countries.

56. We had the advantage of being represented in the Second Committee, when the report of the Third General Conference was under discussion, by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, who had been the delegate of India at the Conference, and who was therefore acquainted with the work of the Organisation and with its plans for the future. In recognition of the fact that the Organisation was endeavouring to broaden its hitherto somewhat restricted activities, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar spoke in the Second Committee (for text see Appendix III, Annex VII) and said that the labours of the Third Conference had marked a great advance towards the mutual understanding of national and international

problems. He noted the fact that States which were not Members of the League, such as the United States of America and Egypt, and also powerful organisations like the International Chamber of Commerce, had co-operated. He referred to the proposal which had been adopted in regard to the application of a system of identity certificates in lieu of national passports to persons who were without nationality or whose nationality could not be ascertained, and was glad that this scheme had been adopted in a form which tended to obviate the objections which had been felt by certain countries. The decision on these proposals was in the form of a recommendation, and not of a resolution binding upon Governments. With regard to the proposals for the collection and exchange of information on communications he was glad that the Conference had dispelled the fears which were entertained at one time that a special organisation of considerable size charged with new work was going to be created. The scheme as it left the Conference had been restricted to the collection of information of a non-confidential character which was already at the disposal of Governments, and the provision of which would involve Governments in no additional expense. It may be noted, however, that when this scheme came before the Fourth Committee for approval of a supplementary estimate of the League budget, the Fourth Committee took the view, in which the Indian delegate concurred, that, desirable as the collection of this information might be, the work was of less urgency and necessity than other tasks for which supplementary estimates were demanded, and it therefore decided by a majority vote not to approve the supplementary estimate. It may be observed that, since the General Conference, and under the new constitution of the Organisation which was approved at the Conference, the interests of Asia in the work of the Organisation have been recognised by the appointment of a Siamese member to the Advisory and Technical Committee.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution on 26th September:—

The Assembly:

Expresses to the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit its satisfaction for the work accomplished in the course of the year;

Is gratified that the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit has achieved successful results on all the items of its agenda and has contributed to the establishment of closer relations between the Organisation for Communications and Transit and the States non-Members of the League;

Invites the Advisory and Technical Committee to take in hand at an early date the study of the questions raised during the Conference's debates on the Committee's work;

Approves the provisions of the new Statute for the Communications and Transit Organisation for the application of which the Assembly's consent is necessary;

Attaching special importance to the collection and utilisation of information on communications, urges the Members of the League to facilitate the collection of the information necessary to the Organisation for Communications and Transit, in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the Conference, and trusts that, when undertaking the collection and utilisation of this information, the Advisory and Technical Committee will effect a constant improvement in the co-operation between the Organisation and the experts and administrations of the various countries, particularly of the non-European countries, whether Members of the League or not;

And invites the Members of the League to consider favourably the recommendations adopted by the Conference with regard to identity documents for persons without nationality.

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF UNION.

A Conference was held at Geneva in July last for the creation of this body which has been discussed at previous Assemblies, and is referred to in the Reports of previous Indian Delegations. India was represented at the Conference by Dr. Paranjpye, but has not yet decided to join the Union. The results of the Conference were reported to the Second Committee, on whose recommendation the Assembly passed the following Resolution on 22nd September:—

The Assembly:

Highly gratified at the success of the Conference for the Creation of an International Relief Union;

Convinced that the Governments, before which the results of the Conference have now been laid, will definitely decide to co-operate in this work of international solidarity;

Offers its thanks to Senator Ciruolo, to the President of the Conference, and to the members of the Preparatory Committee for the scheme on which the Conference's work was based, and requests the President of the Conference and the members and experts of the Preparatory Committee to hold themselves at the Council's disposal to propose to it all measures that may be calculated to facilitate the putting into force and the application of the Convention concluded by the Conference.

COMMITTEE III.—Arbitration, Security and Reduction of Armaments.

57. In addition to the material describing the preparatory work during the last 12 months for the Disarmament Conference, which included various studies of legal questions in regard to security arising out of the Covenant, the Third Committee had before it the Dutch proposal for the further study of the principles of arbitration, security and disarmament, and the Polish proposal for the prohibition of all wars of aggression, both of which had been referred to it by the Assembly. Further proposals, which will be referred to shortly, were introduced in the course of the discussions of the Committee by the French, German, Belgian, Norwegian and Finnish Delegations. The Committee had thus to deal with a bewildering, and to some extent conflicting, mass of material, and it was no small achievement to produce from this a series of propositions which were coherent, lucid and of great value. The Committee held 11 meetings, each of which lasted for several hours.

Assembly
Resolution
(22 Sept.).

Assembly
Resolution
(22 Sept.).

Assembly
Resolution
(20 Sept.).

Assembly
Resolution
(26 Sept.).

Assembly
Resolution
(22 Sept.).

LORD LYTTON'S SPEECH.

58. Speaking towards the end of the general discussion in the Third Committee, Lord Lytton described the position of India (for text see Appendix III, Annex XI). He said that India was less intimately concerned with the subject of the debate than other countries whose delegates had taken a prominent part in it. The army maintained in India for internal security and for the defence of its land frontiers had been considerably reduced in recent years. The task upon which it was engaged was different from that which most delegates had in mind when they spoke of war and the alternatives to war. The majority of the Members of the League were nations whose armaments existed to deal with a contingency which they believed to be remote and they hoped would never arise. India, on the contrary, had on her frontiers tribes whose traditions and instincts and habits of life were those of war; not war as a resort to force as a final measure after all the resources of diplomacy had been exhausted, but war in a more primitive sense as an almost daily occupation and as a profession of brigandage. With such neighbours the securities which the League had to offer could be of no value. He therefore addressed the Committee rather as a sincere believer in the value of the League than as a delegate of a country which derived any special advantage from the security offered by the League. He had been struck by the value which speakers seemed to attach to the reaffirmation of principles which had already been accepted not merely as ideals but as practical obligations. The danger was not that the principles of the League should be forgotten, but that they should come to be regarded as no more than formulae or counsels of perfection which belonged to the region of ideals rather than to the practice of States. He said it was the business of the Committee not merely to dream of disarmament, or to reaffirm general principles, but to work out their practical application in a world of realities. Some were inclined to insist on the need for action, others on the difficulties of action; both lines of thought were helpful. It was the public opinion of the world which was the motive force of the League; some currents of opinion might appear to be opposed to their wishes or ends; they could not be ignored, and it was impossible to go against them, but by tacking either to the right or to the left it might be possible to make even those currents serve for progress towards the goal. It was a question in that Committee not of defining the goal, but of finding means of approaching it. If one means proved abortive, another must be sought. If one conference on disarmament failed, it was better to explore the causes of its failure than to bewail the fact. The task of the League was to improve, if possible, the machinery of arbitration, to make that method of settling disputes more attractive to the nations of the world, to increase, if possible, the security which could be afforded against aggression and so to make possible that progressive disarmament which every country desired for its well-being and development.

DEBATE IN COMMITTEE.

59. The French Delegation submitted a draft resolution recommending the conclusion of arbitration agreements between States in order to create the mutual confidence which was indispensable to the effective continuance of the work of the Preparatory Committee; secondly, requesting the Council to direct that Committee to study simultaneously with the preparation of a draft Convention for the limitation and reduction of armaments, measures calculated to give all States such guarantees of security as would enable them to reduce their armaments to the lowest possible figure in their proposals at the Conference; and thirdly, expressing the opinion that such measures would be found in special security agreements, and a modification of the provisions of the Protocol of 1924 in the direction of greater elasticity which would enable States to graduate their commitments according to the relations existing between themselves and other States. The German Delegation, with reference to the suggestion that the Preparatory Committee should not continue its work until further international security had been attained, observed that Germany and certain other States had already been disarmed, and urged that the Conference should be held on the basis of the existing conditions of security. Count Bernstorff proposed that the Preparatory Committee should be urged to complete its work as soon as possible and thus enable the Council to convene the Disarmament Conference before the next ordinary session of the Assembly. The Dutch, French and German proposals were referred to a Sub-Committee which threw them into the form of a single draft resolution. Two noticeable modifications were introduced. As drafted by the Sub-Committee the resolution provides for the appointment of a Special Committee to study measures relating to guarantees of security instead of leaving this to the Preparatory Committee, and suggests that one of those measures might consist in invitations from the Council to the several States to inform it of the measures which they would be prepared to take to support the Council's decision in the event of a conflict breaking out in a given region. After some discussion as to the meaning of the second alteration, the draft of the Sub-Committee was in substance approved by the Third Committee. It was specially made clear that it was for the individual States in their replies to indicate what, if any, was the "given region" in which they would be prepared to take measures to support a decision of the Council. The Belgian Delegation drew attention to the difficulty of limiting air armaments without interfering with civil aviation and to the

recommendations of the Preparatory Committee on this subject, and proposed a Resolution to the effect that it was desirable that the development of civil aviation should be directed solely towards economic ends, to the exclusion of military considerations. This proposal was approved. The Norwegian Delegation proposed the opening of an optional Convention for obligatory arbitration of disputes. After a reference to the First Committee it was decided that the subject should be considered by the Preparatory Committee on Disarmament. Lastly, the Third Committee accepted a resolution proposed by the Finnish Delegation on the subject of giving financial assistance to a State which might be the victim of aggression. Lord Lytton stated that he had had no instructions regarding this proposal, and made it clear that by voting for the resolution he would not commit the Government of India to any financial liability. It was stated in reply to Lord Lytton that in accepting the resolution the Assembly would only be authorising further study of the scheme.

60. At the close of its proceedings the Third Committee submitted to the Assembly a series of five resolutions dealing comprehensively with the Dutch, French, German, Norwegian, Belgian and Finnish proposals, also with reports of the Council regarding the methods to be employed in order to enforce the obligations of the Covenant as expeditiously as possible and the working of the organs of the League in times of emergency.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTION ON DISARMAMENT.

61. The leading features of the fifth and most important of these resolutions, which deals with the Preparatory Committee for the Disarmament Conference, are briefly as follows: It records a conviction that the principal condition of success in the work of disarmament is "that every State should be sure of not having to provide unaided for its security by means of its own armaments, and should be able to rely also on the organised collective action of the League of Nations." It asks for the completion of the technical work of the Preparatory Committee to be hastened, and for the Conference on the limitation and reduction of armaments to be convened immediately this work has been completed. This meets the view of the German Delegation that disarmament is possible and should be proceeded with under existing conditions of security. At the same time, to meet the view that increased security must be found, the resolution requests that the Preparatory Committee should be authorised to create without delay a Committee whose duty would be to consider, on the lines indicated by the Preparatory Committee, "the measures capable of giving to States the guarantees of arbitration and security necessary to enable them to fix the level of their armaments at the lowest possible figures in an international disarmament agreement." The resolution goes on to indicate that these measures should be sought in a variety of ways, and in enumerating these ways it advocates the principle of regional agreements, of which the Locarno Treaties are the type. These agreements are described as those "which the States Members of the League may conclude among themselves, irrespective of their obligations under the Covenant, with a view to making their commitments proportionate to the degree of solidarity of a geographical or other nature existing between themselves and other States." The resolution concludes with the idea to which we have already referred that the Council should invite the several States to inform it "of the measures which they would be prepared to take, irrespective of their obligations under the Covenant, to support the Council's decisions or recommendations in the event of a conflict breaking out in a given region."

On 24th September the Assembly approved by roll call the following Declaration concerning Wars of Aggression:—

The Assembly,
Recognising the solidarity which unites the community of nations;
Being inspired by a firm desire for the maintenance of general peace;
Being convinced that a war of aggression can never serve as a means of settling international disputes and is, in consequence, an international crime;
Considering that a solemn renunciation of all wars of aggression would tend to create an atmosphere of general confidence calculated to facilitate the progress of the work undertaken with a view to disarmament;

Assembly
Resolution
(24 Sept.).

Declares:

- (1) That all wars of aggression are, and shall always be, prohibited;
- (2) That every pacific means must be employed to settle disputes, of every description, which may arise between States.

The Assembly declares that the States Members of the League are under an obligation to conform to these principles.

On 26th September the Assembly approved the following Resolutions and Recommendations concerning Arbitration, Security, Disarmament and the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Disarmament Conference:—

I. Whereas in certain countries there is at present a close connection, from the technical point of view and from the point of view of organisation, between the requirements and developments of civil aviation and those of military aviation;
And whereas this connection leads to difficulties in limiting air armaments without hampering civil aviation;

Assembly
Resolution
(26 Sept.).

The Assembly,

Declares that it is desirable, for this purpose, that the development of civil aviation should be directed solely towards economic ends to the exclusion of military interests;

Recommends all States Members of the League of Nations to act as far as possible on the recommendations made in this connection by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference;

And requests the Council to instruct the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit to consider practical methods likely to facilitate the conclusion of the agreements between aviation undertakings in the various countries which are referred to in these recommendations.

II. The Assembly,

Having taken note of the report approved by the Committee of the Council on 15th March 1927 with regard to the methods and regulations which would enable the Council to take such decisions as may be necessary to enforce the obligations of the Covenant as expeditiously as possible;

Approves this report and recommends its adoption by the Council as a valuable guide which, without restricting the Council's liberty to decide at any moment the best methods to be adopted in the event of any threat to peace, summarises the results of experience, of the procedure already followed and of the studies so far carried out with a view to the best possible organisation of its activities in case of emergency.

III. The Assembly,

Being desirous of adopting all measures likely to make possible the prompt application of the system contemplated by the Covenant for the maintenance of peace, and of giving to States Members of the League of Nations a greater feeling of security;

Convinced that, in this connection, it is of the utmost importance to ensure the rapid working of the organs of the League of Nations at times of emergency;

Considering that their intervention in the shortest possible time may prove to be an essential condition for the prevention of war;

Trusting that greater facilities for the immediate operation of the machinery of the League of Nations will assist the work of disarmament;

Inspired by the spirit and provisions of the Covenant;

Reasserts that it is the obligation of the States Members of the League of Nations to facilitate by every means in their power the rapid meeting of the Council at times of emergency;

Invites the States Members of the League of Nations to take in advance all necessary measures for this purpose;

Congratulates the Council on having studied the question, to which the Assembly attaches the greatest importance, and requests the Council to continue its studies, particularly in regard to telephonic communications between the seat of the League and the different capitals, the identification of aircraft making journeys of importance to the League of Nations at times of emergency, the establishment of a radio-telegraphic station at the seat of the League, the adaptation of a landing ground in the neighbourhood of the seat of the League, and, more generally, provisions enabling the League of Nations to be prepared at any moment to meet any emergency with the greatest possible rapidity.

IV. The Assembly,

Having taken note of the plan submitted to the Council by the Financial Committee with regard to the Finnish Government's proposal for ensuring financial aid to any State victim of aggression;

Being convinced of the need for a system of financial aid for contributing to the organisation of security, which is an indispensable preliminary to general disarmament;

Requests the Council to continue its examination of the plan, which the Committee declares to be necessary, and to prepare and complete it with a view to its final adoption either by a Disarmament Conference or by a special Conference to be convened for the purpose.

The Assembly suggests to the Council that it would be advisable to submit the plan referred to, and the documents relating to Article 16 prepared by the Legal Section of the Secretariat, the observations submitted by the several Governments and the Minutes of the discussions in the Third Committee on this subject, to the Committee which it proposes should be appointed in pursuance of its resolution relative to arbitration, security and disarmament.

V. The Assembly,

Noting the progress achieved in the technical sphere by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and by the Committee of the Council towards enabling the Council to be rapidly convened and to take decisions in case of emergency;

Being anxious to bring about the political conditions calculated to assure the success of the work of disarmament;

Being convinced that the principal condition of this success is that every State should be sure of not having to provide unaided for its security by means of its own armaments and should be able to rely also on the organised collective action of the League of Nations;

Affirming that such action should aim chiefly at forestalling or arresting any resort to war and, if need be, at effectively protecting any State victim of an aggression;

Being convinced that the burdens which may thereby be imposed on the different States will be the more readily accepted by them in proportion as—

(a) They are shared in practice by a greater number of States;

(b) The individual obligations of States have been more clearly defined and limited;

1. Recommends the progressive extension of arbitration by means of special or collective agreements, including agreements between States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations, so as to extend to all countries the mutual confidence essential to the complete success of the Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments;

2. Recalls its resolution of 24th September 1926, which reads as follows:

"Being desirous that the investigations, in regard to which the Assembly itself took the initiative in its resolution of 25th September 1925, should be brought to a successful conclusion as soon as possible, it requests the Council to call upon the Preparatory Commission to take steps to hasten the completion of the technical work and thus be able to draw up, at the beginning of next year, the programme for a Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments

corresponding to existing conditions in regard to regional and general security, and it asks the Council to convene this Conference before the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, unless material difficulties render this impossible."

Accordingly requests the Council to urge the Preparatory Commission to hasten the completion of its technical work and to convene the Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments immediately this work has been completed.

3. Requests the Council to give the Preparatory Commission, whose task will not be confined to the preparation of an initial Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments, and whose work must continue until the final goal has been achieved, the necessary instructions for the creation without delay of a Committee consisting of representatives of all the States which have seats on the Commission and are Members of the League of Nations, other States represented on the Commission being invited to sit on it if they so desire.

This Committee would be placed at the Commission's disposal and its duty would be to consider, on the lines indicated by the Commission, the measures capable of giving all States the guarantees of arbitration and security necessary to enable them to fix the level of their armaments at the lowest possible figures in an international disarmament agreement.

The Assembly considers that these measures should be sought:

In action by the League of Nations with a view to promoting, generalising, and co-ordinating special or collective agreements on arbitration and security;

In the systematic preparation of the machinery to be employed by the organs of the League of Nations with a view to enabling the Members of the League to perform their obligations under the various articles of the Covenant;

In agreements which the States Members of the League may conclude among themselves, irrespective of their obligations under the Covenant, with a view to making their commitments proportionate to the degree of solidarity of a geographical or other nature existing between them and other States;

And further, in an invitation from the Council to the several States to inform it of the measures which they would be prepared to take, irrespective of their obligations under the Covenant, to support the Council's decisions or recommendations in the event of a conflict breaking out in a given region, each State indicating that, in a particular case, either all its forces, or a certain part of its military, naval or air forces, could forthwith intervene in the conflict to support the Council's decisions or recommendations.

PRIVATE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND PUBLICITY OF THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS, AMMUNITION AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

62. The Assembly passed a resolution on this subject last year and acting on that the Council referred the draft Convention which had been drawn up to a Special Committee with instructions to prepare a final draft which might serve as a basis for an International Conference. The Special Committee met in March 1927 and prepared a report which showed that there were fundamental differences of opinion between the members. Several speakers referred to the subject in the Third Committee. The Committee appeared to be unanimous in thinking that a solution of the problem was indispensable in connection with the question of disarmament. The majority seemed to be inclined to the view that the private manufacture of arms must be dealt with in a manner different from that provided for State manufacture. The Third Committee proposed, and the Assembly approved, a resolution reaffirming the great importance of the subject and suggesting a Convention providing for the superintendence of the private manufacture of arms and for publicity with regard to the manufacture of arms either by a State or by a private person or firm.

The following is the text of the Resolution adopted by the Assembly on 24th September:—

The Assembly,

Having noted the report of the Special Committee appointed by the Council to draft a Convention on the supervision of the private manufacture and the publicity regarding the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war;

Reaffirming the importance it attaches to the establishment of a Convention which would enable non-producing and producing countries to be placed on an equal footing as contemplated in the declaration embodied in the Final Act of the Conference for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War;

Convinced that the establishment of a Convention for the supervision of private manufacture and the publicity regarding manufacture is of the highest importance for the putting into force of the Convention on the International Trade;

Requests the Council to convey its views to the Special Committee, in order that the latter may agree upon a single text which will enable the Council to convene an international Conference as speedily as possible.

Assembly
Resolution
(24 Sept.).

COMMITTEE IV.—Budgetary and Financial Questions.

THE LEAGUE BUDGET.

63. Those who remember the Report of the Indian Delegation at the last Assembly will be aware that the Assembly approved a Resolution of the Fourth Committee which was moved by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, the Indian delegate on that Committee, to the effect that it was desirable, without putting obstacles in the way of the development of the League, to keep in view a maximum limit of expenditure with the object of securing that the contributions of individual States should not normally in future exceed their contributions for that year. It was naturally the object of the Indian Delegation this year to remind the Fourth Committee and the Assembly of this Resolution and to secure as far as possible that this principle was not disregarded.

64. In the budget which was presented to this year's Assembly, the total estimates for 1928 were placed at 24,879,622 francs, the real increase of expenditure on the basis of these estimates as compared with the budget approved for 1927 being about 100,000 francs. The estimates for the Secretariat and the Permanent Court of International Justice taken together showed a small decrease, and the increase of the total was caused by an increase in the estimates for the International Labour Organisation. It had been stated, on the authority of the Secretary-General, that although the gross expenditure contemplated for 1928 was greater than that for 1927, the net burden on each Member of the League would not in all probability be heavier in view of the distribution among the Members of the League of the greater part of the surplus for 1926. This statement was welcome to us as showing incidentally the effect of the Indian Delegation's Resolution last year, but we had to take into account (1) the normal practice of bringing Supplementary Estimates of considerable amounts before the Assembly, (2) the possible retirement of Spain and Brazil next year, and (3) the possibility of a considerable charge falling upon the League of Nations in two or three years' time in respect of the Singapore Bureau (a matter of great interest to India), when the Rockefeller contributions, by which the Bureau is chiefly supported at present, come to an end. The retirement of Spain and Brazil next year has still to be reckoned with. We have hopes that the financing of the Singapore Bureau for a considerable further period may be assured without heavy additional charges falling upon the League. In regard to Supplementary Estimates, a serious position was revealed. Supplementary Estimates of nearly 1,000,000 francs were submitted by the League authorities to the Supervisory Commission, and after pruning by the Supervisory Commission, were presented to the Fourth Committee to the amount of over 600,000 francs. These, it was understood, would increase the unit of contribution (the number of units for which India is responsible being 56) by well over 1,000 francs after all off-sets have been allowed for. The task of trying to effect reductions was, therefore, incumbent upon those delegations, including our own, who are actuated by motives of economy in practice as well as in principle.

65. The general debate on the budget was opened by the British delegate, Sir Edward Hilton Young, who was followed by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar. The latter said that his Resolution of last year had been put forward not only from purely economic considerations, but also to ensure that States that were far removed from the immediate scene of the labours of the League might be assured that its work was of as comprehensive and universal a character as possible. New commitments entered into should be considered with reference to what would happen not only during the year under review, but in future years. He also referred to the importance of applying a Resolution passed by a previous Assembly to the effect that special investigations made in the interest of one or more Members of the League should be paid for by those Members, and he urged that when States which were not Members of the League took part in Conferences organised by the League those States should be expected to pay their fair share of the expenses of such Conferences. He also referred to the necessity for regulating the publications of the League as far as possible on a sound commercial basis, and suggested that agents should be appointed in distant countries with a view to the dissemination of those publications. In the course of the subsequent debate on the details of the budget he raised various points of detail, as, for instance, in regard to the financing of the Singapore Bureau, in regard to the estimate presented for the settlement of disputes under the Transit Organisation, and as to the proposal to authorise the Transit Organisation to collect information on the subject of communications. He served as a member of a Sub-Committee to deal with a proposal for the formation of an administrative tribunal to settle any point which might arise in connection with the contracts under which members of the staff of the Secretariat and International Labour Office are serving. He was also selected to serve as one of the members of the Fourth Committee deputed to confer with members of the First Committee in regard to the proposals for the Codification of International Law. The text of this speech will be found in Appendix III, Annex XII.

66. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar's remarks are reflected, together with those of other delegates, in the Report of the Fourth Committee. This Report indicates that the expenditure of the League was not increasing in proportion to the new tasks entrusted to the League and to the increased work thereby involved for the various organs of the League. So far as figures are a reliable guide, the amount of work done by the staff has grown considerably in recent years. If the Assembly decided to entrust new tasks to the Secretariat, it was necessary either to increase the budget or to suspend temporarily some part of the normal duties of the Secretariat. The Report indicates a view that if the expenditure of the League is not to be developed indefinitely, the League will sooner or later be obliged to impose limits on requests for further expenditure, and it is suggested that the Assembly might at some time be invited to appoint a small body to deal with further proposals for expenditure, and to examine the order in which new tasks entrusted to the League should be undertaken. The Report also states that the Publications Department is being reorganised, with a view to placing its operations upon a more commercial basis, and that a considerably larger amount in respect of receipts from the sales of publications was anticipated in the near future.

SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES AND FINANCIAL CONTROL.

67. On the subject of Supplementary Estimates a long and arduous debate took place. This debate revealed in the Fourth Committee a real and earnest desire for economy, although it may be open to question whether this desire was fully implemented. At the same time it indicated unmistakably the peculiar difficulties of financial control in the unique circumstances of the League, which arise from the absence of an executive authority with power to determine the priority in which proposals involving expenditure should be undertaken. The Indian Delegation, together with the British Delegation, followed the policy of supporting the authority of the Supervisory Commission, which is the most effective organ for financial control in the League's possession, and for the creation of which, it may be remembered, a past Indian Delegation was largely responsible. This Commission, of which Lord Meston is a member, scrutinises in the most thorough and efficient manner the financial provision for the measures which the League has in hand or decides to take in hand, but it lacks the ultimate power of selection among those measures. It is, in our view, very desirable, if not necessary, that in the near future the Assembly should find some means of satisfying the principle, which is an essential part of the financial procedure of national Governments. Serious warnings were expressed in the Fourth Committee as to the tendencies which are at present evident, and which, though they could not fairly at present be said to be out of control, may at any time lead to serious results unless the financial initiative can be somehow limited. It should not, however, be supposed that the sum total of League expenditure at present is anything but moderate, having regard to the importance and responsibilities of the League.

68. Our remarks may be illustrated by the discussions which took place on two supplementary demands, one for a sum to enable the Transit Section to collect information on the subject of communications, and the other for the expenses of the work of codifying international law. The first arose from a recommendation of the Third General Conference on Transit and Communications, which had been approved by the Second Committee, and a demand had been presented for 40,000 francs to proceed with the work during 1928. The debate on this demand ranged as much over questions of principle relating to the status and authority of the Supervisory Commission, as over the actual desirability of the proposed services, which few delegates desired to question. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar said that although he had as a delegate at the Third General Conference and as a Member of the Second Committee supported the project for which this demand was made, he felt obliged, in view of the gravity of the financial situation, and of the necessity for making some selection among the services for which supplementary credits were asked, to vote against the credit in the Fourth Committee. Eventually the estimate was rejected by a majority vote, but after further negotiations with the Second Committee, it was agreed that the Secretariat should continue the work already begun, so far as might be possible without the additional credit, and a hope was expressed that the credit in question might appear in the Budget of 1929.

69. In the second case the Supervisory Commission had accepted a supplementary estimate for 80,000 francs for the preparatory work necessary to enable an international Conference to be held in 1929 to attempt the codification of international law on certain subjects (see para. 26 above), but, in order to avoid serious additional expenditure, it had proposed to compensate for the admission of the supplementary item by deleting a provision of 75,000 francs in the original budget to enable the Committee of Experts on this subject to continue its work. The view of the Supervisory Commission was supported by a majority vote of the Fourth Committee, but it was agreed that any part of the sum allotted for the preparation for the Conference which might not actually be found to be necessary for that purpose might be used for a further meeting of the Committee of Experts. In spite of this decision, and in spite of the fact that the First Committee, to whom the decision was communicated, had raised no objection, the matter was brought up again in the Assembly, where the recommendation of the Fourth Committee was rejected by a small majority. The Fourth Committee was asked to consider the matter again with a view to reaching the necessary unanimity, and a debate took place which lasted until after midnight. In the course of this debate, Sir Fazl-i-Husain said he thought no one had disputed the fact that the work of the Committee of Experts was of great value to the League of Nations. The former decision of the Fourth Committee did not involve the interruption of this work, and it was only a question of the pace at which it would proceed. The South American countries claimed that this credit should not be refused, on the ground that the work of codifying international law was one of the few activities of the League in which they were directly interested, but he asked that the Committee should take an equal interest in the position of certain other countries who paid their annual contribution, but perhaps derived even less direct benefit from the work of the League than the South American countries. Notwithstanding the fact that the direct benefit to them of the work of the League was comparatively small, these other countries readily voted various credits for humanitarian work which did not benefit them; but he said that it was important that the Committee should realise that the continual increase in the unit of contribution might reach the point

of becoming intolerable, and each addition would possibly prove to be the last straw which broke the camel's back. After Sir Fazl-i-Husain had spoken, a solution was proposed by which, although the budget provision was not increased, those who wished to ensure a further meeting of the Committee of Experts in 1928 were given reason to expect that sufficient funds would be found by transfer from another head of the budget if necessary. This solution was accepted by the Fourth Committee and later by the Assembly with the necessary unanimity.

70. The debate on these two matters attracted very considerable notice, and we believe that, apart from the decisions reached on the particular issues, they will exercise a salutary influence on the general tendency of the financial policy of the League. The result of the debate on Supplementary Estimates was to raise the total budget to 25,333,817 francs. The net contribution of India for 1928 will be about £51,400 as compared with about £50,150 for 1927.

ALLOCATION OF EXPENSES.

80. Two years ago a provisional scale was adopted for the allocation of the expenses of the League between the States Members, which was to last for three years, and was due to come up for further consideration at the Assembly of 1928. The budget for 1928 included an estimate to provide for a meeting this winter of the Standing Committee on Allocation of Expenses, so that new proposals might be brought before the next Assembly. When this estimate came before the Fourth Committee, M. Reveillaud, the French delegate, who is Chairman of the Allocation Committee, said that, after considering the economic conditions of the various countries, he had come to the conclusion that the general economic situation of the world would not be sufficiently stable, at any rate for some years to come, to permit of any satisfactory permanent settlement of this question in the immediate future. In these circumstances, he thought that there would be no object in holding a session of the Committee as had been intended, and accordingly he proposed a reduction of the estimate. The claims of India for a reduction of her share of the expenditure of the League have always been strongly pressed in the past. As it had not been anticipated that the matter would be raised this year, the Indian Delegation had no definite instructions and were not in a position to accept any arrangement under which the present scale would continue in force for a number of years. There was obviously nothing to be gained by insisting on a meeting of the Allocation Committee being held during the present winter, as the Fourth Committee was clearly impressed with M. Reveillaud's arguments, which were, in fact, of a convincing nature. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, on behalf of the Indian Delegation, confined himself to securing an understanding that the acceptance of the proposal to reduce the estimate did not restrict the liberty of the next Assembly to discuss the matter again.

The Assembly adopted on various dates the following Resolutions on the motion of the Fourth Committee:—

1. The Assembly, in virtue of Article 38 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League, finally approves the audited accounts of the League for the eighth financial period ending 31st December 1926.
2. The Assembly, in virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League, approves for the financial year 1928 the general budget of the League, of the Secretariat and of the Special Organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the total of which, including supplementary credits, is 25,333,817 francs; And decides that the said budget shall be published in the *Official Journal*.
3. The Assembly adopts, in so far as they have been approved by the Fourth Committee, the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission submitted to its consideration.
4. The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of the Fourth Committee.

The Assembly requests the Secretary-General.

1. To continue negotiations with the Chinese Government with a view to arriving at some arrangement by which the contributions in arrears may be liquidated;
2. To make further representations, through such channels as he may consider appropriate, to the other States at present in arrears;
3. To submit to the Council in due course a report showing the results of the action taken by him.

The Assembly decides,

- (1) To apply once more the system at present in force, under which no changes will be made in the salaries in 1928;
- (2) To instruct the Salaries Adjustment Committee to make a new enquiry into all the aspects of this question, with the help of the competent services of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office, and to submit the results to the Supervisory Commission at its session in January 1928;
- (3) To instruct the Supervisory Commission to submit a general report on the question to the Assembly at its ninth ordinary session.

Subject to the amendment of form suggested by the Fourth Committee, the Assembly adopts the annexed Statute* establishing a League of Nations Administrative Tribunal.

The Assembly of 1931, however, will consider, in the light of the experience gained, whether there is reason to abrogate or amend the said Statute.

The Assembly's resolution of 17th December 1920, giving to certain officials in case of dismissal a right of appeal to the Council or to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, is abrogated as from 1st January 1928.

* Not reprinted.

The following table shows, under the main heads, the Expenditure for 1926 and the Estimates for 1926 and 1927, as well as the Estimates finally adopted by the Assembly for 1928:—

A.—Secretariat and Special Organisations.

PART I.—ORDINARY EXPENDITURE.

CHAPTER.	Estimates, 1928.	Estimates, 1927.	Estimates, 1926.	Expenditure, 1926.
	Gold francs.	Gold francs.	Gold francs.	Gold francs.
I. Assembly and Council Sessions -	977,900	967,900	1,025,000	422,074
II. General Services of Secretariat -	7,611,876	7,208,274	6,569,034	6,055,954
III. Special Organisations of the League -	5,056,467	5,197,666	4,770,970	3,788,172
IV. Profit and Loss on Exchange -	—	—	—	6,861
Total of ordinary expenditure -	13,646,243	13,373,840	12,365,004	10,273,061

PART II.—CAPITAL EXPENDITURE.

V. Permanent Equipment, &c. -	183,000	188,000	168,000	165,434
Total expenditure of the Secretariat and of the Special Organisations of the League -	13,829,243	13,561,840	12,533,004	10,438,495

B.—International Labour Organisation.

Section I.—Ordinary Expenditure -	7,888,470	7,606,490	7,314,720	7,222,094
Section II.—Capital Expenditure -	70,000	91,000	75,000	77,919
Total -	7,958,470	7,697,490	7,389,720	7,300,012
Less: German contributions for 1925 and 1926 -	—	265,766	274,782	273,782
Amount to be included in general Budget -	7,958,470	7,431,724	7,114,938	7,026,230

C.—Permanent Court of International Justice.

Section I.—Ordinary Expenditure -	2,159,647	2,122,947	1,900,401	1,642,769
Section II.—Capital Expenditure -	11,457	20,830	7,290	6,528
Total -	2,171,104	2,143,777	1,907,691	1,649,297

D.—Buildings at Geneva.

Terminable Annuity payable on account of building operations of the League.	1,375,000	1,375,000	1,375,000	1,375,000
---	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------

E.—Working Capital Fund.

Definite contribution to the Working Capital Fund.	—	—	—	—
Total Budget of the League of Nations -	25,333,817	24,512,341	22,930,633	20,489,022

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW LEAGUE OF NATIONS BUILDINGS.

81. For the earlier history of this matter reference is invited to the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Special Assembly of 1926. This Assembly had approved proposals for the construction of a new Assembly Hall and of new offices for the Secretariat and for the purchase of the building land. It had adopted a provisional estimate of nearly 17,000,000 francs, including a sum of 4,000,000 francs which is the guaranteed price for the sale of the building at present occupied by the Secretariat. A competition of architects has since been held, and as many as 377 designs were submitted. The Jury of Architects which examined these plans decided unanimously that the results of the competition did not justify it in recommending any one of the plans for execution. They decided to dispose of the prize money by giving nine equal prizes to the nine competitors whose designs appeared to them to be the best, and further smaller sums to 18 further designs, arranged in two classes of nine each, which were considered worthy of honourable mention. When the report of the Jury of Architects came before the Assembly a Committee of five members was appointed to consider the question and report back to the Assembly. This Committee was reported that, after allowing for the purchase of land and other general expenses, and for interest on the cash balance actually in the League's possession, and for the guaranteed sale price of the present Secretariat building, there would be a sum of 15,400,000 francs

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution on 26th September :—

Approves, in principle, that the amount to be spent on the new buildings may be increased to approximately 19,500,000 francs. The exact amount of the supplementary credit necessary will be submitted to the Assembly at the next session ;

The above resolution was proposed by a Special Committee set up by the Assembly at its eleventh meeting, on 10th September 1927, to present suggestions regarding the decision to be taken in the matter of the new League Buildings. The report of the Special Committee and the resolution were subsequently submitted to the Fourth Committee, in accordance with the Assembly's decision, and approved by it.

82. Before leaving this subject we ought to mention the munificent gift of \$2,000,000 from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for the construction and endowment of a new League of Nations Library. The Assembly naturally confirmed with gratitude the acceptance by the Council of this gift, the purpose of which can be adequately carried out with the certainty that no liabilities will in future be imposed on the Members of the League on account of its acceptance. This gift will render possible the formation and maintenance of a library on a much more extended scale than that which at present exists in the Secretariat or could otherwise be contemplated. It will greatly improve the facilities, of which there is an increasing need, for research work and for students.

Assembly
Resolution
(12 Sept.).

COMMITTEE V.—Social and General Questions.

83. Indian Delegations of the past two years have been somewhat concerned with the appearance of a tendency on the part of the Child Welfare Committee to take too wide a view of its proper sphere of operations. In 1925 the Maharaja of Patiala, and in 1926 the Maharaja of Kapurthala, considered it desirable to express apprehension as to the consequences that might result from any invasion of areas of purely domestic concern, and from a policy of trying to apply indiscriminately ideas or criteria which for social or even religious reasons might not be universally applicable. This tendency had been noticed also by other observers, and the Committee had been advised by the Council of the League to "endeavour so to narrow the field of each particular enquiry as to produce results of practical value to Governments." At the Assembly of 1926, the Fifth Committee, in its report on this subject, appreciated the fact that practical considerations must sometimes limit the scope of international co-operation in this field, and they called attention to the caution expressed by the Maharaja of Kapurthala. During the last 12 months the Child Welfare Committee has appointed an Agenda Sub-Committee for the purpose of controlling the subjects treated, and this Sub-Committee may be considered to have done good work, although the necessity for confining activities in this field to objects of international concern still requires to be watched. As the warnings previously expressed appeared to have had a salutary effect, and as the Report of the Committee, which was presented to this year's Assembly, contained nothing which called for criticism, the Indian Delegation was able to abstain from taking part in the discussion.

Assembly
Resolution
(20 Sept.).

84. The most notable subject in this year's discussion was the report of the special body of experts which has been enquiring into this traffic. Only the first part of this report has been published, the second part having been communicated confidentially to the Governments concerned—of which the Government of India is not one—for such observations as they may wish to make. These observations are to be received shortly, and on their receipt the body of experts will meet again to consider them, after which the question will come before the Council of the League for a decision as to further action. The resolution adopted by the Assembly called attention to the problem of the relationship which, according to the conclusions of the special body of experts, exists between the licensed house and the traffic in women, and expressed a hope that the appropriate Committees would examine the question of the desirability of recommending to all Governments the abolition of the system of the licensed house.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution on 20th September:—

Takes note of the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, thanks the Committee for the good work it has accomplished, and expresses the hope that this work will be continued along the same lines; and, in this connection, expresses the interest that the Traffic in Women and Children Committee is

Desires to express its warmest approval of the able and courageous work of the Special Body of Experts, and earnestly recommends Part I of the report, and especially its conclusions, to the study of the Governments of all States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations.

86. At the Assembly of 1925 attention had been called to the absence of effective control at Persian ports over exports of opium, and the final Act of the Second International Opium Conference contained a recommendation that a Commission of Enquiry should be appointed to visit certain opium-producing countries. Accordingly, in pursuance of a recommendation of the Assembly of 1925, a Commission was appointed to be sent to Persia to study the existing situation with regard to the cultivation of the poppy and the replacement of a proportion of this cultivation with other crops. This Commission reported at the end of 1926, and its report came before the Assembly. The Commission considered that the Persian Government should make it an essential part of its programme to take definite steps looking to, and preparatory for, a gradual and systematic reduction of cultivation to begin three years from the promulgation of the programme. It believed that, after the preparatory period of three years, the Persian Government might safely undertake a reduction of 10 per cent. each year in the acreage allotted to the cultivation of the poppy, and it made a number of practical recommendations designed to facilitate this programme. The Persian Government has expressed its willingness to attempt to carry out the recommendations of the Commission with some modification, but in doing so it has declared that the success of its programme will in large measure depend on its obtaining liberty of action in tariff affairs, and on the removal of the restrictive tariffs on Persian products which must be substituted for opium. The Assembly expressed its appreciation of the goodwill shown by the Persian Government, and hoped that the Governments concerned would give their earnest and favourable attention to the tariff conditions referred to by the Persian Government.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution on 20th September :—

The Assembly takes note of the report of the Commission of Enquiry into the production of opium in Persia, of the observations of the Persian Government on that report, and of the letter from the Chairman of the Commission of Enquiry to the Secretary-General, dated 23rd April 1927.

It expresses its sincere thanks to the members of the Commission for their valuable work, and its high appreciation of the goodwill shown by the Persian Government in co-operating with the League in its solution of the difficult and complicated problem of narcotic control.

The Persian Government having declared that the success of its programme will, in large measure, depend on its obtaining liberty of action in tariff affairs and on the removal of the restrictive tariffs on

Persian products which must be substituted for opium, the Assembly expresses the hope that the Governments concerned will give their earnest and favourable attention to those conditions and that the Persian Government will keep the League of Nations informed of the progress made in carrying out the scheme proposed for the gradual diminution of the cultivation of the opium poppy in Persia.

It earnestly recommends to all countries concerned with the production and manufacture of dangerous drugs and their raw material the enactment of legislation similar to that now proposed by the Government of Persia, or such equivalent action as will ensure the necessary reduction of raw material and the manufacture of drugs.

TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

87. The Government of India have a representative on the Advisory Committee dealing with this subject in the person of Sir John Campbell, I.C.S. (retired), who is the present Chairman of the Committee. The work of the Committee in recent years has been principally concerned with the illicit traffic in manufactured drugs, viz. morphia and other derivatives of opium and cocaine. In these circumstances no controversial question in regard to opium arose.

88. The Report of the Advisory Committee called special attention to the gravity of the situation which exists in regard to the illicit traffic in drugs and the urgent necessity for action in the direction of control. The hope of adequate control resides chiefly in the bringing into operation of the Geneva Convention of 1925, for which a sufficient number of ratifications has not yet been received. The prospect of the Convention coming into force has not improved recently. The Report of the Advisory Committee, although approved without criticism, was received in the Fifth Committee with less attention than might have been expected. It appeared that there would be some advantage in directing attention to the necessity for action as publicly and emphatically as possible, and accordingly, when the Report of the Fifth Committee on this subject was presented to the Assembly, Lord Lytton made a speech.

89. He said that India was very much alive to the gravity of the drug problem, and looked to the League for help in regard to it. He wished the Assembly to realise the enormous extent of the illicit traffic in drugs, and the grave human import of that trade as revealed in the Report of the Advisory Committee. India, for instance, imported a small amount of cocaine for medical purposes, but the illicit traffic in cocaine in India was stated by the Committee to be as much as 40 times the legitimate imports, in spite of vigorous and efficient administrative efforts to suppress it. The figures of the illicit trade quoted by the Committee were startling, but even so, they scarcely conveyed their full human import. He went on to picture to the Assembly the intensity of human misery for which the drug evil was responsible, and he asked how, in face of such facts, there were Governments with the power to stop it which allowed it to continue. Yet 54 nations were parties to the Hague Convention, which included as an obligation accepted by all the signatories a provision to enact laws and regulations to limit exclusively to medical and legitimate purposes the manufacture, sale and use of drugs, and with further provision for co-operation between Governments. The drug problem was not one of those which could not be solved, and which must be tolerated because no remedy could be found. On the contrary, it was one which all the nations of the world had recognised, had discussed, and had pledged themselves to remedy. It was one of the evils which the League of Nations was competent to remove, and the removal of which was one of the triumphant achievements which still await the League. The individual efforts of no single nation could stem the tide, but by the combination of all nations it could be stemmed swiftly and effectively. The States Members of the League were already bound by an International Convention to do this, but it still remained for public opinion in some countries to insist on fulfilment of that obligation. There were probably not more than 30 drug factories in the world, and if each Government concerned put a ring fence round these factories the illicit traffic would cease. The Convention of 1925 might not be perfect, but it represented the furthest point yet reached and was the most effective weapon available. He appealed to delegates on their return to their various countries to create an opinion which would insist upon action.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution on 20th September :—

Assembly
Resolution
(20 Sept.).

The Assembly notes with approval the report of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs and the resolutions contained therein, and earnestly recommends them to the attention of the States Members of the League.

PERMANENT CENTRAL BOARD TO BE SET UP UNDER THE OPIUM CONVENTION OF 1925.

90. In anticipation of the Convention receiving a sufficient number of ratifications and coming into force, the Secretary-General had submitted estimates for the necessary expenditure being met from League funds. These estimates came up for consideration in the first instance in the Fourth Committee, but the question was referred to the Fifth Committee for their opinion. There was some question whether the expenses of the Board should be borne by the League at all, but it seemed to be the general view that such a course would be reasonable and desirable. Sir Fazl-i-Husain associated himself with this view in the Fourth

Committee. The questions which received most attention were whether the services of the Board should be remunerated at all, seeing that, practically without exception, appointments to the numerous advisory bodies which serve the League carry no remuneration, and whether, if the members of the Central Board were to receive remuneration, the amount proposed, viz., 5,000 Swiss francs a year, was adequate. After a long discussion the Fifth Committee expressed the opinion that it would be well if the Council could secure the gratuitous services of persons of the qualifications contemplated, and thus carry on the fine tradition of gratuitous service. But if this should prove impossible, as several members apprehended, the Fifth Committee was not prepared to say that the provisional estimate was sufficient. After further discussion in the Fourth Committee, it was eventually decided, on the recommendation of the Supervisory Commission, not to make any financial provision for 1928, on the ground that there seemed insufficient prospect of the money being actually required, owing to the delay in the ratification of the Convention on which the appointment of the Central Board depended. There are still certain countries, especially Italy, that are not satisfied that the creation of the Central Board will be the best means of regulating the Convention when it comes into force.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE NEAR EAST.

Information on this subject will be found in previous Indian Delegation Reports. No comment is required this year. The Assembly adopted the following Resolution on 20th September :—

The Assembly approves Miss Jeppe's report and expresses its thanks and appreciation for the unselfish and admirable work which she has done for the protection of women and children in the Near East. Assembly Resolution (20 Sept.).

The Assembly hopes that the generous financial support given to Miss Jeppe by voluntary organisations in the past will continue in order that she may be enabled to restore to a normal life those who have been rescued.

MEASURES IN FAVOUR OF RUSSIAN AND ARMENIAN REFUGEES.

Previous Indian Delegations have described the history of this question. At the present stage it contains no features on which we need offer observations. The Assembly passed the following Resolution on 26th September :—

The Assembly, Having carefully examined the reports of the High Commissioner and of the International Labour Office on the refugee questions; Assembly Resolution (26 Sept.).

Recognises the progress that has been made towards the solution of a problem that at one time constituted a very serious danger;

Expresses its high appreciation of the important work that has been accomplished on behalf of the refugees;

Invites the High Commissioner to convene a small Conference, on the lines indicated in his report, to formulate proposals for submission to the Council in regard to the legal status of refugees. This should be preceded by a full and careful examination of the juridical situation of the refugees in the different countries, the necessary information to be communicated to the respective Governments beforehand;

Congratulates those responsible for the measures already taken and contemplated for the permanent settlement of Armenian refugees in the Near East;

Expresses the hope that, as a result of the efforts described by the High Commissioner in his report, the necessary funds will be secured for the execution of this work and that, with the continued co-operation of the mandatory Power, this aspect of the problem may be successfully liquidated;

Approves the provisions in the budget for the Refugee Service in addition to the supplementary credit of 7,500 Swiss francs for the service for establishing Armenian refugees in Syria.

Further, the Assembly, Notes with interest the offers of employment now available for refugees in overseas countries; Recognises that the execution of these schemes requires the immediate establishment of an adequate revolving fund;

Urges the Governments concerned to inform the High Commissioner as soon as possible what measures they are prepared to take for financing the settlement of refugees from their territories;

Requests the Council to invite the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, in examining the budget of the Refugee Service for 1929, to consider whether adequate funds for settlement have been thus provided.

COMMITTEE VI.—Political Questions.

SLAVERY CONVENTION.

91. The conclusion of this Convention was one of the principal achievements of the Assembly of 1926. The Convention provided for the submission of annual Progress Reports which will enable the Assembly to watch the execution of the Convention. The reports which had been submitted by the Government of India in regard to recent developments in Burma and Kalat were perhaps the most striking feature of the material before the Committee. The Convention has so far only been ratified or acceded to by 14 countries, of which India is one. According to statements made in the Sixth Committee, six more countries hope soon to be in a position to ratify.

92. Several points required to be brought to the notice of the Committee in regard to India, and the Maharaja of Kapurthala accordingly made a speech, of which the text will

be found in Appendix III, Annex XIV. In the first place he made a statement intended to correct a misunderstanding for which the Indian Delegation of 1926 had been inadvertently responsible, viz. that the recent liberation of slaves in the Kingdom of Nepal had been influenced by the League. He stated that the Nepalese authorities had announced their intention of liberating slaves before they could have known that the League was taking the question in hand, and he called special attention to features of the work carried out in Nepal which might be studied with profit by other countries who were faced with the same problem. He then referred briefly to the events of the last year in Kalat and Burma, and he supplied information more recent than that which had already been furnished to the League in regard to the success which had attended the measures taken in Kalat. He also referred to the fact that, when the Convention was signed, it had been necessary for constitutional reasons to make a reservation excluding Indian States and to the undertaking then given that the Government of India would not fail to bring to the notice of the Rulers of States the provisions which had been accepted for British India. He was able to announce that the Government of India had now fulfilled the undertaking, and he expressed confidence that the Ruling Princes would devote themselves to the removal of such vestiges, if any, of conditions akin to slavery as might still survive. The observations of subsequent speakers were chiefly concerned with conditions in Abyssinia and Sierra Leone and with the question of ratifications.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution on 22nd September:—

Assembly
Resolution
(22 Sept.).

The Assembly notes the report from the Council and the supplementary reports regarding slavery which contain communications on this subject from the Government of Abyssinia, the British Government, the Government of India, the Government of Portugal and the Government of the Sudan, and, in view of the limited number of ratifications of the Convention of 25th September 1926 which have been deposited up to the present, expresses the hope that the States which have signed will ratify the Convention as soon as possible.

SYSTEM OF SINGLE TRANSFERABLE VOTE FOR THE ELECTION OF NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

93. The single transferable vote system means that the voter arranges the candidates for whom he wishes to vote in order of preference. At first only first votes are counted, but afterwards all first votes which are not going to be effective, i.e. those given to candidates who have already received the minimum number of votes necessary for election and those given to candidates who received so few as to have no chance of election, are disregarded, and the second votes take their place, and so on until a sufficient number of candidates have received the minimum number of votes required for election. The idea was first suggested by Lord Cecil in the course of the discussions relating to the constitution of the Council which took place in 1926, and it was subsequently taken up by the Norwegian Government, by whose delegate it was presented to the Assembly this year. The Norwegian Government described their proposal as designed to allow electors to exercise a free and independent choice when voting, and as ensuring at the same time their equitable representation. They pointed out that while, in the case of ordinary Parliamentary elections, there was prevalent the question of creating a stable majority as the basis of a strong Government, in the case of the Council of the League it was universally agreed that the Council ought always to embrace representatives of different ideas, different interests and even different races. The supporters of the proposal thought that the single transferable vote was the system best calculated to give this result.

94. The Government of India had expressed themselves in favour of the single transferable vote system, as they considered that minorities had the best opportunity of making themselves felt under this system. It was, therefore, best calculated to give due consideration to the main geographical divisions of the world, the great ethnical groups, the different religious traditions, the varying types of civilisation and the chief sources of wealth, these expressions being contained in a resolution of a former Assembly to which great significance is attached by Eastern countries. We were, therefore, instructed to support the Norwegian Delegation, and Sir B. K. Mullick spoke accordingly (for text of speech see Appendix III, Annex XV). He expressed the opinion of the Government of India and said that though a good deal had been said about the practical difficulties of putting the system into operation, these difficulties did not seem to him to be very serious. The electorate in the Assembly would be far more competent and far smaller than the average electorate in a general election in a European State, and it would not be affected by the violent storms of local feeling which were apt to sweep over a country on such occasions.

95. It was at one time believed that owing to the unfavourable attitude of certain Great Powers, Great Britain and France in particular, there would be little support for the Norwegian proposal. An unexpected volume of support was, however, given, and India was not the only member of the Empire to place herself in opposition to Great Britain. In the end the view prevailed that, as the present method of election to the Council had been introduced only last year, it should be given a chance of being tested before any further changes were made.

On 22nd September the Assembly adopted the Report of the Sixth Committee, which was as follows:—

The Sixth Committee has had under consideration the system of the single transferable vote and the principle of proportional representation in general as applicable to the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council. Assembly
Resolution
(22 Sept.).

It agrees with the authors of the proposal in thinking that, were the principle of proportional representation to be adopted, the single transferable vote system would be a form of proportional representation which could be applied to the Council elections. It is, however, of opinion that the present system should be given a fair trial, and that the method of balloting now employed should not be changed until it should appear opportune to do so.

In that eventuality, the study which has taken place of the system of the single transferable vote would prove to have been of great value.

The Sixth Committee is therefore of opinion that the documentation which has been collected on the subject should be reserved for future study if the necessity should arise. Any Members of the League wishing to complete the above-mentioned documentation may with advantage send such information for this purpose to the Secretariat.

The Sixth Committee submits the following resolution to the Assembly:—

“The Assembly adopts the report of the Sixth Committee.”

MANDATES.

On 23rd September the Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Having taken note of the work accomplished since its last session by the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council in the execution of Article 22 of the Covenant, renews the expression of confidence voted last year and adopts the following resolution on certain specific points:— Assembly
Resolution
(23 Sept.).

1. *Liquor Traffic.*

(a) The Assembly congratulates the Permanent Mandates Commission on its success in defining the important terms concerning the liquor traffic used in the B and C mandates and in the Convention of St. Germain of 10th September 1919, and expresses the hope that all the mandatory Powers will soon be able to indicate their acceptance of these definitions.

(b) It asks the Council to request the Permanent Mandates Commission, in collaboration with the mandatory Powers, to continue to give serious consideration to the causes of the increased importation of spirituous liquors into certain territories under B mandate, and to the steps which have been taken to deal with this problem.

2. *Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission.*

The Assembly expresses its appreciation of the value of the Minutes of the meetings of the Permanent Mandates Commission, which constitute the record of the fulfilment by the Commission of its duties under Article 22 of the Covenant, and which are communicated at the request of several of the mandatory Powers to a considerable number of their officials in the mandated territories.

Conference of Press Experts.

This Conference had been held in August and was attended by a number of experts conversant with journalistic problems all over the world, among whom was Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha. It made a number of recommendations of a technical character designed to facilitate and improve the conditions of journalistic work and the service of international news. The Assembly passed the following Resolution on 22nd September:—

The Assembly,

Noting the success of the Conference of Press Experts, and conveying its thanks to the representatives of the Press for their collaboration;

Expresses its satisfaction that the Council has considered the steps required for promptly giving the necessary effect to the resolutions of the Conference;

Trusts that the technical organisations to which the Council has submitted a number of these resolutions will undertake as soon as possible the special enquiries relating, in particular, to the questions of telegraphic and telephonic rates, the improvement of communications, the conveyance of newspapers, identity cards for journalists and visas for journalists' passports;

Trusts that the Council, at its December session, will take the most suitable measures to enlist the sympathetic attention of Governments for the other resolutions adopted by the Conference in order that effect may be given to them;

Notes with satisfaction that the Council, taking into account the recommendation made by the Conference, has declared that, should it at some future time appear necessary, and should developments in the technical international problems which affect the Press make it seem desirable to those concerned, it will in principle be willing to lend the assistance of the organisations of the League for the study of these questions, and to organise a consultation or call a Conference for this purpose.

Assembly
Resolution
(22 Sept.).

Concluding Remarks.

96. We have already anticipated to some extent our general conclusions on the outstanding features of the Eighth Assembly. The importance of the session was emphasised by the fact that leading statesmen, such as M. Briand and Herr Stresemann, who, on previous occasions, have been content to resign the leadership of their delegations into other hands, remained in Geneva on this occasion until the end of the Assembly. Fundamental questions were examined with an unusual degree of frankness and with a sense of reality. Those who may

have thought that the idealism of the League would wither in such an atmosphere appear to have been wrong. The League has, in our view, gained much in strength from the fact that differences were more clearly defined and are now better understood. There is less uncertainty, for instance, as to the sincerity of the British Empire towards the League, and as the attitude of the British Empire may be claimed to be the greatest single factor in League politics a clear appreciation of it is of vital importance. At the same time it is clearly realised that the British Empire, in view of its responsibilities and commitments all over the world, cannot at present go beyond a certain point in the policy of altruism for the sake of international ideals, and though this fact necessarily disappoints the hopes and aspirations of many Members of the League it has been accepted with resignation and without bitterness. The events of the session might have shaken seriously an institution less securely founded than the League has shown itself to be.

97. When the Assembly opened there were many who thought that a deadlock had been reached in the great questions of Arbitration, Security and Disarmament, and that the proceedings of the Preparatory Committee for the Disarmament Conference would be adjourned *sine die*. As a result of the debates the Preparatory Committee will continue its work, both on the existing basis of security and in the more favourable circumstances which may be created by an improvement in the conditions of security on lines which have been indicated. At least the study of this question is still alive, when there was a serious possibility that it might not be so. At the same time the League is launched upon a policy of international reconciliation and co-operation in the economic sphere, which, in the opinion of many authorities, may lead to a realisation of the ideals of the League as effectively as the more direct avenues of approach.

98. We believe that the position of India in the League is being steadily strengthened, and that the claims of India and other non-European countries to greater facilities for effective participation are being received with increasing sympathy as the preoccupation of the League with the acute and urgent problems created in Europe as an aftermath of the war is passing away. The acceptance of new tasks depends upon the initiative of States Members, and so far the initiative has come almost entirely from European countries. We can understand the view current in India that the activities of the League contain little in which India can interest herself or from which she can benefit. But we think that a modification of this view would be justified by a candid examination of the facts. It would, in our opinion, be a matter of great regret if the opportunities offered to India by the League towards the development of her status among the nations of the world were imperfectly realised through ignorance or misunderstanding of the facts. For this reason, and because representation needs to be based upon an informed and enlightened public opinion, we feel that great importance should be attached to publicity.

(Signed) LYTTON.
JAGATJIT SINGH,
Maharaja of Kapurthala.
C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR.

November 1927.

LIST OF APPENDICES.

	PAGE
Appendix I. List of States represented and of Delegations	41
Appendix II. Reports of Committees to the Assembly, &c. :—	
ANNEX I. Report of the First Committee on Accessions to International Agreements given subject to Ratification	45
ANNEX II. Report of the First Committee on the Progressive Codification of International Law	45
ANNEX III. Report of the First Committee on the proposal of Paraguay for the Preparation of a General and Comprehensive Plan of Codification of International Law	48
ANNEX IV. Report of the Second Committee on Intellectual Co-operation	49
ANNEX V. Report of the Second Committee on the Settlement of Bulgarian Refugees	51
ANNEX VI. Report of the Second Committee on results of the Mission carried out in certain Latin-American Countries by the President of the Health Committee	52
ANNEX VII. Report of the Second Committee on the work of the Health Organisation	54
ANNEX VIII. Report of the Second Committee on the work of the Economic Committee	56
ANNEX IX. Report of the Second Committee on the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit	58
ANNEX X. Report of the Second Committee on the work of the Financial Committee	62
ANNEX XI. Report of the Second Committee on the creation of an International Relief Union	64
ANNEX XII. Report of the Second Committee on the question of a Greek loan	65
ANNEX XIII. Report of the Second Committee on the work of the International Economic Conference and on the Economic Organisation of the League	67
ANNEX XIV. Report of the Second Committee on the opening of a Convention on the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards	68
ANNEX XV. Report of the Third Committee on the Private Manufacture and Publicity of the Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and Implements of War	72
ANNEX XVI. Report of the Third Committee on Arbitration, Security, Disarmament and the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference	73
ANNEX XVII. Report of the Fourth Committee on the Establishment of an Administrative Tribunal	75
ANNEX XVIII. Report of the Fourth Committee on the Construction of an Assembly Hall and of New Buildings for use of the Secretariat	75
ANNEX XIX. Report by the Special Committee on the Construction of an Assembly Hall and of New Buildings for use of the Secretariat	75
ANNEX XX. General Report of the Fourth Committee on Financial Questions	76
ANNEX XXI. Report of the Fourth Committee on the question of the Cost of Living and the Adjustment of Salaries	81
ANNEX XXII. Report of the Fourth Committee on Contributions in Arrears	81
ANNEX XXIII. Report of the Fifth Committee on the Protection of Women and Children in the Near East	82
ANNEX XXIV. Report of the Fifth Committee on Child Welfare	82
ANNEX XXV. Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs	83
ANNEX XXVI. Report of the Fifth Committee on the work of the Commission of Enquiry into the Production of Opium in Persia	84
ANNEX XXVII. Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children	86
ANNEX XXVIII. Report of the Fifth Committee on the measures in favour of Armenian and Russian Refugees	87
ANNEX XXIX. Report of the Sixth Committee on the Slavery Convention	90
ANNEX XXX. Report of the Sixth Committee on Mandates	90
ANNEX XXXI. Report of the Sixth Committee on the work of the Conference of Press Experts	91

Appendix III. Certain Speeches delivered by Members of the Indian Delegation at the Eighth Assembly:—

	PAGE
ANNEX I. Sir Ramaswami Ayyar, in the Assembly, on 6th September 1927 -	92
ANNEX II. Lord Lytton, in the Assembly, on 20th September 1927 -	94
ANNEX III. Sir Ramaswami Ayyar, in the Assembly, on 20th September 1927 -	96
ANNEX IV. Sir Fazl-i-Husain, in the Second Committee, on 13th September 1927 -	96
ANNEX V. Sir Fazl-i-Husain, in the Second Committee, on 16th September 1927 -	97
ANNEX VI. Sir Fazl-i-Husain, in the Second Committee, on 16th September 1927 -	98
ANNEX VII. Sir Ramaswami Ayyar, in the Second Committee, on 16th September 1927 -	99
ANNEX VIII. Lord Lytton, in the Second Committee, on 17th September 1927 -	99
ANNEX IX. Sir Fazl-i-Husain, in the Second Committee, on 20th September 1927 -	100
ANNEX X. Sir Ramaswami Ayyar, in the Second Committee, on 21st September 1927 -	100
ANNEX XI. Lord Lytton, in the Third Committee, on 16th September 1927 -	101
ANNEX XII. Sir Ramaswami Ayyar, in the Fourth Committee, on 12th September 1927 -	102
ANNEX XIII. Sir Ramaswami Ayyar, in the Fourth Committee, on 17th September 1927 -	102
ANNEX XIV. His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, in the Sixth Committee, on 13th September 1927 -	103
ANNEX XV. Sir B. K. Mullick, in the Sixth Committee, on 14th September 1927 -	103

APPENDIX I.

List of States represented and their Delegates. (Many Delegations were also accompanied by Expert Advisers.)

- ABYSSINIA.**—His Excellency Count Lagarde, Duc d'Entotto (Minister Plenipotentiary, Diplomatic Representative of the Ethiopian Empire accredited to the League of Nations).
Special Delegation.—His Excellency le Badjeronde Zellaka (Minister for Finance and Commerce). Ato Woldé Maryam.
- ALBANIA.**—His Excellency M. Ilias Vrioni (former Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Djemil Dino (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome).
- AUSTRALIA.**—The Right Hon. Sir George Foster Pearce, K.C.V.O. (Senator, Vice-President of the Executive Council, Commonwealth of Australia). Major-Gen. the Hon. Sir Granville de Laune Ryrie, K.C.M.G., C.B. (High Commissioner in London). The Hon. Thomas John Ley, M.P. (Member of the House of Representatives).
Substitutes.—Sir William Harrison Moore, K.B.E., C.M.G., LL.D., B.A. Mrs. I. H. Moss.
- AUSTRIA.**—His Excellency M. Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein (former Ambassador). His Excellency M. Emerich Pflügl (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Austrian Representative accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency Dr. Leo Di Pauli (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the Swiss Confederation).
Substitute.—Dr. Markus Leitmaier (Ministerial Councillor).
- BELGIUM.**—His Excellency M. Emile Vandervelde (Minister for Foreign Affairs). (During M. Vandervelde's stay at Geneva, M. Janson acted as substitute delegate.) M. Louis de Brouckère (Senator, Professor at the University of Brussels). Viscount P. Poulet (Minister of State, Member and former President of the House of Representatives, former Prime Minister, Professor of International Law and Diplomatic History at the Louvain University). M. P.-E. Janson (Member of the House of Representatives, former Minister for National Defence, former President of the Order of Advocates at the Brussels Court of Appeal).
Substitutes.—M. Fr. van Cauwelaert (Member of the House of Representatives, Burgomaster of the City of Antwerp). M. J. Mclot (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Belgian League of Nations Office). M. Henri Rolin (Barrister at the Brussels Court of Appeal, Assistant Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. O. Louwers (Colonial Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).
- BRITISH EMPIRE.**—The Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., M.P. (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). The Right Hon. the Earl of Onslow, C.B.E. (Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for War). Sir Cecil James Barrington Hurst, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C. (Principal Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office).
Substitutes.—The Right Hon. Sir Edward Hilton Young, G.B.E., D.S.O., D.S.C., M.P. Major Walter Elliot, M.C., M.P. (Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Scotland). The Hon. Dame Edith Lytton, D.B.E.
- BULGARIA.**—His Excellency M. Athanas D. Bouroff (Minister for Foreign Affairs and Public Worship). His Excellency M. Wladimir Molloff (Finance Minister).
Substitute.—M. Dimitri Mikoff (Chargé d'Affaires in Switzerland, Permanent Bulgarian Representative accredited to the League of Nations).
- CANADA.**—The Hon. Raoul Dandurand, C.R., C.P., LL.D. (Senator, Member of the Privy Council for Canada, Minister of State, Representative of the Government in the Senate). The Hon. Charles A. Stewart, P.C. (Minister of the Interior, Member of the Privy Council for Canada). Mr. O. D. Skelton, M.A., Ph.D. (Under Secretary of State for External Affairs).
Substitutes.—The Hon. Philippe Roy, C.P., M.D. (former Senator, Member of the Privy Council for Canada, Commissioner-General in France). Mr. Walter A. Riddell, M.A., Ph.D. (Dominion of Canada Advisory Officer accredited to the League of Nations).
- CHILE.**—His Excellency M. Enrique Villegas (Ambassador at Rome, former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chilean Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Armando Quezada (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, former Prime Minister, former Finance Minister). His Excellency M. Pedro F. Iñiguez (Minister Plenipotentiary, former Minister for Justice and Education, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies).
Substitute and Secretary-General.—His Excellency M. Jorge Valdés-Mendeville (Minister at Berne, Head of the Permanent Secretariat accredited to the League of Nations).
Substitute and Expert.—Dr. Luis Calvo Mackenna (Member of the League of Nations Committee of Experts on Infant Mortality).
- CHINA.**—His Excellency Dr. Ouang Ting Tchang (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary Chinese Representative on the Council of the League of Nations).
- COLOMBIA.**—His Excellency Dr. Francisco José Urrutia (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former President of the Senate, Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). His Excellency Dr. Antonio José Restrepo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Senator, Permanent Colombian Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).
Substitute.—Dr. Efraín Gaitán-Hurtado (former Director of the Diplomatic Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

PARAGUAY.—Dr. Ramon V. Caballero (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris).

PERSIA.—His Highness Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi (former Prime Minister, former First President of the Court of Cassation, former President of the Persian Parliament). His Excellency Hussein Khan Alâ (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister). His Excellency Mostafa Gholi Khan Kémal-Hédayat (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, former Minister).

Substitutes.—Dr. P. Kitabgi Khan (Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, former Professor at the School of Political Sciences at Teheran). Colonel D. W. MacCormack (Director of Internal Revenues at the Ministry for Finance).

POLAND.—His Excellency M. Auguste Zaleski (Minister for Foreign Affairs). (During his absence from Geneva, M. Zaleski was replaced by M. Sokal.) His Excellency M. François Sokal (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Hipolit Gliwic (former Minister of Commerce and Industry). His Excellency M. Henri Strasburger (Minister Plenipotentiary, Commissioner-General at Danzig).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Jean de Modzelewski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). Professor Michel Rostworowski (Dean of the University of Cracow, Member of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague).

PORTUGAL.—His Excellency Dr. Bettencourt Rodrigues (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Augusto de Vasconcellos (former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Portuguese League of Nations Service). His Excellency General Alfredo Freire d'Andrade (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Governor-General of Mozambique).

Substitute and Secretary-General.—His Excellency Dr. Antonio Maria Bartholomeu Ferreira (Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

ROUMANIA.—His Excellency M. Nicolas Titulesco (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Nicolas Lupu (Minister of Labour, Co-operation and Public Assistance). His Excellency M. Nicolas Petresco Comnène (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate at the League of Nations).

Deputy Delegate.—M. Mircea Djuvara (Professor at the University of Bucharest, Deputy in the Roumanian Parliament).

Substitutes.—Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco (Member of the Roumanian Academy, Roumanian Delegate to the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation in Paris). M. Sextile Puscariu (Professor at the University of Cluj).

SALVADOR.—His Excellency Dr. J. Gustavo Guerrero (Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France and Italy).

SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES, KINGDOM OF THE.—His Excellency Dr. Voislav Marinkovitch (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Assistant Delegates.—His Excellency M. Milan Rakitch (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome). His Excellency M. Djordje Djouritch (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London). M. Konstantin Fotitch (Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—M. M. Straznitsky (Doctor of Law, Professor at the University of Zagreb). M. Leonidis Pitamic (Professor at the University of Ljubljana).

SIAM.—His Highness Prince Charoon (Minister in Paris). His Highness Prince Varnvaidya (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London and Brussels).

SOUTH AFRICA.—Mr. J. S. Smit (High Commissioner in London). Mr. Charles Isaac Pienaar (Commissioner of Commerce for the Union of South Africa on the Continent of Europe, Milan). Professor Edgar Harry Brookes, M.A., D.Litt. (S.A.) (Professor at Transvaal University College, Pretoria).

SWEDEN.—His Excellency M. Jonas Eliel Löfgren (Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. R. J. Sandler (Senator, former Prime Minister). M. A. F. Vennersten (Senator, former Finance Minister).

Assistant Delegates and Experts.—Dr. T. M. Höjer (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Oslo). M. E. Hennings (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). Mme. Anna Bugge-Wicksell (Master of Law). M. E. C. Boheman (Head of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

SWITZERLAND.—His Excellency M. Giuseppe Motta (President of the Swiss Confederation, Head of the Federal Political Department). Colonel Beat Henri Bolli (Member of the Council of States). M. Emile Louis Gaudard (National Councillor).

Substitute.—M. Walther Bueckhardt (Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Berne)

URUGUAY.—His Excellency Dr. Alberto Guani (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). His Excellency Dr. Julio Bastos (Minister of the High Court of Justice, Montevideo). His Excellency Don Pedro Cosío (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin).

Substitutes.—Dr. Alfredo de Castro (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). M. Hector R. Gomez (Member of the House of Representatives). Dr. Alberto Dominguez Cámpora (Head of the League of Nations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

VENEZUELA.—His Excellency M. César Zumeta (former Minister for the Interior, former Senator, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris and Berne). His Excellency M. Diógenes Escalante (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London). His Excellency M. C. Parra-Pérez (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome).

Substitute.—His Excellency M. Julio Sardi (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Lisbon)

APPENDIX II.

Reports of Committees to the Assembly, &c.

ANNEX I.—*Report of the First Committee on the question of Accessions to International Agreements given subject to Ratification.* (Rapporteur: M. Motta, Switzerland.)

The Assembly has asked the opinion of the First Committee on the question which was submitted to it by the Council in consequence of the report of the Polish delegate which it adopted on 8th March 1927, dealing with accessions to international agreements given subject to ratification.

The First Committee appointed a Sub-Committee composed of M. Motta (Switzerland), His Highness Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi (Persia), Count Rostworowski (Poland), M. Guerrero (Salvador) and Mr. Skelton (Canada).

The Sub-Committee adopted the following report, to which the First Committee gave its approval, on 21st September. The First Committee recommends the Assembly to adopt the resolution proposed in this Report.

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE.

The Sub-Committee appointed by the First Committee to study the question of accessions to international agreements given subject to ratification met at the Secretariat of the League of Nations at 10 a.m. on the 16th of this month. It elected me as Chairman and at the same time asked me to submit its report.

The Sub-Committee considered the consequences involved by an accession to an international agreement given subject to ratification, a question submitted to the Assembly as a result of the Council's adoption last March of a report by the Polish delegate.

The Sub-Committee made a distinction in particular between accession pure and simple, as understood in the established practice, and exercising its full effects as soon as notified, and accession given subject to ratification, which is a more recent practice.

While considering that the former practice should in any case be maintained, the Sub-Committee observed, nevertheless, that the new practice offered advantages in certain cases. There are, in fact, Governments which, having been unable to sign an agreement within the time-limit fixed, would nevertheless be glad to accede thereto subject to ratification.

The list submitted to the Sub-Committee by the Secretariat shows that this procedure is nearly always followed by the same Members of the League, and that several of them have followed up their accession by ratification.

In view of those facts, the Sub-Committee came to the conclusion that the procedure of accession given subject to ratification should be accepted, but that the practice should not be either encouraged or discouraged. So as to enable the States parties to an international agreement to know with what Governments they are pledged, it is necessary to establish a system precluding all doubt as to the scope of the undertaking entered into by an acceding State.

The Sub-Committee would therefore advise the First Committee to take the line that the obligation should be presumed to be final when a State does not, when notifying accession, expressly mention that it is subject to ratification.

The Sub-Committee also studied the effect which the new practice might have on the League's publications, and it came to the conclusion that it would be advisable to introduce in the accessions column of the list published by the Secretariat a subdivision clearly showing which accessions are final and which are still subject to ratification.

In view of the foregoing, the Sub-Committee recommends the First Committee to propose to the Assembly a Resolution on the following lines. (For text of Resolution adopted, see page 13.)

ANNEX II.—*Report of the First Committee on the Progressive Codification of International Law.* (Rapporteur: M. Politis, Greece.)

The First Committee appointed a Sub-Committee to study the various questions referred to the Committee by the Assembly in connection with the work of the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law.

The Sub-Committee was composed of M. Rolin (Belgium), Sir Cecil Hurst (British Empire), M. Politis (Greece), Dr. Limburg (Netherlands), Dr. Caballero (Paraguay), Count Rostworowski (Poland), M. Guerrero (Salvador) and M. Löfgren (Sweden).

The Sub-Committee adopted a report which was approved, with slight modifications, by the First Committee on 23rd September 1927.

The First Committee submits this report to the Assembly and recommends the adoption by the Assembly of the Resolution proposed therein.

REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE FIRST COMMITTEE ON BEHALF OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE.

Your Sub-Committee has very carefully examined the documents forwarded by the Council to the Assembly, and it has reached the following conclusions, which it has the honour to submit for your approval.

The Committee of Experts appointed by the Council in pursuance of the Assembly resolution of 22nd September 1924, for the progressive codification of international law, having completed the first stage of its discussions, submitted a report to the Council on 2nd April 1927. In its annual sessions of 1925-7, it has performed the mission entrusted to it with a zeal, conscientiousness and ability which deserve unqualified praise. The Assembly will no doubt wish to associate itself with the tribute of thanks already paid by the Council to the distinguished Chairman, and the *Rapporteurs* and members of the Committee.

The Committee recommended to the Council five subjects of international law which, in some of their aspects, are, in its opinion, now ripe for regulation by international action, and stated what it

These three proposals appear to be fully justified. Nevertheless, whilst the putting into practice of the first and second of these proposals would not impose any fresh charge on the budget of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, the third, if it were carried out, would involve a considerable increase in this budget. It would perhaps be advisable, to begin with, to approve only the first two proposals and to authorise the creation of the Educational Information Centre and also the meeting of the Sub-Committee of Experts, as at present constituted, at intervals which should be determined by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

The Council, after examining the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation on 2nd September 1927, did not take any formal decision on the proposals of the Sub-Committee of Experts. It merely put forward suggestions by which we might be guided with regard to the future work of the Sub-Committee of Experts.

"The Sub-Committee," said the Council, "might be convened by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation when the latter thought it desirable. In the intervals between plenary meetings of the Sub-Committee, its Chairman might, if an important question should arise, summon a small committee consisting of some of the members of the Sub-Committee. This small committee would investigate all questions requiring urgent consideration. It would be composed of those members of the Sub-Committee who were more especially qualified to deal with the particular question involved.

"The small committee might be convened by the Chairman of the Sub-Committee after consultation with the Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. As a general rule, the report of the small committee would be laid before the plenary meeting of the Sub-Committee, except in particularly urgent cases, when it might first be sent direct to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation."

The four Sub-Committees of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation have continued their work this year and have followed the same cautious and accurate methods as in the past. They have always taken advantage of existing national activities, and their efforts have led more frequently to the co-ordination of existing organisations than to the creation of new international bodies. The International Museums Office, which was founded by the Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters, and the Co-ordination Service of National Information Offices attached to Libraries, which was founded by the Sub-Committee for Scientific Relations, are based on the same principles.

It is to the initiative of the first of these bodies that we are indebted for the agreement between the Chalcographical Institutions of Madrid, Paris and Rome, the exhibitions held simultaneously in these cities and at present at Geneva, the publication of various booklets for the use of persons interested in questions of mnseography and information on art, &c.

Most of the problems with which the Sub-Committees have had to deal during the recent session were not taken up by them for the first time. They had already been under consideration and their solution called for extensive and thorough investigation, and for meetings of experts and specialists. The Committee has worked without haste, but with no unnecessary delay. For example, in the important sphere of the co-ordination of the bibliography of the various sciences, it has found a practical formula for the organisation of certain subjects in an agreement between those concerned—those who prepare and those who make use of bibliographies. This is true of the economic sciences. In other departments, such as that of biology, progress is being made and there is every reason to believe that important practical results will be obtained.

There are still difficulties in the way of carrying out these useful proposals. These difficulties are mainly financial, and the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has commended this aspect of the problem to our notice. It is to be hoped that the Committee's appeal will be heard, and that these obstacles may be overcome thanks to grants from the international and national associations concerned, and perhaps also to private generosity.

The same difficulties threaten the existence of the Office for Annual Tables of Constants and Mathematical Quantities. The International Committee dealing with this matter is struggling under adverse conditions with difficulties which have become more serious since the war. Governments, scientific bodies and industrial circles are alike interested in the continuation of the work of the Committee for the Annual Tables of Constants.

The Assembly, like the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, considers that it is essential to provide the Committee for the Annual Tables with the support and resources required to enable it to continue its work. It desires to recommend it to the friendly consideration of Governments, learned bodies and industrial circles.

As regards University relations, the Committee is gratified with the results obtained from the meetings, held under its auspices, of the representatives of the international students' associations and of the Directors of National University Offices. It also considered how the *Bulletin* issued by the University Relations Section of the Institute might be made as useful and interesting as the financial conditions governing its publication permit.

In connection with intellectual rights, two questions in particular have continued to claim the Committee's attention—scientific property, and improvements in the existing convention on copyright. After an enquiry extending over five years, the Committee believes that the period of investigation is at an end and that it may convene a committee of experts for the former question. It would be the task of this committee to prepare a draft convention, taking into account the observations so far submitted and the enquiry conducted by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in the various circles concerned. The work undertaken by the Committee as a result of Senato Ruffini's proposal might thus lead to the conclusion of an international convention to protect and reward scientists and their discoveries.

The organisation of the Congress for Popular Arts has engrossed much of the activity of the Arts section of the Institute. This Congress, which has been carefully prepared, will take place at Prague in the autumn of 1928. The Czechoslovak Government has kindly offered to provide for a part of the necessary expenses. The Congress has aroused the keenest interest in most countries, and especially in Central and Eastern Europe. Invitations to the Congress will be sent to the Governments and organisations interested by a Committee composed of members appointed by the Czechoslovak Government, representatives of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation appointed by its chairman

and of representatives of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, as well as delegates from the Preparatory Committee of the Congress.

A new scheme has been put forward which would make a very suitable supplement to this work. The town of Berne has informed the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation that it is willing to organise an Exhibition of Popular Arts for 1931 or 1932. The Committee has noted this proposal with the greatest pleasure, and I think I am expressing the sentiments of the Assembly in congratulating the town of Berne on its generous proposal. Moreover, I am sure that the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, as well as the Secretariat of the Committee, will do all they can to facilitate the carrying out of this scheme.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has once more noted the importance of National Committees, and the extent to which their work facilitates the relations between the Committee itself and the intellectual centres of the various countries.

It has also said how advisable it would be to promote and encourage these committees by giving them moral and, if possible, material support. The Assembly of the League of Nations has more than once shown its interest in these organisations, whose influence is steadily extending, and which now form a network covering not only most European countries, but also States in other continents.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has very rightly taken a keen interest in the international movement which for some time past has developed in regard to the important problem of the cinematograph in its relation to general education and the development of the artistic sense.

Having noted the findings of the Congress of Paris of 1926 and the Congress of Basle of 1927, the Committee has authorised the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to continue its study of this question, to support the work of the International Committee for Educational and Social Welfare Films, and to keep in touch with all institutions and national and provincial centres which are interested in this question.

The Committee has noted with satisfaction the setting up of a Committee of Intellectual Workers attached to the International Labour Office. It has asked M. Destrée and Professor Einstein to represent it on this Committee.

The plenary Committee, sitting in its capacity of Governing Body, has examined the report of the Director of the Institute concerning last year's financial situation, as well as a report by M. de Reynold in the name of the Committee of Directors.

The Committee learned that it had been possible to balance the Institute's budget for 1928, thanks to the grants which were added from various sources to the French Government's grant. The Governing Body notes with regret, however, that the Institute's resources are still far from adequate for the carrying out of its entire programme.

The Second Committee requests the Assembly to approve its report on the work of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation and to adopt the following Resolutions. (For text of Resolutions adopted see page 18.)

ANNEX V.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Settlement of Bulgarian Refugees.* (Rapporteur: Major Elliot, British Empire.)

During the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly, the Second Committee had before it the initial stages of the League scheme for the settlement of some 32,000 Bulgarian refugee families. The general plan of work had been drawn up, the machinery to some extent organised, and the work had been started by means of a small advance pending the final negotiations for the loan necessary to put the scheme into full operation.

We can now consider the full year's work and note with gratification the progress achieved. In the first place, it is satisfactory to record the successful flotation of the Bulgarian Refugee Loan. London, New York, Italy, Switzerland and Holland subscribed for bonds bearing 7 per cent. interest and redeemable not later than 1967. The price of issue to the public was 92 per cent. and a total sum of approximately two and a quarter million pounds sterling was made available for the settlement of refugees.

The quarterly reports of the Commissioner of the League of Nations, M. Charron, show that the yield of the revenue assigned for the security of the loan, while not up to the estimates contained in the Bulgarian budget, have nevertheless been amply sufficient to cover several times over the sums required for the service of the loan. It is gratifying to note that there has been a progressive improvement in the yield of the assigned revenues and that yet further steps are being taken to accentuate this tendency.

As regards matters of organisation, the Bulgar Government is to be congratulated on the success with which it has centralised all its refugee services under the able direction of M. Sarafoff, whose energetic co-operation has been a feature of the work of the last year. A wise step has been taken in securing the advice of Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co. as to the system of accounting adopted, which has thus been placed on thoroughly sound lines.

It will be recalled that an essential feature of the scheme, embodied in Article 8 of the Protocol of 8th September 1926, was the provision by the Bulgarian Government of 132,000 hectares of suitable land free from any encumbrance. Legal difficulties in the acquisition by the State of unencumbered title to the land required have caused certain delays, but these have already been obviated to a considerable extent by a special law passed by the Bulgarian Government. Further delays have been caused by technical difficulties as to maps and surveys, but these are gradually disappearing owing to the excellent work of the Geographical Institute of Bulgaria, to which M. Charron pays a special tribute in his reports.

These difficulties in providing the land have necessarily made the progress of the work of building houses in which the refugees can be installed somewhat slow, but the fourth report of the League of Nations Commissioner shows that we may hope for a great intensification of activity in building houses in the near future. Considerable progress has been made in the distribution to the refugees of seeds, agricultural implements and cattle.

Other difficulties have been faced and appropriate measures taken to meet them. The original plans for the drainage of marshes have, upon close technical examination, been found to need revision, which has been undertaken. The League owes a very great debt of gratitude indeed to the distinguished Italian engineer, Signor Fornari, for his invaluable co-operation in this matter.

Similarly with regard to malaria. The well-known Dutch scientist, Professor Swellengrebel, in concert with the Health Section of the League, has rendered services of inestimable value, and, in accordance with his recommendations, a competent medical service has been set up and a suitable organisation started to undertake anti-malarial work.

Plans have been drawn up or are in course of preparation for as much work on roads and railways as is permitted by the amount of funds at present available. It is to be hoped that substantial progress will be made in this direction during the coming year.

It is particularly gratifying to record that, owing to the determination of all parties concerned, the problems which might have arisen out of the settlement of refugees in districts near the land frontiers of Bulgaria have in all cases been solved. A high tribute is to be paid to the spirit of co-operation in which the Bulgarian Government and the neighbour States have acted in this matter.

We can therefore record the successful inception of this scheme, and if in many directions unforeseen difficulties have arisen, we can look with satisfaction upon the courage and resolution with which they have been faced and the prospect of success in overcoming them. This has meant arduous work for all concerned, but we can confidently count on the energy and initiative of the Bulgarian Government and of the servants of the League, under the inspiring leadership of the Commissioner, M. Charron, whose skill and devotion have been beyond praise. We can rest assured that they will spare no effort to add still another to the achievements of reconstruction which the League regards with such justifiable pride.

I have the honour to propose to the Assembly the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 22.)

ANNEX VI.—*Report of the Second Committee on the results of the Mission carried out in certain Latin-American Countries by the President of the Health Committee.*
(Rapporteur: Professor L. C. MacKenna, Chile.)

Although a recent development, the participation of the League of Nations in the public health activities of South America already promises to be fruitful. Preventive medicine, by its very nature, embraces the entire human race and recognises no nationalities or frontiers; and the work of the Health Organisation, as approved by the Assembly, is of fundamental importance. Countries which geographically are far distant from the seat of the League of Nations realise this more than others, and recognise in this high tribunal the most generous of collaborators and the most competent of advisers.

The problems of infant mortality were the main object of the journey to Latin America of the President of the Health Committee, Professor T. Madsen, and of the Medical Director, Dr. Rajchman. They were to attend the meeting of the International Group of Experts in Child Welfare held at Montevideo last June to study the medico-social causes of infant mortality in Latin-American countries. Moreover, their powers of observation gave them deep insight into general health conditions. Suggestions were submitted, and several plans of real continental importance were proposed. The League of Nations, in agreement with the Governments concerned, may be able to transform these plans into great realities. A reference to these plans will be made later.

1. The campaign against infant mortality is of special importance to Latin-American countries. If one considers the great area of certain of these countries and their sparse population, the importance of the loss in human capital caused by high infant mortality rates will be appreciated. How much greater the prosperity of these nations might be if the population increased more rapidly and thus facilitated the growth of its industries, agriculture and commerce.

On this continent, as elsewhere, it was primarily private enterprise which created numerous organisations for child welfare. These organisations have steadily become more efficient, and to-day they are trying to fill the role of public health and social institutions. Nevertheless, in spite of the modernisation of their programmes of work, they are still too widely scattered and their activities lack support and cohesion.

Moreover, they were not all designed for the handling of large problems: they have been engaged in dealing with immediate dangers of obvious urgency. These considerations, together with other similar ones, explain the enthusiasm with which the Latin-American experts responded to the invitation of the League of Nations and attended the Conference at Montevideo.

Delegates of Argentine, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay were thus enabled to make a detailed study of their national problems relating to child welfare, and, approving the procedure accepted by their European colleagues, they adopted plans for investigations which are to be carried out in 1928. The purpose of this study will be to determine with the greatest possible exactitude the main medical and social causes, both of still-births and of infant mortality. As in the case of the investigations in Europe, it was considered necessary to carry out these investigations in both urban and rural areas, comprising localities with high and low mortality rates in both groups. It is thus hoped to arrive at conclusions on which it will be possible to base, as rapidly and widely as possible, effective prophylactic measures against infant diseases.

In order to obtain results that can be compared as between the different countries, it is obvious that uniformity of method is essential. It was therefore decided to propose that the member of the Health Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations who is responsible for co-ordinating the investigations in Europe should undertake a similar work in the Latin-American countries.

It was also decided to convene the Latin-American experts during the first half of the year 1928 for an exchange of views on the results that will by then have been obtained and on the possibility of improving the method of enquiry.

It is interesting to recall in this connection that the Montevideo meeting was the first conference held by the League of Nations in a Latin-American country, and it is gratifying to note that the

inauguration of the work of this Conference was made the occasion of an official ceremony in the presence of His Excellency the President of the Republic and presided over by the Minister of Industry. These circumstances show the importance which the Government of Uruguay attributed to this Conference.

2. Thanks to the initiative of the Health Committee of the League of Nations, the lot of the Latin-American child will certainly be much improved when each country has determined, with a view to remedying them, the main social-medical causes of infant mortality in its urban centres and rural districts. But the practical application of these measures and their success are directly dependent on the quality and the degree of training of the staff which will be entrusted with their execution and supervision. Mindful, no doubt, of such considerations as these, Professor Araoz Alfaro, member of the League Health Committee, has suggested, with the support of the Argentine Government, the establishment at Buenos Ayres, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of an international health centre for infant welfare. It would provide training facilities for a staff capable of dealing in an efficient fashion with child welfare in Latin-American countries.

This school would also co-ordinate the work of the various magnificent institutions which have been established in the Argentine capital by the State and the municipality with the work of private organisations and of the very remarkable Welfare Society. It would be placed under the presidency of the Argentine member of the Health Committee, who could submit to the Health Committee an annual report dealing with the activity of the school during the past year and the programme of studies for the coming year. But since education is only one stage in developing the practical work to be done, the Argentine Federal Health Authorities desire at the same time to establish dispensaries and welfare centres in those provinces where infant mortality remains relatively high and which receive immigrants from overseas. For this purpose the Federal Authorities are counting on the support of the provincial governments and municipalities.

It would also be possible to profit by the so-called system of interchanges of public health personnel, which is well known to the Assembly and the usefulness of which has been described in remarkable fashion by the honourable delegate from British India, to give the Argentine undertaking an international character. If scholarships could be granted to Latin-American doctors of countries other than the Argentine to enable them to follow the course of higher education which would be given at the centre in question, and also to pass a period of training in the treatment and prevention stations, and if experts from other countries could be invited by the Health Committee to give courses of lectures or to study there, a real centre for international technical collaboration might be established.

Perhaps one day some other Latin-American country may offer to create a centre complementary to that proposed by the Argentine authorities, for it is important that the public health experts who deal with infant welfare should be effectively supported not only by visiting nurses but also by social workers. If in the future a social welfare school could be of service in a Latin-American capital, and if this could be in Chile, the delegation of this country would be very pleased to ensure, by means of the school established at Santiago, fruitful collaboration with the Health Committee of the League.

3. The work of the Health Committee could be still further turned to advantage by the Latin-American countries if the League of Nations could take under its auspices the higher education in health, which was organised two years ago at Rio de Janeiro, and so endow it with the same international character as the courses organised this year by the Health Committee in Paris and London. This school could be based on the magnificent Research Institute founded by Oswaldo Cruz at Rio de Janeiro and directed with so much scientific ability by Professor Carlos Chagas, member of the Health Committee of the League of Nations.

The training of public health experts and of a health staff is essential to the economic development of Latin-American countries. Public health is not only the technical application of modern experience in preventive medicine; it is also the improvement of the conditions of economic life. Public health officers are pioneers who ensure the exploitation of wealth and enable people to enjoy the natural resources with which they are richly endowed.

The Assembly will thus readily understand the capital importance of giving this national army of "scouts" an adequate technical training—a training which can only be provided by institutions of recognised technical standing. Numerous public health specialists from Latin America have already profited by the interchange system of the League, and approximately 42 of them, belonging to 15 different countries, holding League of Nations scholarships, have been able to study in North America and in various European countries.

The Brazilian proposal would enable other Latin American countries to benefit by the excellent training given by the Oswaldo Cruz Institute and the experience it has already acquired. It will probably not be possible for the Health Committee to invite many lecturers to assist in the instruction given there, as it has been able to do in the case of the health courses in Paris and London, but one or two foreign technical experts might be appointed to co-operate for a few months in Rio with the Latin-American staff, and here again, as in the case of the Argentine centre, scholarships might enable Latin-American doctors to derive a large amount of benefit from these courses.

4. The Assembly will also be interested to learn that Professor Carlos Chagas and Dr. Clementino Fraga, Director of the Brazilian Federal Public Health Service, have suggested that an International Leprosy Research Centre should be established under the auspices of the League.

The problem of leprosy has engaged the attention of the Health Committee for some years, and the efforts made in Northern European countries to combat this disease have been crowned with remarkable success. The road which several Eastern and many Latin-American countries have still to travel is an arduous one. The task obviously devolves upon the national authorities, but investigations into the causes of the spread of the disease demand the assistance of all and real co-operation between scientists of all countries. This task affords an excellent opportunity for defining international action and the extent of national effort. If the Health Organisation is able to obtain the co-operation of the great scientists of other countries in the research work already undertaken in Latin-American countries, it will have made a real contribution to the solution of one

of the most difficult problems which the health administrations of the countries are called upon to solve.

It is necessary to add that a Brazilian philanthropist—Dr. Guillermo Guinle—is prepared to contribute a sum of 50,000 Swiss francs a year towards the creation of a leprosy research centre. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the Federal Government of Brazil would take a deep interest in the new development of public health under the auspices of the League of Nations.

5. The comparative researches into the sero-diagnosis of syphilis in Europe, initiated by the Health Committee, and the practical results already obtained, might be extended to Latin-American countries. The Institute of Hygiene of the State of São Paulo is willing to make this possible and has already earmarked in its budget a sum sufficient to provide the salary for one year of a serologist to be appointed by the Health Committee of the League of Nations. As soon as these investigations have been begun in Brazil, they might be extended to other Latin-American countries; a step forward would thus be taken in the campaign against this social scourge.

6. Thanks to the League's mission, co-operation between the sanitary administration of Uruguay and the Mixed Commission of the Health Committee now studying health insurance in Europe has been assured. The National Council of the Uruguayan Ministry, in agreement with the Ministry of Industry, has decided to accept this co-operation in principle. The President of the National Council of Hygiene of Uruguay is prepared to visit Europe in order to follow more closely the work of the Mixed Commission and to introduce into his country all the necessary elements for the working of the new system of health insurance.

7. The Mission of the Health Committee arrived in Latin America accompanied by Professor Saiki, Director of the Imperial Institute for Research on Nutrition in Japan. Professor Saiki was the first of those who participated in the exchange of professors organised by the League of Nations to visit Latin America. The important science of nutrition, which Professor Saiki has made his own—a science which deals with the problem of nutrition in its physiological, hygienic and economic aspects—was the subject of numerous remarkable lectures given by him in various cities of the Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay. The Chilean Government and the health authorities of that country, recognising the practical and social importance of the science of nutrition, have arranged to engage for the period of two years a Japanese expert from the Imperial Institute of Tokyo, of which Professor Saiki is the head, for the purpose of organising similar services in the Central Health Department in Chile.

The Assembly will doubtless agree that the most interesting examples given of practical co-operation of the League of Nations with Latin-American countries call for technical investigation into the possibilities of realisation. The investigation of those various schemes should be entrusted to the Health Committee, and the Assembly will perhaps agree to request the Council to place the matter in the hands of the Health Committee as soon as possible.

After arranging for the technical investigation, it is still necessary to consider the general question as to whether the various possibilities of co-operation which have been examined represent a suitable method for extending the technical work of the League of Nations in Latin-American countries. The essential problem for these countries is their development, for which healthy population and measures to safeguard the life of every new-born child are essential. The Assembly has thus an opportunity of giving clear proof of the desire of the League of Nations to co-operate in this work of fundamental importance, by facilitating the realisation of the schemes just placed before it.

It is sometimes said that the influence of the League of Nations is in inverse ratio to the distance which separates the States from Geneva. Thanks to the various suggestions brought back by the Mission of the Health Committee in Latin America, the Assembly now has an opportunity to create a living image of the League of Nations in the very heart of Latin-American countries and to establish tangible and definite bonds with the League and its Health Committee.

In conclusion, I have the honour, on behalf of the Second Committee, to propose the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 16.)

ANNEX VII.—Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Health Organisation. (Rapporteur: Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, India.)

The reports presented to this Assembly concerning the work of the Health Organisation of the League furnish a record of progress that is gratifying. It is not necessary to attempt any description of the routine work of that Organisation. The scope and objects of this work have been fully described in reports to this and to previous Assemblies. Attention should, however, be directed to a few aspects of the work of special interest at the present time.

Since the last Assembly a new Health Committee has been appointed. A welcome innovation has been the appointment of expert assessors, who take part in the work of the Committee in an advisory capacity. The appointment of assessors from countries as far distant from Geneva as Australia and Japan is further evidence of the tendency towards universality of the work of the Health Organisation, which received favourable comment during our meetings last year.

The past year has seen a still further development of the Bureau of Epidemiological intelligence at Singapore. The work of this Bureau has now become of administrative interest and importance, not only to countries in the East, where the benefits are obvious, but also to all the many other countries having commercial relations with the East. Weekly telegraphic reports concerning the health conditions in no less than 137 ports of Asia, Australasia and the East Coast of Africa are despatched to the Bureau, and this information is broadcast throughout this area from an increased number of wireless telegraph stations. Movements of epidemic disease can thus be watched and studied and measures taken in advance to repel invasion of infection.

The permanence of the Singapore Bureau, it is submitted, should be assured by the League, whose authorities should ensure its adequate financing. Especially worthy of remembrance is the

circumstance that the activities of this Organisation form the chief visible link between Eastern countries and the League Organisation. That those countries—some of whom, like India, are large contributors to the general budget—appreciate this aspect of the League's work is evident from their close co-operation with its labours. Thus, for instance, India is represented on the Health Committee, to the mutual advantage, it is hoped, of India and of the Health Organisation itself. The Government of India, which welcomes his appointment, has not only sent Colonel Graham, its representative, to attend the meeting in January, but is also co-operating by broadcasting the Bureau's weekly epidemiological reports.

The weekly distribution of the Singapore and other current epidemiological information of importance from the wireless station at Nauen in Germany is a still more recent development which proved of very great assistance to administrations in Europe and elsewhere during the influenza epidemic of the early months of this year. During the course of that outbreak all European Health Administrations furnished the Health Organisation with weekly telegraphic summaries of the progress of the epidemic, which information was broadcast twice a week from the Nauen station. The demonstration thus afforded of the capabilities of our Health Organisation to supply prompt and reliable information in the event of the appearance of serious epidemic disease has occasioned much favourable comment.

It is gratifying to know that a way has been found of utilising the efficient epidemiological intelligence work of the Health Organisation, including that of the Singapore Bureau, in discharging the obligations imposed on the Office international d'Hygiène publique and on signatory Governments by the International Sanitary Convention of 1926.

Reference should also be made to the further agreement concluded between the Permanent Committee of the Office international d'Hygiène publique and the Health Committee, with the object of securing still closer co-ordination of the work of these two bodies.

The recent termination of the work of the International Sleeping-Sickness Commission deserves more than passing notice. It is another striking example of the widespread nature of the Health Organisation's activities. The Commission has produced a report of very considerable scientific interest and importance and has been able to put forward suggestions for international co-operation, by the Administrations interested, in the control of this disease, whose prevention is of vital public health and economic importance to large territories in Africa.

This Assembly has heard much during previous years regarding the so-called interchanges of public health officers—a system whereby health officers of many countries have been able to profit by the experience of other countries in handling health problems that are important to all. The interchange, or study tour, that is to begin in Germany during the course of the present month has features of special interest, and will be attended by as many as 30 officers holding important positions in the health administrations of almost as many countries.

Following the example of the interchange held in Japan in 1925, one is being arranged in India with the active assistance of the central and local Governments, and great results are anticipated therefrom. It is hoped that the President of the Health Committee and the Director of the Health Section will be able to join the party so as to produce the best results both from the point of view of the League and of the localities concerned. It may not be out of place to emphasise that these interchanges furnish a conspicuous example of international co-operation and emphasise and carry into practice the ideals of universality embodied in the Covenant of the League. By this means and by the dissemination of intelligence as to epidemics and research into epidemics, the administrations and the peoples of distant countries are brought into close touch with the central Organisation of the League, and the mutual benefit derivable from the contacts thus established cannot be over-estimated.

An interesting development growing out of this system of study tours has been the organisation of international health courses. These courses last about seven weeks. They consist of lectures, discussions and practical demonstrations at which the working of public health and sanitary institutions and sanitary engineering plants are thoroughly explained. The subjects dealt with cover a large range, special prominence being given to public health problems of present-day importance and to recent development of public health science and research. These courses afford an opportunity to health officers belonging to many administrations of hearing the views of prominent experts regarding such matters. The first of such courses was held in Paris in the early months of this year, and a second course will be held in London in November and December. In Paris all the lectures were delivered in French; in London the course will be held in English.

The Malaria Commission has recently published a general report, which illustrates the value of this Commission's work to the many countries in which malaria is so prevalent a cause of ill-health. The Commission has made extensive tours throughout all countries in Europe in which malaria presents problems of public health importance, and in Syria and Palestine. Two members of the Commission have recently paid a visit to the United States of America. The opportunity afforded by these tours for discussion between the prominent experts forming the Commission and the malaria experts of the countries visited concerning problems of great local importance have been of the utmost value. The Health Committee continues to receive requests for advice concerning malaria problems, and through its Malaria Commission it has recently been able to render signal service to Bulgaria. The Government of India hopes that it may be possible for this Commission to visit India during the latter half of 1928, and it is confident that, if this invitation is accepted, every effort will be made by the various local Governments in India to make the visit interesting and helpful. Reference should also be made to the malaria courses that have been organised by the Health Organisation at the Faculty of Medicine, Paris, the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, and at the Institute of Maritime and Tropical Medicine, Hamburg. A laboratory course of some four weeks' duration at one or the other of these institutes is followed by two months' work in certain malaria districts of Italy, Spain and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes during which participants have an opportunity of seeing and taking part in anti-malaria work there being carried out. The expenses incurred by attendance at these malaria courses for a necessarily limited number of medical officers engaged in malaria work in Government employ in different countries is a charge against the Health Organisation budget, and an increasing number of applications received for attendance at these courses is evidence of their great utility.

Another excellent example of the manner in which a League technical organisation can secure collaboration in dealing with scientific problems is afforded by the International Rabies Conference, which was held in Paris in April last and wherein my country participated through two experts with practical experience of the subject. Hydrophobia, though nowhere an important cause of mortality in comparison with that occasioned by epidemic disease, is nevertheless in certain countries a problem of great practical importance. Since Pasteur discovered the preventive treatment that bears his name, institutes for the treatment of persons bitten by rabid animals have sprung up all over the world. In the course of time, modifications have been introduced into the treatment as instituted by Pasteur, so that at the present time very divergent methods are employed. The Conference arranged by the Health Organisation afforded the first opportunity there has been for directors of institutes from all parts of the world to meet and compare experiences of the results obtained with the various modifications of the original Pasteur method that are in use in their laboratories. The technical discussions that took place were of the greatest possible value, and the report of the Conference will be an authoritative statement regarding many difficult scientific problems and tend towards increased efficiency.

Reference should also be made to two important activities of the Health Organisation which originated in resolutions of the Assembly—enquiries into infant mortality and health insurance respectively.

Several aspects of the study of health insurance are of interest to the International Labour Office, and consequently the Expert Commission which is entrusted with this study consists of twelve members, half of which were nominated by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and half by the Health Committee. This Commission, at its first meeting in Geneva in April last, decided on a programme of enquiry into certain aspects of public health and social insurance, from the point of view of preventive medicine, in certain selected countries. The personnel charged with each of these enquiries is representative of both the public health and the social aspects of insurance. In view of the great interest with which questions of health insurance are being considered in many countries at the present time, the results of this study will be looked forward to with special interest.

The infant welfare enquiry is likewise in the hands of an Expert Commission nominated by the Health Committee, the members of which have been selected in view of their special competence in this branch of public health work. The enquiry that is now being carried out, on exactly comparable lines, in seven European countries (in areas with high and low infant mortality rates respectively, and in urban and rural districts) into the immediate and contributing causes of all infant deaths occurring in such areas is being extended to certain Latin-American countries on exactly comparable lines. The results of this investigation can hardly fail to contribute to a saving of life and to the betterment of the physical condition of generations yet to come.

The Second Committee also considered the recommendations adopted by the International Pacific Health Conference held in Melbourne in December 1926 relating to the study of important problems presented by prevailing health conditions in that part of the world, and the possibility of the League Health Organisation's being able to render assistance in their elucidation, in accordance with the request made by the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia.

In conclusion, I have the honour, on behalf of the Second Committee, to propose the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 16.)

ANNEX VIII.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Economic Committee.* (Rapporteur: M. Gliwic, Poland.)

The work accomplished in the domain of economics in the course of the last year by the League of Nations, the Council, the Economic organisation, under that eminent economist, Sir Arthur Salter—a work of which the League of Nations has every right to be proud—was, as you know, Gentlemen, the preparation and groundwork of the International Economic Conference. Of this Conference our distinguished colleague, M. Loucheur, will speak to you with that authority which attaches to all his pronouncements. My task is a more modest one. I shall only claim your attention for the necessarily restricted but none the less meritorious and concrete activities of the Economic Committee. Owing to the preparations for the International Economic Conference, this Committee has only held two sessions this year, one of which was devoted to the work entrusted to it by the Council and the other to the work devolving upon it in consequence of certain resolutions of the International Economic Conference referred to it by the Council.

1. *International Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions.*—This question, which was initiated by a resolution of the Assembly at its fifth ordinary session, has been the object of long and careful studies by the Economic Committee in consultation with Governments and interested circles. The International Economic Conference gave its unanimous approval to the draft convention prepared by the Economic Committee as the basis for discussion at an international conference.

By a decision of the Council the Conference on Prohibitions will open at Geneva on 17th October of this year. All States Members of the League and the principal States non-Members have been invited by the Council to send representatives to this conference.

The coming conference, although it has been prepared before the International Economic Conference, may be regarded as the first attempt to give practical effect to the principles and other measures which may be contemplated to put into operation other important recommendations of the Economic Conference, in particular those relating to tariffs.

For this reason, and in order to free international commerce from a barrier which it considers to be one of the chief obstacles to the freer movement of goods, the Second Committee cannot but express the wish that the coming conference will lead to the conclusion of a binding agreement, signed and subsequently ratified by as many States as possible.

2. As mentioned above, the second session of the Committee was entirely devoted to the preparatory study of certain recommendations of the International Economic Conference referred

to the Committee by the Council, viz. the recommendations with regard to tariffs and commercial treaties, to the unification of Customs nomenclature and to the treatment of foreign nationals and enterprises.

As regards *tariffs and commercial treaties*, the Committee is pursuing a preliminary study of the actual situation in the various countries, so as to be able to judge at which moment and under what conditions further steps could be taken towards a common policy. The study undertaken by the Economic Committee refers in particular to the characteristic features of the tariffs of the various countries, the advantages and disadvantages of their Customs régime as well as of the form and application of the most-favoured-nation clause and so forth.

The first step towards the *unification of Customs nomenclature* appeared to the Committee to be the drawing up of the general framework of a unified tariff to form the basis for further work. Contrary to the pessimistic anticipations held in many quarters, the small group of experts to whom the Committee entrusted the first task has already achieved very considerable progress. In October they will submit their unified framework along with proposals as to the best methods for elaborating the details, and we have every reason to hope that in the year 1928 great progress towards the unification of tariff nomenclature will have been made.

The question of the *treatment of foreign nationals and enterprises* is not new to the Committee. It will be remembered that in 1923 and 1925 the Committee agreed upon two series of principles with regard to the treatment of foreigners in fiscal and legal matters, and the treatment of foreigners admitted to exercise a trade, profession or other economic occupation, and that the adoption of these principles was recommended by the Council to all States Members of the League. The International Economic Conference has now recommended that an international conference be held with the object of settling the matter by means of an international agreement. The Second Committee is glad to state that the Economic Committee is already engaged in drawing up the preparatory documents for this conference.

3. *The International Convention relating to the Simplification of Customs Formalities*, signed at Geneva on 3rd November 1923, has been ratified by seven more States since the last Assembly. This brings the number of ratifications or adhesions up to 27, i.e. nearly one-half of the States Members of the League. It is to be hoped that the other half will find it possible to adhere to the Convention in the near future. The first reports of the Governments on the application of the Convention, which have been communicated to the Secretary-General in accordance with Article 9, reveal (I quote the report of the Committee) "the striking progress which has been made under the influence of the Convention, both as regards the clauses which have a binding character and those which are merely in the nature of recommendations." Moreover, the Committee has found that the provisions of the Convention are being increasingly used as a basis for the settlement of questions of a similar character in bilateral treaties.

In view of the encouraging reports of the Governments on the application of the provisions of the Convention, the Economic Committee has decided to take up the study of certain recommendations annexed to the Convention with a view to their practical application.

4. As regards the question of *false declarations in Customs matters*, arising out of a recommendation of the Geneva Conference of 1923 on Customs Formalities, the Committee, after considering the various proposals which have been put before the Committee either for an international convention or for bilateral agreements, decided, with the approval of the Council, to invite a few jurists and Customs experts to express their opinion on the juridical and technical aspects of the question. Owing to the urgent nature of the other questions now on hand, the proposed meeting of experts has not yet taken place, but the Committee understands that it is contemplated holding it at the earliest possible date.

5. *The Protocol of 1923 on Arbitration Clauses* has been ratified during the past year by two further States, thus bringing the number of ratifications up to 15. The small number of ratifications during the past year is no doubt due to the fact that an additional protocol for the enforcement of foreign arbitral awards has been prepared and already circulated to the Members of the League. The Assembly will be called upon at its present session to consider this draft, which is intended to supplement the 1923 Protocol. This question forms a separate item on our agenda, and I therefore do not propose to dwell upon the matter here.

6. With regard to the question of the unification of *bills of exchange*, the Economic Committee is now directing its efforts towards an attempt to assimilate and harmonise in the first place the laws of the countries belonging to the continental group, a complete unification of all existing laws having been recognised as presenting, for the time being, insuperable obstacles. The Economic Committee is of the opinion that if only the continental laws relating to bills of exchange and cheques could be assimilated, great progress would be achieved, and it might then perhaps be easier to bring into closer harmony the continental and the Anglo-Saxon systems. With the approval of the Council, the Committee called together a meeting of experts, drawn from business circles, to point out the practical difficulties encountered by the business world as a result of the divergencies between the laws of the different countries and to single out those difficulties which appeared to be capable of solution by means of an international agreement. As a result of the proposals of these experts, the Committee came to the conclusion that further steps should be taken with a view to framing the necessary articles to serve as the basis of an international agreement. This task will be entrusted to a meeting of experts, mainly jurists, the holding of which has already been approved by the Council and the convening of which is contemplated for this autumn.

The Second Committee has been informed that if, as we have every reason to hope, the work of these experts rapidly achieves the desired result, it should be possible to consider the convening of an international conference, either at the end of 1928 or the beginning of the following year, with a view to reaching an agreement to bring about that assimilation of legislations of the continental type which is so greatly to be desired and to which I have just referred.

I considered it advisable to draw special attention to this circumstance in order that countries contemplating the reform of their laws relating to bills of exchange and cheques might if necessary bear it in mind.

7. In the course of its study into the question of *economic crises*, the Committee called together a number of experts in order to have their opinions as to the scientific and technical aspects of the establishment of indices and economic barometers. The report of these experts will be considered at the next meeting of the Joint Committee on Economic Crises representing the Economic and Financial Committees and the International Labour Office.

8. Following up the work done by the Economic Committee with the help of the International Institute of Statistics in the field of the *unification of economic statistics*, the Committee suggested to the Council that a conference should be convened in the near future and to which all Governments should be invited to send official statisticians. The object of this Conference would be to promote the adoption by the various States of uniform methods in the compilation of economic statistics. The Council agreed to this proposal in principle, but decided to await concrete suggestions from the Economic Committee before fixing the programme and date of the Conference.

9. Reference should also be made to a recommendation of the Economic Committee approved by the Council in its session of December 1925 to the effect that it would be of great advantage if the League could publish a *Statistical Yearbook* in which were summarised in a single volume the very considerable quantity of statistics of great interest to Governments and business men, which were at present scattered through a number of different League publications. It was originally intended to issue the first edition of this volume during the course of 1926 but finally decided to incorporate it in the documentation of the Economic Conference. This volume has attracted a very considerable amount of attention and is, I venture to believe, likely in the near future to become one of the best known of all the documents issued by the League of Nations.

10. The Committee entered upon the study of the *economic relations between different countries*—a question submitted to it by the Council—in relation to the problem of disarmament. The importance of this question will be generally realised.

11. Before concluding, I should like to say a few words on a subject which, although not mentioned in either of the two reports of the Economic Committee before us, requires some explanation—that is to say, the question of the *Protection of foreign buyers against worthless goods*.

The Second Committee expressed the hope last year that every effort would be made to secure the publication before the present session of the Assembly of the documents collected by the Economic Section regarding the various means existing in different countries for protecting foreign buyers against worthless goods or goods the quality of which is unsatisfactory.

An uncorrected proof of this publication has been distributed to the Second Committee.

This pamphlet contains a quantity of information of importance for the business world, and it is to be hoped that the first attempt which has just been made will produce a satisfactory result by indicating more clearly the aim that has been pursued and its utility.

The Second Committee expresses the desire that an urgent appeal should be made to the various Governments requesting them to furnish to the Secretariat the information which it requires in order to complete its work, either by means of additional data in the case of those countries from whom information has already been obtained or by providing such information where it is still lacking.

The Committee is of opinion that it can trust the Secretariat as soon as possible to bring to a successful conclusion the first task which is incumbent upon it—that is to say, to complete this provisional publication so that it may be communicated without delay to all Governments.

The Second Committee has the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft Resolutions. (For text of Resolutions adopted, see page 20.)

ANNEX IX.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit and on the Results of the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit.* (Rapporteur: M. de Brouckère, Belgium.)

From the Report and the Supplementary Report of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit, the Assembly has been able to form an idea of the way in which this Committee has effectively pursued its work during the past year on the lines already repeatedly approved by the Assembly. To mention only a few examples, the investigations already referred to regarding combined transport, the unification of private law in inland navigation, and the unification of statistics are making it possible to secure most valuable results. Those relating to the unification of tonnage measurement in maritime navigation have at last been put in hand with all the necessary expert assistance. The final report on the unification of buoyage and lighting of coasts has been submitted to the Governments of maritime countries with a view to a possible conference. In the same way, the definite proposals which, in pursuance of the Passport Conference, the Committee has been able to draw up with regard to the issue of a transit card for emigrants, giving them practical effect, nearly all the Governments concerned having already signified their assent. Lastly, the enquiry regarding inland navigation in Europe has been brought to an end with country a special mission of experts studied on the spot—in agreement with the Polish Government—access to the outlets on the Baltic, the drainage of the Polesian marshes, &c. With the report submitted on this question and communicated to all the Governments, the Advisory and Technical Committee, in conformity with the resolution of the Genoa Conference, entered upon the path of providing practical assistance to Governments with a view to the economic reconstruction and development of Europe.

It would undoubtedly be of great interest to examine in detail the results of this regular work of the Advisory and Technical Committee, to whose credit should also be put the investigations undertaken at the Council's request with a view to the improvement of the communications of the League of Nations at times of emergency, which will come under review by the Assembly when it

considers the work done in the matter of the reduction of armaments. But this year it would seem that the Assembly, without neglecting the results of the Advisory and Technical Committee's continuous work, should give its particular attention to the results of the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, prepared by the Advisory and Technical Committee, and held at Geneva from 23rd August to 2nd September last. This Conference, moreover, directly requested the Assembly to take positive action on certain points.

The First General Conference on Communications and Transit, held at Barcelona in 1921, laid the foundations of the Organisation in conformity with the principles adopted in the Assembly's resolutions of 8th and 9th December 1920. It also concluded General Conventions on the Freedom of Transit and the Regime of Navigable Waterways of International Concern and made various recommendations.

The Second General Conference, held at Geneva in 1923, concluded General Conventions on the International Regime of Railways and on the International Regime of Maritime Ports, as well as two Conventions on electric questions.

The General Conference of 1927 had not on its agenda the elaboration of any general conventions. Except as regards a particular question arising out of the Conference on the International Regime of Passports, viz., the question of identity documents for persons without nationality, it did not deal with problems affecting the direct interests of States. For the first time an international conference on communications met with the main object of supervising and bringing to the highest point of efficiency the methods of international co-ordination utilised by the League of Nations in the domain of transports. Yet, although the Governments had no special interests to defend, at any rate as regards the greater part of the agenda, 43 Governments were represented, and this fact alone shows the importance attached by all the administrations to the consolidation and development of the work of the League of Nations as regards communications and transit. The United States of America took an active part for the first time in a General Conference on Communications and Transit of the League. Ecuador and Egypt were also represented, as well as Turkey, who had already taken part in the Second Conference. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was not represented at the Conference, but officially communicated its desire to be kept informed of the results, to which it attaches great importance.

Apart from the Governments represented, the presence in an advisory capacity of a very large number of international organisations helped to give this Conference its particular character and to make it *par excellence* an instrument for the general co-ordination of international activity in dealing with questions of transport. The International Railway Union, the International Transport Office at Berne, the International Commission for Air Navigation, the International Air Traffic Association, the International Technical Committee of Legal Experts for Air Navigation, the International River Commissions, the International Shipping Conference, the International Chamber of Commerce, the International Federation of Transport Workers, the Christian Union of Transport Workers, the International Broadcasting Union, and the High Commissariat of the League of Nations for Refugees took part in the debates in an advisory capacity. This co-operation of organisations and Governments in League conferences is perhaps one of the most interesting innovations introduced by the League in the methods of international co-operation.

The first two items of the Conference's agenda were, according to statute, the consideration of the Advisory and Technical Committee's report on the work done since the last Conference and the report of the Secretary-General of the League on the action taken to give effect to the decisions of previous Conferences.

The Conference, in the course of general and public discussions, examined by categories of questions the work done by the Committee. A detailed table of the work accomplished and of the composition of the Committee and of its various sub-committees or specialised committees had been drawn up for the Conference; the latter was naturally unable to go into all the technical details of the work undertaken by the Committee with the help of over 120 specialised experts; but the new Advisory and Technical Committee will be able to profit by many useful comments, and a large number of important suggestions were made with regard to forthcoming activities.

On the Hungarian Delegation's proposal, the Advisory and Technical Committee was asked to study the best means of ensuring as far as possible, in the event of grave occurrences of a general character affecting routes of communications, the maintenance of international transit by the preconcerted utilisation of alternative routes which could temporarily replace routes through which transit had become impossible.

On the Latvian Delegation's proposal, the Committee was asked to examine the position which arose whenever considerations of an international character obstructed the freedom of communications and international transit and created a situation calculated to paralyse and impoverish economic life.

The Conference also decided to forward to the Advisory and Technical Committee for examination a declaration by the Swiss Delegation drawing attention to the necessity for organising international co-operation in the sphere of aerial navigation, where it is at present imperfect, in the most rational manner and with the assistance of the greatest possible number of States.

It is hardly necessary to emphasise the importance, sometimes even from the political and social points of view, of the questions thus raised.

The Conference lastly considered the possibility of hastening the ratification of the general conventions previously concluded, the application of which seemed to it to be of the greatest importance to the peaceful development of trade.

Another point on the agenda related to the revision of the Rules of Organisation and of the Rules of Procedure for General Conferences adopted at Barcelona in 1921. Experience seemed to have shown that, although the principles of the former Rules gave the Organisation sufficient stability combined with elasticity, and sufficient autonomy whilst safeguarding the rights of supervision of the Council and of the Assembly, and although they had thus shown their value and should be maintained, a new Statute of the Organisation was desirable which should be clear and more in conformity than the previous one with the necessities which experience had gradually revealed. The new Statute adopted by the Conference may be regarded as consolidating the Organisation. Changes of substances, as compared with the former rules, are not of great importance.

Mention should be made, however, of the provisions sanctioning the necessary initiative of the Council as regards invitations to general conferences and the convening of limited conferences provisions which provide greater latitude than the former Rules; those which give greater liberty than heretofore to the Advisory and Technical Committee's procedure with regard to the settlement of disputes; those which take account of the constitution of the Advisory and Technical Committee and of the specialised organs subordinate to it, whose operation had not been so clearly defined at Barcelona; those sanctioning the holding of general conferences every four years, while allowing this provision to be modified in exceptional circumstances; and, lastly, those, perhaps among the most characteristic, which facilitate the co-operation of States not Members of the League with the Organisation or within the Organisation.

Among these latter provisions, mention should be made of one which cannot be definitely put into force without the Assembly's approval. The text of the Assembly's resolution of 9th December 1920 stipulates that "the total number of members of the Committee shall not exceed one-third of the Members of the League of Nations." Since States not Members of the League may be members of the Organisation, and as such may be called upon to form part of the Advisory and Technical Committee, the Conference considered that, in the event of a certain number of States not Members of the League happening to form part of the Organisation, i.e. in the very case in which the Organisation would have the greatest vitality and importance for the world as a whole, the maintenance of this provision might make it difficult to appoint to the Committee the best qualified States which were members of the Organisation but not Members of the League, the number of places held by the Members of the League having in these cases to be correspondingly diminished. Moreover, from the financial point of view, the voting of the budget by the Assembly sufficiently restricts the Committee's expenditure, and it should be observed that, since the first ordinary session of the Assembly, the rules governing the administration of the League's finances have decided that States not Members of the League admitted as members of any Organisation of the League should contribute to the expenses of the Organisation concerned, unless there is any stipulation to the contrary. In these circumstances, subject to the Assembly's approval, the Conference adopted the following provisions:—

"The Advisory and Technical Committee shall be composed of members appointed by Members of the League of Nations, and may also include members appointed by members of the Organisation which are not Members of the League.

"The number of members of the former class may not exceed one-third of the number of the Members of the League. The number of members of the latter class may not exceed one-third of the number of the members of the Organisation which are not Members of the League. If, however, the number of members of the Organisation which are not Members of the League is less than three (or six) one member (or two, as the case may be) of this class may be appointed."

It seems likely that, for the same reasons as the Third General Conference, the Assembly will desire to give its approval to these provisions, and in general to facilitate the co-operation of States not Members of the League so happily inaugurated at the Third Conference itself.

One of the questions which aroused the greatest interest at the Conference, notably on the part of the States not Members of the League, and one for the discussion of which the Government of the United States of America had specially sent an important delegation comprising specialist experts, was the question of the collection and exchange of information on communications and transit. The placing of this question on the Conference's agenda by the Advisory and Technical Committee was due to two reasons.

The report submitted to the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly by the Second Committee contained the following observations:—

"The Advisory and Technical Committee has hitherto restricted its activity mainly to Europe, where, as we have said, the situation consequent upon the war had given these services exceptional importance. I would like to point out, however, that, in the interests of the League of Nations and of the Latin-American States, it would be most desirable that its work should extend to these countries. For this purpose, information would first have to be collected on both sides in order that, on the one hand, the Advisory and Technical Committee might become familiar with the situation and conditions of the Latin-American countries as regards transit and communications, and that, on the other hand, the Governments and public opinion in these countries might be acquainted with the aim and work of the Committee, the results obtained and the ways in which the Committee could on occasion do them important service. In order to attain this result, the Committee must get into touch with the Governmental and administrative bodies responsible for communications in each of these countries and supply them with all necessary information on the work it has already done, at the same time asking them for details regarding the situation of communications in each country."

The resolution adopted by the last Assembly and generalising these observations declared that the Assembly—

"Trusts that the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, which will be held in 1927 and which will examine in particular the general questions of organisation and documentation, will consider the question of improving, as far as possible, technical liaison between the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit and the specialised administrations and exports of non-European countries."

Apart from the utility of collecting and exchanging information on communications and transit with a view to a better liaison between the Communications and Transit Organisation and specialised circles in countries outside Europe, the Advisory and Technical Committee had also felt the absolute necessity of acquiring continuous and essential information on the position as regards communications throughout the world. Certain misunderstandings having had to be dispelled at the Conference, where the fear had been expressed that it might be proposed to create a large special and independent organisation for the accumulation and distribution of information, leading the

Committee to break entirely new ground, the latter stated its intentions as follows in a note submitted to the Conference:—

"When it was first established, the Communications and Transit Organisation concerned itself chiefly with the most urgent task—that of establishing principles. Is that its only task? Is it at the present time its essential task? Responsible as it is for advising the organs of the League and the Governments as to the measures to be taken to secure freedom of communications and to promote international co-operation in the matter of transport, can the Organisation continue its work efficiently if it has not constantly at its disposal the most elementary and indispensable information as to the state of international relations in the field of transport and the general development of the various forms of transport in different countries?

"The Committee has felt that it could not remain uninformed as to large fluctuations in traffic, depressions, crises and advances, important international arrangements concerned with transport, the opening of important new routes, the development of new ports, extensive changes in the general organisation of transport in different countries, and so forth. This does not mean that the Committee proposes to undertake any new work, or in any way to extend its international activities; it merely wishes to provide itself with the necessary machinery for its normal and regular work.

"As far as funds have permitted, following out individual ideas and dealing with problems as they arise, the Committee has already in the past collected information on certain points; but this information has been found inadequate to enable the Committee to keep in touch with the most real and practical problems of transport.

"The Committee has therefore concluded that it is essential to organise systematically what has hitherto been done on purely temporary, fragmentary and inadequate lines. It has attempted to deal in the most economical manner with a need that has been felt by all international organisations of a like kind.

"The work that the Communications and Transit Committee has in mind is by no means as considerable as the informatory work that has been done to meet the requirements of the Economic and Financial Organisation; but the Committee feels that it is an anomaly that the League should have, in the general interest, copious and up-to-date information on every aspect of economic life except that which is perhaps the most international and representative of all—transport."

After discussion, the Conference adopted the following resolution with the unanimous approval of the Governments taking part and with the support of all the international organisations represented:—

"The Conference has fully examined the question referred to it of providing further information for the Communications and Transit Organisation. They note that, in the supplementary statement submitted by the Advisory and Technical Committee, that body expresses a doubt whether the Organisation can continue its work efficiently if it has not constantly at its disposal the most elementary and indispensable information as to the state of international relations in the field of transport and the general development of the various forms of transport in different countries; and the Committee adds that it does not propose to undertake any new work or in any way to extend its international activities; it merely wishes to provide itself with the necessary machinery for its normal and regular work." The Conference notes also that the Advisory and Technical Committee thought that the collection and utilisation of such information would facilitate collaboration between the Organisation and experts and administrations in the various countries, particularly as far as non-European countries are concerned.

"The Conference is therefore of opinion:—

"(1) That, while the establishment of any special bureau of information is neither called for nor recommended, the Organisation should be enabled to furnish itself adequately with such information as may be necessary to enable it to perform effectively its important and extensive functions, it being understood that information so obtained would, on request, be put at the disposal of Governments and interested organisations;

"(2) That, to this end, the Governments and interested organisations in the various countries should be invited to furnish the Organisation regularly with such information of a general character on questions of communication as may be deemed suitable for the purpose, it being understood that only material of a non-confidential nature should be asked for, and that no additional work would be required for the Governments and organisations;

"(3) That the information should be limited as far as possible to questions within the province of the Organisation, but that the collection of information upon any particular question should in no way be regarded as bringing that particular question within the competence of the Organisation nor as implying any intention of dealing with the question on the part of the Organisation.

"The Conference does not feel called upon to recommend in detail the information which should be collected, or to prescribe any detailed scheme for the utilisation of this information. Such questions should be determined by the experience gained by the Advisory and Technical Committee as to the value of different courses of action, and to some extent by the nature of the question with which at any time the Transit Organisation is dealing.

"In dealing with this matter, the Conference has given attention to the resolution of the Assembly of 1926 that the General Conference should 'consider the question of improving as far as possible the technical liaison between the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit and the specialised administrations and experts of the non-European countries.'

"It is confident that, in the collection and utilisation of such information, the Communications Transit Committee will promote closer relations between the Organisation and the experts and administrations—for example, by provision for correspondents in cases where such a method may be considered the most appropriate in agreement with the Governments concerned."

"It trusts therefore that the next Assembly of the League will put at the disposal of the Transit Organisation the necessary means."

The Assembly will certainly congratulate itself on the co-operation in a new form, or in a more complete form than hitherto, which all the Governments have promised through their representatives to bring to the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit. It will no doubt desire to associate itself completely with the Conference's views and to invite the Advisory and Technical Committee to organise on the lines laid down by the Conference the collection and utilisation of information. Nevertheless, it will not be possible, for financial reasons, to carry out immediately the scheme advocated for this purpose by the Conference; it is agreed, however, that, pending the adoption of the next budget, all possible measures shall be taken in order to get into touch with the different countries with a view to pursuing the preparation of this work. The Conference's debates have already shown how this may be expected to bring about closer relations between the Organisation and the experts or administrations of the different countries, particularly of the non-European countries. The Conference, without wishing to diminish the Advisory and Technical Committee's freedom in the choice and utilisation of information, nevertheless, with the assistance of experts from a large number of countries, drew up for the examination of the Advisory and Technical Committee a list of suggestions regarding the nature of the information which might be collected. In general, this information, which has been defined with the greatest possible clearness, bears on international agreement of a public character relating to transport, the administrative and legislative treatment of transport in the different countries, the main constructions in progress or completed, the general statistics of traffic, and the main changes in freights and tariff systems. It is worth noting that, in the course of this discussion, the American Delegation, after congratulating the Conference on the resolutions it had adopted on the collection and utilisation of information, indicated how a profitable exchange of information and experience might be established in the sphere of transports between America and Europe. It declares its conviction that "the matter of reciprocity in records of experience was a very vital one," and added that "the entire American Delegation was going home to recommend and urge with all the power and influence that it possessed that the United States from now on be represented at these commercial conferences of the League of Nations, and also by all means be equally represented at other commercial conferences."

The aim set before itself by the last Assembly may be regarded as achieved. The Third General Conference on Communications and Transit marked a great step forward in the mutual comprehension of national problems between countries and continents. It revealed, even on the part of those who had not been continuously associated with the Communications and Transit Organisation, a full appreciation of the importance of this work.

Finally it was in the same spirit of conciliation and international agreement that the Conference solved the special question submitted to it as a result of the Conference on the International Regime of Passports—that of identity documents capable of serving as internationally recognised travelling certificates for persons without nationality. After debates which were sometimes of a delicate character, agreement was reached on the drafting of concrete recommendations setting forth all the particulars of a new uniform document. If the greatest possible number of Governments concerned apply the Conference's recommendations rapidly and in a liberal spirit, the difficulties from which a great number of persons are at present suffering in Europe will be removed.

I have the honour to propose the adoption of the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 23.)

ANNEX X.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Financial Committee.* (Rapporteur: M. Djouritch, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.)

As Rapporteur on the work of the Financial Committee, I will take this opportunity of giving a rapid review of the activities of this Committee since its inception.

The Financial Committee, which counts among the most highly qualified and active committees of the League of Nations, was originally created to perform a very modest task. In this connection the history of the Committee is of great interest.

The Financial Committee was formed subsequent to the Brussels International Financial Conference in 1920 with the main object of facilitating the employment of the ter Meulen credits; the original ter Meulen scheme approved by the Brussels Conference was never put into practice. However, once started, the Financial Committee proved to be a peculiarly competent body; new tasks were assigned to it each year and its activity has continually extended since that time.

The most obvious manifestation of the Financial Committee's activities is the series of loans to different countries issued, as the result of its labours, under the auspices of the League of Nations to Austria, Hungary, Greece, the Municipality of Danzig, Bulgaria, Estonia and, quite recently, the Free City of Danzig. The total of these loans amounts in round figures to seventy million pounds sterling, or approximately one milliard seven hundred million gold francs.

All these loans were issued without the least difficulty. The investing public has confidence in the loans issued under the auspices of the League of Nations because it knows that they are based on plans carefully studied by the impartial and highly qualified experts who form the Financial Committee. Furthermore, it is well known that this Committee follows systematically and assiduously financial conditions in the countries with which it is concerned.

In consequence, all the loans issued under the auspices of the League of Nations have benefited from a lower rate than if they had been contracted by the respective Governments without such patronage. But the value of the Financial Committee's work is not confined to the facility of contracting these loans. The plans of the League of Nations, and consequently those of the Financial Committee, are primarily directed to laying sound foundations on which the countries concerned can build the best economic structure permitted by circumstances. The loans hitherto issued have been

* An estimate of these means, as communicated to the Conference by the Advisory and Technical Committee, is attached to the Conference's resolution in the form of a note.

a means of effecting the reconstruction of the financial position which was compromised in many countries in 1920 and the following years, during which the Financial Committee displayed its greatest activity. Before commencing this reconstruction, it was first essential to stabilise the currency and to effect budget equilibrium in these countries. In both these directions the Financial Committee furnished classic examples, which were later followed by numerous countries when they had recourse in their turn to the advice of the League of Nations and of the Financial Committee, and also by countries which undertook their financial reconstruction independently.

With regard to stabilisation of currency, the classic example is that of the Austrian crown, followed by Hungary, Germany and Poland, to name only those countries in which the depreciation assumed an extremely grave character.

In 1920, at the time of the Brussels Financial Conference, the general conviction was that, before stabilising the currency, it was necessary to balance the budget. This belief is not perhaps erroneous to-day, but the concrete examples quoted above reveal the fundamental necessity of having a general scheme providing a complete and simultaneous system for the stabilisation of the currency and the balancing of the budget. The Austrian example further emphasises that, in a country with a greatly depreciated currency, it is impossible to obtain budget equilibrium as long as the value of the currency continues to fluctuate, and, in consequence, impossible also to lay the foundations of an effective reform of the budget system.

Consequently, it was necessary to stabilise first, and then to aim at a system of budget equilibrium which, becoming practicable in virtue of the stabilisation, in its turn made the latter permanent.

The corner-stone of currency stabilisation in all the countries which have benefited by the work of the Financial Committee was the creation of banks of issue independent of the Government. Independent banks of this kind were founded in Austria, Hungary, Danzig, and Estonia; in Bulgaria, Government influence over the National Bank was materially diminished, while, in the case of Greece, the Financial Committee has drawn up a set of statutes for a new bank of issue that may be regarded as a model of their kind.

The Financial Committee, side by side with its proposal for establishing these independent banks of issue, was responsible for a reform that has given the happiest results—the centralisation of the State revenues in the banks of issue. This reform was effected in Austria and in Hungary and, having led to the most satisfactory results, has been incorporated in detail in the new scheme for the reconstruction of Greek finances.

The second essential step in financial reconstruction is that of securing budget equilibrium. In this direction, the Financial Committee performed work of special importance in all the countries under study. The results obtained were extremely satisfactory. The Financial Committee is concerned not only to reduce expenses by advising reasonable and suitable economies, but also to propose reforms of a nature to increase receipts. When the currency has been stabilised, the effect of these measures is to afford the Treasury a sound basis for assessing taxation, since the calculations are based on stable revenue figures.

The Financial Committee also insisted upon effective control being exercised by the Finance Ministry over the other Ministerial Departments, an essential condition of budgetary equilibrium. One of the most suitable methods of exercising this control is the system of monthly budgets and monthly closed accounts. This system was applied for the first time in Austria on the initiative of the Commissioner-General, M. Zimmerman. It was subsequently applied in Hungary and Bulgaria, and is, it appears, followed at the present time in Poland and other countries.

Great importance was also attached to the regular publication of reports on the financial situation of the States in question. It is only by the publication of such information that public opinion both at home and abroad is able to follow and verify the management of the country's finances, and a large number of Governments now publish monthly or quarterly reports on their financial situation.

The application of the Committee's methods to financial reform had been so successful from a practical standpoint that their main outlines were followed in the most important plans for financial reconstruction in Europe, their general features being reproduced to a large extent in the principles laid down for the financial reconstruction of Germany.

When plans of this kind are prepared by the Financial Committee and put into operation, their application is followed methodically and carefully by the Committee, and, as in all its other work, the Committee is careful to see that the essential part of the scheme, in this case, budgetary equilibrium, continues to be observed.

Let us now consider the work of the Financial Committee since the last Assembly. During the latter half of 1926 the Committee devoted itself specially to execution of the scheme for the settlement of Bulgarian refugees, of which the British representative has given a detailed report. There is therefore no need for me to revert to the matter, nor to give a further description of the remarkable work recently accomplished with a view to the financial reconstruction of Greece, of which the Italian representative has already spoken on this platform.

In 1927, the sessions of the Financial Committee provided two very characteristic examples worthy of special mention, for they constitute a fresh assertion of certain principles already applied in practice by the Committee. I refer, first of all, to the investigations and decisions relative to the financial situation in Danzig. The financial situation of the Free City was unsatisfactory and, before proceeding with reconstruction, energetic measures were necessary to bring about a reduction in expenditure. Moreover, it was essential that Poland should agree to allow the Free City of Danzig a larger share in the Customs receipts of the Polish Customs system, in which the territory of Danzig is included. At the same time, the Government of Danzig wished to institute a tobacco monopoly, for which the co-operation of Poland was indispensable, and to fulfil the obligations imposed by the Treaty of Peace upon the Free City. It needed all the authority of the Financial Committee and its ingenuity in finding compromises during the negotiations to achieve the solutions which made it possible to issue a loan last June. This loan provides funds for the liquidation of the floating debt, for the payment of the sums due under the Treaty of Peace and for credits for the building of houses. The loan programme also provides for a system of supervision, which is designed in the same manner as the previous systems to furnish a guarantee for the creditors, whilst ensuring that all necessary steps should be taken for the normal financial development of the country. As in the case of the Danzig municipal loan of 1925, supervision is exercised by a trustee, resident abroad, and

is confined to the revenues assigned as security for the service of the loan and to the utilisation of its proceeds for the purposes mentioned in the programme.

The second example of the Financial Committee's work is provided by the study of the banking and currency situation in Estonia, which rendered possible its reform. Although the Estonian budget had been stabilised in 1922, the financial situation of the country was unsatisfactory. The bank of issue was in a dangerous situation on account of the large number of frozen credits with which it was burdened. The Financial Committee recommended first of all the introduction of a currency law and the revision of the statutes of the bank of issue. The Protocol agreed upon with the Estonian representatives provided for the establishment of a gold exchange standard, laid down the principle that the bank should have the sole right of issuing notes, and relieved the latter of its long-term credits, which were to be transferred to a mortgage institute. A foreign loan of £1,350,000 would make it possible to liquidate the long-term credits gradually.

Besides this work of financial reconstruction restricted to certain countries only, the Committee also occupied itself with the study of certain general questions, in the first place with that of double taxation and tax evasion. In this connection it appointed a special committee composed of the high Treasury officials of different countries. This Committee worked for several years and reached its final conclusions last April. The Committee of experts drew up four draft conventions for the prevention of double taxation and to establish judicial and administrative assistance between States in matters of taxation.

On the proposal of the Financial Committee, the Council decided to submit this report to all the Governments for consideration and to summon a general meeting of experts in 1928. The Council has decided further to publish in one volume all the existing conventions relative to double taxation.

The Financial Committee dealt also with the question of counterfeiting currency. It sent a questionnaire to all the banks of issue in order to obtain their opinions. On the basis of the replies received, it forwarded a report to the Council, which decided to appoint a special committee to study the question and prepare a draft convention. This committee hopes to finish its task very shortly.

Lastly, attention must be drawn to the extremely useful work which the Financial Committee has accomplished as regards the proposal submitted by Finland for financial assistance to States victims of aggression. It is true to say that the courageous and detailed report of the Financial Committee shows a practical way of mobilising the financial resources of the States Members of the League against a State guilty of aggression, and furnishes a striking demonstration of the solidarity of the League's attitude against such a State.

Finally, I propose to the Assembly on behalf of the Second Committee the following Resolution :—

"The Assembly takes note of the activities of the Financial Committee and expresses its great satisfaction with the highly useful work accomplished by it."

ANNEX XI.—*Report of the Second Committee on the creation of an International Relief Union.* (Rapporteur : M. De Vest, Hungary.)

In accordance with the resolution adopted by the Assembly on 24th September 1925, the Council convened an International Conference for the creation of the International Relief Union. The Conference, which was attended by representatives of 43 States, sat from 4th to 12th July 1927, and approved a Convention and Statutes. The social and legal importance of these instruments should be emphasised. By putting this generous idea into effect, the League has made a further step along the path of international solidarity. If there is one moment in the life of nations when international solidarity should come into play, it is the moment when a disaster is piling up ruin, breaking the springs of the people's resistance, and casting its whole life into disorder. In such an hour of need the International Relief Union will bring to that country the succour and the brotherly aid of all the nations.

A perusal of the articles of the Convention and the Statutes reveals the care that has been taken not to dry up the springs of private charity, but to stimulate and co-ordinate them. The International Relief Union, as portrayed in the documents mentioned, appeals for co-operation not only to the Red Cross Societies, but also to all public and private organisations in a position to bring relief to stricken peoples. The Conference has revealed its wisdom in setting up a highly flexible machinery which can operate with the utmost efficiency.

The League of Nations can congratulate itself on the results achieved. The Assembly will recall the importance attached by itself and by the Council to the realisation of this scheme. The lengthy discussions that took place in the Assembly Committees in 1923, 1924 and 1925 enabled the project to be examined in every detail. A Preparatory Committee, composed of experts of various nationalities, prepared, following the trend of the Assembly discussions, a draft report on which the work of the Conference was based. The Assembly will certainly wish to express to the members of the Committee its satisfaction with the results obtained, and to offer them its thanks. A special expression of gratitude is due to Senator Ciralo, the promoter of this humane project. The Assembly will also doubtless wish to thank M. Külz, the President of the Conference, who was appointed by the Council.

There is one point to which attention may profitably be drawn. The Preparatory Committee for the Ciralo Scheme interprets the decisions of the Assembly taken at its fifth ordinary session, in the sense that its mandate will only be terminated by the final constitution of the International Relief Union. Till that time the Committee holds itself at the Council's disposal to prepare the executive measures involved by the creation of the International Relief Union. At its meeting on 3rd September 1927 the Council decided to propose to the Assembly that the Preparatory Committee should continue to meet to prepare draft regulations for the International Relief Union and to submit to the Council any proposals that may facilitate the putting into force of the Convention. I think that the Council's proposal is a particularly wise one. Until the new organisation has been formed, the League cannot disinterest itself in the question without the risk of jeopardising the results already achieved. It must continue, with the assistance of the experts, to concern itself with the scheme. The Preparatory Committee—or if circumstances so demand, only some of its members or

experts, who would be specially invited by the Council and would have the assistance of the President of the Conference—will be in a position to propose to the Council all such measures as may be expedient with a view to the early constitution of the International Relief Union. I therefore propose the adoption of the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 23.)

ANNEX XII.—*Report of the Second Committee on the question of a Greek Loan.* (Rapporteur : M. Suvich, Italy.)

On 14th June last the Greek Government forwarded to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations a letter asking the Council to approve in principle the conclusion of a loan for an effective sum of nine million pounds sterling and to authorise the Financial Committee to assist Greece in the preparation of a complete plan of currency and banking reform.

In this way the original idea of this loan, which was due to the necessity for completing the work of settling the refugees, changed its character and resulted in the larger conception of a complete and organic plan of financial reorganisation.

The work of settling the refugees, which had been undertaken under the auspices of the League of Nations and had already given valuable results, could indeed only be pursued with difficulty unless a scheme of financial reconstruction was first carried out.

The Financial Committee, at its session in March 1927, requested the Secretariat to collect the fullest possible information regarding the present financial position of the Greek Republic. These investigations were conducted on the spot by M. Avenol, Deputy Secretary-General, and a number of members of the League Secretariat, with most exceptional energy and ability; the Greek Government gave effective assistance in the work by placing at the disposal of these officials all the information and data which they required. The Council having acceded to the Greek Government's request, the Financial Committee was instructed, in a resolution dated 17th June 1927, to continue to co-operate with the representatives of the Greek Government and the National Bank of Greece with a view to fixing the conditions under which the League of Nations might intervene.

The negotiations were continued and led to the framing of a draft Protocol, to which are annexed a draft Agreement between the Greek Government and the National Bank of Greece and draft Statutes of the new bank of issue; these documents form a vast programme, which embraces the various problems raised by the financial reconstruction of Greece.

The plan rests on three main bases, which constitute, as it were, the pivots of the reconstruction contemplated: the constitution of an autonomous bank of issue, the achievement and maintenance of budgetary equilibrium, and the stabilisation of the currency.

Apart from these essential aims, the draft deals at the same time with the payment of budget arrears—an essential operation if stable budgetary equilibrium is to be achieved—and the completion of the work of settling the refugees, which will be one of its excellent results.

Taken as a whole, the draft has been planned with a breadth of view and an exactitude in matters of detail which does honour to the wisdom of the Financial Committee and the perspicacity of all who took part in the work.

The general lines of this programme follow the classical principles of sound financial policy and are laid down in such a way as to provide the country with a solid modern organisation.

The indispensable condition of achieving the results contemplated is, indeed, the issue of a loan which will furnish the funds required to carry out the important and difficult task proposed.

This loan, for an effective sum of nine million pounds sterling, will be divided into three equal blocks of three million pounds each. One block will be set apart for the completion of the work of settling the refugees, the second to pay off budget arrears, and the third to repay the debt owed by the Greek State to the National Bank, which will be passed to the account of the new bank of issue to provide the latter with the liquid funds required for its operation.

The primary feature of the proposed reform is the establishment of a new bank of issue upon which depends the possibility of the stabilisation of the currency.

It had first of all been proposed to convert the National Bank of Greece into an institution better suited to perform the functions of a bank of issue, but, in the course of negotiations, it was decided that it was preferable for that bank to continue to undertake the various operations not usually assigned to a central bank and to establish a new bank of issue.

The bank of issue—to be known as the "Bank of Greece"—will be incorporated as a joint-stock company with a capital of four hundred million drachmas.

The draft Agreement between the Greek Government and the National Bank of Greece specifies the conditions governing the transfer of the debt represented by the bank's notes in circulation to the new bank.

This Agreement also contains an arrangement concerning the transfer to the bank of issue of certain assets and liabilities of the National Bank of Greece.

From the time the Bank of Greece is established, the National Bank will take over the whole of the shares and may subsequently offer them for sale on the financial market at carefully regulated intervals in order to avoid any depreciation in the price of the shares.

The Committee's attention should be called to Article 4 of the Statutes of the new bank of issue, which reads as follows :—

"The first duty of the bank is to take the necessary steps to ensure the stability of the gold value of its notes. For this purpose, it shall exercise control, within the limits of its Statutes, over currency and credit in Greece."

The following article defines the measures to ensure the convertibility of its notes into legal currency of foreign countries with a gold standard or into currency convertible into gold according to the laws of those countries.

As regards the cover of the notes issued by the bank, it is provided that this must represent not less than 40 per cent. of the amount of the notes; this cover must consist only of gold or foreign exchange directly or indirectly convertible into gold.

The draft Agreement and Statutes contain all provisions of a detailed character required by the constitution and operation of the new bank, as well as those governing its transactions, which are limited to loans and discount operations for short periods; it is further stipulated that the bank must publish a balance-sheet three times a month, and that all the other private banks must every month submit statements of their accounts to the Greek Government.

As a corollary to the establishment of the new central bank, an important reform will be introduced into the Greek administrative system. All receipts and payments must be passed through the Bank of Greece, which may employ the branches of the National Bank of Greece for this Treasury service.

To enable the Bank of Greece to commence operations, the Greek Government, as has been stated above, will pay over to it on its opening day a sum of three millions sterling from the yield of the loan; simultaneously, a portion of the State's debt to the Bank of Greece, included in the assets transferred to that bank by the National Bank of Greece, will be cancelled.

The method of repayment by the Greek State of the balance of its debt to the National Bank, and subsequently to the Bank of Greece, is also provided for.

It will thus be possible to secure conditions in accordance with recognised principles for the efficient operation of a central bank of issue upon which heavy responsibilities rest, in particular that of guaranteeing the stability of the currency. These principles, which are enumerated by the Financial Committee, are as follows:—

- (a) The independence of the bank;
- (b) The sole right of note issue;
- (c) The limitation of the bank's operations to loan and discount transactions of a short-term and self-liquidating character;
- (d) The reduction of the State debt to the bank and the well-defined limitation of new advances to the State;
- (e) The centralisation of the money transactions of the State and of State enterprises in the Bank of Greece;
- (f) The provision of adequate and appropriate cover for a unified note issue.

We have already mentioned that another part of the loan, amounting to three millions sterling, will be employed for the repayment of the Treasury arrears, these arrears being repayable up to that sum out of the amount of the loan, and, as regards the balance, out of the resources available from the Greek State which are enumerated in an annex to the Protocol.

The part of the loan thus employed will be paid direct to the Bank of Greece, which will release the necessary sums against documents issued by the Greek Audit Office certifying that those sums actually correspond to the settlement of the above-mentioned debts.

In the draft agreement the Greek Government undertakes definite obligations concerning the maintenance of budgetary equilibrium, the publication of accounts, the limitation of the amount of its short-term loans, &c.

The proposed securities for the new loan include the surplus of the revenues already assigned to the service of previous loans and at present under the supervision of the International Financial Commission.

A clause in the draft Protocol provides that the conditions of the loan, the issue price, the rate of interest and the expenses of issue, of negotiations and of delivery shall be at least as favourable to the Greek Government as those of the Refugee Loan of 1924. A person appointed by the Financial Committee shall be responsible for seeing that the contracts for the conclusion of the loan are in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol.

A few words must be added regarding the work of refugee settlement, for which the third part of the loan will be employed.

The quarterly reports of the Refugee Settlement Commission give an accurate and detailed survey of the development and progress of this work. In particular, the fourteenth report, that of last June, contains some very interesting information. There is every reason to be gratified with the results obtained, thanks to the activity of all those who have taken part in this task of the highest moral, social and humanitarian value. When it is considered what has been done and what remains to be done, one conclusion becomes evident: it is impossible to interrupt such a work.

The Financial Committee is of opinion that the sum of three million pounds sterling, added to the previous balance, will suffice to meet the cost of the most urgent settlement work which it is important to complete in the next two years.

The general plan for financial reconstruction and refugee settlement—of which I have in this report been able to give only a summary account, but which can be seen in all its details in the documents to which I have referred—contains all the elements and provides every prospect of a successful result.

Greece, who in recent years has undergone a very remarkable economic development, has every interest in adapting her financial institutions to present conditions by means of appropriate reforms. It is in order to achieve this purpose that the Greek Government has applied to the League of Nations, not only for its support in contracting the loan, but for its advice in working out a complete plan of banking and currency reorganisation.

The League of Nations has been able to place at the disposal of Greece the weight of its experience and all the ability of its technical services.

Thanks to the perfect organisation of these services, to the skill of the experts which they include, and to the experience which it has already acquired, the League is in a position to furnish very powerful support to the States which appeal to it.

In the case of Greece—since we are more than confident, we are certain of success—one cannot speak of an experiment, but rather of a realisation, and in any event of a fact of the highest importance and of the greatest interest.

I have therefore the honour to propose to the Committee for submission to the Assembly the following draft Resolution. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 22.)

ANNEX XIII.—*Report of the Second Committee on Work of the International Economic Conference and on the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations.*
(Rapporteur: M. Loucheur, France.)

Two years have already passed since the Second Committee's Rapporteur on economic questions asked the Assembly to adopt a proposal by the French Delegation asking for the constitution of the Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference. Your unanimous approval of this suggestion was of good augury. In a few words you gave a general definition of the problem: you outlined the results which you hoped to achieve as regards the improvement of economic relations and the peace of the world.

It was in relation to the problem of security that, for the first time, our colleague, M. Jouhaux, reminded the League of Nations of its duty to restore peace in the economic relations of the peoples. When a more definite proposal was subsequently brought before the Assembly at its sixth ordinary session by the author of the present report, the delegates of all the nations assembled here immediately understood that, in a world still shaken by the Great War, weakened by numerous financial crises, and suffering from serious economic disturbance in the agricultural as well as in the industrial and commercial spheres, the League of Nations alone had the necessary authority to consider the various problems at issue as a whole, to define their causes and to recommend suitable remedies.

In conformity with your suggestions, the Council proceeded to a consultation on a wide basis: it had recourse to interests of all kinds, to various international bodies like the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome and the International Chamber of Commerce and to the national professional organisations; and it called upon the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office for a prolonged effort.

The result of these two years' work has been submitted to the Second Committee. M. Theunis, with that lucidity of exposition, that force and that conciseness of thought which we all know, has given it an historical retrospect of the Preparatory Committee and of the Conference itself; he has emphasised the value of the recommendations which it drew up.

Too much stress cannot be laid on the importance which should be attached to these recommendations. They have the twofold characteristic of undoubtedly representing the opinion of the best-qualified circles and of giving the League of Nations a unanimous opinion with all the authority of such an impressive combination of experts.

During the whole period of the Preparatory Committee's work, the members of the Committee themselves, assisted by the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, collected a series of documents, as complete as it was scientific, on all the problems to be dealt with. The Conference next impressed public opinion by the competence of the delegations composing it. Every country had sent to Geneva, in the capacity of delegates or experts, their most qualified industrial, commercial and agricultural representatives and their most tried authorities on labour, consumption, co-operation and economic relations in general.

It is unnecessary to expatiate longer on this subject; the value of the unanimity achieved was immediately appreciated throughout the world by all bodies interested in economic questions, and here at Geneva by the Council of the League of Nations. The Conference's recommendations were, indeed, at once submitted to the Council with a very favourable report by M. Stresemann. At its session last June its members made official declarations indicative of that determination—which is happily becoming general among nations—to organise economic peace as an essential condition of a peaceful and prosperous existence for all countries, whether strong or weak.

The Second Committee has just made a decisive step in this direction. It, too, has endorsed the Conference's proposals. To this unanimous opinion of the experts who met at Geneva in May, you are going to bring the powerful aid—the fruitful promise—of the support of your Governments. The resolutions which we have the honour to propose to the Assembly confirm the general will to work for the execution of the programme submitted to you by the Economic Conference. Its President, in his closing speech, quoted a characteristic sentence of the Commerce Committee:—

“In spite of the variety of the questions raised, the diversity of theories, and the legitimate national sentiments of all those who took part in the discussions, one important and extremely encouraging fact has emerged and, having emerged, has become increasingly manifest as the work has advanced. This fact is the unanimous desire of the members of the Conference to make sure that this Conference shall, in some way, mark the beginning of a new era, during which international commerce will successively overcome all obstacles in its path that unduly hamper it and resume that general upward movement which is at once a sign of the world's economic health and the necessary condition for the development of civilisation.”

This unanimous desire of the Conference has in its turn animated the Second Committee and will assuredly animate the Assembly also.

You have, moreover, to give your opinion as to the method of organising the work which has still to be done. In this, too, you will follow the suggestions of the Economic Conference, which considered that the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations should be so adjusted as to perform with success the delicate and complicated work entrusted to it.

As regards the details of this readjustment, opinions differed, but unanimity was reached on the following points: necessity of reorganisation; appreciation of the work done by the Economic Committee; excellent results achieved in the preparation of the Conference thanks to the composition and balance of the Preparatory Committee.

It is from an examination of the Conference's results and of its main conclusions that we have drawn the main ideas which the Assembly will submit to the Council.

These resolutions refer to the three chief categories of economic activity—commerce, industry and agriculture. In perusing them, we find considerations suggested which must lead us to give effect to the Conference's wishes.

It seemed to us necessary in the first place to retain the Economic Committee with its present competence, while adapting it to the new conditions of economic life. The resolution which we submit to the Assembly gives all the necessary particulars in this respect.

The Conference, knowing the value of the results already obtained by the Economic Committee, expressly mentioned that Committee in its resolutions, thus proving the implicit confidence it felt in its work.

But the Conference also affirmed the necessity of the League of Nations and its Economic Organisation consulting, "so far as necessary, the competent bodies representing commerce, industry, agriculture and labour." In chapters full of promise for the future, it repeatedly emphasises the wide range of expert advice on which the Council should be able to draw; it should be able to obtain such advice at any moment from the Economic Organisation which it set up to assist in one of its most valuable tasks—that of promoting economic peace.

This need for forming a group of economic authorities was emphasised in the recommendations of the Conference relating to industrial problems; the chapter on rationalisation, for instance, recommended that efforts should be made to obtain increased production, a higher output and improvement in the conditions of labour, and a reduction in prices "in industry, agriculture, trade and finance institutions, not merely in large undertakings but also in medium and small."

The same reasoning applies to international industrial agreements, the development of which, in the opinion of the Conference, should be followed closely by the League of Nations, which should collect information on the matter and publish it from time to time. It also holds good for industrial information. All the members of the Assembly are aware of the valuable resolutions adopted by the Conference on this subject. They know that these resolutions will call for daily and uninterrupted work, for which the Conference has already drawn up a detailed programme, special mention being made of the information to be obtained both from the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations and from the International Labour Office, the former being requested to draw up reports, studies and statements which will require the highest qualifications on the part of its members.

It is hardly necessary to remind you that the resolutions relating to agriculture show a great desire for permanent collaboration with the representatives of agriculturists. The work of agricultural co-operative societies, the development of credit, and various other problems engaged the special attention of the Conference. In this respect it laid definite tasks on the League of Nations. It drew up a programme for the League which cannot be successfully carried out unless agricultural interests are represented as widely as possible in the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations. It is the unanimous recommendation of the Second Committee that the Council should give very special attention to this important question of the representation of agriculture.

The opinion of the Conference, based not only on the experience of each delegation but also on the results obtained by the Preparatory Committee and by itself, was, generally speaking, that economic problems as a whole could only be examined successfully in their general environment, and considered in their relation to one another, whether they were in their essence industrial, commercial or agricultural.

Confidence in the Economic Committee of the League of Nations, a considerable extension of the problems which have been studied until now, complexity of the task to be undertaken, necessity of close collaboration between all those who have to carry it out—such are the conclusions which emerge from the work of the Economic Conference.

In view of these considerations, we propose to the Assembly the creation of a new organ comprising competent authorities on industry, commerce, agriculture, finance, transport, labour problems and questions relating to consumption. This consultative committee would send its reports direct to the Council, and, in order to ensure the necessary liaison, would communicate them immediately to the technical organisations concerned. It would meet on the request of the Council whenever necessary, and at least once a year.

We thought that the International Labour Office should be asked to nominate three workers as members of this Committee. We also expressed the hope that the International Institute of Agriculture and the International Chamber of Commerce would be asked to give their assistance.

Finally, without venturing to make any definite recommendations to the Council, we suggest that it would perhaps be well if the Advisory Committee could ask other organisations to join in its work, such as the new International Management Institute and the International Co-operative Alliance.

Some of you may perhaps be inclined to think that this organisation is somewhat complicated, but the proposals which I have the honour to submit to the Assembly in the name of the Second Committee are the result of an exhaustive discussion in which account has been taken of every side of the problem and of all the interests concerned. We have been guided solely by the desire to provide the League of Nations with the means of pursuing its essential task: the establishment of peace through better international economic co-operation.

The Second Committee has the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft Resolutions. (For text of Resolutions adopted see page 15.)

ANNEX XIV.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Opening of a Convention relating to the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards. (Rapporteur: Dr. Leitmaier, Austria.)*

In its report of last April to the Economic Committee, the Committee of Legal Experts explained the purpose of its work as follows:—

"The Protocol on Arbitration Clauses, which has been open for signature since 24th September 1923, lays down, subject to certain specified conditions, that each of the contracting States shall recognise submissions to arbitration concluded between parties, subject respectively to the jurisdiction of different contracting States. It stipulates, in the first place, that the existence of a submission to arbitration precludes recourse to the Courts of either of the contracting States, and, in the second place, that each contracting State undertakes to ensure the execution by its authorities and in accordance with the provisions of its national laws of awards made in its own territory under such a submission.

"On the other hand, the Protocol of 1923 contains no provisions at all regarding the enforcement of awards made in foreign countries.

"This omission was noted in the report submitted by the Economic Committee to the Council of the League of Nations in September 1926.

"After having (1) recognised the validity of the submission to arbitration in private international relations, and (2) provided for the enforcement of the arbitral award in the State where it was made, a third aim should be pursued, namely, to ensure the international effect of such an award."

Such is the problem which the experts have endeavoured to solve by means of a draft Protocol which has been submitted, in accordance with a Council resolution, to all the Members of the League in order to give them an opportunity of submitting their observations.

At the time when it passed this resolution, the Council also decided to place on the Assembly's agenda the question of opening such a Protocol.

On this question being referred to it, the Second Committee appointed a Sub-Committee of Jurists and asked it to examine the observations submitted by the Governments and to settle the terms of a draft which would, as far as possible, take into account the various views expressed. This Sub-Committee, as well as the Second Committee, unanimously arrived at the conclusion that you should be recommended to open a Convention worded according to the text which is now before you.

Before explaining to you its mechanism and the reasons underlying its provisions, I should like to say a few words as to the importance which should be attached to the question. Recourse to arbitration for settling disputes arising out of contracts concluded between parties of different nationalities is becoming more and more frequent. This fact did not escape the International Economic Conference. The latter, as you are aware, unanimously adopted very specific recommendations on this point.*

In taking the course which I propose, the Assembly will therefore only be continuing the work begun four years ago, whilst at the same time it will be carrying out the wish so clearly expressed by the Economic Conference.

I now come to what I may call the technical part of my report.

The Committee of Experts gave its draft the form of a Protocol open to the signature of States; this was the form already employed for the Protocol on Arbitration Clauses which was opened for signature at Geneva on 24th September 1923.

The British Government pointed out that, in the form in which it stood, this draft might give rise to difficulties due to the peculiar constitution of the British Empire. It recommended the form of a convention enumerating in its preamble the heads of States participating therein and their plenipotentiaries. The Second Committee have adopted this suggestion.

The Convention will remain open for the signature of countries. They may give this signature at any time they choose.

At the request of the British Delegation, and in consideration of the fact that the system laid down in the Convention would not always apply to all the territories of a given State, the Second Committee has had to modify the terms employed in various clauses of the draft. Thus, in the new draft, reference is made to the territories to which the Convention applies, to the country in which the award is made, &c.; these expressions are sufficiently elastic to cover the complex situations which may arise in the British Empire, in federal States, &c.

As regards the contents of the draft, the Second Committee had to consider the very important observations of the Netherlands Government that the Committee's draft differed materially from that adopted by the Conference on International Private Law held at The Hague in 1925. The scheme of The Hague, making it a condition that the arbitral award should have, in the country in which it was made, the same effect as a judgment, provides for it the same means of enforcement which it was made, the same effect as a judgment, provides for it the same means of enforcement abroad as in the case of a judgment. By this system, the power over the award of the judge of the country where it is sought to enforce the award is reduced to a minimum. The draft of the Committee of Experts takes no account of whether the arbitral award has or has not the same force as a judgment in the country in which it was made; it regards the arbitral award itself as founded upon the submission to arbitration, which is a private agreement; hence it is led to admit a much wider power of control on the part of the Courts of the country in which the award is sought to be enforced. This divergence between the systems by no means implied a criticism of The Hague draft by the Committee of Experts. It is explained by the fact that the circumstances considered are different. The Hague draft begins by dealing with the recognition and enforcement of foreign judgments; this starting-point greatly facilitates the recognition and enforcement abroad of arbitral awards when they have the same force in the country in which they were made as judicial decisions. The Committee's draft must, on the other hand, be made to apply even between countries which grant each other no special facilities for the enforcement of their respective judgments.

It should be added that The Hague scheme is intended to serve as a model for bilateral treaties, whilst the present draft is intended for a collective agreement; and in a convention of this latter sort every possible precaution must be taken. This collective agreement, moreover, does not preclude the conclusion of bilateral treaties.

The fact remains that The Hague scheme tends to make the enforcement of arbitral awards easier than the present draft. The utility of the latter, one may almost say the necessity for it, is not affected on that account. It is an acknowledged fact, to which the Committee of Experts drew attention in its report, that the 1923 Protocol, for want of providing for the enforcement of arbitral awards abroad, sometimes leads to a denial of justice. This is an omission which must be supplied.

The Second Committee's study of the observations of the Netherlands Government confirmed it in the belief, expressed by the Committee of Experts, that only the recognition and enforcement of arbitral awards given in virtue of a submission to arbitration covered by the 1923 Protocol should be dealt with. It therefore did not adopt the Swedish Government's suggestion that the proposed agreement should be open to States which had not signed and ratified the 1923 Protocol. In its opinion, the proposed Convention should be regarded as complementary to the 1923 Protocol.

* Resolutions of the Committee of Commerce:—(1) Liberty of Trade; (3) Legal provisions or regulations relating to international trade.

The preamble of Article 1 defines the arbitral awards to which the Convention will be applicable. According to this text is necessary—

- (1) that the award should have been made in pursuance of a submission to arbitration covered by the 1923 Protocol;
- (2) that it should have been made in a territory of one of the contracting parties to which the new Convention applies;
- (3) that it should have been made between persons subject to the jurisdiction of a State or Member of the League of Nations which is a party to the new Convention.

In compliance with a request of the Danish Government, which pointed out that in certain countries the procedure was not completely governed by a "law," the Committee substituted in this preamble and in various provisions the words "in conformity with the law governing the arbitration procedure" for the words "in accordance with the law."

The Second Committee has thought it advisable to maintain the provision (Article 1, *litera a*) to the effect that the award must have been made "in pursuance of a submission to arbitration which is valid under the law applicable thereto." The German Government proposed a clause specifying what this law was. The Second Committee realised the importance of such a definition for the Court which was asked to enforce a foreign arbitral award. But it considered that no definition could be given in a simple formula and that it involved the most intricate problems of private international law. The exact determination of the law applicable to the submission to arbitration would rather be a matter for the Hague Conference on Private International Law than for this Committee. The latter therefore refrained from making any definition, so that the Court in each particular case will have to discover what this law is by applying the rules regarding the conflict of laws.

The Second Committee, on the other hand, added to the clause requiring that the award should have become final in the country in which it was made (Article 1, *litera d*). The Italian Government observed that it would be necessary to define the meaning of these words. The difficulty of doing so was due to the diversity of the laws regarding the means of redress. A general phrase based on the distinction between ordinary and extraordinary means of redress did not seem to take sufficient account of this diversity. The draft explains the final character of an award by saying that the award has not this character if it is open to "*opposition*," "*appel*" or "*pourvoi en cassation*." But as this formula is not suitable to awards made in countries which do not possess these means of redress with relation to arbitral awards, it was necessary to add, as regards all awards, that they would not be considered as final if any proceedings for the purpose of contesting the validity of the award, e.g. an action for annulment, were pending.

Naturally the term "*pourvoi en cassation*" employed in the provision in question will include "*le recours en revision*" which obtains in certain of such systems of law.

The Second Committee held that, from the particular point of view from which it was dealing with the question, what must be considered was the final character of the award, and not its executory character in the country in which it was made. On this point it did not adopt the opposite view put forward in particular by the Estonian Government. The reasons which led the Committee of Experts not to require that the award should be executory in the country where it was made appeared to the Committee to be conclusive.

The Second Committee carefully examined the case in which an award does not cover all the matters submitted to the arbitrator. It may happen in such a case that the award deals with the claim of one party without deciding on the counter-claim of the other party, and, if so, it would appear desirable that such an award, so long as it remains "partial," should not be enforced abroad, because the decision on the counter-claim may cancel the effect of the first decision. Again, the award may give a decision on a part only of the claim, because the arbitrator finds this part to be proved, whilst another part of the claim may be reserved on the ground that it calls for fuller consideration. In such a case it would appear desirable, inasmuch as this "partial" award has full validity *per se*, that it should be enforced immediately. The Committee considered that a satisfactory solution would be to give the authority of the country in which enforcement is sought the option of postponing recognition or enforcement, or of granting it subject to a guarantee. This authority may, of course, order a "partial" award to be enforced or not at its discretion. Further, if the submission to arbitration authorise the arbitral tribunal to make a partial award where this is in conformity with the law applicable to arbitration procedure, the enforcement of the award may naturally not be refused on the ground that it is "partial." Moreover, it appeared unnecessary to introduce a clause to cover the case in which the losing party has already satisfied the award and would be discharged therefrom—for example, by payment.

By the provision in the preamble to Article 2 of the draft Convention that "recognition and enforcement of the award shall be refused" in the cases covered by that article, all that is meant is that in such cases the authorities of the country where it is sought to enforce the award are not bound to secure recognition and enforcement. Under the terms of this text, recognition and enforcement are admissible even in these cases, if such recognition and enforcement are allowable under the law or treaties of the country concerned (Article 5).

Certain modifications have been made in the drafting of Article 3 for the sake of greater precision and to take account of the new provisions in Article 1 (*lit. d*). The Committee did not accept the British proposal to authorise the tribunal to grant a party time to "have the award remitted to the arbitrator." In the first place, it is unnecessary to indicate in the Convention the remedy open to the party, and, secondly, the remedy proposed is not to be found in the law of all countries.

With regard to the documents which have to be supplied, the Committee indicated by an addition to the preamble to Article 4 that the article in question was descriptive in character, and not exhaustive. It accepted a proposal by the German Delegation to the effect that a translation of these documents may be demanded. Naturally, this requirement may be omitted by special agreements between Governments.

The Committee, however, rejected another proposal by the German Government for the production of an official document certifying that the award had become final. The Committee, whilst

recognising the importance of this suggestion, shared the opinion of the Committee of Experts that a stipulation of this kind could not be inserted in a collective Convention.

The Swiss Delegation suggested that the Convention should apply only to arbitral awards made after this Convention had come into force. Conflicting opinions were expressed on this point, and a middle course was adopted. This Convention will only apply to awards made after the coming into force of the 1923 Protocol. As the date of this entry into force will be different for different countries, account will have to be taken in each case of the date of the entry into force for the country concerned.

The "protocol" clauses (Articles 7 et seq.) have been slightly modified, partly on account of the difference of form between a convention and a protocol, and partly to take account of the observations of the British Delegation regarding drafting formulas which are appropriate to the organisation of the British Empire.

At the request of the British Delegation, it was also recognised that the Convention should not apply to the colonies, protectorates or territories under suzerainty or mandate of any of the High Contracting Parties unless they were specially mentioned, but it could be rendered applicable to them by a declaration to that effect (Article 10).

Having given the above explanations, I have the honour, for the reasons already given at the beginning of my report, to propose the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 21.)

Convention on the execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards.

[Description of the Heads of States.]

signatories of the Protocol on Arbitration Clauses, opened at Geneva on 24th September 1923; having resolved to conclude a Convention with the object of supplementing the said Protocol, have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries the following:—

[Description of the Plenipotentiaries.]

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:—

Article 1.

In the territories of any High Contracting Party to which the present Convention applies, an arbitral award made in pursuance of an agreement, whether relating to existing or future differences (hereinafter called "a submission to arbitration") covered by the Protocol on Arbitration Clauses, opened at Geneva on 24th September 1923, shall be recognised as binding and shall be enforced in accordance with the rules of the procedure of the territory where the award is relied upon, provided that the said award has been made in a territory of one of the High Contracting Parties to which the present Convention applies and between persons who are subject to the jurisdiction of one of the High Contracting Parties.

To obtain such recognition or enforcement it shall, further, be necessary—

- (a) that the award has been made in pursuance of a submission to arbitration which is valid under the law applicable thereto;
- (b) that the subject-matter of the award is capable of settlement by arbitration under the law of the country in which the award is sought to be relied upon;
- (c) that the award has been made by the Arbitral Tribunal provided for in the submission to arbitration or constituted in the manner agreed upon by the parties and in conformity with the law governing the arbitration procedure;
- (d) that the award has become final in the country in which it has been made, in the sense that it will not be considered as such if it is open to *opposition*, *appel* or *pourvoi en cassation* (in the countries where such forms of procedure exist) or if it is proved that any proceedings for the purpose of contesting the validity of the award are pending;
- (e) that the recognition or enforcement of the award is not contrary to the public policy or to the principles of the law of the country in which it is sought to be relied upon.

Article 2.

Even if the conditions laid down in Article 1 hereof are fulfilled, recognition and enforcement of the award shall be refused if the Court is satisfied—

- (a) that the award has been annulled in the country in which it was made;
- (b) that the Party against whom it is sought to use the award was not given notice of the arbitration proceedings in sufficient time to enable him to present his case; or that, being under a legal incapacity, he was not properly represented;
- (c) that the award does not deal with the differences contemplated or falling within the terms of the submission to arbitration or that it contains decisions on matters beyond the scope of the submission to arbitration.

If the award has not covered all the questions submitted to the arbitral tribunal, the competent authority of the country where recognition or enforcement of the award is sought can, if it think fit, postpone such recognition or enforcement, or grant it subject to such guarantee as that authority may decide.

Article 3.

If the party against whom the award has been made proves that, under the law governing the arbitration procedure, there is a ground, other than the grounds referred to in Article 1 (a) and (c) and Article 2 (b) and (c), entitling him to contest the validity of the award in a Court of Law, the Court may, if it thinks fit, either refuse recognition or enforcement of the award or adjourn the consideration thereof, giving such party a reasonable time within which to have the award annulled by the competent tribunal.

Article 4.

The party relying upon an award or claiming its enforcement must supply, in particular—

- (1) The original award or a copy thereof duly authenticated, according to the requirements of the law of the country in which it was made;
- (2) Documentary or other evidence to prove that the award has become final, in the sense defined in Article 1 (d), in the country in which it was made;
- (3) When necessary, documentary or other evidence to prove that the conditions laid down in Article 1, para. 1 and para. 2 (a) and (c), have been fulfilled.

A translation of the award and of the other documents mentioned in this Article into the official language of the country where the award is sought to be relied upon may be demanded. Such translation must be certified correct by a diplomatic or consular agent of the country to which the party who seeks to rely upon the award belongs or by a sworn translator of the country where the award is sought to be relied upon.

Article 5.

The provisions of the above Articles shall not deprive any interested party of the right of availing himself of an arbitral award in the manner and to the extent allowed by the law or the treaties of the country where such award is sought to be relied upon.

Article 6.

The present Convention applies only to arbitral awards made after the coming into force of the Protocol on Arbitration Clauses, opened at Geneva on 24th September 1923.

Article 7.

The present Convention, which will remain open to the signature of all the signatories of the Protocol of 1923 on Arbitration Clauses, shall be ratified.

It may be ratified only on behalf of those Members of the League of Nations and non-Member States on whose behalf the Protocol of 1923 shall have been ratified.

Ratifications shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who will notify such deposit to all the signatories.

Article 8.

The present Convention shall come into force three months after it shall have been ratified on behalf of two High Contracting Parties. Thereafter, it shall take effect, in the case of each High Contracting Party, three months after the deposit of the ratification on its behalf with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

Article 9.

The present Convention may be denounced on behalf of any Member of the League or non-Member State. Denunciation shall be notified in writing to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who will immediately send a copy thereof, certified to be in conformity with the notification, to all the other Contracting Parties, at the same time informing them of the date on which he received it.

The denunciation shall come into force only in respect of the High Contracting Party which shall have notified it and one year after such notification shall have reached the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

The denunciation of the Protocol on Arbitration Clauses shall entail, *ipso facto*, the denunciation of the present Convention.

Article 10.

The present Convention does not apply to the colonies, protectorates or territories under suzerainty or mandate of any High Contracting Party unless they are specially mentioned.

The application of this Convention to one or more of such colonies, protectorates or territories to which the Protocol on Arbitration Clauses, opened at Geneva on 24th September 1923, applies, can be effected at any time by means of a declaration addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations by one of the High Contracting Parties.

Such declaration shall take effect three months after the deposit thereof.

The High Contracting Parties can at any time denounce the Convention for all or any of the colonies, protectorates or territories referred to above. Article 9 hereof applies to such denunciation.

Article 11.

A certified copy of the present Convention shall be transmitted by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to every Member of the League of Nations and to every non-Member State which signs the same.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention.

Done at Geneva, on the in a single copy, of which the English and French texts are both authentic, and which will be kept in the Archives of the League of Nations.

ANNEX XV.—Report of the Third Committee on the Private Manufacture and Publicity of the Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and Implements of War. (Rapporteur: Dr. Guerrero, Salvador.)

On several occasions the Assembly has emphasised the importance it attaches to the establishment of a convention on the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and implements of war. In the second paragraph of the resolution adopted on 25th September 1925, the

Assembly "invites the Council to continue the preliminary work on the subject of the control of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and implements of war, so that a draft convention may be prepared as speedily as possible and that the Council may summon an international conference to consider it, if possible, before the next Assembly."

Last year the Third Committee considered the difficulties which the Council had encountered in carrying out the wishes expressed in such plain terms by the Assembly in 1925. Undaunted by these difficulties, the Assembly again expressed the desire that this work should be continued, so that the Conference might be summoned, if possible, before the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly. That the eighth session of the Assembly is confronted by the same situation as the preceding Assemblies is due beyond doubt to the fact that the difficulties already alluded to have unfortunately not been solved. As may be seen in the report of the Special Committee, which has been laid before the Assembly, there are fundamental differences of opinion as to the proper manner in which to consider this question.

In some quarters it is thought preferable to adhere strictly to the terms of Article 8 of the Covenant, and to confine the projected convention to the supervision of private manufacture proper. Others would like to include State manufacture. Among the latter, in addition to the United States Government, which has expressed its views on this subject very clearly and precisely, are to be found many non-producing countries which fear to be placed in a flagrantly inferior position as regards security if the publicity precautions contemplated in the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms are not extended to cover direct purchases of arms by producing countries from national factories. As the Assembly will remember, it was this apprehension that found expression in the resolution embodied in the Final Act of the Conference of May-June 1925, in which the Conference declared that the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and Implements of War "must be considered as an important step towards a general system of international agreements regarding arms and ammunition and implements of war, and that it is desirable that the international aspect of the manufacture of such arms, ammunition and implements of war should receive early consideration by the different Governments."

The Third Committee has been obliged to recognise that the two attitudes described above came into opposition in the Special Committee and that it proved impossible to reconcile them. The Third Committee unanimously agrees, however, that the solution of this problem is intrinsically indispensable, and that it might have an excellent effect on the general problem of disarmament. The Committee was almost unanimous in considering that this solution might perhaps be sought in a Convention which, while subjecting private manufacture to supervision, would extend to State manufacture such of the supervisory regulations as more particularly concern publicity; this would satisfy the non-producing countries, and at the same time would meet the wish of certain other countries that consideration should be given to the special conditions of State manufacture.

On this subject the French Delegation made a suggestion to the effect that the publicity of State manufacture should be secured by the strict application of Article 8 of the Covenant to particulars of military, naval and air expenditure, because, if each country's expenditure on war material were made public, information would thus be furnished which should satisfy the requirements of non-producing countries.

It is with this end in view that the Third Committee has the honour to propose that the Assembly adopt the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 27.)

ANNEX XVI.—Report of the Third Committee on Arbitration, Security, Disarmament and the Work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. (Rapporteur: M. de Brouckère, Belgium.)

The Third Committee has submitted to the Assembly a special report on the Polish Delegation's proposal and another on the investigations made with a view to the establishment of a convention for the supervision of the private manufacture of arms, ammunition and implements of war.

The present report will deal with the other questions submitted to us.

The Committee found, in particular, that the investigations undertaken under the direction of the Preparatory Commission demonstrate the necessity of taking certain precautions to prevent the development of civil aviation being hampered by military considerations and diverted for the same reasons into a direction which might constitute a serious obstacle to the establishment of international confidence. Without prejudice to the work of the Preparatory Commission with regard to the problem of aviation, the Committee trusts that the Assembly will adopt the resolution which it proposes, in order to obviate this risk (Resolution No I).

The Committee has taken note with the keenest interest of the enquiries undertaken by the Committee of the Council and the technical organisations working under its direction with regard to the methods and regulations which would enable the Council to take as expeditiously as possible such decisions as may be necessary to enforce the obligations of the Covenant, and the most suitable measures to facilitate the working of the League organisations in time of emergency. The Committee considered these questions simultaneously with the proposal on the Assembly's agenda to the effect that it should be laid down as a principle that it is the obligation of the Governments Members of the League to facilitate by every means in their power the meeting of the Council in time of emergency.

The Committee proposes for the Assembly's adoption two Resolutions on these questions, to which it attaches genuine importance (Resolutions Nos. II and III).

The Resolution which the Third Committee proposes that you should adopt regarding the system proposed by the Finnish Government for affording financial assistance to States victims of aggression is linked up with the investigations made by the Secretariat in regard to Article 16 (Resolution No. IV).

The Committee, which received the Finnish proposals with the greatest interest, suggests that they should continue to be investigated by the special Committee referred to below.

In the course of discussion, certain delegations made reservations on a number of points; these are recorded in the minutes of the ninth meeting (22nd September).

As regards the proposal submitted to the Committee by Dr. Nansen on behalf of the Norwegian Delegation, regarding a draft optional convention for obligatory arbitration of disputes, the Committee, having regard to the importance of its legal aspect, asked the First Committee to give it preliminary consideration. The Third Committee notes the opinion expressed by the First Committee contained in the following report:—

"The Committee does not consider itself in a position to study the Norwegian proposal in detail during the present Assembly.

"It endorses the opinion of the Third Committee favouring the study of a general convention for compulsory arbitration through the instrumentality of the Committee provided for in the resolution concerning arbitration, security and disarmament voted by the Third Committee on 21st September 1927.

"The enquiry should include in its scope the possibilities of the development of arbitration in all its aspects.

"The Committee begs to indicate the following points for enquiry:—

"(a) Means should be sought for encouraging and promoting the acceptance of the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the permanent Court of International Justice and the conclusion of special treaties for judicial settlement, arbitration and conciliation.

"(b) In any investigation into the methods of pacific settlement of disputes between States, special attention should be paid to the procedure of conciliation, which is of the utmost importance.

"(c) Very special attention should also be given to the question of the relations between the Council's and the Assembly's mediatory action and the procedures of arbitration and conciliation.

"(d) In studying a general convention for compulsory arbitration, enquiry should be made as to how the convention could be given sufficient flexibility to permit the contracting States to adjust the obligations assumed to their particular circumstances."

Lastly, the Assembly referred the Netherlands Delegation's proposal to the Third Committee. The French and German Delegations submitted kindred proposals direct to the Committee.

It appeared on examination that, so far from being antagonistic, the three texts expressed similar ideas, and formed the most admirable complements to one another. It was accordingly found possible to combine them in a single Resolution, which met with unanimous approval (Resolution No. V). We need only reproduce the text here with a few brief remarks.

All the delegations were agreed that the work for disarmament should be prosecuted with the utmost energy.

The Assembly, at its seventh ordinary session, had decided that, in the present conditions with regard to regional and general security, the work of the Preparatory Commission should be continued, no effort being spared to bring it to a successful conclusion as quickly as possible, and that the Conference itself should be convened as soon as the preliminary technical work was completed.

All the delegations remain faithful to this view and urge that a further effort should be made to reach the conclusion without delay. At the same time, all realise that the proposed movement along the road to disarmament will be only the first step, and must be followed by others before any real general disarmament can be achieved.

It is recognised on all hands that the greater the improvement in the conditions of security and the more decided the nature of the first step, the sooner the subsequent steps will be taken. The Committee therefore feels that, with a view to reaching definite solutions as quickly as possible, the study of the questions of arbitration and security should be resumed on systematic lines.

The Committee is accordingly making definite proposals to the Assembly for the organisation of a Committee which would study, under the direction of the Preparatory Commission, the best means of giving all countries the guarantees of arbitration and security necessary to enable them to fix the level of their armaments at the lowest possible figures.

The Third Committee considers that the Committee in question should include representatives of all the States which have seats on the Preparatory Commission and are Members of the League, other States represented on the Commission being invited to sit on it if they so desire.

It should be observed that, in urging at the beginning of Part 3 of the resolution that the work of the Preparatory Commission must continue until the final goal—general disarmament—has been reached, the Committee does not mean that the Preparatory Commission as at present composed should be perpetuated, but simply wishes to point out that, whatever success the first measures of disarmament may have, the question has a character of continuity which calls for uninterrupted work.

A number of delegations desire to make it clear that this resolution, which the Third Committee has the honour to submit for the Assembly's approval, is not to be interpreted as in the slightest degree affecting the obligations incumbent on the Members of the League in virtue of the Covenant.

The Committee unanimously agrees that these obligations remain unaltered, neither diminished nor increased by the adoption of such a resolution.

During the discussions which took place, the attention of the Committee was drawn to the importance to be attached, from the point of view of security, to the conclusion of agreements, especially as between Members and non-Members of the League, on the lines which have been advocated in the United States, i.e. agreements for the outlawry of war.

With regard to the final paragraph of the resolution, the Committee desires to point out that the agreements therein mentioned are not in any way to be confused with such alliances as it was possible for countries to contract for political purposes of one kind or another before the Covenant of the League established general principles and obligations which introduced a measured harmony into international life. The agreements referred to in the resolution are to be regarded as means for enabling States which wish to enter into closer mutual engagements than are provided by the Covenant to help each other to discharge more effectively, so far as they are concerned, the obligations

embodied in the Covenant itself. These agreements, therefore, are to be regarded simply as instruments for applying the principles of the League more effectively in specific regions.

As the last lines of the text have given rise to certain observations, it may be well to define their meaning. There is no question of asking the Council to send to States Members of the League a questionnaire regarding their intention in all imaginable cases. The idea which the Commission wished to express is that the Committee which it has suggested should be set up should be instructed to study the form in which the Council should ask the different States to inform it what measures they would be prepared to take to support its recommendations or decisions in certain cases which the said States might indicate. It is understood that States will have all possible liberty to reply in such manner as they think best to these enquiries by the Council.

The object thus sought is to render it easier for individual States, at the Disarmament Conference, to fix the lowest possible figure for their armaments, by enabling them to graduate them in proportion to the guarantee of security afforded by the assistance on which in certain circumstances they might be able to rely. (For text of Resolutions adopted see page 25.)

ANNEX XVII.—Report of the Fourth Committee on the Establishment of an Administrative Tribunal. (Rapporteur: M. Zumeta, Venezuela.)

The Fourth Committee appointed a Sub-Committee,* of which I had the honour to be Chairman, to consider the question of the establishment of an Administrative Tribunal. This question was dealt with by the Sub-Committee in a Report.

The Committee, after noting the views exposed in the Sub-Committee, came to the same conclusion as the latter, namely, that the establishment of such a tribunal should be recommended as an experiment, subject to the Assembly's right to reconsider the whole matter subsequently.

The Fourth Committee is of opinion that the draft Statute submitted by the Supervisory Commission should therefore be adopted. It would merely propose a slight amendment of form, viz. that, to avoid any ambiguity, Article II, para. 2, of the draft Statute should mention expressly the articles of the Staff Regulations of the International Labour Office referred to in the existing text by the words "the corresponding Articles."

The Fourth Committee therefore recommends that the Assembly adopt a Resolution on the following lines. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 30.)

ANNEX XVIII.—Report of the Fourth Committee on the Construction of an Assembly Hall and of New Buildings for the use of the Secretariat.

The Fourth Committee, at its afternoon meeting of 23rd September, had before it the Report† of the Special Committee appointed by the Assembly to consider the question of the new buildings, which was submitted to it in accordance with the Assembly's decision.

The Fourth Committee approved the Report as a whole and, recognising the admirable work already performed by the Special Committee, ventures to suggest that the same Committee is that best qualified to continue the study of this important question. They therefore venture to propose to the Assembly that the names of the present Special Committee (M. Adatci, M. Osusky, M. Politis, M. Urrutia and Sir Edward Hilton Young) should figure in the draft Resolution with which the Special Committee's Report concludes.

ANNEX XIX.—Report by the Special Committee on the Construction of an Assembly Hall and of New Buildings for the Use of the Secretariat. (Rapporteur: Sir E. Hilton Young, British Empire.)

At the eleventh plenary meeting held on Saturday, 10th September, the Assembly appointed a Committee of five members to present suggestions with regard to the decision to be taken in the matter of the new League buildings. The members of the Committee were:—

M. Adatci (Japan),
M. Osusky (Czecho-Slovakia), Chairman of the Supervisory Commission,
M. Politis (Greece),
M. Urrutia (Colombia),
Sir Edward Hilton Young (British Empire).

The Committee appointed M. Adatci Chairman and Sir Edward Hilton Young *Rapporteur*.

The Committee has examined the question on the lines laid down in the terms of reference approved by the Assembly and has carefully considered all information on various details which the Secretariat was in a position to supply.

The Committee is of opinion that it is impossible to complete the study of the whole question during the present session of the Assembly. There are, however, certain points which appear quite clear to the Committee and which, in its view, enable certain decisions of principle to be taken by the Assembly at the present session, thus avoiding the necessity of an adjournment to the Assembly of 1928 and the resulting year's delay in commencing operations.

1. Financial Position.

The accounts of the Building Fund show a cash balance in hand on 31st August 1927 of 11,400,000 francs in round figures, to which must be added the guaranteed sale price of the Hotel National—4,000,000 francs. From this sum of 15,400,000 francs it is prudent to put aside a sum of 1,000,000 francs for the purchase of land and other general expenses. There is therefore a sum in hand at the present time of roughly 14,400,000 francs.

* This Sub-Committee consisted of M. Zumeta, Chairman, Mgr. Kaas, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, General Gabriel Tanczos (deputy: M. Baranyai) and M. Cesare Tumedei.
† Annex XIX.

As some time will naturally elapse before any considerable payments must be made from this fund, it seems permissible to anticipate the addition of a sum of about 1,000,000 francs as interest on the large cash balance now actually in the possession of the League, thus bringing the amount available to a total of 15,400,000 francs.

A study of the prize-winning plans in the architects' competition has convinced the Committee that the sum at present available will not be sufficient to ensure that the new building or buildings shall, without being unduly luxurious, be satisfactory from the æsthetic point of view as well as from the practical. The estimates of cost submitted by the various competitors in accordance with the rules of the competition appear to the Committee to be in nearly all cases inadequate.

Basing itself upon a reasonable estimate of the cubic capacity necessary to provide the accommodation required and a by no means extravagant estimate of the probable cost per cubic metre, the Committee is of opinion that it is necessary to contemplate the probability that the credit allotted will ultimately have to be increased to approximately 19,500,000 francs. Until a plan has been definitely decided upon and carefully revised, it is of course impossible to give a more exact estimate: it may be possible to effect a reduction upon the sum named; and, in view of the amount of cash actually in hand, it is also unnecessary for the Assembly to vote at this present session a definite supplementary credit. All that is needed, and the Committee ventures to urge strongly the necessity of this measure, is that the Assembly should now agree in principle that the Building Fund will be increased to the amount of approximately 19,500,000 francs, should it be confirmed that the required buildings cannot be obtained for less.

2. Choice of Plan.

The Committee is of opinion that it is reasonable and just that the ultimate choice of a plan should be made from among those which were awarded the nine equal prizes of 12,000 francs.

If the Assembly approves the Committee's recommendations, it will be necessary for a small committee to be appointed to continue the study of the questions contained in the terms of reference of the present Committee, with full powers to choose, with any changes that may be necessary, a plan that in their opinion most nearly satisfies the practical necessities and æsthetic considerations. This committee would, of course, be provided with such expert assistance as it may desire. The decision of the committee should be submitted to the Council for formal approval and ratification.

In conclusion, therefore, the Committee proposes to the Assembly the following Resolution:—

"The Assembly:

"Approves the report of the Special Committee of five members in regard to the new buildings;

"Approves, in principle, that the amount to be spent on the new buildings may be increased to approximately 19,500,000 francs. The exact amount of the supplementary credit necessary will be submitted to the Assembly at the next session;

"Empowers a Committee composed as follows:

to study the nine plans awarded the equal prizes of 12,000 francs in the architects' competition, and to choose, with any changes that may be necessary, a plan which in its opinion complies most nearly with the practical and æsthetic requirements. The decision of this Committee will be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for ratification, and will be communicated to the Assembly at the next session."

ANNEX XX.—*General Report of the Fourth Committee on Financial Questions.* (Rapporteur: M. Jean de Modzelewski, Poland.)

The present report refers to administrative and financial questions on the Fourth Committee's agenda, with the exception of those relating to contributions in arrears, the Administrative Tribunal and the adjustment of the salaries of the staff, which are dealt with in separate documents.

I.—AUDITED ACCOUNTS FOR 1926.

The Committee unanimously recommends the Assembly to approve the accounts of the Secretariat and the autonomous organisations of the League in the form in which they have been submitted to it. It also associates itself with the various recommendations made by the Auditor to the extent to which those recommendations were accepted by the Supervisory Commission.

II.—BUDGET FOR 1928.

(a) General Discussion.

The examination of the items of the three principal budgets of the League of Nations was preceded by general discussions, in the course of which important points were noted and valuable principles arrived at.

The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General, on the basis of statistics submitted to the Assembly, informed the Committee that the League's budget was not increasing in proportion to the new tasks entrusted to the League and to the increased work involved for the various organs of the League.

In this connection the following figures are significant: whereas between 1922 and 1926 the budget increased by only 5 per cent. and the staff by 27 per cent., the number of documents translated into French increased by 89 per cent. and that of documents translated into English by 71 per cent. During the same period the documents passing through the Registry increased by 48 per cent., and the number of days during which Committees and Sub-Committees had held meetings by 175 per cent. The statistics for the first months of 1927 indicate that there has been no falling off in this progressive movement since the end of 1926.

The figures mentioned show that the amount of work done by the staff, which, in the opinion of many competent judges, had always been satisfactory, has grown considerably of recent years. The

Committee feels sure that this excellent result is due to the great administrative qualities of the Secretary-General, who, assisted by the Under Secretary-General in charge of internal administration and finance and by the Treasurer, and stimulated by the Supervisory Commission, had succeeded in a relatively short space of time in building up that remarkable organisation the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

The Secretary-General stated that it would be difficult to make further reductions in the budget of the Secretariat and the Special Organisations, as this had already been heavily cut down by the Supervisory Commission. This year's experience had been conclusive on this point. For instance, it was only by effecting several important transfers of credits that it had been possible to meet the expenses of the Economic Conference, which had been estimated at much too low a figure.

The increased expenditure is largely due to the development of the League's work; it is important, therefore, to consider very carefully any credits for new undertakings since, when one has been started, the credit granted cannot be discontinued without losing the benefit of the expenditure already incurred. If, therefore, the Assembly decides to entrust new tasks to the League it will be necessary to increase the budget or temporarily suspend some part of the normal duties of the Secretariat.

The Committee's attention was drawn by several members to the resolution adopted by the Assembly last year, on the proposal of the Indian delegate, which reads as follows:—

"Without putting obstacles in the way of the development of the League, it is desirable to keep in view a maximum limit of expenditure with the object of securing that the contributions of individual States shall not normally in future exceed their contributions for the current year."

In order to facilitate the application of the above resolution, some members of the Committee expressed the opinion that the League should impose limits on requests for further expenditure. In order to obtain this result, the Assembly might be invited to delegate authority in the matter of proposals for further expenditure to some smaller body, and this body might examine the order in which new tasks entrusted to the League should be undertaken. No formal decision was, however, taken by the Committee on this point.

The Committee, having special regard to the effect of supplementary credits in increasing the total expenditure of the League, and the necessity for co-ordinating proposals for fresh expenditure, decided that all supplementary credits should be considered together, on the report of the Supervisory Commission towards the end of the proceedings of the Fourth Committee, and that, in the meanwhile, the budget credits should be voted only provisionally. This procedure was followed, with advantage, to the deliberations of the Committee.

It further confided to the Supervisory Commission the task of assisting it as to the comparative urgency of the various proposals for supplementary credits.

The question of expenditure affecting one State or a limited number of States Members of the League was also raised by several members of the Fourth Committee. The Secretary-General stated that he had not last sight of the resolution adopted in this connection by the third ordinary session of the Assembly. For instance, certain States not Members of the League which had been invited to participate in conferences convened by the League had, although they were not bound to do so according to the terms of the financial regulations, paid at their own wish an equitable part of the expenses of these conferences. It would, however, be dangerous to give too wide an application to this principle, especially in the case of Members of the League that derive few direct advantages from their participation in the work of the League of Nations.

(b) Question of Publications.

The question of publications led to an exchange of views. As regards the Secretariat, the Secretary-General explained to the Committee that the Publications Department had just been reorganised and the expert who had recently been engaged was successfully developing the sales by increasing the number of agents and regulating the internal and external organisation of his department. This has made it possible to include in the budget for 1928 an appreciably higher sum in respect of receipts from the sale of publications than was included in the budget for 1927.

In reply to a question asked by a delegate, the Secretary-General stated that receipts from the sale of publications were all shown in a single item of the budget, whereas the cost of printing, in conformity with the decision of the second ordinary session of the Assembly, was charged to the Sections undertaking the preparation of the documents.

As regards the sale of the publications of the International Labour Office, the Director of the Office gave figures showing that the actual sales had been constantly expanding for several years past.

(c) Branch Offices.

The Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office agreed in principle with the suggestion made by various delegates regarding the economy which might be effected by placing the branch offices of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office in the same building. Nevertheless, no change can, of course, be made in the present system before the expiry of the current leases.

(d) Budget of the Secretariat and of the Special Organisation.

The Committee noted with interest a memorandum prepared at the request of a delegate to the Seventh Ordinary Session of the Assembly, on the work of the Information Section. It asked the Secretary-General to furnish it each year with a similar document; a member of the Committee suggested, however, that the time had perhaps come to stabilise the total strength of this important Section of the Secretariat.

After a long discussion, the Committee decided not to make any change in the budget of the Administrative Commissions and Minorities Questions Section. While, in the opinion of one speaker, the time had come to make certain cuts in this department of the Secretariat, several members of

the Fourth Committee considered, on the contrary, that there could be no question of reducing these credits, but rather that it might be contemplated to increase them in view of the great importance of the services rendered by the Section, particularly in regard to minorities. The Secretary-General undertook to consider the question in all its aspects when the 1929 budget was drawn up.

Upon the examination of the budget of the Economic and Financial Organisation, the British delegate observed that, to achieve a general stabilisation, it was important that the chief items of the budget should be stabilised. In this connection, he drew attention to the deplorable habit observed in the budgets of many States of continuing to include in the budget items of expenditure which had become obsolete in consequence of the completion of the work for which the credits had been originally voted. The Director of the Section assured the Committee that he did not think that any criticism of this kind could be levelled against the budget of the Economic and Financial Organisation. As soon as a piece of work was completed, the official who had been in charge of it was assigned a new task.

(e) *Budget of the International Labour Organisation.*

The budget of the International Labour Organisation provoked an interesting discussion with regard to the question of refugees. As this work could probably not be completed for many years, a member of the Committee asked the Director of the International Labour Office if the credits relating thereto should not in future figure under the heading of Emigration Service of the Office; this new arrangement of the budget might perhaps present the advantage of effecting certain economies.

The Director of the International Labour Office reminded the Committee of the circumstances in which the refugee work had been taken over by the International Labour Office and of the suggestions put forward in various quarters that this work should be developed so as to assist the unemployed or workers in Europe finding themselves in an uncertain and precarious position. These suggestions had not, however, been accepted by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and had indeed been rejected by the Assembly in 1925 and 1926; accordingly the Refugee Service remained provisional, and the credits relating thereto had to be entered in a separate budget.

(f) *Allocation of the Expenses of the League.*

The Chairman of the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses, who represents France on the Fourth Committee, recalled the fact that the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly had considered that the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses would have sufficiently reliable figures in 1928 to establish on a solid basis a final scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League of Nations. As the Economic Conference had observed, however, the world was still in an unbalanced state, particularly in Europe, where the stability of before the war was far from having been attained. In any case, the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses, whose conclusions were chiefly based on a study of the State budgets, could not expect to find a sufficiently sound basis for its work next year.

The budgets on which it would have to work would indeed be those of 1926, a year which was one of the most disturbed as regards the financial situation of several important States, owing to the erratic movements of their national currencies, while a large number of other countries, which had previously stabilised their rates of exchange, had serious difficulties to face owing to the reactions produced on their internal prices and directly affecting their budgets.

Agreeing with the conclusions of the French representative's statement, and without wishing to encroach on the sphere of the 1928 Assembly, which, as pointed out by the Indian delegate, is alone qualified to take a decision on the substance of the question, the Fourth Committee considers that the time has not yet come to draw up a final scale. It nevertheless thought it well to provide in the budget the sum of 7,500 francs in order to allow of the convocation of the Committee, more especially in the event of new States applying for admission to the League.

III.—REPORTS OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

The Fourth Committee, in approving the conclusions of the Supervisory Commission's various reports, desired to express its lively thanks to the Chairman for the care with which the Commission had studied the various questions laid before it by the last Assembly.

The recommendation by the Supervisory Commission to include the expenses of the Permanent Central Opium Board in the general budget of the League gave rise to an interesting discussion. M. Cavazzoni, delegate of Italy, adduced all the arguments which, in his opinion, weighed against the Supervisory Commission's proposal. The Geneva Convention had not yet come into force. Before the Board could act with any effect, the Convention would have to be ratified by the most important producing, manufacturing and consuming countries. The powers conferred upon the Board are a part of those already exercised by the Advisory Committee of the League; there could be no question of charging the League of Nations budget with a fairly substantial sum in order to establish an institution towards which most of its Members were indifferent, while some of them were opposed to it. Finally, the Council has not yet stated whether it intends to assume the duties devolving upon it under the Convention.

After a discussion, in which several members of the Committee took part, the Fourth Committee, by seventeen votes to two, approved the recommendation made to it by the Supervisory Commission.

Although there is reason to suppose that the Convention will enter into force next year, the Fourth Committee considered that, as the Central Board could hardly meet, even according to the most optimistic view, before the middle of next year, and as the Convention had been concluded over two years ago, no harm would be done if the first meeting of the Board did not take place till the beginning of 1929; in these circumstances, the Fourth Committee decided to enter no credit for the Board in the 1928 budget.

In accordance with the proposal made to it by the Fourth Committee, the First Committee did not insist upon inscribing in the 1928 budget a special credit for the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law, in addition to the credit voted for the Preparatory

Committee of the Codification Conference. Nevertheless, it proposed to the Fourth Committee, which entirely agreed, that, if necessary, the unexpended balance of the credits voted for the Preparatory Committee should be devoted to a possible meeting of the Committee of Experts for Progressive Codification.

With regard to the credits asked for for the collection of information on communications and transit, the Fourth Committee was, for imperative budgetary reasons, unable to grant the necessary sums for this year, at the time when the demand was made. It agreed, however, that, until the adoption of the 1929 budget, the Chief of the Transit Section should be authorised to enter into relations with States with a view to pursuing the preliminary stages of the work asked for by the Transit Conference.

When voting supplementary credits, several speakers mentioned that the time-limit given to the members of the Fourth Committee to examine the proposals for supplementary credits and the report thereon by the Supervisory Commission was really too short. Although it is hard to improve the present system without prolonging the Assembly, the Committee invites the competent authorities to study the question and, if necessary, to make proposals to the Fourth Committee of the next Assembly.

The Fourth Committee decided to instruct the Supervisory Commission to examine, before the next Assembly, the procedure to be followed in future should disputes arise through the Fourth Committee's refusing supplementary credits proposed by a Committee.

IV.—GIFT BY MR. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JUNR., FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIAL LEAGUE LIBRARY.

With regard to Mr. John D. Rockefeller Junr.'s gift for the establishment of a special League library, the Supervisory Commission pointed out that, in accordance with the Financial Regulations, the accounts will be kept and controlled in the same way as those of the ordinary funds of the League. The Committee recommends that, as soon as practicable, a detailed budget should be drawn up and, having been examined by the Supervisory Commission, should be annexed to the general budget of the League.

The Committee is of opinion that it would be well to give the Secretary-General authority, should he think it desirable, to invite several library experts to visit Geneva at an early date, to consult with the Secretary-General and the League Librarian as to the best possible use of the gift. It might also be useful to secure the benefit of the great experience recently obtained in the United States in library construction, either through a visit to that country by the League Librarian, and perhaps by the architect of the new buildings, or by inviting to Geneva an American library expert. Finally, should the Secretary-General consider it advisable to incur expenditure next year, such expenditure might be authorised, provided always that the Secretary-General obtained the approval of the Council, and that the Supervisory Commission had previously been consulted and agreed.

V.—ENLARGEMENT OF THE PREMISES PLACED AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

The Fourth Committee desires to pay a tribute to the generous act of the Netherlands Government which, by the loan of 240,000 florins, without interest, to the Carnegie Foundation at The Hague, made it possible to enlarge the premises at the disposal of the Permanent Court of International Justice without appreciably adding to the Court's budget. In order that the Foundation may repay this sum to the Netherlands Government, the Committee recommends that the Assembly should approve the entry in the Court budget for each financial period between 1929 and 1952 of an additional credit of 10,000 florins as a supplementary contribution to the Foundation by the Court for that period, it being understood that the alterations to the premises shall be completed before 10th June 1928. The arrangement concluded in 1924 between the Secretary-General and the Carnegie Foundation at The Hague would have to be altered to this effect.

The Committee's report would be incomplete if it did not include an expression of thanks from the whole of the Fourth Committee to its popular Chairman, Jonkheer van Eysinga, who has directed its discussions with firmness, tact and courtesy. The Committee's thanks are also due to the distinguished representative of Portugal, M. de Vasconcellos, who was so good as to accept the role of Vice-Chairman.

In conclusion, the Fourth Committee has the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft Resolutions:—

1. "The Assembly, in virtue of Article 38 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League, finally approves the audited accounts of the League for the eighth financial period ending 31st December 1926."
2. "The Assembly, in virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League, approves for the financial year 1928 the general budget of the League, of the Secretariat and of the Special Organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the total of which, including supplementary credits, is 25,333,817 francs* ;
3. "The Assembly adopts, in so far as they have been approved by the Fourth Committee, the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission submitted to its consideration."
4. "The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the Report of the Fourth Committee."

* See Annex, General Summary, page 81.

ANNEX XXIII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Protection of Women and Children in the Near East.* (Rapporteur: *Mdlle. Forchhammer, Denmark.*)

It will be remembered that the Assembly, at its seventh ordinary session, decided that the Mission for the Rescue of Women and Children entrusted to Miss Jeppe by the League of Nations should be prolonged for one year more under the conditions fixed by the Assembly at its sixth ordinary session—that is to say, under the high authority of the Power which holds a mandate in Syria under the League of Nations. Considering that Miss Jeppe was of opinion that her task could be discharged during 1927, the Assembly requested her to submit to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly a Final Report on the results of her mission.

In conformity with this decision, Miss Jeppe has presented the Report which you have before you containing a review of all her work. She reminds the Assembly that the Commission was originally constituted as a commission of enquiry and that the actual rescue work began in March 1922. During the following five years 1,400 people have entered the Commission's Reception House. In addition, about 200 persons have been rescued with the help of their relatives whom they had reached before arriving at the Reception House.

In order to achieve this end, about 20,000 Turkish gold pounds have been used, or a little over 18,000 pounds sterling, which gives an average cost of £11 5s. per head, including cost of administration, maintenance of the rescue home, board, clothing, medical care and education, and the settling on the land of some of the older boys.

It is reported that 75 per cent. of the rescued have succeeded in getting into touch with their relatives, and 400 have become self-supporting, as they have been taught a trade or found suitable work.

With regard to last year's work, Miss Jeppe reports that the mission has received much sympathy and encouragement, and has therefore made good progress. The French Government has been supporting the Commission wholeheartedly and no difficulty or resistance has been made by any particular element of the population. The funds placed at her disposal for this work from various sources amounted to over £6,000. The result has been that the number of rescued has exceeded that of former years. Three hundred and twenty-five persons have been rescued, the largest number in any past year being 300.

In reviewing the work of Miss Jeppe we can only repeat the words spoken by Dame Edith Lyttelton at the seventeenth plenary meeting of last year's Assembly: "The bravery, courage and resource that she has shown are worthy of the highest praise." We are proud to have been associated with her in her good work. Although Miss Jeppe is severing her official connection with the League of Nations, as she feels that her work of rescue is completed, she is, it is understood, continuing in a private capacity her efforts to restore these unfortunate people to a normal life. She considers that, until this task is completed, she will have to remain responsible for at least 400 people.

It is therefore to be hoped that the generous financial support which has been given by voluntary organisations will continue till the work has been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The Committee considers that she should be allowed to retain the furniture and equipment of which she is at present making use until her work for the rescued is definitely at an end.

The Fifth Committee proposes the following Resolution to the Assembly. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 35.)

ANNEX XXIV.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on Child Welfare.* (Rapporteur: *M. Janson, Belgium.*)

The Assembly has no doubt examined the report on the third session of the Child Welfare Committee of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, and will certainly wish to express its gratitude to the Committee for the work it is doing and has already done.

In conformity with the recommendation made by the Council of the League of Nations at its session in June 1926, the Child Welfare Committee endeavoured to make a judicious choice of the questions to be placed on its agenda, in order to concentrate its attention on the problems whose study and solution are of practical value to Governments. With this in view, it formed an Agenda Sub-Committee, which has already provisionally settled the agenda for the next session.

In pursuance of the recommendation made by the Assembly at its seventh ordinary session, the Committee decided to pursue the enquiry on the effects produced on children by the cinematograph and to study the position of the illegitimate child in the various countries. The Council, during its session in June 1927, instructed the Secretary-General to send to the Governments the questionnaire drawn up by the Committee with a view to obtaining information bearing on these two enquiries. The questionnaire dealing with illegitimate children was sent on the understanding that the Governments should only give information if they thought fit. The attention of the Child Welfare Committee is directed to the importance, from a physiological and mental point of view, of the enquiry undertaken concerning the cinema.

The Child Welfare Committee has recorded its gratitude for the efforts of the Health Committee to improve and standardise the statistics of still-births and infant mortality, and has decided to leave the study of the medical aspects of the question to the Health Committee, at the same time requesting it to forward to the Child Welfare Committee all documents dealing with the social aspects of the problems which concern child welfare.

After a detailed study of the very full information collected with regard to the age of consent and of marriage, the Advisory Commission, sitting as a plenary meeting of its two Committees, expressed its conviction that the fixing of too early an age as the age of consent is likely to encourage the traffic in women and children, and to lead to the corruption of young persons. It requested the Council of the League of Nations to draw the attention of the Governments to the imperative necessity of taking this factor into account in order to ensure the effective protection of children and young people. The Commission decided to postpone to its next session the question of the legal age of marriage, and

its possible relation to the age of consent. The Council requested the Secretary-General to submit to the various Governments for consideration the Commission's resolution dealing with the age of consent.

The Committee decided to pursue, jointly with the International Labour Office, the enquiry into the effects of family allowances on the welfare of children.

The Child Welfare Committee requested the Secretariat to await the results of the enquiry now being conducted by the International Prison Commission with regard to Juvenile Courts, and to submit a report at the next session.

The Assembly, at its seventh ordinary session, had recommended that the examination of the question of mental and physical recreation should be left on the Child Welfare Committee's programme. In conformity with this recommendation, the Committee appointed *rapporteurs*, who will submit a report in the course of the next session on the methods adopted in the various countries and on the results already obtained. The International Labour Office has been requested to communicate to the Secretariat the information in its possession on the utilisation of workers spare time in its relation to child welfare.

Furthermore, the Committee decided to retain the question of blind children on its agenda and the members and assessors of the Committee agreed to collect information in their respective countries on this subject.

Finally, the Committee examined the information received by the Legal Sub-Committee in answer to the questionnaire on the two draft international conventions, relating respectively to the repatriation and relief of minors, and to the execution of judgments relating to the enforcement of the obligation to provide for the maintenance of minors when those responsible for them reside abroad. It requested the Legal Sub-Committee to continue its work on certain lines which it indicated.

It should be recognised that the work of the Child Welfare Committee is considerable and that great efforts have been made to bring it into line with the recommendations of the Assembly and of the Council.

The Fifth Committee concludes therefore by asking the Assembly to grant its support to the work of the Child Welfare Committee and to adopt the following Resolution:—

"The Assembly notes the report submitted by the Child Welfare Committee, expresses its appreciation of the work it is doing and requests it to continue on the lines indicated in the report on its third session."

ANNEX XXV.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.* (Rapporteur: *Mme. Larsen-Jahn, Norway.*)

The ninth session of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs was held at Geneva from 17th January to 3rd February 1927. The Report of the Committee to the Council on this session was examined by the Council on 11th March 1927, and the necessary instructions were given to the Secretary-General with regard to the action arising out of the resolutions contained in that report.

The Advisory Committee concluded from the documents in its possession that the illicit traffic in drugs continues to be a grave danger. The Advisory Committee points out in its report the necessity for a general and vivid appreciation of what that traffic means in terms of human suffering, misery and degradation. It goes on to make the very serious statement that, with regard to combating the drug evil, action by the Governments falls far short of their contractual obligations; but neither the Committee nor the League is in a position to grapple with this huge problem except to the extent to which they are aided in that task by individual Governments; the possibilities of direct executive action are necessarily confined to these individual Governments, acting not only within their national territories but also in direct co-operation with each other.

The Fifth Committee wishes to draw the special attention of the Assembly to the gravity of the statements made by the Advisory Committee, a body of specialists who undoubtedly possess the most intimate knowledge and the widest experience of the subject. A very grave charge is made against the individual Governments, and the documents published by the Advisory Committee support, it must be admitted, to the very fullest extent the view it has expressed as to the danger of the situation. The Fifth Committee would like to make an appeal to the Assembly delegates that they should all, on their return to their respective countries, urge upon the competent authorities there the necessity for drastic action.

The Advisory Committee has, in its second resolution, made a definite recommendation, namely, that a systematic and searching enquiry should be undertaken without delay by the Governments of all the countries which manufacture the drugs or import them on a considerable scale with a view to discovering from whom and by what methods the illicit traffickers procure their supplies. One method of investigation has been indicated in that resolution, and the Fifth Committee cannot too strongly recommend to the Assembly delegates that they should do all in their power in their own countries to see that the Committee's request is complied with.

A very important exchange of views took place in the Advisory Committee on the subject of a resolution submitted to that Committee by the representative of the Italian Government. The Italian representative proposed that the Advisory Committee should hold an extraordinary session, with a view to drawing up concrete proposals for the reduction of the quantities of drugs manufactured to the quantities required for medical and scientific purposes, and also with regard to combating the contraband traffic in drugs, with special reference to the causes which produce it and the measures which might be adopted to suppress it. In the course of the discussion it became clear—though there was no formal proposition on the subject, and no vote was taken on it—that a majority of the members were either in favour of or would not oppose the calling of an extraordinary meeting of the Advisory Committee to discuss the question of the illicit traffic generally, provided that the discussion at such a meeting were limited to measures which fell

within the scope of the Hague Convention or of the Geneva Convention of 1925. The Advisory Committee preferred to leave the matter to the appreciation of the Council, and the Council, being of opinion that the calling of an extraordinary session of the Advisory Committee to discuss the question of the illicit traffic might well be desirable, empowered the Chairman of the Committee to call such a session should circumstances warrant such action. An extraordinary session has now been summoned for 28th September.

The Advisory Committee has also pointed out the importance of the bringing into force of the Geneva Convention of 19th February 1925. It states that great difficulties will continue to be encountered in dealing with the huge illicit traffic unless the further powers which the Convention confers are obtained and that serious harm is being caused by the long delay in bringing the Convention into general operation.

The situation in China is the subject of another resolution of the Advisory Committee, which recommends that all Governments should exercise special vigilance in the case of all postal matters destined for China in so far as this is possible.

The Advisory Committee has again passed a resolution with regard to the ratification of the Hague Convention by Turkey. This question was considered by the Assembly of 1923 and also by the Assembly of 1926. Up to the present time, no reply has been received from the Turkish Government to the Secretariat's communications on this subject.

The lack of information with regard to the exact situation as to the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs in Central and South America has caused some anxiety. It was, however, a great satisfaction to the members of the Advisory Committee to see a representative for one of these countries take part in their work for the first time, Bolivia having appointed a representative on the Committee. The Fifth Committee draws the special attention of the delegations from the Central and South American countries to Resolution 5 of the Advisory Committee, which deals with this point.

Resolution 6, dealing with the necessity for controlling the opium and drug traffic in free ports and free zones, is of special importance to all countries in which free ports and free zones exist. Undoubtedly, these countries will take every possible measure to stop the leakage which may take place through such ports and zones as a consequence of inadequate control.

Several resolutions deal with the necessity of furnishing reports on the commerce in drugs in the various countries. The Governments should not forget that the Hague Convention has already laid down special stipulations in this respect, and they will realise that lack of information is bound to hamper the work of the Committee.

The Fifth Committee has the honour to submit to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly the following Resolution:—

"The Assembly notes with approval the report of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and the resolutions contained therein, and earnestly recommends them to the attention of the States Members of the League."

ANNEX XXVI.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Work of the Commission of Enquiry into the Production of Opium in Persia.* (Rapporteur: M. Veverka, Czecho-Slovakia.)

The Assembly will remember that the sixth session of the Assembly, on 26th September 1925, adopted the following resolutions:

"I. The Assembly:

"Having considered the resolution contained in the Final Act of the Second International Opium Conference with regard to the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry in certain opium-producing countries:

"Recommends that such a Commission should be sent to Persia to study:

"(a) The existing situation with regard to the cultivation of the poppy;

"(b) The replacement of a proportion of this cultivation by other crops.

"II. The Commission shall consist of not more than three persons, to be appointed by the Council; a person having the necessary qualifications to act as chairman, an expert on the agricultural side of the problem to be nominated after consultation with the International Institute of Agriculture, and a person having experience of business conditions and markets in the East and knowledge of transport problems.

"III. The Assembly is of opinion that such an enquiry would require for its work the sum of 100,000 gold francs and decides that this sum be voted for the purpose."

Before going into further details, we must mention the great generosity of the Persian Government, which provided credits in excess of 100,000 gold francs for the housing, transport and other expenses of the Commission while in Persia; and of the Bureau of Social Hygiene of New York, which further guaranteed the expenses of the Commission up to 150,000 gold francs, and were thereby very largely instrumental in its success.

The Council, at its meeting on 11th December 1925, appointed the following persons to serve as members of the Commission:—President: Mr. Frederic A. Delano (United States of America), a former member of the Federal Reserve Board. Members: Dr. Fridiano Cavara (Italy), Professor of Botany at the University of Naples; Mr. Victor Cayla (France), Agricultural Engineer.

It was later agreed that Mr. Delano should be accompanied by an American agricultural expert, whose duty it would be to assist the President of the Commission on agricultural questions. Mr. J. B. Knight was chosen for this purpose.

From the report of the Commission which is now before the Assembly it is clear that the Commission has diligently and carefully studied poppy cultivation in Persia. It has in its report presented and explained that situation in detail. It has made a special study of the question of substituting a portion of this cultivation by other crops, and by the revival or introduction of certain industries, and it has concluded that, while difficult of accomplishment, it is not only possible and feasible, but to the economic interest of Persia to adopt a programme for the gradual diminution of the cultivation of the opium poppy.

The report of the Commission has been presented to the Persian Government, which has submitted its observations in a memorandum presented by a letter to the Secretary-General, dated 4th March 1927.

The Persian Government found itself in general accord with the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission save those pertaining to the increased cultivation of cereals, the morphine content and alleged medicinal demand for Persian opium, the percentage of opium addiction among the population and the attempt to prove that poppy cultivation has some relation to the periodic famines.

In its written and oral statements presented to the Council, the Persian Government called attention to an erroneous belief which had heretofore existed that Persian opium entered to a considerable extent into the manufacture of narcotic drugs, and it demonstrated by the statistics published by the League of Nations that less than one-half of 1 per cent. of all opium used in the manufacture of medicinal opium, morphine and heroin was furnished by Persia, and was therefore forced to the conclusion that a reduction in the quantity of opium produced in Persia would have no appreciable effect in reducing the quantity available for the manufacture of narcotic drugs. It further pointed out that, if all the producing countries accepted the curtailment programme proposed for Persia and annually reduced their production by 10 per cent. of the quantity remaining at the end of each year, there would still be produced 20 years from the present time twice the quantity of opium necessary to meet the medicinal requirements of the world.

From the foregoing analysis of the situation, the Persian Government concluded that, in order to obtain an effective control over the narcotic trade within a reasonable period, not only must the principle of curtailment be applied to the producing countries, especially Persia, who are least able to afford the losses involved and who are least affected by the drug habit, but that it must also simultaneously be placed in effect in the countries which manufacture drugs—the coca leaf and its derivatives to be subjected to the same reduction programme as opium and its derivatives.

The Commission recommended a 10 per cent. annual reduction on opium cultivation, but did not find itself in a position to estimate either the time required or the cost involved in the substitution of other crops and industries for opium. The Persian Government did not consider itself warranted under the circumstances in accepting blindly an indefinite programme of reduction, but it did accept a three-year trial of the plan, during which period the essential factors of time and cost of substitution could be determined.

The programme which the Persian Government proposed to submit to the Medjless with recommendation for its enactment into law was then stated as follows:—

1. Approval of recommendation of reduction in area under poppy cultivation of 10 per cent. per annum after three years on the plan proposed by the Commission of Enquiry.

Note.—The annual reduction to continue for three years, after which time the Persian Government will reconsider its position, taking into account the effect the reduction has had on the welfare of the cultivator, the trade balance, the budget and the general economic conditions of the country, and what action has been taken by other producing countries to curtail the production of the raw material and the manufacture and distribution of habit-forming drugs.

2. Acceptance of the opium import certificate system with an annual reduction, beginning not later than the third year after the present, of 10 per cent. of the quantity annually permitted to leave the country without production of opium import certificates.

Note.—Subject to the reservations indicated in the note to para. 1.

3. An exemption from land taxes for a period of five years in the case of areas diverted from the cultivation of the poppy to that of substitute crops.

4. Preference in the granting of agricultural loans to be given by the State Bank of Persia, when established, to cultivators who divert part or all of their land under opium cultivation to that of substitute crops.

5. In agreement with the intention of the League of Nations and the recommendation made by the Commission, the Government promises to study the increase of export Customs duties on such opium as is exported without certificate, and likewise to study changing the existing taxes on opium to other taxes which will facilitate and expedite the decrease of the cultivation of and commerce in opium.

While the Persian Government has accepted unconditionally to propose its reduction programme to the Medjless, it is nevertheless pointed out in the letter from the Persian Government to the Secretary-General, dated 4th March 1927, that the Government and people cannot be expected to continue to support a programme of reduction unless Persia is accorded substantial equality of opportunity with regard to the world's trade in medicinal opium, and unless Persia is enabled to put into effect the reasonable measures which are essential for fiscal and economic readjustments. Among these reasonable measures the Commission of Enquiry has particularly noted and recommended tariff autonomy. The Persian Government is likewise convinced that its independence and freedom in the establishment of legal Customs tariffs are essential for the protection and encouragement of Persian substitute industries and the promotion of export. In fact, the Persian Government states that the attainment of this aim is an indispensable condition if the Government is to pursue the policy which the League of Nations is considering for curtailment of the production of and commerce in opium. The Persian Government is confident that there will be a generous appreciation by other Governments of this important aspect of the situation.

The Fifth Committee would also draw the attention of the Assembly to the letter from the Chairman of the Commission to the Secretary-General, in which he replies to certain points of detail in which the Persian Government criticised the report and gives a very clear and valuable summary of the personal observations of the members of the Commission during its visit to Persia and of its findings and recommendations.

The Assembly will certainly agree with the Fifth Committee that the League of Nations owes a great debt of gratitude to the members of the Commission of Enquiry, who carried out the mission entrusted to them with no consideration as to their own personal convenience, and have succeeded in collecting a large amount of first-hand information of the very greatest importance.

On reading through the report of the Commission, one cannot but admire the scientific method, the thoroughness and the care with which it has been prepared. The attitude of the Persian Government is also worthy of the highest praise. Not only did the Persian Government do everything materially possible to assist the work of the Commission, but when the results of this work became known in Teheran the Persian Government immediately expressed its willingness to co-operate as fully as possible in attaining the results desired by the Second Opium Conference and later by the Assembly of the League of Nations. This readiness of the Persian Government to further the efforts of the League to combat the drug evil will be regarded as particularly comforting in view of the recent announcement by another producing country that it is taking steps to reduce progressively the exports of opium except for medicinal and scientific purposes, so as to extinguish them altogether within a definite period. The Fifth Committee expresses the hope that it will not be long before the example set by these two Governments is followed by the other countries concerned with the production of opium and coca leaf and with the manufacture of their derivatives, such as morphine, heroin, cocaine, &c. The Fifth Committee draws the attention of the Assembly to the statement made by the Persian Government that the programme to be submitted to the Medjles provides for the acceptance of the recommendations of the Commission with the reservation that after the plan has been in effect for three years the position will be reconsidered, taking into account the welfare of the cultivator, the budget, the trade balance and the economic situation of the country, and the action taken by other producing and manufacturing countries to curtail production and manufacture.

The experiment which has been made in sending the Commission of Enquiry to Persia is of so great value that the League should not lose sight of the further development of the policy which has thus been inaugurated.

To the words of appreciation to the Persian Government the Fifth Committee would like to add a respectful request to that Government that it should keep the League informed of further developments in the programme which the Persian Government has laid down for its own guidance and which it has suggested as a general measure towards an effective reduction in the production of opium. At the same time the Fifth Committee expresses the firm conviction that other Governments concerned with the production of the raw material and with the manufacture of narcotic drugs will take similar or equivalent action and that those Governments which do not already keep the League informed of the measures which they are adopting will do so in the future.

The Fifth Committee desires once more to appeal to those Governments, which have so far failed to ratify the Geneva Arrangement and Convention, to do so with as little delay as possible in order that full and effective co-operation may be assured.

The Fifth Committee has the honour to submit the following Resolution to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 33.)

ANNEX XXVII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children.* (Rapporteur: M. Portela, Cuba.)

The Traffic in Women and Children Committee held its sixth session at Geneva from 25th to 30th April 1927, and was presided over by His Excellency M. Regnault, delegate for France.

The greater part of the session was devoted to the consideration of the Report of the Special Body of Experts. The Council had forwarded to the members of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee Part I of this Report in order that it might consider what action it could recommend as a result of the information submitted by the experts. The suggested remedies in Part I of the Report were very fully discussed. The Committee particularly recommended that severe measures should be taken by the various Governments regarding foreign procurers and *souteneurs*.

Further, in order to check the traffic, the Council was requested to invite the various Governments to supervise conditions under which girls under 18 years of age are allowed to go abroad with contracts of employment, and, in particular, to insist on the strict enforcement of emigration laws and other similar establishments. It was recommended that an enquiry should be undertaken by the Secretariat with the assistance of the International Labour Office regarding the methods adopted in the different countries for the material and moral protection of artistes travelling abroad under contract in music-halls, &c.

The Committee considered the observations of the experts on the effects of the low wages paid to women in certain employments, and recognised that the low wages paid to women in certain branches of employment is a factor which cannot be disregarded in considering the problem of prostitution in its relation to the traffic. The Committee suggested that the Secretariat should examine the question of women's wages with the International Labour Office, and consider whether any aspect of the question should be explored, reporting to the Committee at its next session.

The more general measures to which the Committee continues to attach the greatest importance are the adhesion of Governments to the International Conventions and Agreement for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children and direct administrative co-operation between the central authorities of the different States on all matters connected with the traffic.

The question of the influence of obscene publications was also discussed at some length. A resolution was adopted drawing the attention of the Council to the fact that a large number of States in Obscene Publications have not ratified their signatures, and that many States Members of the League have taken no steps towards becoming parties to the Convention. The Council was asked to invite the Governments of those States to take the necessary steps in order to secure their co-operation in this important matter.

The Committee, being convinced that the fixing of too early an age as the age of consent is likely to encourage traffic in women and children, requested the Council to draw the attention of the Governments to the imperative need of fixing the age of consent sufficiently high to ensure the effective protection of children and young people.

As regards the legal age of marriage, the Commission thought it important that the age of marriage should reach a rational standard. It decided to postpone further consideration of this question until its next session.

The Secretariat was instructed to continue to collect information on the question of the expulsion of foreign prostitutes. The Secretariat was further requested to make a summary of laws in its possession dealing with the punishment of persons who live wholly or partly on the immoral earnings of women, and to present it to the Committee at its next meeting. The information already obtained by the Secretariat on the question of the employment of women police should be completed. The Committee noted with satisfaction the increasing number of women employed in the police forces of various countries.

With regard to the control of prostitution and licensed houses, the Traffic in Women and Children Committee took note of the observations contained in the Experts' Report. In view of the fact that Part II of the Report has not yet been published and that certain members of the Committee require additional information, it was decided to postpone further discussion until the next session. Considerations of the same kind led the Committee to adopt a similar decision regarding the question of extending the experts' investigation to countries which have not yet come within the scope of their enquiries. The Committee found that it could not express an opinion on this matter until it had thoroughly examined Part II of the Report. It took note of the desire expressed by the voluntary organisations for an early publication of Part II of the Experts' Report.

The report of the Committee to the Council was considered by the Council on 16th June 1927.

The *Rapporteur*, Sir Austen Chamberlain, thought that women's wages seemed to be a large economic question and to lie outside the scope of the Committee's work, and the Council approved this point of view.

The Secretary-General was instructed to take the necessary action arising from the report, subject to the observations formulated by the *Rapporteur*.

The report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee gave rise to a very full and interesting discussion in the Fifth Committee, which centred on the question of licensed houses and the question of measures in force with regard to *souteneurs* and procurers. A number of delegates emphasised the importance of the employment of women in the police. Several delegates made interesting statements concerning the situation in their own countries, and urged the importance of employing women police to patrol public places.

Certain delegates expressed a wish that the age of consent should, in no case, be lower than the age of marriage.

The German delegate on the Committee informed her colleagues that a new law, which provides for severe penalties, was to come into force on 1st October, abolishing licensed houses in Germany within the limits of its power. The delegate of Hungary also mentioned the fact that the system of the licensed house had recently been abolished in that country. Several delegates gave it as their opinion that the abolition of licensed houses in their countries had been fully justified.

The delegate of Cuba stated that licensed brothels had long been abolished in Cuba, and that very stringent laws, regulations and police measures were enforced for the protection of young female emigrants and the prosecution of their habitual exploiters.

The delegate of France stated that his country was also moving towards the abolition of the system of licensed houses, but that it must be given time. He pointed out that the suppression of regulated prostitution could only be effected by attacking not only the licensed-house system but all the different factors involved, also that this was the policy adopted by France.

The delegates of Roumania, Japan and Hungary stated the opinions prevailing in their own countries with regard to this most difficult question.

The Committee was unanimous in recommending that the strictest possible measures should be taken against *souteneurs* and procurers. The British delegate laid stress on the desirability of adequate punishments being provided for in regard to sexual assaults on children, and also for persons who for the sake of financial gain stimulate the graver forms of vice.

A special tribute was paid by the Committee to the excellent work of the Special Body of Experts on the traffic in women and children.

The Fifth Committee has the honour to submit to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 33.)

ANNEX XXVIII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on Measures in favour of Armenian and Russian Refugees.* (Rapporteur: Major Elliot, British Empire.)

There are several League activities closely connected with refugee problems, and it may be of use to state at the outset, for the information of delegates attending for the first time, that the present subject has no connection with the Greek or the Bulgarian Refugee Settlement schemes. The problems of Russian and Armenian refugees have occupied the attention of successive Assemblies for some years. They have been dealt with jointly by the High Commissioner for Refugees (Dr. Nansen) and by the International Labour Office with great vigour, and both are greatly to be congratulated on the very useful results which have attended their efforts. In the original stages, a very serious problem was presented by the influx of large numbers of disorganised and destitute refugees into countries where the machinery of government was in process either of reconstruction or of creation. This aspect of the problem has now entirely passed away, and the greatest praise is due to the energy and self-sacrifice of the Refugee Service, whose patient and unremitting work over a long period has, with the help of the League and the help of the Governments concerned, reduced the whole question to one of comparatively small dimensions. It is an especial pleasure to me to offer, in the name of the Fifth Committee, our homage to the great personality of Dr. Nansen, whose vision and guidance throughout have been such an inspiration.

The problems were attacked as follows :—

1. The anomalous status of the refugees was dealt with by the issue of identity certificates, to overcome passport difficulties, &c. These certificates have proved, as can be well imagined, of the utmost use to the refugees, who have gratefully recognised their value.
2. The destitution and unemployment were dealt with by the transfer of the refugees to countries, largely in Europe but also overseas, where opportunities for employment presented themselves. In this manner, approximately 200,000 were placed in a position to support themselves.
3. Land settlement schemes were drawn up to deal with a proportion of the remaining refugees.

The High Commissioner for Refugees further convened an Inter-Governmental Conference in May 1926 for the purpose of improving the passport system and of raising a revolving fund of not less than £100,000 to assist the migration of refugees.

The International Passport Arrangement existing when this Conference met had at that date been adopted by 46 and 34 Governments for Russian and Armenian refugees respectively.

The Conference of May 1926, however, finding that refugees in some countries were not receiving the benefits from the passport system contemplated by the original International Arrangement, drew up a Supplementary Arrangement to improve passport facilities. It also arranged to increase the revolving fund by means of the issue of stamps constituting a special yearly tax of 5 gold francs on the renewal of the Nansen certificates, usually charged only to self-supporting refugees. Last year, in its survey, the Fifth Committee reported to the Assembly that the statistics supplied by the International Labour Office indicated the existence of not less than 1,000,000 Armenian and Russian refugees in 26 different countries. As the records for some countries had not been received, the Committee considered the total might be safely estimated at 1,500,000.

Of these, 190,000 were reported unemployed, but here again the complete statistics were lacking, and the total number of unemployed was estimated at 250,000. There are therefore 1,250,000 placed, and the problem now before us is the problem of the last 20 per cent. Progress has been as follows.

Fifty Governments in the case of the Russian passport and 36 in the case of the Armenian passport have now adopted and recognised in principle the original Passport Arrangement.

Sixteen Governments have notified their formal adhesion to the Supplementary Arrangement drawn up by the Inter-Governmental Conference of 1926. The report before you shows that a sum of approximately 150,000 Swiss francs has already been received for the revolving fund from the issue of these stamps.

The report of the Director of the International Labour Office notes that there are at present 10,000 unemployed Russian refugees in Shanghai, while the position of trade in that city at the present time affords no prospect of an early reduction of their numbers. The majority of these Russians are resident in the French Concession. Through the courtesy of the French Government, the International Labour Office has been able to arrange for the issue of Nansen passports through the French Consul in Shanghai.

In Turkey, some 4,000 Russian refugees came under a Decree of the Turkish Government, promulgated this spring, which required them either to obtain Turkish nationality or to leave Turkey before 1st August 1927. The Chief of the International Labour Office Refugee Service proceeded to Angora to deal with this emergency, and was able to secure a suspension of the application of the Decree by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

LEGAL STATUS OF REFUGEES.

Another matter should be taken note of by the Assembly as affecting the interests of all categories of refugees now under discussion, whether Russian or Armenian, self-supporting or destitute, urban or agricultural.

The Advisory Committee, in September 1926, resolved that :—

“The different practical questions concerning Russian and Armenian refugees cannot find a satisfactory solution as long as the legal situation of these refugees is not regulated by the League of Nations.”

The Advisory Committee went on to suggest the formation of a technical Commission of Russian and Armenian experts to act as advisers.

A summary of the conclusions of this technical Commission is to be found in the High Commissioner's report. It recommends the adoption of a variety of measures to ensure legal rights in respect of property, marriage contracts and other matters, and urges that an Inter Governmental Conference should be summoned before the end of 1927, at which the technical Commission might discuss with representatives of the interested Governments how best to carry out these measures.

LAND SETTLEMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT SCHEMES.

During the past year these problems have received special attention at the hands of two different bodies. The schemes considered fall under two separate aspects, namely, the settlement of the Armenian refugees at present still remaining in Asia (mandated territories), numbering 90,000, and settlement overseas.

For the convenience of the Assembly, these proposals will be separately summarised.

SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN SYRIA.

This problem has been considered by a Joint Armenian Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee attached to the High Commission for Refugees.

The Joint Sub-Committee was set up in accordance with resolutions of the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly and of the Advisory Committee. Its Chairman is Dr. Nansen. Its Vice-Chairman is M. Albert Thomas, and its members include representatives of phil-Armenian societies in various countries. The Joint Sub-Committee works in close co-operation with the mandatory Power for Syria. It held its first meeting in November 1926.

At the request of the Joint Sub-Committee, Mr. T. F. Johnson (Assistant High Commissioner for Refugees and Chief of the Refugee Service of the International Labour Office) went to Syria in December 1926. He reported that, out of the total of 90,000 Armenian refugees there, 40,000 were in camps and needing assistance, 12,000 of them in a most precarious situation, and the other 28,000 in casual employment only.

The High Commissioner reports that, since the beginning of 1927, considerable progress has been made to improve this state of things.

Land has been acquired and plans of houses approved to accommodate 2,500 urban refugees at a cost of £40,000. Measures have been taken to acquire land to settle some 3,500 agricultural and urban refugees. This second scheme is estimated to cost some £30,000 and is being carried through on funds already in the possession of the Joint Sub-Committee. The process is inevitably slow owing to difficulties of obtaining a clear title to land, &c., which will be familiar to those with experience of Near-Eastern land purchase. However, 20 families have already been settled between Tyre and Sidon, and land has been acquired for 500 more, who are now in process of settlement.

It was estimated that the sums expended would be repaid by the urban refugees in five yearly instalments, and within a period of seven or ten years by the agricultural settlers. The High Commissioner estimates, however, from evidences of energy and enterprise shown by the first settled groups of agriculturists, that the latter period will be much shortened. The repayments will be devoted to the settlement of further groups. The following contributions have so far been made to the revolving fund for this settlement work :—

	French frs.	£ Sterling.	Swiss frs.
Lebanon Government	- 3,000,000	approx. 25,000	
High Commissioner for Refugees	-	3,000	
British United Armenian Committee	-	5,000	
Union Arménienne de Bienfaisance	-	500	
Anonymous	-	1,000	
Grant from Nansen Stamp Fund	-	1,000	
			(approx. 25,000)
Total (approximately)	-	£35,500	

The High Commissioner adds that it is hoped, by means of combined efforts in Europe and America, to raise within the next few months the sum of £120,000 required for settlement of the most indigent refugees in Syria.

OVERSEAS SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES.

Proposals were received by the International Labour Office from five States, all in South America (namely, Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Peru), to receive refugee immigrants, for land settlement, to the number of 30,000, in return for an advance of some £20 per head from the revolving fund.

Absence of funds to take advantage of these offers was the motive that prompted the High Commissioner to carry out a suggestion made by the Inter-Governmental Conference of 1926, namely, that interested Governments should be invited to make special advances to the revolving fund for overseas settlement.

A second Inter-Governmental Conference was accordingly convened and met in Geneva on 15th and 16th June 1927. M. Veverka (Czecho-Slovakia) was in the Chair.

The Conference (1) approved in principle of overseas settlement for Russian and Armenian refugees.

2. It further expressed the wish that Governments which have not yet ratified the Supplementary Arrangement of 1926 should do so.

3. A third representative of the Conference requested “such Governments as are disposed to facilitate the migration to overseas countries of refugees on their territories to inform the High Commissioner as soon as possible, and in any case before the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League,” of the number of refugees whose settlement they would be prepared to finance, and the number of unemployed refugees, according to their occupations, on their territories desirous of emigrating.

4. The Conference requested the Council of the League of Nations to afford all possible facilities for the transfer of Armenian refugees to Soviet Armenia.

5. The Conference requested the High Commissioner to communicate these resolutions to the Council and the Assembly for their consideration.

It will be seen from the report of the Conference that the German Government has already promised a first contribution of 100,000 R.Mks. to the revolving fund, and that the Czecho-Slovak, Polish and Serb-Croat-Slovene delegates to the Conference intimated the willingness in principle of their Governments to participate in this scheme either by means of advances, financial guarantees or the issue of the Nansen stamps on their territories.

The report concludes :

“It is hoped that the Governments at present expending large sums for the maintenance of these refugees will find it possible to adopt one of the means recommended by the Inter-Governmental Conference for advancing the necessary [emigration] expenses.

“There is every reason to believe that, by the application of the recommendations of the Conference, the interested Governments will be enabled to eliminate from their budgets in a comparatively short space of time the heavy annual expenditure of £2,000,000 at present incurred by them for the maintenance of unemployed refugees without involving themselves in any absolute capital expenditure.”

It will, of course, be understood that the schemes described here cover only a proportion of the refugees and, consequently, of the liability.

It will be seen that the essence of the whole matter is to be found in the third resolution of the Conference of 1927, namely, that the Governments interested should supply the High Commissioner as soon as possible with detailed proposals as to the number of refugees whose settlement they would be prepared to finance, &c. Time is all-important, as the problem tends irrevocably to become, in some cases, more difficult to solve. Moreover, the opportunities now open for settlement will not remain open indefinitely.

The devoted efforts of the High Commissioner and his staff have now resulted in the formulation of definite plans for the settlement of a substantial proportion of these unfortunate people. The execution of these plans depends on the co-operation of the various Governments concerned. Unless that co-operation is undertaken forthwith, it would seem not only unreasonable but unjust to expect from the Refugee Service that it should continue to assume responsibility for the liquidation of this problem.*

The Fifth Committee has the honour to submit the following Resolution to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly. (For text of Resolution adopted, see page 35.)

ANNEX.

EXTENSION TO OTHER ANALOGOUS CATEGORIES OF REFUGEES.

On page 6 of his report the High Commissioner refers to the case of analogous refugees and summarises the proceedings of the Assembly and the Council. He states that he has, in conformity with a resolution of the Council of 10th December 1926, submitted a memorandum on the subject.

The memorandum forms Annex 5 of his report.

It defines the term "analogous categories," and enumerates these, as far as known, under various heads, pages 13-14.†

ANNEX XXIX.—*Report of the Sixth Committee on the Slavery Convention.*
(Rapporteur: Sir E. Hilton Young, British Empire.)

The Sixth Committee considered the information which was communicated to the League of Nations by different Governments concerning the progressive abolition of slavery and conditions analogous thereto in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Assembly on 25th September 1926. This information consisted of documents from the Abyssinian Government, the British Government, the Government of India, the Portuguese Government and the Government of the Sudan, and of supplementary statements made orally to the Committee by representatives of India and of the British Empire.

The delegates of certain States pointed out that, in view of the fact that their legislation was already in conformity with the provisions of the Convention and had moreover been communicated to the Assembly in the report of 1924 on slavery, and considering that the progress anticipated as a result of the Convention will in certain respects be slow although steady, the parties to this Convention should not be expected to furnish every year a lengthy report on the subject.

Attention was drawn to a recent decision of the Full Court of Sierra Leone which suddenly revealed a regrettable deficiency in the legislation of that Protectorate respecting slavery. The Committee was glad to learn that an Ordinance was being urgently prepared to remedy this unfortunate hiatus in the legislation of the Protectorate and that a special session of the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone had been convened to bring the Ordinance into effect.

Hope was expressed that the Abyssinian Government would see its way to furnish the League with information on the steps taken to abolish slavery and the slave trade in Abyssinia, and on the measure of the success which these steps have in fact achieved. A report was received on 15th September 1927 from the Abyssinian Government giving certain lists of persons freed from slavery and of persons convicted of offences against the slavery laws of that country.

The Committee noted that although the Slavery Convention had been opened to the participation of 56 Members of the League and 14 other States, it had up to the present time been ratified or acceded to by only 14 countries: Australia, Austria, British Empire, Bulgaria, Denmark, Haiti, Hungary, India, Latvia, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, the Sudan and the Union of South Africa. It was happy to note, however, the statements made by the delegates of Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands and Norway in the Sixth Committee that they hoped their Governments would soon be in a position to ratify the Convention.

The Committee proposed the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution adopted, see page 36.)

ANNEX XXX.—*Report of the Sixth Committee on Mandates.* (Rapporteur: Dr. Nansen, Norway.)

The Sixth Committee considered a series of questions concerning the execution of the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant during the past year and was assisted in its deliberations by the Vice-Chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission, M. Van Rees.

* It should be noted that, since the discussion and adoption of this report by the Fifth Committee, the Council, at its meeting on 15th September, had before it the proposals of the Conference of 1927 with regard to overseas settlement. The Council passed no resolution but approved a report, as follows:—

"The Council has taken note of the memorandum of the High Commissioner for Refugees relating to the recommendations of the Inter-Governmental Conference, which examined certain proposals for the settlement of refugees in overseas countries. The Council has also taken note of the Minutes of that Conference. As, upon the motion of the Norwegian Government, the questions involved are also included in the Supplementary Agenda of the Assembly, the Council will doubtless prefer to await the discussions in the Assembly before taking any resolution on this subject."

† This question had not been considered by the Council when the present report was adopted. The Council, however, considered the question on 15th September and adopted the following resolution:—

"The Council:

"Requests the High Commissioner for Refugees to take the necessary steps to institute an enquiry into the applications submitted to him by Syrian, Assyro-Chaldean, Montenegrin and Turkish refugees mentioned in the annex to his report and to submit to the Council, at a later date, proposals with regard to these refugees; and decides to postpone to its December session consideration of the action which might be taken on appeals from the other classes of persons mentioned in the annex to the High Commissioner's report, to enable Governments to submit any observations or information on this subject which they may consider desirable."

The Committee was happy to note that, on 8th September 1927, the Council had approved a report by the Netherlands representative which explained in general terms the nature of the legal relationship between the mandatory Powers and the territories under their mandate, and it feels that the Assembly might well congratulate the Council on having thus so satisfactorily cleared up an important point which has in the past given rise to certain complications of a novel character.

No attempt was made to deal separately with the situation in the different territories under mandate, but certain features of the state of affairs in Iraq and Syria were called to the attention of the Committee, and it was glad to note the statement made by the representative of New Zealand concerning the special steps which the Government of that country is taking in order to provide the Mandates Commission with full information in regard to the recent difficulties in Western Samoa.

It is hoped that the mandatory Powers and the Mandates Commission will continue to give special attention to the great importance of having in the mandated territories officials who have had the special training required for their responsible work as the executors on the spot of the provisions of the Covenant and the Mandates, and who appreciate the necessity for a sympathetic study of the psychology of the inhabitants, as well as of native administration and native welfare, in order that these provisions may be most effectively fulfilled.

The increase in the liquor traffic, in certain territories under B mandate, is of such proportions that the Committee believes the Assembly should bring this matter formally to the attention of the Council with the hope that the Mandates Commission, in collaboration with the mandatory Powers, will continue to give serious consideration during the forthcoming year to the causes of this increase, and to the steps which have been taken to deal with the problem. After the success achieved by the Commission in defining the more important terms concerning the liquor traffic which are used in the B and C Mandates and in the Convention of St. Germain of 10th September 1919, one may confidently expect some positive achievement in dealing with this larger problem, to which the Council called special attention in 1922, and which is mentioned in the Covenant itself.

The Committee noted with interest that the rules with regard to petitions which have been set up by the Council and by the Mandates Commission are being codified by the latter in order that, in future, the various steps in the procedure which is followed in connection with such documents may be clearer to those concerned.

The Sixth Committee was impressed with the value of the minutes of the meetings of the Mandates Commission, which are circulated to the Members of the League and are put on sale. They have become increasingly important, as the Administrators of the different territories have appeared more and more frequently before the Commission, and the Sixth Committee considers that such valuable material on the administration of mandated territories should be made known as widely as possible to all those who are interested in such problems.

(For text of Resolution adopted, see page 37.)

ANNEX XXXI.—*Report of the Sixth Committee on the work of the Conference of Press Experts.* (Rapporteur: M. de Brouckère, Belgium.)

The Sixth Committee has carefully examined the work of the Conference of Press Experts, which was held at Geneva from 24th to 29th August last, and the deliberations of the Council at its meeting on 2nd September.

When, in 1925, the Assembly, at its fifth ordinary session, at the instance of the Chilean delegation, adopted a resolution to convene a Conference of Press Experts, it was at first perhaps not thought that 23 months would elapse before the Conference could meet.

Close examination of the question revealed its great complexity. The 1925 resolution requested the Conference to seek means of ensuring the more rapid and less costly transmission of Press news with a view to reducing risks of international misunderstanding. The difficulty consisted in dealing with this problem, which, though undoubtedly a technical one, has nevertheless an important moral bearing, and at the same time carefully avoiding any interference to which the Press, always jealous of its independence, might justly have taken exception.

It was, therefore, necessary to allow the Press itself, in preliminary work which extended over nearly two years, to decide in the first place as to the advisability of holding this Conference, then to settle the agenda, and finally to examine it in three preliminary meetings, which included heads of agencies, journalists and directors of Press bureaux. This careful preparation enabled the Conference to work rapidly and to complete its task in less than a week.

The Conference met at Geneva on 24th August. Sixty-three delegates, 35 technical advisers and 20 assessors coming from 38 States, Members and non-Members of the League, and representing telegraphic agencies, newspapers, international organisations of journalists and official press bureaux, took part in the work. Lord Burnham, the distinguished President of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association of Great Britain, who was asked by the Council to preside over the Conference, could say in his closing speech without exaggeration that the Conference constituted the most important Press meeting which had ever been held.

It is noteworthy that this Conference, which brought together such varying interests and so many different countries, should on almost every question have adopted unanimous resolutions. These resolutions, therefore, are of great value.

The Assembly should not only convey its thanks to the representatives of the Press who accomplished this work, but also express a desire that the Governments should direct their competent authorities to examine the suggested improvements in the most sympathetic spirit.

In taking note of these resolutions, the Council grouped them into two categories: on the one hand, those which, in the opinion of the Conference itself, require further thorough technical study, and, on the other, those which can now be submitted to the Governments.

The Council has already referred to the Organisation for Communications and Transit the resolutions of the first class, and, in particular, those dealing with telegraphic and telephonic rates, resolutions of communications, the conveyance of newspapers, and identity telegrams in cypher, improvement of communications, the necessity for giving effect to cards for journalists. We express the hope that the technical enquiries necessary for giving effect to these resolutions will be carried through promptly and with the assistance of special committees if required.

Consideration of the resolutions of the second class, which deal with the question of subscriptions to newspapers through the post, the ownership of Press news, various professional facilities for

journalists and censorship in time of peace, has been postponed by the Council till its session in December next. These resolutions can thus be carefully studied by the Members of the Council before the latter decides whether these questions should be submitted to the Governments. Your Sixth Committee considers that you might recommend the Council to undertake this investigation with the sympathetic attention which these resolutions deserve.

Finally, the Council, giving effect to two other resolutions of the Conference, has stated under what circumstances it would be prepared to lend the assistance of the League organisations in the study of Press problems. The Assembly will doubtless wish to associate itself with this decision.

In conclusion, I have the honour to propose the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 37.)

APPENDIX III.

Certain Speeches delivered by Members of the Indian Delegation at the Eighth Assembly.

ANNEX I.—*Report of a Speech by Sir Ramaswami Ayyar in the Assembly on the 6th September 1927.*

The plenary meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations furnishes an opportunity for passing in review the multiform activities of the organisation and its constituent and allied bodies. As one of the delegates representing India at this Assembly, it is both my duty and my privilege to contribute to this discussion, and in doing so I shall naturally confine myself to those aspects of the work which have a close bearing on my country and her problems, and shall only pause for a moment to congratulate the Secretary-General and the heads of the various departments of the Secretariat of the League upon the comprehensiveness and thoroughness with which they have discharged their duties and the lucidity that characterises the numerous documents produced as the result of their co-ordinated activities.

The position of India *vis-à-vis* the other members of the League and the entire organisation itself is unique. By her signature to the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant, and by her continuous and faithful adherence to the principles of the organisation, she has enrolled herself in the fraternity of those who have undertaken and are pledged to the work of establishing the principles and understandings of international co-operation as the actual rule of conduct among Governments.

Monsieur Villegas in his most suggestive discourse described the work of the technical organisations of the League as possessing a universal character, as removing sources of conflict and forging the links joining nations one to the other by their true interests, and as establishing valuable relations amongst all the Members, including the most distant. It is the path of wisdom to realise this aspect of the League's work and not to fix our attention exclusively on certain spectacular political happenings, and, in the language again of Monsieur Villegas, to see in them "the whole of international life."

It is true that many of the problems coming up for discussion before the League are essentially European in character and do not concern India in the narrower sense. But he would be both petty in outlook and short-sighted in policy who does not see in most of the activities of the League a genuine effort to promote that active and practical comradeship without which world-opinion cannot be adequately formed. The formation of such a world-opinion and the impact of that opinion on the several nations must have a profound and an enduring effect on India and on the world from many points of view; and, therefore, it is not inappropriate that India should have taken, as indeed she has taken, a lively interest in the deliberations of the League and its constituent bodies. The quest of the ideal is one of the strongest characteristics of my race. As an Indian, therefore, I feel at home in an Assembly which expects, and indeed assumes, the existence of idealism in its members. But our idealism to be of value must be not merely our inspiration, but must be applied in a practical way to the complicated issues of national and local character which come before us. There is no question that the necessity of establishing on an international basis social, commercial and diplomatic standards is being more generally recognised. We are striving for the creation of a new mental attitude which has been called the international mind and which can only be evolved by the widening of our interests. Though I recognise and appreciate the value to our country of its participation in the League, yet I hope also that the presence of delegates from India and from other far-off lands such as China, Japan and the South American Republics may be of value to the League itself by preserving that character of universality which was the intention of its founders. It is just the fact that delegates from all parts of the world are not merely present but take an active part in the League's business which has kept it true to its name of a League of Nations and has saved it from degenerating into a concert of Powers. It is not without legitimate pride that I point out that India has been fulfilling in real practice the ideals of which I have spoken and in particular has shown her loyalty to them by legislation in pursuance of the Washington Labour Conventions. This is not perhaps directly the work of this Assembly but of an organisation which forms part of the League as a whole. As an instance of a subject in which India is less directly interested, but in which nevertheless she has accepted and fulfilled obligations involved in her membership of the League, I may mention that my country has signed and ratified the Convention and Statute on the freedom of transit; the Convention and Statute on the regime of navigable waterways of an international concern and its additional protocol; and the Convention and Statute on the international regime of railways and of maritime ports. It is also noteworthy that India took part in the Conference on Communications and provision for the collection and exchange of such general information on communications and transit as is likely to improve international co-operation. A similar remark may be made as to India's attitude with regard to many other questions connected with the activities of the League and its ancillary bodies. I may specially refer to the agreement concerning the suppression of the manufacture of and the internal trade in and use of prepared opium that has just now become operative. India's recent work in connection with the implementing of the Slavery Convention is

also, I venture to say, a notable example of her adherence to the League ideals. It is a matter for sincere congratulation that day by day the authorities of the League are, in their turn, realising the importance and the world-reactions of Indian and of Eastern problems. This is illustrated by the work on opium, the work of the Health Section, including the Singapore Bureau, the interchange of medical officers, researches into problems of malaria and sleeping sickness, and many other enquiries recently undertaken at the instance of the League authorities. But it is not easy for my countrymen, remote as they are and absorbed with the problems of their own land, to realise in a concrete way how the ideals of the League are being converted into practice; and the development of the international attitude depends not merely on enlightenment but upon the establishment of more extensive and solid relations between the practical work of the League and the actual interests of my country. We shall welcome anything which will tend to develop the contact between India and the League and the appreciation of the League in India, believing that such development cannot fail to be of mutual benefit.

By reason of her political and geographical position, which is *sui generis*, India is only indirectly though much interested in some of the great political problems, such as disarmament, which have been sought to be tackled by the League, and it is therefore through the technical organisations of the League that its ideals can be most adequately realised in the non-European countries. I propose, therefore, to deal specially with two departments of the League's work in which India's interest is direct and conspicuous. The work of the Health Organisation in Eastern countries was specially considered in 1926, and the Assembly drew particular attention to the universality of the work done by the Organisation. The Annual Report of the Health Organisation for the year 1926 discloses that weekly and monthly epidemiological reports are published giving information of great importance transmitted from the Eastern Bureau at Singapore dealing with 122 ports served by the Bureau. These data are made available to the world very early and in a collated form. They furnish a valuable index of the trend of epidemic diseases. India is represented on the Eastern Bureau at Singapore, and the Bureau's work has continued to expand and has acquired a new significance from the duties lately entrusted to it as part of the machinery for carrying out the International Sanitary Convention. The Government of India has recently agreed to broadcast a *résumé* of the Bureau's weekly bulletin concerning the prevalence of epidemic diseases. It is in the highest interests of India that she should make every effort to prevent and check the spread of infection and epidemics, and realising such obligations to the full she welcomes heartily the co-operation of the Health Organisation of the League. Such co-operation should, I submit, be regarded as one of the methods by which the League may manifest its interest in the problems of those parts of the world which are distant from the centre of its activities. Is it, therefore, too much to ask that such an obligation should be one of the first charges on the energies and finances of the League as a whole?

Very important work in connection with malaria has been done by the Malaria Commission, and there is no doubt that such researches as relate to the importance of river deltas from the point of view of endemic malaria will be of the most vital importance to India. I hope that the Malaria Commission may be able to find an opportunity of visiting India. Special courses in malaria organised by the Health Organisation of the League of Nations were held last year at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. It is also to be hoped that the programme of interchanges of Public Health personnel will include British India, as is indeed suggested in the Annual Health Report. It is important to remember in this connection that a study tour for medical officers belonging to administrations in Asia and Australasia will take place in India in January 1928. The contemplated visits of these officers to the various provinces in India will, there is no question, be of great value not only to the countries concerned but to India itself. This event will moreover be a noticeable instance of a visible interest in India taken by the League authorities; and this will be the first occasion on which a League organisation will come into direct personal contact with India and with the Indian administration, and we confidently anticipate valuable results not only from the technical but also from the wider aspects.

Perhaps, however, the work in which India was most interested in connection with the recent activities of the League were the discussions, deliberations and the conclusions of the International Economic Conference held at Geneva in May 1927, wherein the Indian delegates, I may venture to assert, played a useful and honourable part. As one of the Assembly resolutions truly pointed out, economic peace will largely contribute to security amongst the nations, and the difficulties standing in the way of the revival of general prosperity are largely economic in character. The meeting of the Assembly of the League last year realised that the economic situation of the world called more imperiously than ever for international co-operation and it hoped that the Economic Conference would be summoned as soon as possible. That Conference comprised among the participants both members and non-members of the League of Nations, and there were also present economic experts and publicists from the United States, the Soviet Republics, Egypt, and Turkey, and delegates from such organisations as the International Chamber of Commerce. It is needless for me to recount the results of the work of that Conference, as that task has been performed in a masterly fashion by Monsieur Theunis in his closing speech made on the 23rd May 1927. He emphasised that the Conference must be regarded not as an isolated event, but as a stage in the continuous work of international collaboration in the economic sphere. The Conference worked through three Committees, one on Commerce, a second on Industry, and a third on Agriculture. In the report of the Committee on Commerce, it is rightly stressed that in spite of the variety of questions raised, of the diversity of theories and the legitimate national sentiments of all those who took part in the discussions, one important and extremely encouraging fact has emerged, namely, the unanimous desire of the members of the Conference that it should mark the beginning of a new era during which international commerce will successfully overcome all obstacles in its path that unduly hamper it and resume that general upward movement which is at once a sign of the world's economic health and the necessary condition for the development of civilisation. While considering the economic problems in their international bearings, the Conference did not ignore the importance of national considerations, some of which are, in the language of Monsieur Theunis, social and political rather than economic in character. The Indian delegates presented a document to the Conference pointing out the principal features of the position of the world as envisaged from the point of view of India. In that document it was made clear that, speaking generally, India depends more on internal than on external markets; but, at the same time, it was emphasised that in India as in Europe many

industries endured their share of the prevailing depression, especially inasmuch as the reactions of economic factors are now-a-days very rapid and complete. The fiscal policy of India and the need for its adoption with a view to the development of nascent industries built up with local labour and capital to meet local needs, were then outlined, and it was rightly asserted that the protective policy of India aims at the development of such manufactures only as possess natural advantages and will one day be able to meet world competition. The gap that has occurred in India between the price of raw materials and the price of manufactured goods, as well as the fluctuations of price, were also mentioned. This was done by way of stressing the elementary truth that India stood to gain from an improvement of the world's economic situation.

In dealing with the question of customs tariffs, Sir Campbell Rhodes, who sat on the Economic Committee, dissipated all possible misunderstandings of the Indian position by pointing out that the Indian tariff before the war was very low and has been augmented both to obtain revenue and in a very limited number of cases for the purpose of protection, but that her economic and tariff policy can well stand a comparison with that of many other countries, and the Indian delegation proved that although the proportionate increase was great the actual level of Indian tariffs was not open to just criticism. The position of India with reference to agriculture was specially recognised by the appointment of Dr. Hyder as one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Committee on Agriculture. It has to be borne in mind that the Economic Conference has definitely realised the importance of agriculture as entitled to an equal footing with industry and commerce and as being the occupation of the majority of workers throughout the world. It was the object of the Indian delegation to concentrate attention on measures which will diminish the cost of production and eliminate the unnecessary links in the chain connecting the producer with the consumer. The resolution that was finally passed provides that care should be taken to assist in the maintenance of an equitable balance between industry and agriculture. In the memorandum submitted by the Indian delegates India's position as a producer of raw materials was specifically adverted to and the necessity advocated of (1) a reduction of agricultural cost, (2) the improvement, by organising research and popular education side by side, in the quality and quantity of crops, and (3) the spread of the co-operative movement in all its forms as designed to produce efficiency at all stages of agricultural work up to the stage of sales and as insuring to producers their just share in the market value of the crops.

One of the most important subjects in the agenda of the League is the consideration of the Report of the Economic Conference, and it is to be fervently hoped that the attitude of the League towards the deliberations and resolutions of that Conference will be such as will demonstrate its abiding interest in the problems and conditions of countries far removed from the scene of European economic life, but forming nevertheless component and, by no means, insignificant factors in the sum-total of world economy. It must be realised that the recommendations and suggestions of the Conference have yet to be considered by the Indian legislatures and the Indian Executive Government, but it can be said with some confidence that these recommendations are in general conformity with the principles already followed in India; and, where there are differences they are susceptible of adjustment and compromise. In the matter of agriculture, it is generally known that there is an important Royal Commission dealing with the topic of Indian agriculture and allied problems, and we in India are awaiting the report of that Commission, which will no doubt engage the early attention of our local and central Governments. In their consideration of the matter they will undoubtedly derive immense assistance from the resolutions of the most authoritative gathering of economic experts that has ever been summoned.

The subjects dealt with above, and others such as the Slavery Convention, the difficulty caused by the diversity of laws in the matter of bills of exchange, and the progressive codification of international law, are amongst the topics which are of special interest to my country. But as has already been stated, it is not only with a view to the elucidation of these specific problems, but in the conviction that all the different but convergent activities of the League, political, technical, and humanitarian, are slow but sure advances in the direction of organised co-operation amongst the peoples of the earth, that India is not only content but is most willing and anxious to take part in the work of the League.

ANNEX II.—*Report of a Speech by Lord Lytton in the Assembly on the 20th September 1927.*

I have asked leave to say a few words on the Report of the Fifth Committee which has just been submitted to the Assembly by Mme. Larsen Jahn—the *Rapporteur*—not with the object of criticising or dissenting from any of its recommendations, but rather with the object of underlining, as it were, some of its passages which seem to me to be in danger of escaping the attention which their importance deserves.

The fact that the Fifth Committee has accepted with unanimity and practically without discussion the Report of the Advisory Committee on Opium and other Dangerous Drugs may be evidence of the efficiency and the businesslike methods of that Committee. But it has also had the effect of preventing the recommendations of the Advisory Committee from receiving that measure of publicity which they deserve when we remember the gravity of the problems with which the Report deals and their immense importance for every country in the world.

The Report of the Fifth Committee which has just been presented to us is a short one, and, though it contains some sentences of grave import, there is a risk, I think, that it may be adopted by the Assembly without a full knowledge of the obligations upon those who accept it. I speak as the delegate of a country that knows this evil, whose people are very much alive to its gravity and regard to which India looks to the League of Nations for help. This is one of those questions in

I am anxious, if possible, that the members of this Assembly should not accept the Report of the Fifth Committee without realising two things which that Report brings out very clearly. First, the enormous extent of the continued illicit traffic in drugs; and secondly, the grave human importance of India alone, and I address myself not merely to my fellow delegates as representatives of their respective countries. I address you as men and women. It is to your human sympathies that I appeal rather than to your national interests.

The passage I want first of all to emphasise is that contained in the second paragraph of the Report of the Fifth Committee, where we are reminded that the Advisory Committee has stated that a broad examination of the reports received from the various Governments shows that an illicit traffic, which can only be fairly characterised as enormous, still exists. Do you realise what those words mean? Let me endeavour to make them clear.

The country which I represent—India—imports a small amount of cocaine for medical purposes, but the illicit traffic in cocaine in India is stated by the Advisory Committee, in its Report, to be as much as 40 times the legitimate imports—and this, too, in spite of the existence of vigorous and efficient administrative efforts to suppress it. In para. 16 of its Report the Advisory Committee describes this illicit traffic from ascertained statistical facts. You will see from that paragraph that opium is there mentioned by the ton, and heroin and morphine by thousands of ounces. Single consignments of over 4,000 ounces (125 kilogrammes) of morphia and 8,000 ounces (230 kilogrammes) of heroin are cited.

Now, it is possible that these figures—mere statistics—scarcely convey to you their full human import. Let me try and translate them into terms of human misery. Let me ask you whether you have ever known from personal knowledge a single case of a man or woman who has fallen a victim to this drug evil? If you have, you need only recall that one case to your memory, and you will realise that the figures I have mentioned, translated into terms of single injections, run into millions. One consignment alone mentioned by the Committee would amount to over three million injections. Think what that means.

If you have not personally had this experience, let me ask you to think of some friend, someone who is dear to you, some man or woman in the prime of life, with full physical efficiency with a sound and clear mind, and then consider what would happen to such a person in little more than a few months if once he or she fell a victim to this drug habit. That might well happen quite innocently, perhaps in the first instance merely because a search was made for relief from some temporary physical or mental distress. The process may be slow, but the end is certain, and that end is in every case absolute destruction, physical, mental and moral, the lowest depths of degradation to which the human being can sink.

Now with that picture in your mind, with your friend rotted to death before your eyes, what, I ask you, would be your feelings if you were told that there are individuals who make their living out of this trade, that there are Governments which have it in their power to put an end to it and yet allow it to continue? Yet this is what the Committee tells us. It tells us in words so restrained that their full import might well be lost upon those who read them. Let me quote the passage which follows the statistics which I have just mentioned. It is contained in para. 17 of the Committee's Report:—

"These (say the Committee) are striking and alarming facts. They show the appalling extent and the very widespread ramifications of this illicit traffic. They are the more striking, and probably the more alarming, when it is recalled that 54 nations—and among them are included all the manufacturing and distributing countries—are parties to the Hague Convention, which includes, as an obligation accepted by all the signatories, a provision to the following effect:—'The Contracting Powers shall enact pharmacy laws or regulations to limit exclusively to medical and legitimate purposes the manufacture, sale and use of morphine and cocaine and their respective salts . . . They shall co-operate with one another to prevent the use of these drugs for any other purpose.'"

This brings me to the second point which I wish to emphasise in the Report which has been submitted to us. I have spoken of the extent of this illicit traffic. Let me remind you of the obligations under which we already are in this matter. This is not one of those human problems which cannot be solved, which must be tolerated because no remedy for it can be found. On the contrary, it is one which all the nations of the world have recognised, have already discussed among themselves and have pledged themselves to remove. It is one of the evils of the world which this League of Nations of ours is competent to remedy. Europe, America and the Far East are being deluged with these deadly narcotic drugs. The individual efforts of no single nation can stem the tide, but the combination of all nations can produce that result. By such a combination the tide can be stemmed swiftly and effectively. The States Members of this League are already bound by an International Convention to do this, but it still remains for public opinion in several countries to insist on the fulfilment of that obligation.

This is the task which you are now asked to undertake. The Advisory Committee has expressed the opinion that a "clear statement as to the enormous volume and wide extent of the illicit traffic, and a vivid appreciation of what that traffic means in terms of human suffering, misery and degradation, are essential to progress and reform."

This Committee has told us the facts. It has tried to give us this appreciation. The remedy is now in our own hands.

This brings me to my last point. With this knowledge in our minds—knowledge of the extent of the traffic, knowledge of the obligations already undertaken to put to an end to it—what remains to be done?

There are probably not more than 30 factories in the world in which these drugs are manufactured. If the Governments concerned would put a ring-fence round them so as to prevent the products from those factories ever getting into the illicit markets, the evils would cease and this reproach to our civilisation would be removed.

The Advisory Committee has urged, with all the insistence at its command, that the most valuable single step which can be taken at present to control this huge illicit traffic, with all its disastrous moral, social and physical consequences, with all its vast train of suffering, misery, degradation and vice, is to secure the enforcement of the Geneva Convention of 1925 at the earliest possible moment. The Fifth Committee has accepted that recommendation and has proposed its acceptance to the Assembly. I have intervened for the sole purpose of emphasising that report and of appealing to you, in your individual as well as in your representative capacity, to accept the advice and to help to put it into operation.

I do not suggest that the Convention of 1925 is perfect; that it exhausts the subject; that there may not be some provisions in it which will give rise to difficulties when they come to be put into

operation. But this Convention represents the furthest point yet reached by the collective wisdom of the nations of the world. It represents the most effective weapon which has been put into our hands for controlling this evil. If we use it, it may be possible to put a stop to the evil within a single year. If when you return to those countries which you represent here, you will tell your countrymen what you have learnt from the Report before you, if you will tell them what those facts mean and secure a public opinion in every country which will insist upon action, it will be possible for Mme. Larsen Jahn, when she comes to this tribune next year, to say, in those memorable words used by M. Briand last year in another connection, "It is finished."

But if we are indifferent, if we neglect to use this weapon which has been put into our hands, we cannot escape our responsibility for the loss of life which it was in our power to save.

ANNEX III.—*Report of a Speech by Sir Ramaswami Ayyar in the Assembly on the 20th September 1927.*

I have been charged with the task of presenting to the Assembly the report of the Second Committee on the work of the Health Organisation. The report is before you and, as has been already ruled, I do not propose to read it. But I think, however, it would be useful in many ways helpful if I placed before you certain considerations which tend to demonstrate the universality of the work of the Health Organisation and the comprehensiveness of its labours. Allow me to divide the work of the Health Organisation into two categories, one particular and the other general.

Dealing with the second aspect first, let me point out that the Health Organisation in regard to the new Health Committee that has been appointed has made a notable departure in appointing expert assessors from such countries as Australia and Japan, this procedure proving, if proof were wanted, that the League is anxious and willing to enlist support from every quarter of the globe and to invite co-operation from everywhere for the work it has to do.

The other aspect of the general work upon which I desire to dwell for a few minutes is the system of the interchange of health personnel which has been inaugurated. Persons occupied in the elucidation and solution of health problems from every country have the opportunity to meet and discuss questions of common import which interest other nations, in fact all nations alike. This procedure has already been fruitful of great results. Speaking specially for my country, I welcome a departure which will be of inestimable value to such distant countries as mine.

The third general aspect of which I wish to speak for a moment is the system of international health courses, of studies and instruction in health problems, which are given to people of all countries in selected centres. These are the general aspects of the work; I now come to the particular.

The Health Organisation, through its various bodies, has carried out valuable work in the matter of sleeping sickness—the research into which is of especial benefit to vast tracts in Africa; it has conducted a conference on rabies, and this also will be of benefit to many lands. There are, however, two matters of which I wish to speak with special emphasis. I will first refer to the Malaria Inquiry. Malaria is an almost universal disease; it has been pointed out that even in a country like England, where it is generally supposed that malaria does not exist, this disease has not been entirely eradicated; but to a country like mine research into malaria is a matter of the greatest import. The Malaria Commission has visited Europe, Syria, and Palestine, and hopes to visit India. On behalf of the Government of India a very cordial invitation has been extended to the members of that Commission, and I trust that their useful work will be continued in India to the mutual benefit of that country and the rest of the world.

I now pass to the Singapore Bureau. I attach special importance to the work of that Bureau, not only because it is efficacious in giving early intimation of the spread of epidemics and serving as a centre for research, but because it is a visible link between the life of the tropics, the life of the Orient and the life of the League, as forming an invaluable liaison between the work done at Geneva and that carried out in far-off countries.

The Singapore Bureau is not only valuable in itself, it is expressive of the ideals of the League, the ideals of universal service, of universal work.

These problems do not loom very large in the public eye, but they are as significant as the ostensibly greater problems which are the topics of journalistic encounters and debates. It is not least through such organisations as the Committee for Communications and Transit, the Economic Conference, the Health Committee, and the League's other technical organisations that world unity, for which the League stands, will be achieved.

With your permission, therefore, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will move on behalf of the Second Committee the following Resolution (for text of Resolution adopted by the Assembly, see page 16).

ANNEX IV.—*Report of a Speech made by Sir Fazl-i-Husain in the Second Committee on the 13th September 1927.*

As regards the subject of International Intellectual Co-operation and the various items that fall under it, I wish to make a few suggestions which may be of practical utility to India. In your note it is stated under the head "National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation" that the League was informed "in 1925 that the Inter-University Board (Secretary, Mr. N. S. Subha Rao, Mysore) wished to be recognised as an institution with which the Intellectual Co-operation Committee might correspond with a view to the formation of a national committee in India. No information has been received as to whether any further action has been taken in the matter."

I feel that India can derive a great deal of benefit from the various notes and reports that are prepared by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation at Paris and by its Governing Body, and lastly, by the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation at Geneva and by its Sub-Committees. I was Minister for Education in the Punjab for five years, 1921-5, and I have to state that during that period neither I myself nor my secretary, the Director of Public Instruction, knew the details of the intellectual activities of the League and its various Committees. It should

be remembered that in India, Education being a transferred Provincial subject, there should be a central agency to disseminate this information to the various Provinces and so ensure that there should be no difficulty in the Education Commissioner of the Government of India doing this work. Formerly there used to be an All-India Advisory Board of Education, but it came under the Retrenchment Acts, and I believe the Education Board of the Government of India has from time to time considered the advisability of reviving it. I am of the opinion that it is necessary to establish an organisation in India for the Provinces, on the lines of the League of Nations for different nations. Sometimes it has been urged that if the Government of India undertook the constitution of such a body the Provinces might resent it and the Education Ministers might not join it. I believe this view is not correct. A national Committee of Intellectual Co-operation of Ministers and Directors of Public Instruction in each Province, Vice-Chancellors of each University, and two other representatives from each Province to be nominated by the Government of India, will afford a very suitable body to deal with the Intellectual Co-operation work of the League of Nations, who will in their turn forward the literature to the various Provinces and various Universities. In this way India will be able to keep in touch with the Intellectual Co-operation movement of the League of Nations to the very great benefit of herself, and thus be in a position to contribute to the success of the League of Nations Intellectual Co-operation movement at Geneva.

The parallel for my suggestion is to be found in the Department of Public Health. The Director of Public Health to the Government of India works on the Health Organisation of the League of Nations, attends its meetings and performs certain other functions. In the case of Intellectual Co-operation the work is such that it should be shared by a much larger number of people than in the case of the Health Organisation.

What I have suggested above is not a cut-and-dried scheme, but only the result of what has struck me when studying this case for the Second Committee.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the work of international intellectual co-operation in the scheme of League of Nations operations, for it seems to me that the disarmament of ideas, that is to say, breaking the barriers of prejudice, is no less important than the much talked of disarmament in the matter of cruisers. Some go so far as to urge that the disarmament of ideas must precede any effectual disarmament, whether naval or military. This much, however, is certain, that the removal of prejudice in the domain of ideas offers wide scope of work for all who want to serve the best interests of humanity.

The work already done by the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation and the Institute at Paris is very considerable, and I have much pleasure in paying my tribute of appreciation and admiration to those who have served on the Committee of the Institute. Verily, quite a large number of schemes undertaken and completed are such as benefit all members of the League of Nations; in fact, their benefit extends to non-members as well, as, for example, the bibliography of economic sciences, of biological sciences; again, there is work which is of undoubted importance, but it seems to me that it is possible that the work may gain in its character of nationality and universality if kindred fields of work in the Orient were also included within its scope. For example, the study of Græco-Roman antiquities I have no doubt can be made not only more interesting but also more comprehensive by the study of Indian and Mesopotamian archaeology, being added to it. Recent discoveries at Harappa and Mohanjadaro are believed to bring to light fairly well developed ancient civilisations of 300 years or so before Christ. I may be permitted, Sir, to emphasise that the word "international" should have as broad an interpretation as possible. I know it is not limited in any way to the nations of Europe, but to demonstrate its comprehensiveness as including nations of the Orient it is essential, in the interests of the League itself, that the evolution of international culture should afford every scope for the culture of the East to contribute as good a share to it as it can possibly do. It is possible that countries situated far away from the home of the League—Geneva—may run the risk of being overlooked, and therefore I trust the Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation at Paris and our own International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation will bear in mind that it is for them to see that the texture of the international culture of the future is such wherein the best in the Orient also is reflected.

ANNEX V.—*Report of a Speech by Sir Fazl-i-Husain in the Second Committee on Friday, 16th September 1927.*

I have much pleasure in rising to congratulate the Economic Committee on a good year's work well done. No doubt the World Economic Conference, very naturally, overshadowed the activities of the Economic Committee, and many subjects which would have ordinarily come within the scope of the Economic Committee were taken over by the World Economic Conference. Still a good deal of work has been accomplished by the Economic Committee and a good many subjects have been handled and I have no doubt will be approaching completion next year. Before I begin to pass this work under review with reference to India I should like to associate myself with those who have preceded me in congratulating the *rapporteur*, who has placed in our hands an excellent summary of the activities of the Economic Committee, and made a *résumé*, for the use of those who have not had time to go through the proceedings of the Economic Committee, so lucid and so full, and yet so brief.

The first item that I will take up is the International Conference for the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions. In principle, no one can quarrel with the object in view. India welcomes this International Conference because international conferences lead to mutual understanding which follows a frank statement of the case. These conferences also afford equal opportunities of being heard and understood. In this case the objective of the Conference is the removal of artificial barriers in the way of international trade. India has already decided to be represented on this Conference by Sir Atul Chatterjee, the High Commissioner for India. I have no doubt the Conference will go into this matter thoroughly, but I may as well mention here that India is prepared to incur responsibilities which others are ready to incur to the same extent and simultaneously. It is on reciprocity we rely, and a country in the position of India should not be expected to incur responsibilities which are not equally and simultaneously accepted by others.

The next question is the unification of customs nomenclature, and I wish the Committee every success in arriving at satisfactory results. The draft report, para. 2, last paragraph, deals with the treatment of "foreign nationals and enterprises," and says: "It will be remembered that in 1923 and 1925 the Committee agreed upon two series of principles with regard to the treatment of foreigners in fiscal and legal matters," and closes with this sentence: "I am glad to state that the Economic Committee is already engaged in drawing up preparatory documents for this Conference." I notice that this subject is not covered by the resolution given at the end of this Report, and which resolution is to be submitted to the Assembly for adoption. On enquiry from the *rapporteur* I find that it is a case of oversight, and he has no objection to this subject being added to para. 2 of the resolution, and therefore I venture to place before the Committee an amendment of para. 2 of the resolution to this effect: Omit "and" from the last but one line of para. 2 of the resolution, and add at the end "and to the treatment of foreign nationals and enterprises." This is, as I have already said, only a matter of oversight.

The third point which I take up is "the simplification of customs formalities." The International Convention signed at Geneva in 1923 was not ratified by India then, but I am glad to say that India has seen its way to ratify that Convention, and I have no doubt will be glad to see what further advance the Economic Committee can make in carrying this problem to a still more satisfactory conclusion in the future. When on the matter of agreeing to international Conventions, I may as well deal with the important question of the Protocol of 1923 on arbitration clauses. I need not go in detail into the reasons for India not agreeing to this measure in the past, as now I have been authorised to state that, in view of the fact that the English law has been amended so as to make a stay of proceedings in cases of agreement to which the Protocol applies possible, it is likely that the objection to accession to the Protocol hitherto entertained may be withdrawn. The question of adherence is under reconsideration and will be decided along with the question relating to the supplementary draft protocol on the foreign arbitral awards. As the Committee is aware, an expert Sub-Committee is sitting on the supplementary draft protocol, and the Indian delegate, Sir Edward Chamier, is assisting the Sub-Committee as an expert.

I will now refer to the subject of unification of economic statistics. There can be no two opinions as to the desirability of unification, and yet I feel the Council did well in calling for concrete suggestions. Economic statistics are not always available and to make them available is, at times, so costly that some States may not feel justified in incurring the requisite expenditure.

I heartily welcome the Statistical Year Book, which is bound to be of great use to all nations. I am prepared to extend my welcome to the progressive assimilation of laws relating to bills of exchange and cheques, though the work is limited to Europe, for I have no doubt that when that is accomplished the work of progressive assimilation will go beyond the confines of Europe. And I am sure the importance of economic barometers cannot be over-estimated, but it should be remembered that the economic barometer, unlike the physical barometer, is one that does not register differently for different climes or heights. The world has recently been so much reduced in size by scientific discoveries and inventions that the fall of the barometer relating to cotton in Egypt is bound to affect the markets in India, America and Europe. Therefore, the economic barometer of the future is to be one which is extremely sensitive and delicate, and serves for all countries and all climes and all continents. It is the one work which, in its universality, is the ideal work for the League to accomplish, and I wish the experts engaged in it every success.

ANNEX VI.—*Report of a Speech by Sir Fazl-i-Husain in the Second Committee on Friday, 16th September 1927.*

I did not intervene at an earlier stage of the debate because I was not sure whether I could usefully take any part in it. The discussion at one time grew very exciting. The point of order, viz. whether this Committee had jurisdiction to discuss the question before it, and for the matter of that whether the League of Nations itself had jurisdiction to discuss this matter, was being hotly discussed, and at the same time several issues relevant to the proposal, as well as irrelevant to the proposal, were also agitating the speakers. The Hon. Member from Australia raised the question of order in an acute form, urging that the consideration of the proposal constituted breach of the Covenant which was sacred to the League. At that stage I mentioned, Sir (President), to you that I was going to raise a point of order whether any matter other than the question of jurisdiction is open to discussion. At that stage the Hon. Member from Australia modified his position, and later it was stated that the subject was within the jurisdiction of the Committee as well as the League, and therefore the real question for discussion remained—should the proposal of Finland and others be agreed to or not? The representative of Britain, Major Elliot, summed up the position lucidly, holding that the subject is within our jurisdiction, but the current of opinion expressed in the Committee is not in favour of the proposal, and the proposal did not secure general support. With that conclusion I am inclined to agree, but before I say anything on this question I wish, Sir, to make the position of India clear in the matter of alcoholism.

Indian opinion in the matter of alcoholism is very strong, and it is decidedly against alcoholism. As the Committee is no doubt aware, since the Reformed Government has been operating, excise is a Provincial transferred subject, which means that Provincial Legislatures have full control of excise excepting such part as relates to foreign liquor, which is still a Central subject. Most of the Provinces have passed excise legislation on the lines of giving local option to local bodies. Indian opinion is very strongly for controlling liquor, and a very strong body of public opinion is in favour of prohibition. All the Ministries in charge of excise in different Provinces are in principle for prohibition, and have not actually adopted prohibition chiefly because it is in India so very difficult to enforce it. I may mention that the difficulties of enforcing prohibition in India are greater than in other countries because there exist natural facilities for illicit distillation of liquor to an extent that does not exist elsewhere, and regulations cannot be enforced in remote and sparsely populated areas where palms and kiki grow wild and very primitive arrangements for illicit distillation are sufficient. I have no doubt in course of time Indian public men will try to create strong public opinion in favour of prohibition, and it will then be possible for the Ministers to lead on to the goal which they have set before themselves of enforcing prohibition. It is much to be regretted that the evil of alcoholism follows in the footsteps of industrialism on a large scale. An industrial centre

somehow or other falls a victim to this evil. Whether this is so in all the countries of the West I do not know, but in the case of India such is the general impression left on my mind by looking at various industrial centres. Alcoholism is treated in India as an evil, but it is not yet a serious problem there, and Provincial Governments are trying to keep it under strict control, and on the whole it may be said that the Indian excise laws are satisfactory and there is a very clear tendency at keeping the consumption low.

As regards the international question which is before the Committee for decision now, I am hardly competent to express an opinion. It is a matter which needs intimate knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the Continent of Europe, and various delegations from European countries, accredited agents of their Governments, are in the best position to decide this matter. This much, however, I can say, that from the discussion to which I have had the honour of listening this afternoon, it appears to me that there is a strong body of opinion emanating from important countries and nations which does not look with favour upon the proposals, and I find myself in absolute agreement with Major Elliot, the representative of Britain, in saying, in legal language, that the proposers of this proposal have failed to make out a case. May I venture to tell the proposers and supporters of the motion that, even from their statement of the case, as embodied in Article 19, it appears that the League is already engaged in attending to the evil of alcoholism in various departments of its activities; that apparently there is a machinery in existence to grapple with the problems connected with alcoholism, and in view of the opinions expressed in this Committee this afternoon, will it not be wise on their part not to pursue this proposal any further, and wait for a more appropriate occasion? For I feel that by pushing the proposal this afternoon they will not achieve the object they have in view, and if the proposal is actually pushed to a division the result may be prejudicial to the cause they have at heart, and also not reflect much credit on the Committee as a whole.

ANNEX VII.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir Ramaswami Ayyar in the Second Committee on the 16th September 1927.*

Speaking on Friday, the 16th September, on the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit, Sir Ramaswami Ayyar, after referring to the fact that he was the Indian delegate to the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, added that he was therefore in a peculiarly advantageous position for the purpose of appreciating the importance and necessity of the work of the Conference. The labours of that Conference marked a great advance towards the mutual understanding of national and international problems. It was noteworthy that at that Conference there participated not only the States who are Members of the League, but such countries as the United States of America and Egypt, and in addition it secured the co-operation of great and powerful organisations like the International Chamber of Commerce. Its work fell into three categories, one being devoted to the perfecting of the actual structure and procedure of the Conference. This work, though important, and designed to facilitate work and to give both stability and elasticity to the organisation, was not really of paramount interest to distant countries like his own. The question of identity certificates was also among the matters discussed and it gave rise to many complicated considerations. A compromise had been arrived at which avoided many of the objections adduced during the debate; objections that were political in character, and in regard to which certain nations felt very strongly. Here again, in the form in which the resolution has finally emerged, the problem is essentially one affecting Europe, and more particularly Central Europe, and he would not therefore dwell on this matter. What he desired specially to say with reference to the work of the Conference related to the collection and exchange of information on Communications. For the discussion of this matter the Government of the United States of America had specially sent an important delegation. Various speakers at the Conference adverted to the need of improving the technical *liaison* between this organisation and the administrations of all, and especially non-European, countries. It was also argued that the Advisory and Technical Committee had felt the absolute necessity of acquiring continuous and essential information on the position as regards communications throughout the world. It is gratifying that the Conference dispelled all fears which were entertained at one time that a large special organisation was going to be created, and charged with new work. It was laid down that no new work was proposed to be undertaken, and that such statistics and information as were to be collected would not involve any extra burden upon Governments or extra expense, as the data that were required were those contained in publications already periodically issued by the several Governments of the world. So long as it was made clear that no special bureau was recommended, and so long also as the collection and co-ordination of public statistics was the main feature of the work, he had not only no objection to advance but welcomed the collection of information on the one aspect of economic life which is perhaps the most international of all, namely, transport.

ANNEX VIII.—*Report of a Speech by Lord Lytton in the Second Committee, 17th September 1927.*

Many countries have expressed their willingness to accept the recommendations of the World Economic Conference and have undertaken to adopt them *en bloc*. The Indian Delegation is not yet in a position to do this, and it is necessary that I should explain the reasons. India supports unhesitatingly the general principle that the economic policy of States should be directed towards the peace and prosperity of the world, and would welcome the elimination of any economic factors calculated to cause friction or misunderstanding. So much I can say, not only on behalf of the Government of India, but on behalf of public opinion throughout India. There is, I believe, no important recommendation of the Conference which is inconsistent with the past or present economic policy of India, and India on the whole stands to gain by the adoption throughout the world of the general recommendations of the Conference. If on minor points there are any inconsistencies the Government of India will seek to reconcile them.

On behalf of the Government of India I can also say that their future policy is likely to be equally in conformity with the recommendations of the Economic Conference. If I do not go further and

accept these recommendations without reserve it is not because the Government of India contemplate any action in the future which is inconsistent with them, but merely because they have not yet had an opportunity of ascertaining public opinion in India on the subject, and do not wish to commit the Indian peoples to agreement with a document which they have not yet studied. The Report of the Conference has only just been published, and though it has been examined by the Government it has not yet been studied or discussed by the general public. It would be most unwise and would militate against ultimate acceptance if the Indian delegates were to commit their countrymen to agreement with the Report in advance of such discussion. Fiscal autonomy is a new experience for India, and it is natural that her people, having so recently secured in practice a large measure of freedom in fiscal matters, should guard it somewhat jealously. In the exercise of that freedom India has recently adopted a policy of discriminating protection, but this policy does not conflict at all with the principles of the Conference Report. It is generally accepted in India that any industry which seeks protection must prove itself to be one which has natural advantages and is capable of eventually meeting world competition unaided. In these circumstances the protection recommended by the Indian Tariff Board is always understood to be for a limited number of years only. The Report of the Economic Conference will receive full publicity in India, and there is little doubt that when it has been fully examined and discussed it will be found to be in general conformity with Indian economic policy. If the decision is left to the Indian people unhampered by any premature commitments here, I have no doubt that the spirit in which the Conference performed its task will be appreciated in India and that its recommendations will be generally accepted. But it would be wiser not to assume this agreement prematurely. I feel sure that my colleagues on this Committee will appreciate the delicacy of the situation and will rest satisfied with the statement that I have made.

I have thought it necessary as head of the delegation to make this general statement of policy, but I desire to retain the freedom of my delegation to deal in detail with other matters raised in the Report should they desire to do so at a later stage.

ANNEX IX.—*Report of a Speech by Sir Fazl-i-Husain in the Second Committee on the 20th September 1927.*

During the course of this debate delegates from different countries which have benefited from the beneficent activities of the Finance Committee and the League have offered their thanks for the valuable help received by them, and mention has also been made of most valuable help in financial reconstruction having been rendered to Austria, Hungary, Greece, the Municipality of Danzig, Bulgaria and Estonia. Loans were successfully floated because the credit and prestige of the League were behind the Governments, and, as pointed out in the Report, a lower rate was obtained than would have been the case if they had been contracted by the respective Governments without such patronage. There can be no doubt as to the value of the work in the matter of stabilising the currency and effecting budget equilibrium. It should, however, be remembered that such help is help given to individual countries, and in countries outside Europe there is a section of the public that, when criticising the League of Nations, emphasises that its beneficent work is limited to a certain tract in Europe, and therefore the work is not international in the larger sense of the term. This criticism has been so persistently made, and the fact that only those delegates who have come from the countries benefited generally speak in this debate, I feel called upon to meet this criticism. The League at its inception was criticised as a body of talkers with a view to showing that nothing practical was to be expected from that body, and these critics were mostly in Europe. Therefore it was essential for the League to repudiate this calumny and to demonstrate how effectively the League would deal with practical problems and how it could function and prove its practical utility. Hence I rejoice on that successful accomplishment of this work as it enables the League to establish its position, and I have no doubt that the work of the Financial Committee has enabled the League to consolidate its position, at all events in Europe. Moreover, I have no doubt that, if requests similar to those which had come from Austria, Hungary and other countries were to come from another continent, they would receive the same sympathetic consideration as was extended to the European countries.

I associate myself with the British Delegation in appreciating the work done during the last year. It has been mostly financial reconstruction relating to Bulgaria, Greece and Estonia, but work of a more general nature was also undertaken, viz. double taxation and tax evasion. Final conclusions of experts in the shape of draft conventions have been circulated to various Governments and I have no doubt will be duly considered by them. A work of even more general nature, i.e. counterfeit currency, is in the hands of a special committee, and I wish that committee every success in dealing with it.

ANNEX X.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir Ramaswami Ayyar in the Second Committee on the 21st September 1927.*

Sir Ramaswami Ayyar pointed out that, having been one of the members of the Drafting Committee, he realised the difficulties of reconciling various interests, but inasmuch as the delegate last year had mentioned the topic of the adequate representation of agricultural interests he felt it was his duty to put forward certain considerations relevant to the discussion. In the first place it must not be forgotten that in India the number of persons directly interested in agricultural operations, either as actual labourers or as peasant proprietors or large holders of land, is much more than 100 millions. He drew attention to the immensity of the figure for the purpose of emphasising the great importance of agriculture to his country. It is worthy of remark that one of the great contributions of the Economic Conference to this part of the work was the insistence on the importance of agriculture and its elevation to a place equal to that occupied by that of industry and commerce. Another feature peculiar to his country was that the agricultural worker, and indeed all agricultural interests, were unorganised and had not formed themselves into unions which were capable of looking after their own interests. This remark is appropriate to a certain extent even to industrial workers, but was particularly applicable to Indian agriculture. Notwithstanding this

difficulty, it was not impracticable, and indeed it was essential, that such immense interests should be adequately represented either on the Economic Committee or on the Preparatory Committee, or both, and represented so as to indicate not only the importance attributed to agricultural interests but to the special conditions of a distant Eastern country which plays a large part in the sum total of the agricultural activities of the world.

ANNEX XI.—*Report of a Speech by Lord Lytton in the Third Committee on 16th September 1927.*

I have no wish to prolong the general discussion which has already proceeded in this Committee for three days. On the contrary, if I intervene it is chiefly with the object of suggesting that the Committee might now proceed with the detailed examination of the subjects submitted to it. I have listened with great interest and attention to the speeches which have been made in the Assembly and in this Committee, and I would ask your permission, Mr. President, to say in a very few words how those speeches have impressed one who is new to your debates.

The country which I represent here as the head of the Indian Delegation is less intimately concerned with the subject of your debates than others whose delegates have taken a prominent part in them. India depends for its defence in the main upon the British Fleet and on the solidarity of the British Empire. In that connection, therefore, our interests are in the charge of the British Delegation. The army maintained in India for internal security or for the defence of its land frontiers has been considerably reduced in recent years. I should, however, point out that it is engaged in a task very different from that which you have in your minds when you speak in these rooms of war and the alternatives to war. The majority of the Members of the League are nations which are actually at peace with their neighbours and whose armaments exist to deal with a contingency which they believe to be remote and which they hope will never arise. They send their members here every year to discuss whether, and, if so, how, these contingencies may be made even more remote or may be dealt with otherwise than by armaments, which, if not needed, become mere burdens on their finances which they can ill afford to maintain. India, on the contrary, has on her frontier tribes whose traditions, and instincts, and habits of life are those of war—not war as it is spoken of in our debates, as it is understood in the Covenant of the League, a resort to force as a final measure after all the resources of diplomacy have been exhausted, but war in a more primitive sense, war which is practised as an almost daily occupation, as a profession of brigandage. In dealing with such neighbours the securities which the League of Nations has to offer us can be of no value.

In the few words I have to address to you, therefore, I speak rather as a sincere believer in the value of the League of Nations to the world at large than as the delegate of a country which derives any special advantages from the security against war which it has to offer.

What has struck me, Gentlemen, in listening to these debates is the value which speaker after speaker has seemed to attach to the reaffirmation in some phrase or formula of principles which are already accepted by all the States Members—and not merely accepted as ideals, but which they have pledged themselves by treaty to put in practice should the need arise.

The Netherlands delegate has asked us to consider whether the time has not come to re-examine the principles of security, arbitration and disarmament, which were prominent features of the Protocol of 1924, but which he himself now admits are also features of the Covenant itself.

The Polish delegate has asked us to register a new declaration that a war of aggression is an international crime. I have no objection to his resolution, but as M. Scialoja has reminded us, this does not give us anything more than the Covenant; and I would ask, does not this reaffirmation of the fundamental principles of the Covenant without any new sanctions give ground for the criticism that we are nervous lest these principles should be forgotten if they are not constantly repeated?

The danger is not that our principles should be forgotten, but that they should come to be regarded as no more than formulæ, counsels of perfection, which belong to the region of ideals rather than to the practice of States; and that danger is increased rather than diminished by the mere repetition of these ideals. I hope therefore that this Committee will not content itself with merely accepting M. Sokal's proposal. I agree with M. Briand that once we have dreamed disarmament—and we have done more than that, we have promised it—we are bound to find some means of giving it practical effect. Gentlemen, it is the business of this Committee not merely to dream, not merely to reaffirm general principles, but to work out in a businesslike way their practical application in a world of realities.

Some of us are inclined to insist on the need for action, others on the difficulties of action. What matter? Both are helpful. If we are not convinced of the need, we shall not be at sufficient pains to overcome the difficulties. If we are not reminded of the difficulties and face them, we shall find that our measures will not stand the test of action when they come to be applied. You may feel that some of the speeches we have listened to are like adverse winds, whilst others are more favouring gales, but those who know how to sail a ship can advance by the aid of a head wind no less than with that of a wind astern. If you look out of these windows upon that lake which is ever before our eyes while we live in Geneva, you will see many little sailing boats floating like swans upon its blue waters. Some are proceeding up the lake, some down, some are crossing from one side, some from the other, but it is the same wind which propels them all. So with our work, it is the public opinion of the world which is our motive force. Some currents may appear to be opposed to our wishes or aims. We cannot ignore them, we cannot go against them, but by tacking either to the right or to the left we may make even those currents serve to advance us further towards our goal.

On this Committee it is not a question of defining that goal, of stating new principles or of reaffirming those that have been already stated and agreed. What we have to do is conscientiously, laboriously, patiently, to discover and recommend the means by which those principles may be applied with the most advantage. By signing the Covenant of the League, the nations of the world have registered their determination to find and to use some means of settling international disputes—other than war. The repetition in this room of that determination is mere waste of time. What we

have to do is to advise how it may find practical effect. If one means proves abortive we must find another. If work of a whole session is found to have been ineffective because our recommendations have failed to find agreement among the nations which we represent, we must seek for means of securing greater agreement. If one conference on naval disarmament has failed we should rather explore the causes of its failure with faith than bewail the fact of its failure with despair. To improve if possible the machinery of arbitration, to make that method of settling disputes more attractive to the nations of the world, to increase if possible the security which can be afforded to all nations against aggression from its neighbours—and so to make possible that progressive disarmament which every country desires for its well-being and development—that is the task of the League of Nations. To suggest practical means for the attainment of these aims is the task of this Committee, a task to which I hope it will now devote itself without further delay.

ANNEX XII.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir Ramaswami Ayyar in the Fourth Committee on 12th September 1927.*

In the first place, after thanking Sir Edward Hilton Young for the kind references made by him to the Indian Delegation's Resolution last year, Sir Ramaswami Ayyar pointed out that the object of that Resolution was not exclusively to achieve economy in the administration of the League and the allied organisations. If the League is to function adequately and so as to fulfil its objects thoroughly and attain those ideals of universality which have been referred to in the meetings of the Assembly, it has necessarily to be very circumspect so that no one group of activities absorbs the bulk of its finances, and so that all the countries of the world may benefit by the activities of the organisation. He then specifically referred to the International Health Organisation. He pointed out that it is possible that a large part of the expenses of the Singapore Bureau may become a charge on the League Health Budget in the future. He observed with satisfaction that for the year under consideration there was no intention of curtailing the activities of the Bureau, inasmuch as the proposed contribution for the Bureau is the same for 1928 as for 1927. Although India is not specially contributing to the expenses of the Bureau like some of the countries, still it must not be forgotten that the general contribution of India to the budget of the League is very heavy, and that the country is the sixth largest contributor to the revenue side of the budget. In these circumstances it is not unnatural that India should urge very strongly that the Singapore Bureau, which is the main organ of the League's activities in the East, should be put on a secure footing before new commitments are undertaken. He had heard with gratification that the Rockefeller contribution was likely to be renewed, but it is always well to be prepared for all contingencies, and having regard especially to the fact that it has been practically decided that the Health Budget should not exceed in the aggregate one million Swiss francs, he proposed that every effort should be made by the League authorities to see that the future of this very important branch of the League's work should not be jeopardised in any manner. He made these remarks not by way of attaching any blame to any officer, but merely as a rule of budget procedure to be followed not only in the matter of the Health Budget but in all other undertakings. He next quoted the Resolution of the Assembly of 1922 to the effect that expenditure incurred for special investigations in the special interests of one or more Members of the League should be met by those Members. He felt confident that this principle had been kept in view in the framing of the budget. He also referred to the participation by various Governments who are not Members of the League in Conferences held under the auspices of the League. He noted that the United States had made itself responsible for its share of the expenses of these Conferences, but he hoped that as a financial canon all States which participated in the activities of the League should be expected and called upon to pay their share. Lastly, he specially adverted to the Publication Department, and hoped that it would be reorganised and put on a strictly commercial basis. He noticed that such a process had already been commenced, but he hoped that it would be expedited and that a rule would be made so that the publications of the League would pay their way. He was in favour of the appointment by the League of agents for the sale of its publications in India, and showed that there is absolutely no body of official persons who are charged with the task of popularising the activities and helping the sale of the publications of the League, so much so, that it was a matter of some difficulty in India to get hold of those publications except through the kind offices of the Legislative Department of the Government of India, which in turn did not possess a really adequate library of League literature.

ANNEX XIII.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir Ramaswami Ayyar in the Fourth Committee on the 17th September 1927.*

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar emphasised that the report of the Sub-Committee was essentially a matter of compromise and adjustment. It could be clearly seen from the report that there were two currents of opinion. It had been suggested that it was possible that a tribunal of the kind proposed would not be as useful as the pursuit of the idea of conciliation, either by means of special safeguarding clauses in the contracts of the Secretariat or by other means. It was pointed out on the other side that in the matter of sanctions and as to the law applicable in each case there existed great difficulties to be overcome before the scheme could be successfully worked.

The fundamental problem was whether the employees of the League, who had no legal means of enforcing their rights, could best be protected by the establishment of such a tribunal or by some expedient. The Sub-Committee had had to decide whether this tribunal would be useful and expedient.

After reading his report Sir Ramaswami Ayyar said that it was obvious that the report was a compromise. One of the principal elements in their decision had been what was termed in argument the psychological aspect. The League of Nations was an organisation which endeavoured to encourage arbitration in the international field, and it had been pointed out that its own employees had at them and the Secretary-General and higher authorities.

Sir Ramaswami Ayyar said that he understood that the Assembly was to adopt a provisional statute and in a separate resolution to lay down that this statute, setting up the framework of the Administrative Tribunal, should be subject to revision in 1931. He would have no objection to this.

ANNEX XIV.—*Report of a Speech by H.H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala in the Sixth Committee on the 13th September 1927.*

I am glad that we have an opportunity this year of devoting a short time to the consideration of what may, I suppose, be regarded as the most important single achievement of last year's Assembly, an achievement which, while it redounded generally to the credit of the League, owed much at the same time both in its inception and in its negotiation to a distinguished League figure whose absence we all personally regret this year. It is a measure which fulfils in the highest sense the League ideal of promoting the causes of humanity and civilisation.

I have asked your permission to address the Committee primarily for the purpose of correcting a misunderstanding for which the Indian Delegation at last year's Assembly was inadvertently responsible. The leader of the Indian Delegation last year in his speech in the Assembly on the adoption of the Slavery Convention, referred to the Kingdom of Nepal, an independent State on the northern frontier, which had recently completed the liberation of nearly 60,000 slaves at a cost which, though considerable, was by no means heavy in relation to the work accomplished. He went on to say that this was a result on which the Kingdom of Nepal might be congratulated, and that it was clear evidence of the influence of the League in the East. It has since been pointed out, on behalf of the Maharaja of Nepal, that the intention to liberate slaves in Nepal was announced before the Nepalese authorities could have known that the League was taking the question of slavery in hand, and that accordingly the project for liberating these slaves had been conceived quite independently of the ventilation of the subject by the League of Nations. I make this statement in order that the Government of that State may receive all the credit to which they are legitimately entitled for their enlightened policy. The fact which I now bring to your notice is evidence of the spontaneous attention which Eastern rulers are now giving to matters of this character. Those Governments which may have a similar task to face might study with advantage the history and methods of slave liberation in Nepal.

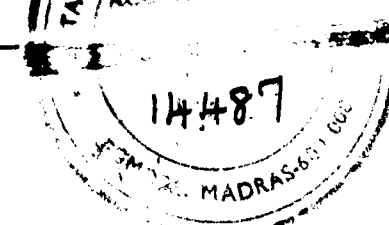
Two events of importance have occurred in India during the last 12 months in connection with slavery. First, His Highness the Khan of Kalat, a State in the extreme west of India, has, after many years of persistent effort, finally succeeded in abolishing all forms of private property in human beings. Secondly, the Government of Burma sent last winter two expeditions into the wild regions in the extreme east of India for the purpose of securing the liberation of slaves. These regions were partly included in the areas excluded from the Convention of last year. The expeditions were entirely successful, and slavery has now practically ceased in Burma. But the severe and dangerous nature of the operations is unhappily shown in the fact that one British officer, one Indian non-commissioned officer and one Indian follower lost their lives as a result of a treacherous attack made by the inhabitants of a disaffected village. I need not say more about these two events, as full details have already been communicated to all Members of the League, except that in the case of Kalat we have very recently received fresh information of a tour which has been carried out to survey the effects of the measure of last year in that State. It is reported as a result of the tour that "it can now be safely said that slavery no longer exists in the Kalat State, that the transition from slavery to free labour has taken place without any undue disturbance of social or economic conditions and that there is no danger of a return to the former state."

I am naturally glad to be able to bring to your notice the success which has attended the notable reforms initiated and carried through by one of the Ruling Princes of India.

Last year Sir William Vincent, the leader of the Indian Delegation, in signing the Convention was obliged, for constitutional reasons, to make a reservation excluding the Indian States from the Convention. He said that slavery in the ordinary sense was not now practised in any Indian State, and that where conditions amounting to forced labour were present no serious abuses existed, and progress was being made in removing or mitigating those conditions. He said further that the Government of India would not fail to bring to the notice of the Rulers of the Indian States the provisions accepted for British India under the Convention, together with suitable recommendations. I am now able to inform you that the Government of India have brought the Convention to the notice of Rulers of Indian States in the light of this undertaking, and I am sure I can say with confidence that the Ruling Princes of India who are concerned will devote themselves earnestly to accelerating the removal of any vestiges of conditions akin to slavery that may still survive, and to securing the general observance of the standard aimed at by the Convention in those States, if any, in which it may be found that that standard has not yet been fully attained. I may add that my own State is one of those in which slavery and also forced labour have been abolished since a very long time, and that social reforms of all kinds have been introduced in British India as well as in almost all the Indian States, and great progress has been generally made in this direction.

ANNEX XV.—*Report of a Speech by Sir B. K. Mullick in the Sixth Committee on the 14th September 1927.*

I do not desire to detain the Committee long; I rise only for the purpose of stating that I have been instructed by my Government to support the proposal made by the distinguished delegate from Norway. I see no difficulty in adopting the system of proportional representation with a transferable vote in regard to the elections for the three non-permanent seats in the Council, and I have been instructed to say that, in the opinion of my Government, the Assembly will be more fairly represented under this system. A good deal has been said about the practical difficulties of putting the system into operation, but from the little study I have been able to give to the details of the system, the practical difficulties do not seem to me to be very serious. It must be remembered that the electorate in the Assembly will be far more competent and far smaller than the electorate in a General Election in a European State, and also that it will not be affected by the violent storms of local feeling which are apt to sweep over the constituency during a General Election. At any rate, in my humble opinion the system is worth further study, and I would support the proposal of the distinguished delegate from Norway.



FINAL REPORT

of the

DELEGATES OF INDIA

to the

**NINTH (OF 1928) SESSION
OF THE ASSEMBLY**

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(1928).

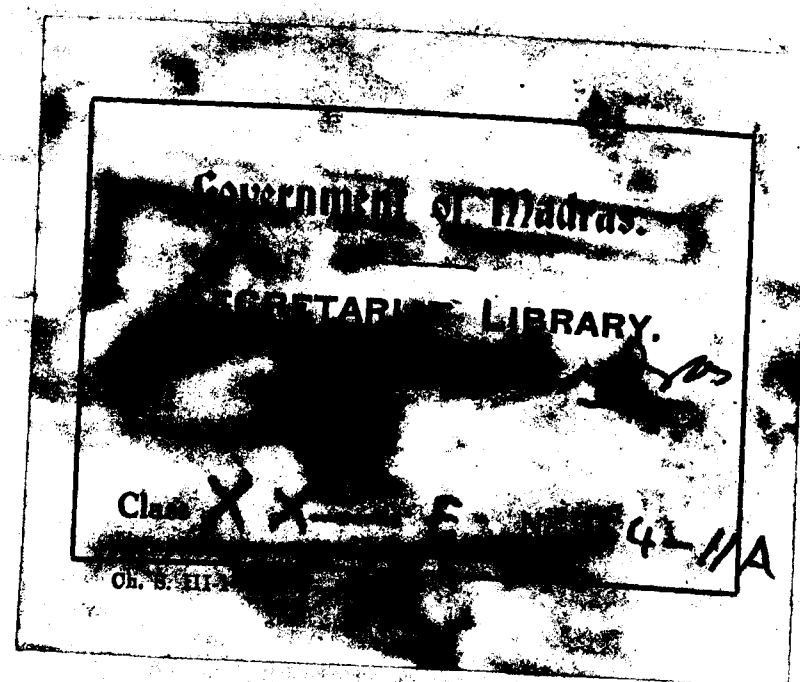
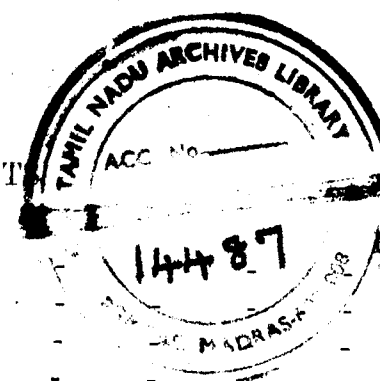


TABLE OF CONTENT



Introductory	4
The Indian and British Empire Delegations	4
Opening of the Ninth Session	4
Arbitration, Security and Disarmament	5
Minorities	6
Asiatic Questions	6
Election of non-permanent Members of the Council	7
Election to vacancy in Permanent Court of International Justice	8
Subjects referred to Committees	8

COMMITTEE I.

Codification of International Law	9
Revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice	11
Advisory Opinions of the Permanent Court of International Justice	11
Pacific Settlement of International Disputes	11

COMMITTEE II.

Work of the Economic Organisation	12
Work of the Financial Committee	14
Work of the Health Organisation	15
Organisation for Communications and Transit	16
Relations between the League and Institutes under its Authority	16
Alcoholism	17

COMMITTEE III.

Arbitration, Security and Reduction of Armaments	17
Including—	
Work of the Preparatory Commission for the Reduction of Armaments	17
Pacific Settlement of International Disputes	18
Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant	21
Model Treaty for strengthening the means of preventing War	22
Financial Assistance to States Victims of Aggression	22
Construction of League Wireless Station	23
Supervision of the Private Manufacture and Publicity of the Manufacture of Arms	24

COMMITTEE IV.

The League Budget	24
Amendments to the Financial Regulations	30
Allocation of Expenses	30
The League Building Scheme	31
Contributions in arrears	31

COMMITTEE V.

Child Welfare	31
Traffic in Women and Children	32
Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs	33
Commission of Enquiry on Opium smoking in the Far East	34
Refugees	34

COMMITTEE VI.

Slavery Convention	35
Mandates	36
Establishment of Armenian Refugees in Erivan	36
Intellectual Co-operation	36
Lord Lytton's Speech in the Assembly on the Budget	38 and 78
Concluding Remarks	40
List of Appendices	41

4. The Assembly accordingly expresses to the Council its desire that the Conference should as far as possible be convened in the course of 1929, so that the first practical results may be secured from an undertaking which has for four years been the subject of methodical preparation.

5. The Assembly requests the delegations to communicate these views to the Governments, if necessary by telegraph, and to recall to their attention the importance which the Preparatory Committee attaches to receiving, before 31st October 1928, their replies to the questionnaires sent to them.

6. It asks that, on this occasion, it may be pointed out to the Governments that the detailed questionnaires drawn up by the Preparatory Committee, in obedience to the instructions given to it, have been prepared with the sole object of rendering it more easy for the various Governments to send the information for which they are asked, and do not prevent them, if they so wish, from reserving their opinion upon points which have not arisen in their own experience or upon which they would at present prefer not to pronounce.

7. The Assembly, considering that the question of nationality which is on the agenda of the Conference is of special interest to women, and that Article 7 of the Covenant embodies the principle that all positions under or in connection with the League shall be open equally to men and women, expresses the hope that the Members of the League, when invited to the forthcoming Conference, will consider the desirability of taking these considerations into account in composing their delegations. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September 1928.*)

(b) Preparatory Work for further Conferences.

23. The Assembly of 1927 had decided, after considerable discussion, that the Committee of Experts should hold a further meeting this year with a view to completing the work already begun. The Committee had held their meeting, and had recorded the view that two further questions were sufficiently ripe for international regulation, namely:—

- (1) The legal position and functions of consuls, and
- (2) The competence of the Courts in regard to foreign States.

The Committee had also issued a new questionnaire dealing with the subject of domicile. The resolution of the Assembly of 1927 did not seem to contemplate a further meeting of the Committee of Experts in 1929, but the Estimates for 1929 contained a credit for 45,000 francs for the purpose of another meeting, pending a decision of the Assembly. The First Committee recommended that the Assembly should adjourn till its session of 1929 the question whether it was necessary to convene the Committee of Experts again, and the proposed credit was reduced by 36,000 francs.

The following is the text of the Assembly Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Having considered the report addressed to the Council of the League of Nations in June 1928 by the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law, thanks the jurists who, under the enlightened guidance of their President, have made this new contribution to the work of codification.

Notes the conclusions of the Committee, according to which two new questions appear to be sufficiently ripe for international regulation, namely:—

- (1) Legal position and functions of Consuls;
- (2) Competence of the courts in regard to foreign States.

It decides to reserve these questions with a view to subsequent conferences.

The Assembly notes that a new questionnaire dealing with the question of Domicil has been drawn up by the Committee of Experts and transmitted to the Governments by the Secretary-General.

It adjourns to its session of 1929 the question whether it is necessary to convene the Committee of Experts again for the purpose of examining the replies from the Governments received in the interval by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, and, eventually, of studying other questions which may arise in connection with codification of international law.

The Assembly recommends that the Committee of Experts should, when it next meets, examine whether it would be possible and desirable to endeavour, by the procedure of codification, to formulate a declaration of the fundamental rights and duties of States. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September 1928.*)

(c) Establishment of a General Plan of Codification.

24. The First Committee had also to consider the opinion expressed by the Committee of Experts on a proposal which had been submitted to the Assembly of 1927 by the delegate of Paraguay for the preparation of a general and comprehensive plan for the codification of International Law. The decision of the First Committee, which was confirmed by the Assembly, was to the effect that there should be no change in the method of codification adopted in 1924, but that the Council might be requested to entrust to a committee of three jurists, to be chosen preferably from the members of the Committee of Experts, the establishment of a systematic survey of the subject.

The following is the text of the Assembly Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Having considered the opinion expressed by the Committee of Experts regarding the proposal of the delegation of Paraguay:

Confirms its decision to make no change at present in the method of codification adopted by it in 1924;

Recognises, however, that there would be advantage in indicating the full extent of the subjects which, without prejudging the order to be followed, the Assembly proposes to cover by the work of codification;

And, in view of the character of the contemplated task, addresses to the Council the request that the establishment of a systematic survey may be entrusted to a Committee of three jurists, to be chosen preferably from the members of the Committee of Experts, and that the survey may be communicated to the Members of the League as soon as possible.

It suggests that it would be desirable at the same time to distinguish, if possible, the subjects which should be reserved for the technical organisations of the League, or the international conferences which have already been initiated by particular Governments, and the subjects which appear capable of being dealt with by conferences of jurists.

The Assembly emphasises the great immediate practical value in this connection of assembling together in the form of a code, according to a methodical classification, the various general international conventions, i.e. those which are open to acceptance by States in general.

It accordingly asks the Council to submit to examination by the above-mentioned Committee of three jurists the question of publishing, as an accompaniment to the *Treaty Series* and in the form of a code, of which new editions would from time to time be produced, those general conventions which have the above-mentioned character, and to report to the Assembly on the matter at its next session. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September 1928.*)

QUESTION OF THE REVISION OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

25. A draft resolution on this subject was submitted by the French Delegation, supported by others. It was made clear in the course of the discussion that this action was not intended to imply any criticism or mistrust of the present working of the Court, and that there was no intention of making any changes in the essential structure of the Court. The object was rather to benefit by the experience gained in the seven years of the Court's activity, so that any improvements that appeared desirable might be introduced at the time of the renewal of the mandates of the Members of the Court two years hence. A suggestion that the jurisdiction of the Court might be extended to cover penal matters was not accepted. The Resolution of the Assembly was as follows:—

The Assembly,

Considering the ever-increasing number of matters referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice;

Deeming it advisable that, before the renewal of the term of office of the Members of the Court in 1930, the present provisions of the Statute of the Court should be examined with a view to the introduction of any amendments which experience may show to be necessary;

Draws the Council's attention to the advisability of proceeding, before the renewal of the term of office of the Members of the Permanent Court of International Justice, to the examination of the Statute of the Court with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable, and to submitting the necessary proposals to the next ordinary session of the Assembly. (*Resolution adopted on 20th September 1928.*)

ADVISORY OPINIONS OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

26. The Swiss Delegation proposed that the Council should ask the Court itself whether the Council or the Assembly could by a majority vote apply to the Court for an advisory opinion. The Council and the Assembly can take decisions on procedure by a majority vote, and the question therefore was whether an application for an advisory opinion was a matter of procedure. It was questioned whether the Court was the body to whom this point should be referred. It was represented also that the opinions of the Court could hardly be regarded as purely advisory in character; there was little difference in form or authority between an opinion and a judgment, and hitherto every advisory opinion of the Court had been accepted practically as a matter of course. Unanimity being unattainable on the original proposal, the following modified recommendation was adopted:—

The Assembly,

Noting the divergencies of opinion which exist as regards the requirements for voting in the Council or Assembly a resolution requesting an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice:

Expresses the desire that, when circumstances permit, the Council may have a study made of the question whether the Council or the Assembly may, by a simple majority, ask for an advisory opinion within the meaning of Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. (*Recommendation adopted on 24th September 1928.*)

PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

27. A great part of the attention of the First Committee was occupied with the results of the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security on the subjects of pacific settlement, mutual assistance and non-aggression, which were referred to the First Committee by the Third Committee for consideration in their technical aspects. Although the main responsibility for examining and revising the texts fell upon the First Committee, we shall postpone the treatment of this question until we come to our report on the work of the Third Committee, as it came in the first instance before the Third Committee and was reported upon to the Assembly by the Third Committee. Moreover, it would be practically impossible to describe separately the work of the two Committees on these subjects, as, in the later stages, the two Committees sat jointly, and much of the detailed work was carried out by a Sub-Committee on which the First and Third Committees were represented.

Trusts that at least those States which signed the Protocol will accede to the Convention, and thus enable traders in these States to resort to arbitration with full security;

(3) Welcomes the conclusion of the Convention of 8th November 1927 and the Supplementary Agreement of 11th July 1928, for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, and also the two International Agreements dated 11th July 1928;

Earnestly hopes that the Governments of the signatory States, and especially the Governments of the States enumerated in Article C of the Supplementary Agreement of 11th July 1928, whose abstention might jeopardise the future of the Agreements concluded, will speedily ratify these Agreements and thus contribute towards achieving real progress in the economic situation of the world;

(4) Trusts that the Diplomatic Conference on Statistics convened for 26th November next and the Conferences contemplated for 1929 in regard to the treatment of foreign nationals and the partial assimilation of legislation on bills of exchange, promissory notes and cheques will lead to valuable results;

(5) Hopes that the preparatory work for the establishment of a simplified uniform Customs nomenclature, of which it recognises the high importance as facilitating tariff agreements and increasing the efficacy of the most-favoured-nation clause, will soon be successfully concluded;

(6) Considering that the Economic Committee has already arrived at interesting conclusions as to the possibility of reconciling the two tariff systems (hard-and-fast tariff and negotiable tariff):

Requests the Economic Committee to pursue its work with a view to framing a doctrine in regard to commercial policy and preparing collective agreements to facilitate, by bringing about a milder Customs regime, the movement of certain products which are of special importance or which lend themselves more particularly to treatment of this kind;

(7) Follows with interest the investigations undertaken in regard to veterinary measures, and approves their objective character and the desire to take into account the legitimate and occasionally conflicting preoccupations of countries which export and import cattle;

Considers that their completion is essential to enable regulations to be cleared from all suspicion of veiled protectionism, and promote the greater freedom of trade advocated by the Economic Conference;

And is confident that they will be pursued as rapidly as is consistent with the complexity of their character;

(8) Expresses its confidence that the Economic Committee, to which the investigation of the problems relating to coal and sugar were submitted at the instance of the Consultative Committee, will carry through its work with all desirable energy, while not neglecting any of the interests involved, whether of producers or consumers—countries or persons—or the workers;

(9) Hopes that the Economic Organisation will be able to expedite, along the lines of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference and the Consultative Committee, the study of various aspects of the problem of international industrial understandings—in particular, the status of such understandings, their juridical forms, the legislation controlling them and the publicity concerning them;

(10) Believes that the successful attainment of the objects contemplated by the World Economic Conference will largely depend upon the measure in which it will prove possible to harmonise the interests of agriculture and industry, account being taken, *inter alia*, of the particular position of countries which are mainly agricultural or in the early stages of industrial development;

Approves the view expressed by the Economic Consultative Committee that the systematic study of the problems of agriculture will be an important factor in the encouragement of economic co-operation between peoples. (*Resolutions adopted on 21st September 1928.*)

WORK OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE.

35. The work of the Financial Committee during the last 12 months was mainly concerned with the refugee problems of Greece and Bulgaria and with the loans connected with the settlement of refugees and the stabilisation of the currencies of these two countries. This work has been attended by conspicuous success and is of great value, not only for the prosperity of these two countries and of all other countries which are in economic relations with them, but also for the general cause of political security and pacification. Both countries have also benefited in the last year from the co-operation of the Health Organisation. This work has no close or direct bearing on the special interests of India and we do not, therefore, describe it in detail. But those who wish to appreciate the possibility and success of international action through the League in technical spheres should certainly make a study of these achievements. The reports of the Second Committee on these subjects are reprinted among the Appendices.

36. The Financial Committee is engaged on various other problems, one of which may prove to be of special interest to India, namely, that of the purchasing power of gold. The Council has invited the Financial Committee to examine to what extent and by what means the League can most usefully assist in the study and solution of the problem of undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold, and the present stage of the matter is that the Committee have carried out a first exchange of views as to the best method of arranging for a study of the various questions involved and have requested the Secretariat to compile certain information.

37. When the work of the Financial Committee came before the Second Committee, Mr. Yusuf Ali made a speech, of which the following are the main points. The text is reprinted among the Appendices. He said that India, although not directly interested, for geographical reasons, in the work carried out in connection with refugees and currency stabilisation, welcomed it and took note of its great success. The best testimony to its success was the fact that one country after another had applied to the League for assistance. He said that the question of double taxation and fiscal evasion did not arise in a practical

form in the case of India except in relation with other parts of the British Empire, and was, therefore, not for India an international problem. He spoke also of the interest of India in connection with the question of gold and with that of Central Bank statistics, and in conclusion he bore testimony to the important work of the Financial Committee in the after-war reconstruction of the world.

The following Resolutions were adopted by the Assembly:—

The Assembly takes note of and expresses its satisfaction with the work of the Financial Committee (*Resolution adopted on 20th September 1928.*)

The Assembly,

Congratulates the Refugee Settlement Commission on the excellent results so far obtained, and trusts that the work which remains to be done may be carried out in the same satisfactory manner;

Expresses its satisfaction at the success of financial stabilisation in Greece and the work of the Financial Committee in this connection. (*Resolution adopted on 18th September 1928.*)

The Assembly,

(a) Notes with satisfaction the progress of the refugee work under the able direction of the Commissioner of the League and the Bulgarian authorities, to whom it expresses its appreciation of their work. The progress thus made confirms the Assembly's appreciation of the social and political importance of this work;

(b) Takes note of the stabilisation scheme involving the issue of a loan of £5 millions sterling to be devoted to the repayment of the State debt to the National Bank in connection with the stabilisation of the currency, to strengthening the position of the Agricultural Bank and the Central Co-operative Bank, the liquidation of budget arrears, the construction of certain roads and railways, and work in connection with the damage caused by the earthquakes which ravaged parts of Bulgaria during the spring of 1928;

(c) Congratulates the Financial Committee and the Bulgarian Government for having, in the preparation of this scheme, made one more valuable contribution to the progressive financial and economic stabilisation of Europe, and expresses the hope that the issue of the loan necessary for the execution of the scheme may meet with complete success. (*Resolution adopted on 20th September 1928.*)

WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

38. The work of the Health Organisation has figured prominently in the reports of our predecessors because this Organisation was the first and, up to now, has been the most successful of the League Organisations to put its work on a really world-wide basis and to direct its attention to problems and activities which are the concern as much of Asia as of Europe. It has established an Epidemiological Bureau at Singapore, which, having succeeded in the collection and transmission of information from the majority of ports in its area, is now being furnished with intelligence relating to the hinterland of ports and to countries as a whole. The Bureau furnishes to Eastern Governments information which is necessary for effective action against epidemic diseases. The Health Organisation also organises a system of public health interchanges which consist really of study tours in which medical and sanitary experts of different countries participate with a view to gaining and imparting knowledge and experience which has accumulated in different countries on particular subjects and aspects of sanitary and scientific work. One of these tours was successfully carried out in India last winter and was attended by the President of the Health Committee and by representatives of many Eastern health administrations. This is the first occasion on which an activity of the League has been organised in India. The Organisation is also conducting studies of Malaria, Plague, Cholera, Leprosy, Infant Welfare and Rural Hygiene. The cardinal principle of the Health Organisation, as of every League technical organisation, is to promote and co-ordinate contacts between national organisations rather than to supersede them or to attempt to act as a central authority. A full account of its methods and activities is contained in an unusually interesting report submitted to the Assembly on behalf of the Second Committee by Professor O'Sullivan (Ireland), which is reprinted among the Appendices.

39. Mr. Mallik made a speech on the subject in the Second Committee in which he began by congratulating Professor Sullivan on his report, and especially on the emphasis which he had given to the subject of rural hygiene. He then went on to express deep appreciation of the humanitarian side of the work of the Organisation and congratulated it on paying attention rather to quality than quantity. He referred particularly to the Singapore Bureau, to the system of interchange tours, which was particularly beneficial to a country like India, in placing at her disposal the experience of other countries, to the problem of malaria, which was the cause of so much devitalisation and economic loss in India, to the Government of India's invitation that the Malaria Commission should visit India, to the work on plague which is being carried out in India, especially in regard to the possibility of developing the bacteriophage method, and to the work on leprosy, which, though it is being taken up primarily as a measure of collaboration between the League and the countries of Latin America, would also be of advantage to India. He said that the question of rural hygiene which the League was beginning to study had recently been a subject of consideration by the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, which had indicated the serious consequences of neglect, and he observed that the study of this subject by the interchange method would produce results of value to India. Finally, he submitted

a proposal, which was accepted, that the resolution of the Assembly on the work of the Health Committee should contain a clause congratulating the Organisation on the increasing success of its far-sighted policy of practical collaboration with the extra-European countries. We believe that this compliment has been well earned and we hope that other Organisations of the League will be inspired to qualify themselves for a similar compliment in the near future. The text of the speech will be found among the Appendices.

The following is the text of the Resolution adopted by the Assembly :—

The Assembly,

Having taken note of the reports dealing with the work of the Health Organisation of the League during the past year :

Is gratified at these evidences of its increasing utility as an agency for the promotion of international collaboration in matters affecting the public health ;

Expresses its appreciation to all the health administrations of the various Governments which have generously collaborated with the Health Organisation in the different branches of its work ;

Records its gratitude for the services rendered by the members and experts of all the commissions and conferences of the Health Organisation, as well as the specialists and experts who have carried out individual missions ;

Approves the work accomplished by the Health Organisation since the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, and congratulates it on the increasing success of its far-sighted policy of practical collaboration with extra-European countries. (*Resolution adopted on 18th September 1928.*)

ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

40. This Organisation has a considerable mass of technical work in hand, but much of it is of no direct importance to India, and there are no developments of special significance to record. It will suffice to illustrate the main features by the following summary of some brief remarks made by Mr. Yusuf Ali and reprinted verbatim among the Appendices. He said that although India had few important communications of an international character by land she recognised the advantage of securing a uniform system of road signals. India has, on the other hand, international maritime communications of great importance, and the principle of unifying systems of buoyage and of the lighting of coasts, on which the League was working, presented *prima facie* many advantages. Before, however, practical agreement could be achieved the Transit Organisation would have to find a solution satisfactory to two of the most important maritime nations of the world, namely, Great Britain and the United States of America, and until this was done his Government hesitated to regard the scheme as a practical proposition. It was understood that the scheme was in the course of undergoing considerable modification. Mr. Yusuf Ali further stated that the proposals for the simplification of the Christian Calendar were not of primary importance to India in view of the multiplicity of calendars connected with other religions which prevailed. The Government of India had consulted commercial opinion on the subject and had found it either hostile or indifferent. He finally entered a caveat with regard to the new credits demanded for the collection and exchange of information on transit questions which he said would have to be examined carefully by the Fourth Committee.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly, noting the report of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit on the work of the Organisation between the eighth and ninth ordinary sessions of the Assembly, expresses its satisfaction with the normal progress of the Organisation's work. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September 1928.*)

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE LEAGUE AND INSTITUTES UNDER ITS AUTHORITY.

41. This question arose out of an offer made in 1927 by the Italian Government to set up an Institute for the Educational Cinema under the auspices of the League, which had aroused certain misgivings as to the reality of the international character which the Institute would possess and as to its relations with other international bodies, in particular with the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation, which had already interested itself in the subject of cinematography. The Assembly had under consideration a report which had been referred to it by the Council. This report divided the subject-matter into two categories: (1) the principles to be followed in placing international bureaux under the protection of the League in accordance with the general provision of Article 24 of the Covenant, and (2) the general rules to govern the acceptance of international institutes by the League which were not intended for direction under Article 24. In regard to bureaux falling under the first category no question of difficulty arose. The important principle is that the League should see that the Organisation always preserves a strictly international character and that its work is carried on in an efficient manner and that the direction of the League must be established by a definite legal act. Under the second category, that in which it is proposed to create institutes under the auspices of the League but not under its direction, the rules are based on three principles, namely, that the object of the institute must come within the sphere of activity of the League of Nations, the institute serving as a working instrument; that the legal status of the institute should provide for its independence *vis-à-vis* the local authorities; and that the constitution of the institute should be such that the League organs can exercise supervision over its work. Examples of institutes of this character already established are the

Institute for Intellectual Co-operation, the Institute for the Unification of Private Law and the Institute for the Educational Cinema. It is contemplated that the Institute of Agriculture at Rome should be brought within this category in the near future. There is, in our view, a danger that the supervisory staff of such institutes may not be sufficiently international, and this is partly a matter of finance, as an international staff costs more than a national one. We were anxious that the rules should provide that the superior staff of such institutes should be recruited on an international basis and the institutes themselves assured of sufficient funds to render the employment of an international staff possible. Mr. Yusuf Ali and the British delegate made suggestions to this end. There were formal difficulties to the acceptance of these suggestions in exactly the form that we should have desired, but satisfaction was given to our point of view in the report presented by the Second Committee to the Assembly and approved.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Having taken note of the report adopted by the Council on the question of the relations between the League of Nations and institutes or bodies set up under its authority.

Approves the rules embodied in that report for the application of Article 24 of the Covenant and for the acceptance of international institutes offered to the League by Governments. The modifications made in that report by the Second Committee of the Assembly are also approved. (*Resolution adopted on 20th September 1928.*)

ALCOHOLISM.

42. Our immediate predecessors described how the proposal of the Finnish Delegation, that the League should take up generally the question of alcoholism with special reference to the international control of smuggling, and should create a special Advisory Body for the purpose, met with considerable opposition in 1927, was withdrawn, and was replaced by a similar proposal in a new form to be considered this year. Before this proposal came before the Second Committee this year the chief protagonists, Finland and France, had come together and drawn up a compromise to the effect that the Health Organisation should collect statistical information bearing upon the abuse of alcohol and particularly of alcohol of bad quality, and that the Economic Committee should study the terms in which conventions for preventive action against the contraband trade might be drawn up. The text of the resolution concluded with the remark that it did not refer to wine, beer or cider. It will be noted that this compromise greatly restricts the scope of the enquiry and utilises only existing machinery. It naturally met with a luke-warm reception in the Second Committee, but as no one felt inclined to awaken a troublesome controversy by pressing objections, it was accepted. There was no necessity for us to intervene in the debate. We need not comment on the solution adopted except to say that for the sake of producing the appearance of satisfaction to contending parties it imposed upon two League Organisations, whose programmes are already sufficiently arduous, enquiries which are never likely to lead to practical results.

The following Resolution was adopted by the Assembly :—

The Assembly,

Having had a draft resolution on the subject of alcoholism submitted to it by the Finnish, Swedish and Polish Delegations :

Decides to ask the Council to request the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to collect full statistical information regarding alcoholism, considered as a consequence of the abuse of alcohol, giving prominence, *inter alia*, according to the data available, to the deleterious effects of the bad quality of the alcohols consumed ;

And, considering that, while it is for the Governments to put a stop to the contraband trade carried on in violation of the conventions in force between them, it may nevertheless be useful to examine the terms in which such conventions or agreements might be drawn up, for the prevention of smuggling in general and that of alcohol in particular ;

Decides to ask the Council to request the Economic Committee to carry out this investigation and to submit any proposals to the Council arising out of its conclusions.

It is understood that this resolution does not refer to wine, beer or cider. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September 1928.*)

COMMITTEE III.—Reduction of Armaments.

WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

43. The Assembly was faced with the fact that during the past year the League had not made any direct progress with this all-important question. The Preparatory Commission had met twice, and after its second session in March had adjourned, leaving its President free to fix the date of the next session. The debate in the Third Committee turned largely on the question of fixing dates for the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission and for the meeting of the Disarmament Conference itself. The French Delegation desired a recommendation which would hasten the solution of the difficulties which hinder the progress of the work and which are the subject of negotiations between the Governments principally concerned, so that the Commission might meet at the end of the present year or at the beginning of next year. The German Delegation recognised the importance and desirability of direct negotiations between the Governments, but considered that if such negotiations

were not attended by early success the Disarmament Conference should itself decide those which were left unsettled, and they wished the Council to be requested to fix a date for the meeting of the Disarmament Conference in 1929. The resolution eventually adopted, although the German delegate abstained from voting for it, proposed to the Council that the President of the Preparatory Commission should be instructed to keep himself informed of the negotiations proceeding between Governments with a view to convening the Commission at the end of the present year or, in any case, at the beginning of 1929. The Third Committee was unanimous in thinking that the present situation was such as to allow of definite results being obtained in connection with the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments, and it noted further that the various difficulties which had hitherto held up the Preparatory Commission's work were beginning to diminish. Unfortunately events since the Assembly in connection with the Anglo-French arrangement for the treatment of trained reserves and the method of effecting naval disarmament have not tended to confirm this latter view.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

Whereas a close connection exists between international security and the reduction and limitation of armaments;

And whereas the present conditions of security set up by the Covenant of the League of Nations, by the Treaties of Peace, and in particular by the reductions in the armaments of certain countries under these Treaties, and also by the Locarno Agreements, would allow of the conclusion at the present time of a first General Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments;

And whereas those Governments which consider that their security is not sufficiently assured are now, thanks to the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, in possession of fresh means for strengthening their security, of which it is to be hoped that they will make use at need, by having recourse to the good offices of the Council;

And whereas the Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments will increase international security;

And whereas it is desirable that the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and of the Committee on Arbitration and Security shall be pursued so that, by further steps, armaments may be progressively reduced as the increase of security allows;

The Assembly:

Urges the necessity of accomplishing the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments with as little delay as possible;

Notes with satisfaction the efforts of certain Governments to prepare the ground for the future work of the Preparatory Commission;

Earnestly hopes that Governments among which differences of opinion still subsist as to the conditions for the reduction and limitation of armaments will seek, without delay, in the most liberal spirit of conciliation and international solidarity, agreed solutions which will enable the work of the Preparatory Commission to be brought to a successful issue;

Proposes to the Council that the President of the Preparatory Commission be instructed to keep in contact with the Governments concerned so that he may be apprised of the progress of their negotiations and may be able to convene the Commission at the end of the present year, or, in any case, at the beginning of 1929. (*Resolution adopted on 25th September 1928.*)

PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

44. The Assembly of 1927 had authorised the Preparatory Committee for the Disarmament Conference to create a new Committee, which has become known as the Committee on Arbitration and Security, for the purpose of considering "the measures capable of giving to States the guarantees of arbitration and security necessary to enable them to fix the level of their armaments at the lowest possible figures in an international disarmament agreement." The Assembly had further recorded its opinion that these measures should be sought "in action by the League of Nations, with a view to promoting, generalising and co-ordinating special or collective agreements on arbitration and security." The Committee on Arbitration and Security had accordingly prepared two groups of model treaties, one relating to arbitration and conciliation and the other to non-aggression and mutual assistance, together with draft resolutions regarding the submission and recommendation of these treaties and the good offices of the Council. It had also prepared a resolution concerning the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

45. The texts concerning non-aggression and mutual assistance and also that concerning the optional clause were passed without much controversy, and, as the interest mainly centred upon arbitration and conciliation, we shall confine ourselves to that subject in our comments, and shall not do more than record formally the resolutions passed on the first-mentioned subjects.

46. The Committee on Arbitration and Security had prepared six model conventions for the pacific settlement of international disputes, three of which were model general or multi-lateral conventions and three were model bi-lateral conventions. The three texts in each group were designed so as to vary with the different degrees in which States might be prepared to accept obligations for the settlement of disputes by pacific methods either in regard to other States generally or in regard to particular States. These texts were first considered in detail by a Sub-Committee, consisting of members appointed both by the First and the Third Committees.

47. The Sub-Committee found no great difficulty in regard to the three model bi-lateral conventions. These texts were nothing but models designed for the convenience and assistance of States wishing to enter into arrangements with each other for the pacific settlement of disputes and preferring the bi-lateral method. If States desire to use these models, they may use them as they stand or with any modifications that may be desired.

48. But in the case of the texts intended for general or multi-lateral use two important points came to light. In the first place it became clear that these texts were not "models" in the sense in which the term was applied to the bi-lateral texts. They were prepared for adoption by the League sooner or later in a form which would be final and operative and in which States who were prepared to do so could definitely adhere to them. In the second place it became clear that the object to be attained, which was that of bringing as many States as possible together in some common arrangement for the settlement of disputes, would not be attained with three separate texts lacking any organic connection. One State might adhere to the first text, another to the second and another to the third; and although there would be some common, if not co-extensive, measure of willingness to submit disputes to a pacific method of settlement, there would be no actual obligation or provision for doing so in three such cases. Some link or fusion was therefore necessary.

49. The Sub-Committee eventually decided upon and produced a text, in which the three original texts were fused together into a single General Act. The General Act is not a draft for negotiation or for signature with ratification to follow; it is for acceptance in a single operation. But it need not be accepted in whole. Provisions for conciliation may be accepted or provisions for conciliation and judicial settlement or provisions for conciliation, judicial settlement and arbitration, together with, in each case, common general provisions applying to each or all of these three methods. Further, acceptance can be made subject to certain specified reservations. The text consists of 47 articles, and, as might be expected, is extremely elaborate and ingenious and certainly provides a considerable degree of elasticity.

50. The first thing that impressed us, when this remarkable draft was presented for general discussion, was that it was something essentially different from the three so-called model general conventions which had been prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security and sent to the Sub-Committee. We were of opinion that a text so novel, so ingenious and so complicated ought to be submitted to the most careful technical examination, not only of experts, but of Governments, before being finally adopted by the League. We believed that further reflection was desirable in order that an instrument acceptable to the largest possible number of Governments might be produced and in order that the League might be saved from the risk of once more making the mistake of producing an important convention which might not be adequately justified in the extent to which it was afterwards found acceptable. This opinion was shared by other delegations, including most, but not all, of the delegations of the British Empire, and it was a question whether we should insist upon the text being put back for examination by Governments and for further consideration at the next Assembly. On the other hand, we knew that our Government favoured the bi-lateral method and was not likely to be practically interested in a multi-lateral instrument on this subject in whatever terms it might be adopted, and we did not wish to create a false impression that India might eventually adhere to the General Act if its terms could be further examined and perhaps modified to meet any views which might be expressed on behalf of the Government of India. We decided eventually, as did others of the same opinion, not to press our view, but to content ourselves with recording our apprehensions and the fact that our reason for not demanding more thorough examination was the improbability of our Government finding themselves able to adhere to the Act. Sir Edward Chamier spoke to this effect and protested against the undue haste with which the matter was being treated. At one stage when intricate points of drafting were being discussed in a meeting attended by nearly 100 delegates, the translation of a speech into English was dispensed with for the sake of saving time, against which also Sir Edward Chamier protested.

51. There was, without doubt, a certain pressure to obtain the adoption of the text at all costs and to magnify its importance. There was also at one stage a disposition to regard the multi-lateral type of treaty as a more civilised and enlightened mode of procedure than the bi-lateral type. This the British delegate, supported by Sir Edward Chamier and others, took steps to correct, and the report adopted by the Assembly recognised the bi-lateral method as in no way inferior to or less commendable than the other.

52. We think it desirable at this point to mention that the hurried adoption of a complicated text in order to secure unanimity in the first instance has sometimes in the past resulted in a convention failing to secure subsequent ratification. There is, we fear, a danger that a similar regrettable consequence may result from the inadequacy of the discussion which took place this year over the General Act. We believe that some of the existing conventions which have been ratified by only a few States would have secured more complete support if their terms had been more carefully considered and discussed in the first instance. There is a very natural impatience in the Assembly of any demand for delay which would have the effect of preventing a final draft being agreed upon in the course of the session, but experience has

shown that even the loss of a year in agreeing the original draft would be preferable to the inability to ratify, which results from a too hasty agreement. The present procedure seems to require some modification, and we consider that any Government which took well-considered steps to promote this end would do the League a useful service.

The following is the text of the Resolutions adopted by the Assembly :—

(i) *Resolution on the Submission and Recommendation of a General Act and of three Model Bilateral Conventions in regard to Conciliation, Arbitration, and Judicial Settlement.*

The Assembly,

Having considered the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security :

(1) Firmly convinced that effective machinery for ensuring the peaceful settlement of international disputes is an essential element in the cause of security and disarmament ;

(2) Considering that the faithful observance, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of methods of pacific settlement renders possible the settlement of all disputes ;

(3) Noting that respect for rights established by treaty or resulting from international law is obligatory upon international tribunals ;

(4) Recognising that the rights of the several States cannot be modified except with their consent ;

(5) Taking note of the fact that a great number of particular international conventions provide for obligatory conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement ;

(6) Being desirous of facilitating to the greatest possible degree the development of undertakings in regard to the said methods of procedure ;

(7) Declaring that such undertakings are not to be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League of Nations to take at any time whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world ; or as impeding its intervention in virtue of Articles 15 and 17 of the Covenant, where a dispute cannot be submitted to arbitral or judicial procedure or cannot be settled by such procedure, or where the conciliation proceedings have failed ;

(8) Invites all States whether Members of the League or not, and in so far as their existing agreements do not already achieve this end, to accept obligations in pursuance of the above purpose either by becoming parties to the General Act or by concluding particular conventions with individual States in accordance with the model bilateral conventions or in such terms as may be deemed appropriate ;

(9) Resolves to communicate the General Act and the model bilateral conventions to all Members of the League of Nations and to such States not Members of the League as may be indicated by the Council ;

(10) Requests the Council to give the Secretariat of the League of Nations instructions to keep a list of the engagements contracted in accordance with the terms of the present resolution either by acceptance of the provisions of the General Act or by the conclusion of particular conventions with the same object, so as to enable Members of the League and States non-Members of the League to obtain information as soon as possible.

(ii) *Resolution concerning the Good Offices of the Council.*

The Assembly,

In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on 25th September 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security ;

Recognising that the development of procedures for the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between States is an essential factor in the prevention of wars ;

Expresses its appreciation of the progress achieved in concluding treaties of this kind, and its desire to see the application of the principle of the pacific settlement of all disputes extended as far as possible ; and

Invites the Council to inform all States Members of the League that, should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of contracting for this purpose undertakings concerning the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between them, and should negotiations in connection therewith meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested to do so by one of the parties—after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace—be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices, which, being voluntarily accepted by them, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue.

(iii) *Resolution on the Submission and Recommendation of Model Treaties of Non-Aggression and Mutual Assistance.*

The Assembly,

Having noted the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and amended as a result of the work of the First and Third Committees of the Assembly, together with the explanations supplied in the introductory note drawn up by the first-named Committee ;

Highly appreciating the value of these model treaties ;

And convinced that their adoption by the States concerned would contribute towards strengthening the guarantees of security ;

Recommends them for consideration by States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations ; and

Hopes that they may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude treaties of this sort.

(iv) *Resolution concerning the Good Offices of the Council.*

In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on 25th September 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security.

The Assembly,

Convinced that the conclusion between States in the same geographical area of treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance providing for conciliation, arbitration and mutual guarantees against aggression by any one of them, constitutes one of the most practical means that can now be recommended to States anxious to secure more effective guarantees of security ;

Being of opinion that the good offices of the Council, if freely accepted by all the parties concerned, might facilitate the conclusion of such treaties ;

Invites the Council to inform all the States Members of the League of Nations that, should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of concluding a treaty of non-aggression and mutual assistance or a treaty of non-aggression for this purpose, and should the negotiations relating thereto meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested by one of the parties—after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace—be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices which, being voluntarily accepted, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue.

(v) *Resolution regarding the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

The Assembly,

Referring to the resolution of 2nd October 1924, in which the Assembly, considering that the terms of Article 36, para. 2, of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice are sufficiently wide to permit States to adhere to the special Protocol opened for signature in virtue of that article, with the reservations which they regard as indispensable, and convinced that it is in the interest of the progress of international justice that the greatest possible number of States should, to the widest possible extent, accept as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court, recommends States to accede to the said Protocol at the earliest possible date ;

Noting that this recommendation has not so far produced all the effect that is to be desired ;

Being of opinion that, in order to facilitate effectively the acceptance of the clause in question, it is expedient to diminish the obstacles which prevent States from committing themselves ;

Being convinced that the efforts now being made through progressive codification to diminish the uncertainties and supply the deficiencies of international law will greatly facilitate the acceptance of the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court, and that, meanwhile, attention should once more be drawn to the possibility offered by the terms of that clause to States which do not see their way to accede to it without qualification, to do so subject to appropriate reservations limiting the extent of their commitments, both as regards duration and as regards scope ;

Noting, in this latter connection, that the reservations conceivable may relate, either generally to certain aspects of any kind of dispute, or specifically to certain classes or lists of disputes, and that these different kinds of reservation can be legitimately combined ;

Recommends that States which have not yet acceded to the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should, failing accession pure and simple, consider, with due regard to their interests, whether they can accede on the conditions above indicated ;

Requests the Council to communicate the text of this resolution to those States as soon as possible, desiring them to notify it of their intentions in the matter, indicating at the same time the questions of international law the elucidation of which would, in their opinion, facilitate their accession to the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court ; and

Asks the Council to inform the Assembly at its next session of the replies it has by then received.

(vi) *Resolution with regard to the Revision of the Systematic Survey of Arbitration, Conventions and Treaties of Mutual Security deposited with the League of Nations, prepared by the Legal Section of the Secretariat.*

The Assembly,

Recognising the importance of the documentation which the Secretariat of the League of Nations has begun to collect concerning treaties of judicial settlement, arbitration and conciliation, and of the maps and graphs which it contemplates establishing ;

Requests the Secretary-General to be so good as to invite the Governments of States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations to communicate to the Secretariat the text :

- (1) of those treaties for the pacific settlement of disputes which are now in force and which were concluded prior to the establishment of the League of Nations and which have not been registered ;
- (2) of such arbitral awards affecting them as may be rendered in the future, with the exception of judgments of the Permanent Court of International Justice and of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and of special tribunals such as the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals. (*Resolutions adopted on 26th September 1928.*)

ARTICLES 10, 11 AND 16 OF THE COVENANT.

53. The Committee on Arbitration and Security has been studying these articles of the Covenant and the results of their study came up for consideration and approval. We do not here propose to offer the long and technical examination which would be necessary for a proper understanding of the subject, but we would call attention to the main tendencies of the present time, which are to concentrate rather upon the means of preventing war than on the application of measures of repression ; to avoid the establishment of a hard-and-fast procedure to be applied on the occurrence of a crisis ; and to recognise that for the States Members of the League taken as a whole the Covenant both provides an adequate measure of security and is the limit of the obligation which they are prepared to accept. The Resolution adopted by the Ninth Assembly may be taken as representing reaction from the Geneva Protocol of 1924. Its text is as follows :—

The Assembly,

Having noted the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security in regard to Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant :

Appreciates the great importance of the work done to apply the provisions in question ;

Considers that the information concerning the question of the criteria of aggression contained in the Committee's documents usefully summarises the studies made by the Assembly and the Council and the provisions of certain treaties;

Recalls in particular that the action to be taken by the Council under Article 11 and other articles of the Covenant in the case of a conflict will provide it with important elements of appreciation likely to facilitate the determination of the aggressor in the event of war breaking out in spite of every effort;

Considers that the study of Article 11 of the Covenant, which stipulates that the League "shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations," forms the natural counterpart of the study undertaken by the Committee of the Council and approved by the Council on 6th December 1927, on the Assembly's recommendation, and, without detracting from the value of the other articles of the Covenant, brings into prominence the fact that the League's first task is to forestall war, and that in all cases of armed conflict or of threats of armed conflict, of whatever nature, it must take action to prevent hostilities or to stop hostilities which have already begun;

Takes note of the suggestions concerning Article 16 contained in the Committee's documents relative to the study of the articles of the Covenant;

Recommends to the Council the studies in question as a useful piece of work which, without proposing a hard and fast procedure in time of emergency, and without adding to or detracting from the rights and duties of the Members of the League, provides valuable indications as to the possibilities offered by the different articles of the Covenant, and as to the way in which they may be applied, without prejudice to the different modes of procedure which the infinite variety of possible eventualities may render necessary in practice;

In conclusion, recommends that a study should be undertaken of the other articles of the Covenant the conscientious and full application of which offers special guarantees of security. (*Recommendations adopted on 20th September 1928.*)

MODEL TREATY FOR STRENGTHENING THE MEANS OF PREVENTING WAR.

54. A draft model treaty had been submitted to the Committee on Arbitration and Security by the German delegate, the aim being that signatories should bind themselves to accept and carry out the recommendations of the Council in the event of a threat of war arising between them, and, in particular, in the event of hostilities having broken out, to suspend hostilities at the request of the Council. The draft was criticised on the grounds that it might involve a restriction of the Council's freedom of action, and that it might be ineffective without some system of supervision and sanctions. The British delegate intimated that the British Government would not be able to sign a document of this kind. But, on the understanding that the instrument was only a model for the use of those States who felt the need of such a treaty and were able to negotiate it with one or more other States, the following Resolution was adopted by the Assembly:—

The Assembly,

Having noted the model treaty to strengthen the means for preventing war framed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, together with the explanations contained in the introductory note drawn up by the Committee;

Highly appreciating the value of this model treaty;

Being convinced that its adoption by a large number of States would serve to increase the guarantees of security;

Recommends it for consideration by States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations;

And hopes that it may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude a treaty of this kind. (*Resolution adopted on 20th September 1928.*)

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO STATES VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION.

55. This scheme, which arose out of a proposal of the Finnish delegates submitted to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference in regard to the financial assistance provided for under Article 16 of the Covenant, has been worked out mainly by the Financial Committee of the League in collaboration with the Committee on Arbitration and Security. The general idea of the scheme is that of assisting a country, which is the victim of aggression and might otherwise find difficulty in borrowing, by the association in its financial operations of the Members of the League so that the credit of the individual country may be strengthened by association with that of other States. It is contemplated that credits should be obtained in the ordinary way in the money market and that the attacked State should itself contract a loan on the security of its general revenues, but with the aid of an international guarantee.

56. The technical examination of the scheme had revealed points on which decisions of the Assembly were required. The Third Committee recommended, and the Assembly agreed, that it should be understood that the Convention in which the scheme would eventually be embodied would come within the framework of the League's general programme for the limitation and reduction of armaments; further, that the scheme should provide for assistance not only in the case of war as contemplated in Article 16 of the Covenant, but also in the case of threat of war, as referred to in Article 11; and finally, that the Council should have authority to decide upon the application of the scheme to a particular case without the necessity of obtaining the previous assent of signatories of the Convention who do not happen to be represented on the Council at the time.

57. These decisions will enable the technical bodies to complete their preparation of the scheme which will come before the Disarmament Conference or a Special Conference of

Government delegates in due course. Until then Governments are in no way committed to it except in so far as they have agreed that the preparation should proceed on the lines indicated above. Lord Lytton spoke with the object of making this point clear. The text of his remarks will be found in the Appendices. While expressing sympathy with the general objects of the scheme, he said that it was most important, both in general and in this particular case, that Governments should have the fullest opportunity for examining the details of any particular convention, as he thought that there had been too many cases of conventions in which enthusiasm for a particular policy and desire to secure unanimity at the outset had operated against sufficient attention being paid to details which might subsequently prove to be obstacles to ratification.

The following is the text of the Assembly Resolution:—

The Assembly:

(1) Expresses its satisfaction with the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security and the Financial Committee in connection with the scheme for financial assistance;

(2) Requests the Council to invite the Financial Committee to continue the preparation of this scheme in the form of a draft Convention, bearing in mind the directions given in the report submitted to the Assembly at its ninth ordinary session on behalf of its Third Committee;

(3) Expresses the hope that a full draft Convention complete in all its details, may be submitted to the Assembly at its tenth ordinary session;

(4) Invites the Secretary-General to submit the draft Convention as soon as it is prepared to the Governments in order that they may give instructions to their delegates at the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly. (*Resolution adopted on 18th September 1928.*)

CONSTRUCTION OF LEAGUE WIRELESS STATION.

58. As part of the measures designed to enable the organs of the League to operate promptly and effectively on the occurrence of international crises, the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit had been studying the question of providing the League with its own wireless station. The Committee on Arbitration and Security had passed a resolution which emphasised the desirability of taking steps to put into effect certain schemes concerning the communications of the League in cases of emergency, more particularly as regards the establishment of a radio station. Two proposals were laid before the Assembly—one providing for a station belonging permanently to the League, and the other a station consisting of short wave and medium wave apparatus to be equipped and operated in ordinary times by the Swiss administration, and to be handed over in time of emergency to the exclusive control of the League. The capital cost of first scheme was estimated to be about 2,000,000 francs capital and about 100,000 francs nett recurring. The second scheme would have cost much less, as the local authorities are prepared to put up and run a medium wave station as a commercial enterprise, and the cost to the League would arise almost entirely out of the addition to the medium wave station of a short wave station, which was represented as being desirable, if not necessary, for communication with the more distant countries. There was some doubt, however, as to the accuracy of the estimates and as to the necessity and utility of the proposed short wave station. Further, a legal difficulty arose on account of the peculiar neutral status of Switzerland as to the control of the station when taken over by the League for use in time of emergency.

59. We had been instructed to oppose any scheme which would throw considerable additional charges upon the League Budget in normal times, and we had been informed that there was not at present in India any station with which it would be possible to arrange for reciprocation with the proposed station at Geneva. Lord Lytton made a speech (text among the Appendices) when the matter came before the Third Committee in which he first of all protested against the view which had been expressed that the question of principle had already been decided when the Assembly resolved last year to authorise the preparation of the scheme. He said that he would object to further examination of the scheme if that meant that the principle would not remain open to discussion. He pointed out that the operation of a wireless station depended upon the co-operation of two parties, and that, while the problems connected with the station at Geneva had received much attention, the actual possibilities of reciprocal action in the countries with which it was desired to communicate had not been fully explored. He hoped that the Committee which was to pursue the enquiry would take steps to ascertain how far the various Governments were at present in a position to deal with communications from a station at Geneva.

60. Eventually the Assembly decided to place the matter on the Agenda of its Tenth Session and requested the Council to have a further study undertaken. Meanwhile the Swiss authorities intend to proceed with the establishment of a medium wave station near Geneva on a commercial basis and terms will be arranged for the use of it by the League.

The text of the Assembly Resolution is as follows:—

The Assembly:

With a view to enabling Members of the League of Nations to proceed to a full examination of the proposals submitted with regard to the creation of the radiotelegraphic station for the purpose of providing the League with independent communications in time of emergency, and also with a view to allowing time for the additional technical, financial and legal studies considered desirable;

Decides to place this question on the agenda of its tenth ordinary session;

And requests the Council to take all necessary measures for a further study of these questions. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September 1928.*)

SUPERVISION OF THE PRIVATE MANUFACTURE AND PUBLICITY OF THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS.

61. This subject has long been under the consideration of the League. Agreement is important, not only intrinsically, but for the effect which it would have on the ratification of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms of 1925 and on the general disarmament position. A Special Committee was convened in 1927 and drew up a draft Convention which, in important respects, was not unanimous. The Special Committee met again just before the Ninth Assembly and still found itself unable to reconcile the different points of view. While the principle of publicity has been accepted for Government manufactures, differences of opinion remain as regards the extent of such publicity. The Assembly decided to request the Council to make an immediate appeal to the Governments represented on the Special Committee to re-examine the points on which differences still existed in the hope that the Special Committee might be convened again at an early date.

The text of the Assembly Resolution is as follows:—

The Assembly:

Having taken note of the report and preliminary draft convention drawn up by the Special Commission appointed to prepare a draft convention on the supervision of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war;

Observing that the Commission has not yet found it possible to submit a single final text as desired by the Assembly, although the Commission agreed that the principle of publicity should extend to Government manufactures;

Affirming the urgent necessity for drawing up a convention which, while placing non-producing and producing countries on an equal footing, would facilitate the ratification of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War signed at Geneva on 17th June 1925;

Referring to its successive resolutions passed at each of its previous ordinary sessions, beginning with the first session in 1920, in which resolutions it has constantly urged the importance of the problem of the manufacture of arms and the necessity for convening a conference as speedily as possible;

Confirming the fact that a connection exists between the general question of the reduction and limitation of armaments and the question of the international trade in arms and also of that of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war:

Requests the Council to make an appeal, at its present session, to the Governments represented on the Special Commission to examine carefully the differences of view revealed during the last session of the Commission, and to consider calling another meeting of the Commission before the next Council session, in order that the work of the Commission may be completed as soon as possible and submitted to a special conference, which would meet either at the same time as the General Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments or at an earlier date. (*Resolution adopted on 20th September 1928.*)

COMMITTEE IV.—Financial Questions.

THE LEAGUE BUDGET.

62. In the Budget presented to this year's Assembly the total estimates for 1928 were placed at 26,871,244 francs, representing an increase over those approved for 1928 of 1,537,427 francs. Of this total increase the Secretariat and special organisations accounted for 924,166 francs, the International Labour Organisation 528,810 francs, and the Permanent Court of International Justice 84,451 francs. This was the largest increase which had occurred for some time and was likely to be substantially increased by supplementary estimates. The situation plainly required most careful consideration, especially in view of the resolution passed on the motion of the Indian Delegation in 1926, when the estimates approved amounted to 24,512,341 francs, to the effect that it was desirable, without putting obstacles in the way of the development of the League, to keep in view a maximum limit of expenditure with the object of securing that the contributions of individual States should not normally, in future, exceed their contributions for that year. The Supervisory Commission in their report on the estimates for this year had spoken of them as presenting "features of such grave importance that the Commission must depart from its ordinary practice and devote the main part of its report to certain broad financial considerations which the draft Budget evokes." The Commission invited the Assembly to consider the question of the functions attempted by the different organisations of the League, and indicated that substantial reductions could only be effected if the Assembly saw fit to suspend or postpone certain of the tasks which it had formerly approved. We had general instructions to press strongly for the adoption of some method of limiting the growth of expenditure.

63. The Supervisory Commission is a creation of the Indian Delegation, and the policy of the Indian Delegation, as also of the British Delegation, has been to give it all possible support. It is capable of being the most authoritative and effective organ for controlling the Budget in the League's possession, but its authority is not very precisely defined. It was considerably criticised last year when, in order to make room for a new credit demanded for the codification of International Law, it proposed to suppress a credit already included in the Budget for an aspect of that subject which had already been taken in hand, and it was further criticised for proposing to suppress a credit for services which had been recommended by the General Conference on Transit and Communications. The view had been held in certain quarters that the Commission should confine itself to checking and pruning the estimates submitted for measures otherwise approved, and that it was going

beyond its powers in making suggestions on matters of policy such as whether specific measures should be undertaken or continued. We had hoped that, in view of the serious financial situation, the Fourth Committee would accept the wider, rather than the narrower, view of the Supervisory Commission's functions. We therefore supported a proposal of the British delegate to the effect that the Budget should be referred back to the Supervisory Commission in order that that Commission might work out the effect of making reductions up to a total of 1,000,000 francs and submit the result to the Fourth Committee so that the latter would be in a position to decide what economies could in fact be recommended to the Assembly.

64. His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur made a speech, of which the following is a summary. The text will be found among the Appendices. He wished, in the first place, to explain why the Indian Delegation was one of the most persistent advocates of economy. India ranked sixth on the list of contributing States and thus contributed more than any country that did not occupy a permanent seat on the Council. On the other hand, she was one of the countries least directly concerned in most of the League's activities. Although this fact was largely due to geographical reasons, it was difficult to justify the contribution of India when it had to be recognised that India was directly affected only by certain secondary aspects of the League's work. The money which India paid to the League was money which could be employed for necessary, and even urgent, national services. India's interest in the League was increasing, and it would be most regrettable if this growth of interest in the League were counteracted by growing irritation at the amount of the contribution, which had been the object of marked and persistent criticism in India. He believed that the Supervisory Commission, both on account of its small size and of its experience, was better qualified than a large body like the Fourth Committee to undertake reductions with a prospect of success, and he naturally wished to ensure that full use should be made of the Supervisory Commission's services, as India had been responsible for its creation. He did not wish to rule out an increase of modest dimensions on good cause being shown, but he expressed concern at the prospect of continuous increases of the amount proposed this year. He did not wish to insist too strongly on the application of the Indian resolution of 1926, but he felt that there was a wide difference between the spirit of that resolution and the demands now before them. While desiring to leave the Supervisory Commission discretion as to details, he wished to express doubt whether Governments would be able to give the necessary degree of collaboration in the large programme projected for the Economic Organisation, and he thought it would be advantageous if that programme were to be reduced. He also hoped that the Supervisory Commission would not confine their scrutiny to the Budget of the Secretariat, but would also examine the Budget of the International Labour Organisation.

65. The proposal of the British delegate to refer the Budget back to the Supervisory Commission was found to be unacceptable, as the general view of delegates was that the economies which had not already been effected by the Supervisory Commission concerned points which the Assembly itself must decide. The Fourth Committee eventually adopted a resolution which drew the special attention of the other Assembly Committees to the position, asked them to bear in mind the necessity for a reasonable limitation of expenditure, and requested them to revise the programme of conferences projected for 1929, referring in particular to the Budgets of the Economic Organisation, the Transit Organisation, the opium and humanitarian activities and for the work of codifying International Law. This resolution, which, it will be noted, had no application to the Budget of the International Labour Organisation, did not represent any advance on the existing position, and it would, in our view, be difficult to maintain that it had any appreciable influence in the direction of economy. The general discussion which led up to it was interesting and important and is summarised in the report presented by the Fourth Committee to the Assembly. In view of its special importance, this discussion was, as a special case, fully reported in the Proceedings of the Committee, although ordinarily such Proceedings merely record a note of the results emerging from the discussion.

The text of the Committee's report will be found among the Appendices.

66. We now pass to the detailed examination of the Budget, and as no question arises in the case of the Permanent Court of International Justice, whose Budget showed only normal and inevitable increases, we shall confine ourselves to:—

- (1) The Secretariat and special Organisations of the League; and
- (2) The International Labour Organisation.

(1) Secretariat and Special Organisations.

67. The discussions were long and at times unusually heated. Mr. Yusuf Ali, on our behalf, took an active part in them, and the result undoubtedly had a certain, though in our view inadequate, effect on the credits proposed. We cannot do more in this Report than refer to certain outstanding points.

(a) *Wages and allowances of Secretariat.*—There had been a growing feeling, which had lately come to a head in certain well-informed articles in newspapers, that there was what has been described as a *malaise* in the Secretariat. The principles which were to regulate the

appointment and employment of the staff were defined in a report submitted by Lord Balfour to the Council and adopted in 1920, which emphasised the necessity for international considerations in the distribution of posts and the purely international character of the League's staff. There was a feeling this year that the international spirit had lost some of its vigour. One Government in particular was understood to claim an undue authority over its nationals employed in the Secretariat. There appeared to be an increasing tendency for Secretariat posts to be filled by diplomats and others seconded from national services and likely in due course to return to them. The higher posts in the League services are held by nationals of Great Powers, and there was a feeling that certain Great Powers at any rate regarded those posts as permanent perquisites. These views were freely and fully ventilated in the Fourth Committee and a resolution was adopted recalling and endorsing the principles of the Balfour Report of 1920. All speakers were at pains, which were obviously genuine, to make it clear that their criticisms were not directed against the Secretary-General himself, who enjoys the highest possible degree of confidence, but were intended rather to support the Secretary-General against certain influences to which he was believed to be exposed. The Secretary-General stated emphatically that the British Government had never endeavoured in any way to influence him in the exercise of his duties and that he would immediately resign if they did so.

(b) *Economic and Financial Organisation.*—The total estimates for this Organisation, 1,734,000 francs, represented an increase of 358,000 francs over the previous year. Although this increase was large, it was not our intention, for several reasons, to make a heavy attack on this part of the Budget. This Organisation is perhaps the most practical and efficient part of the League machinery. It has shown marked sympathy lately towards India, and it has been, perhaps, the slowest of the League Organisations to develop, so that a curtailment of growth at the present stage would be less reasonable in this case than in the case of other Organisations. We had, however, intended to argue that the large number of Conferences projected for 1929 might prove to be in excess of the capacity of Governments to collaborate adequately and to suggest that some curtailment of the programme of Conferences might be desirable. His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur had indicated this in his speech in the opening debate, while at the same time saying that India appreciated the value of the work of this Organisation, expected important results from it and desired to support it in every way. Since the original Budget was prepared the Economic Consultative Committee had recommended that the Organisation should undertake tasks which would involve supplementary estimates. In the course of the debate in the Second Committee the programme of the Economic Organisation was modified so as to include the work recommended by the Economic Consultative Committee and also some work thrown upon it by a decision of this year's Assembly on the subject of alcohol, and at the same time part of the original programme, including some of the Conferences, was omitted. When the estimates reached the Fourth Committee finally, after adjustment in the light of this change of programme and after scrutiny by the Supervisory Commission, in the course of which certain economies were effected, it was for the same amount as the original estimate, namely, 1,734,000 francs. In all the circumstances the avoidance of additional credits was all that could be hoped for and we accepted the situation.

(c) *Conference for the Codification of International Law.*—The Assembly of 1927 had decided that a Conference for the Codification of International Law should be convened at The Hague in 1929. The estimates accordingly included provision for this Conference amounting to 337,000 francs, of which it was reckoned that 128,500 francs was required for holding the Conference at The Hague rather than at Geneva, owing to the cost of transporting and lodging the Secretariat Staff. The questions before the Fourth Committee were whether it was really necessary and desirable to hold the Conference in 1929, and whether it was desirable that the League should incur the extra expense of holding it at The Hague. There was no substantial practical reason, so far as the League was concerned, for holding it at The Hague, and it was generally believed that the preliminary work would not be finished in time for the Conference to take place before the late autumn of 1929—if then. It would, in our view, have been reasonable to decide forthwith to hold the Conference in the early part of 1930 and at Geneva. This view did not, however, prevail, and a very long and at times somewhat embarrassing discussion followed both in the full Committee and in a Sub-Committee, of which Mr. Yusuf Ali was a member. Eventually it was agreed that the credit should be suppressed, and that the Codification Conference should not be held in 1929 unless the Disarmament Conference failed to take place in that year, in which case 208,500 francs of the credit voted for the Disarmament Conference might be used for the Codification Conference. The Dutch Government undertook responsibility for the additional 128,500 francs which the Conference would cost if held at The Hague. This decision was due to the fact that it was scarcely practicable for the Disarmament Conference and the Codification Conference to be held simultaneously next autumn, and it is expressly stated in the report of the Fourth Committee that the reasons for the decision were purely administrative. This was the only saving of any magnitude achieved in the course of the Budget debates, and its history will sufficiently illustrate the extent to which the Fourth Committee was animated by the motive of economy which only served to obtain a concession from the Dutch Government.

(2) *International Labour Organisation.*

68. The Director of the International Labour Office normally expects the Fourth Committee to accept the Budget of the International Labour Organisation without reduction, as passed by the Governing Body of the Organisation. The Budget was eventually passed unaltered, but after a very long and at times heated debate, in which the unusual course of taking a division was adopted on several points.

69. The nature of the relations between the International Labour Organisation and the League are lacking in precision. The Organisation was created by Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. The whole machinery which constitutes the Organisation is described in the Treaty as "associated with that of the League of Nations." The Office itself is described as "part of the organisation of the League." The principal links between the Organisation and the League are that membership of the League carries with it membership of the Organisation, and that the expenses of the International Labour Office and of meetings of the Conference and the Governing Body have to be paid to the Director by the Secretary-General out of the general funds of the League. The Organisation has an autonomous character, and Article 6 of the Financial Regulations of the League provides that all Organisations of the League, autonomous and non-autonomous, shall comply with these regulations and with every decision in the Assembly governing financial and budgetary administration.

70. The constitutional position thus created was the subject of much discussion in the Fourth Committee. It was argued on one side that the determination of the programme of the work of the Organisation rested solely with the Organisation itself, and that the Assembly could not in practice do more than insist upon general conformity between the International Labour Office and the Secretariat of the League in matters affecting the staff, &c. The other side, with which we ourselves were identified, maintained that the Assembly could not leave a large part of the reality of financial control to the Governing Body of the Organisation, a Body which consists as to half only of the Government delegates, those delegates representing only 12 Governments and not being in a position to appreciate and take account of the financial position of the League as a whole. Finally the Fourth Committee in its report expressed the opinion that only the Assembly had the right to approve or amend the Budget of the International Labour Organisation; that it was necessary, however, for the Assembly, in the exercise of this indisputable and undisputed right, to take account of the system in force in the International Labour Organisation, which provides that the Budget submitted to the Assembly is that approved by the Governing Body. We feel that the matter requires to be carried further.

71. In the debate on the detailed estimates discussion took place principally on two subjects:—

(a) *The General and Maritime Conference in 1929.*—It was argued by Mr. Yusuf Ali on our behalf, together with other delegates, that, if it was necessary to hold two Conferences in 1929, which was open to doubt, they might be held consecutively with the object of saving 27,000 francs in the Budget of the Organisation and a considerable sum in national budgets for the expenses of the delegates of the more distant countries. In spite, however, of all objections, the Director declared himself unable to make any concession and the estimate was passed by the Committee after a vote. The Committee, however, passed a resolution expressing the hope that if, in future, it was decided to hold two Labour Conferences in the same year the dates would be chosen so that the Conferences would take place consecutively for reasons of economy.

(b) *The creation of new posts.*—The Budget contained provision for the creation of 17 new posts at a cost of 219,900 francs. At the time when the Budget of the International Labour Organisation was before the Governing Body the representative of India, Sir Atul Chatterjee, moved a resolution to the effect that, in view of the extraordinary expenditure to be incurred in 1929 on account of the Special Maritime Conference, the creation of new posts should be postponed, as far as possible, and that there should be a reduction of 150,000 francs under the heading of the creation of new posts. This resolution had been defeated in the Governing Body by 15 votes to 7, but it had the effect of leaving our representative on the Fourth Committee entirely free from any commitment. A special objection to these new posts was that it was generally known that at least one of them, and that the chief one, was intended rather to satisfy the claims of one of the Great Powers, which considered itself insufficiently represented in the International Labour Office, than to meet the actual requirements of the work in hand. When the credit came before the Fourth Committee Mr. Yusuf Ali made a declaration to the effect that the Indian Delegation, having carefully considered the tenour and nature of the preceding discussion on the two Conferences, was of opinion that a similar discussion on the much more important question of the new posts would serve no useful purpose, and that he simply wished to make a statement as follows. He recalled the resolution mentioned above which had been submitted by Sir Atul Chatterjee to the Governing Body, and he stated that this resolution had been moved with the deliberate intention that the Indian Delegation at the Assembly might be entirely free in the matter. This fact relieved the Indian Delegation of any charge of inconsistency if it now voted

against these credits and demonstrated that it was the view of India, on the Governing Body as well as in the Assembly, that the authority of the Assembly was not only theoretical but real. He stated that the Indian Delegation was not satisfied, and did not think that it was possible to maintain, that the creation of all the new posts was necessitated purely by the exigencies of the work in hand, which, in their view, was the sole reason to justify the provision of funds, and that he opposed the credit and would vote against if it was put to the vote. He further reserved the liberty of the Delegation to raise the question later in the Assembly and to adopt any attitude that might be considered necessary.

72. The Director was unwilling to offer any compromise, and at the end of the debate certain proposals were put to the vote. A proposal to suppress the whole credit for 219,900 francs for new posts was defeated by 24 votes to 4. Mr. Yusuf Ali's proposal to reduce the credit by 150,000 francs was defeated by 21 votes to 3. A proposal to suppress the credit for the creation of a new post of Chief of Division was defeated by 16 votes to 10. The creation of this post was again put to the vote in the Assembly, as will be mentioned later. In each division we voted in the minority. It is of some significance that about 20 delegates abstained from voting.

73. Throughout these discussions the Director of the International Labour Office, who spoke at great length and very eloquently on various occasions and who made his appeal as much to sentiment and emotion as to reason, represented himself as the spokesman of the Governing Body and as not being in a position to enter into any compromise on their behalf. In the case of the other estimates with which it has to deal, the Fourth Committee has the opportunity of entering into negotiations with the authorities responsible for the demands for funds, namely, the other Committees of the Assembly. But in the case of the estimates of the International Labour Organisation it has no opportunity of doing so, as the Governing Body, which is responsible for the demands, is not in session. The Fourth Committee is, therefore, in the difficult position, if it wishes to make any reduction in the estimates of the Labour Organisation, of having to do so on its own exclusive authority and against the protests of the Director, and in a manner which may, in the absence of any opportunity for negotiation, be somewhat arbitrary. This consideration would seem, in our opinion, to point to the conclusion that if the Director of the International Labour Office cannot be authorised to enter into any arrangements with the Fourth Committee, the Governing Body, or at least its Finance Committee, should be in session at Geneva at the same time as the Assembly. Another reason for this would be that under the present system the Fourth Committee may have to, and on occasions has had to, consider supplementary estimates submitted by the Director which have not been considered by the Governing Body.

74. The result of the proceedings on the Budget was that the Fourth Committee approved an addition of 562,736 francs to the original estimates and a deduction of 405,700 francs from them. The net addition is thus 157,036 francs, making a total Budget approved for 1929, 27,026,280 francs, an increase of 1,692,463 francs as compared with the estimates approved for the current year. India's net contribution will be increased by about £5,180.

The following is the text of Resolutions adopted by the Assembly:—

I.

(1) The Assembly, in virtue of Article 38 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, finally passes the audited accounts of the League of Nations for the ninth financial period, ending on 31st December 1927.

(2) The Assembly:

In virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, passes, for the financial period 1929, the general budget of the League of Nations, of the Secretariat and special organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation, and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, amounting, including supplementary credits, to the total sum of 27,026,280 Swiss francs.

And decides that the aforesaid budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*.

(3) The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the various reports submitted for its consideration by the Supervisory Commission, except in regard to the Commission of Enquiry to the Far East.

(4) The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of the Fourth Committee.

(5) The Assembly:

(i) Requests the Council to ask the Allocation Committee to submit a revised scale to the 1932 Assembly;

(ii) Approves for the years 1929, 1930, 1931 and 1932 the scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League in force during the year 1928.

II.

The Assembly endorses and would recall the principles concerning the staff of the Secretariat contained in the report which Lord Balfour submitted to the Council, in agreement with a memorandum drawn up by the Secretary-General, and which was adopted by the Council on 19th May 1920. In the words of this report, the Secretary-General, in making appointments to posts on the Secretariat, "had primarily to secure the best available men and women for the particular duties which had to be performed. But in doing so, it was necessary to have regard to the great importance of selecting officials from various nations. Evidently no one nation or group of nations ought to have a monopoly in providing the material for this international institution." Lord Balfour emphasised the word "international" because the members of the Secretariat, once appointed, are no longer the servants of the country of which they are citizens, but become for the time being servants only of the League of Nations. Their duties are not national, but international.

The Assembly believes that the observance of these principles constitutes an essential factor in the confidence which the Members of the League of Nations repose in the Secretariat.

The Assembly relies on the Secretary-General and on the Council, which, in virtue of Article 6 of the Covenant, is responsible for approving the nominations made by the Secretary-General, to uphold in their entirety the principles stated above.

The Assembly requests the Council to submit to the Members of the League of Nations in good time before the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly a list of the appointments, promotions and resignations of officials of the rank of Members of Section and above that have taken place since the present session of the Assembly and of the salaries allotted in each case.

III.

The Assembly:

Whereas the Staff Regulations were drawn up shortly after the organisation of the Secretariat and whereas it would be advisable for the League to avail itself of the experience acquired since 1922;

Considering that, although the regulations have, on the whole, proved satisfactory, certain modifications would appear desirable to remedy certain disadvantages to which attention had been drawn;

Instructs the competent officials of the autonomous organisations, after examining the present situation and the improvements which might be made, to consider what steps—in particular, amendments to the Staff Regulations—could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results, and to submit the results of this enquiry to the Supervisory Commission, in order that a report on the question may be communicated to the Assembly at its next ordinary session.

IV.

The Assembly decides that, excepting in the case of the Mandates Commission and Committees of the Assembly where special considerations apply, the Minutes of Committees and Sub-Committees will in no case be published unless a formal request, containing a statement of the reasons for such a course, is submitted to the Council through the Secretary-General. (*Resolutions adopted on 26th September 1928.*)

The following table shows, under the main heads, the Expenditure for 1927 and the Estimates for 1927 and 1928, as well as the Estimates finally adopted by the Assembly for 1929:—

A.—Secretariat and Special Organisations.

PART I.—ORDINARY EXPENDITURE.

CHAPTER.	Estimates, 1929.	Estimates, 1928.	Estimates, 1927.	Expenditure, 1927.
	Gold francs.	Gold francs.	Gold francs.	Gold francs.
I. Assembly and Council - - -	931,500	977,900	967,900	372,449
II. General Services of Secretariat - -	7,885,530	7,611,876	7,208,274	6,685,341
III. Special Organisations of the League -	5,725,055	5,056,467	5,197,666	4,340,245
IV. Profit and Loss on Exchange - - -	—	—	—	13,949
Total of ordinary expenditure - - -	14,542,085	13,646,243	13,373,840	11,384,086

PART II.—CAPITAL EXPENDITURE.

V. Permanent Equipment, &c. - - -	171,000	183,000	188,000	174,917
Total expenditure of the Secretariat and of the Special Organisations of the League - - -	14,713,085	13,829,243	13,561,840	11,559,003

B.—International Labour Organisation.

Section I.—Ordinary Expenditure - - -	8,542,640	7,888,470	7,606,490	7,569,538
Section II.—Capital Expenditure - - -	70,000	70,000	91,000	89,861
Total - - - - -	8,612,640	7,958,470	7,697,490	7,659,399
Less: German contributions for 1926 - -	—	—	265,766	265,766
Amount to be included in general Budget -	8,612,640	7,958,470	7,431,724	7,393,633

C.—Permanent Court of International Justice.

Section I.—Ordinary Expenditure - - -	2,234,725	2,159,647	2,122,947	1,769,304
Section II.—Capital Expenditure - - -	20,830	11,457	20,830	20,167
Total - - - - -	2,255,555	2,171,104	2,143,777	1,789,471

D.—Buildings at Geneva.

I. Terminable Annuity payable on account of building operations of the League -	1,375,000	1,375,000	1,375,000	1,375,000
II. Enlargement of Council Hall in 1928 -	70,000	—	—	—
Total Budget of the League of Nations - - - - -	27,026,280	25,333,817	24,512,341	22,117,107

AMENDMENTS TO THE FINANCIAL REGULATIONS.

(a) Procedure.

75. As a result of experience in 1927, the Supervisory Commission had been asked to investigate the procedure in connection with supplementary estimates and in dealing with divergences which might arise between the Fourth Committee and other Committees of the Assembly in regard to budgetary credits. They had produced proposals designed in the first place to obviate the undue haste with which the Fourth Committee had on occasions been required to decide upon supplementary estimates, and to settle the difficulties which arose when the views of the Fourth Committee differed from those of another Committee as a result of inconsistent views being expressed by members of the same delegation acting in the Fourth Committee and in one of the other Committees. The amendments to the Financial Regulations were approved by the Fourth Committee, with minor drafting corrections. These will provide satisfactorily for the difficulties which have been experienced in the past and will improve the regularity and deliberation of the proceedings of the Committee. Whether they will directly strengthen the capacity of the Fourth Committee for securing economy is open to doubt.

(b) Appointment of Supervisory Commission.

76. The Supervisory Commission consists of five members, of whom at least one has to be a financial expert, and it has to include persons who belong to countries not represented on the Council. The Financial Regulations further provide that the term of office of each member is three years. Hitherto appointments have been made by the Council. A proposal was submitted by the Norwegian delegate that the members should, in future, be appointed by the Assembly. It is desirable to record the way in which this proposal arose.

77. In March last the Council had approved expenditure on the enlargement of the present Council Hall without reference to the Supervisory Commission and subject only to report to the Assembly, although no provision existed for such expenditure in the Budget for 1928. This action was considered by the Fourth Committee to conflict with the very important principle that the Assembly is the sole authority in matters of expenditure. The Supervisory Commission recorded the unanimous opinion that the position of the Assembly as the only authority competent to take decisions in matters of expenditure must be upheld. This opinion was confirmed by the Fourth Committee and by the Assembly.

78. The incident called attention to the anomalous fact that while the Assembly is supreme in matters of expenditure the Supervisory Commission is appointed by the Council. The Norwegian delegate's proposal that the appointments should, in future, be made by the Assembly was approved by the Fourth Committee after a vote and later by the Assembly. The decision will not take effect before the 1st January next as the Assembly was not able at short notice to deal with the situation which will arise from the expiry at the end of this year of the term of office of Lord Meston. Although the decision is logically sound the Assembly itself is not a good electoral body for appointments for which expert rather than political or representative qualifications are required. It is very important that the members of the Supervisory Commission should be well chosen, and it is therefore desirable that the Assembly should adopt some method such as that of a Selection Committee for having the qualifications of possible candidates thoroughly examined and reported upon before the election takes place. It is possible that appointment by the Assembly will result in the Supervisory Commission being entrusted by the Assembly with wider powers. This would be a gain from the financial point of view.

ALLOCATION OF LEAGUE EXPENSES.

79. The scale of assessment which was agreed to provisionally for three years in 1926 has never been regarded with satisfaction from the Indian point of view, and it was hoped that when the three years' agreement came to an end it might be possible to obtain a reduction. The Committee on Allocation had met during the last year and had recommended for sufficiently convincing economic reasons that the national budgets of 1930 should be taken as the earliest on which a final revision of the scale could be based. The Committee proposed to bring forward a scheme on the basis of the 1930 national budgets for the consideration of the Assembly of 1932, so that the new scale might come into force for payments to be made after January 1933. We had been instructed that we need not resist this proposal, on the understanding that India was not finally committed to the acceptance of the scheme which the Allocation Committee would submit on this basis. Mr. Yusuf Ali made this clear on our behalf and further enquired why it was not possible for proposals based on the national budgets of 1930 to be brought before the Assembly of 1931 so that the approved scheme might be applied to payments due in 1932. Explanations were forthcoming as to the difficulty of earlier application of the new scheme from the technical point of view, and Mr. Yusuf Ali said that he would raise no objection if an earlier date was not possible. The provisional scale accepted in 1926 will accordingly remain in force during the four years 1929-32 inclusive.

THE LEAGUE BUILDING SCHEME.

80. It had been hoped at the time of the Eighth Assembly that final decisions would be taken during the following year and that the Ninth Assembly would only have to give those decisions their formal confirmation. But this expectation has not been realised. A plan for the Assembly Hall and the Secretariat buildings had been agreed upon, but it had also been necessary to take into account the construction of a library as a result of the munificent gift of Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, Junr. It was eventually found that the site which had been secured in 1926 on the edge of the lake for the Assembly Hall and the Secretariat was not large enough to provide suitably for the construction of the library in addition. Efforts were made to acquire a neighbouring private property, but without success. After negotiation with the Swiss authorities and with the authorities of Geneva, the Special Committee on the building scheme secured for the League the right to make use for the League buildings of a public park known as the Ariana Park, situated above the lakeside property, in consideration of which the latter will be handed over to the public of Geneva. The new scheme is understood to give complete satisfaction to all parties as far as the site is concerned. But the plans, and especially the procedure connected with the competition of architects, were severely criticised by the delegate from Norway, who based his arguments on the protests lodged by Architects' Associations in various countries of Europe. The change of site makes a considerable modification in the plans necessary. The discussion lasted into the small hours of the morning, but it was decided not to delay construction. A Committee of five was authorised to obtain all the expert advice necessary from the technical point of view, and to give final approval to revised plans adapted to the new site, subject to ratification by the Council of the League. It may be hoped that this important matter is at last settled and that the work will be well in hand before the next Assembly meets.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,
Approves the report of the Special Committee of Five Members in regard to the new buildings;
Approves the choice of the Ariana Park as a site for the new buildings of the League of Nations;
Authorises the Secretary-General to sign all the necessary legal documents concerning the exchange of rights on the properties in question between the League of Nations and the Genevese authorities, as well as to draw up and sign the necessary contract between the architects and the League of Nations on the basis of the Special Committee's report to the Council, approved by the Council on 6th March 1928;
Authorises the Special Committee of Five Members (M. Adatci, M. Osusky, M. Politis, M. Urrutia and Sir Edward Hilton Young) as soon as the legal formalities for the transfer of the land have been completed, and after having obtained all the expert advice necessary from the technical point of view, to give final approval to revised plans adapted to the new site, such approval to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for ratification. The final plans thus approved will then be carried into execution without delay by the Secretary-General and the Building Committee already appointed in accordance with the Assembly resolution of 25th September 1924. (*Resolution adopted on 25th September 1928.*)

CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARRÉARS.

81. This serious but delicate matter was, in accordance with the usual procedure, considered confidentially by the Fourth Committee, after reference to a Sub-Committee. The prospect of substantial payments being made in the near future seems brighter than for some time past.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly requests the Secretary-General—
(1) To continue to give his support when necessary to any steps which he may consider useful with a view to the recovery of arrears;
(2) To submit to the Council before the next session of the Assembly a detailed report of the position with regard to contributions in arrears. (*Resolution adopted on 26th September 1928.*)

COMMITTEE V.—Social and Humanitarian Questions.

CHILD WELFARE.

82. The Child Welfare Committee has been pursuing various lines of enquiry. Its report presented nothing which required criticism or called for a decision. The Child Welfare Committee has, in the past, been subject to criticism for diffusing its energies in unprofitable directions. But it has recently endeavoured to narrow its field of action and to concentrate on a small number of important questions. The Fifth Committee commended this endeavour and expressed the opinion that the Committee should be encouraged to persevere in this direction.

83. Mr. Mallik took the opportunity in the Fifth Committee to express appreciation of the ideals in view and to give some account of the work which is being carried on in India. The text of his speech will be found in the Appendices. He said that the Government and the educated public had taken up the question of child welfare earnestly and that great assistance was being received from Europeans in India and particularly from European ladies and from the Christian Missions. Centres for child welfare and maternity work had been created at almost every important station in India. But much remained to be done, and he explained the great difficulties to be contended with arising from the ancient traditions of civilisation in India and its unfortunate economic and climatic conditions. It was not possible

or desirable either to make rapid progress or to copy western methods without discrimination. He assured the Committee that in spite of the serious and deliberate misrepresentations which had been made in recent times, the age of marriage was steadily rising in India and child marriage was constantly diminishing. He did not agree with the delegate of Roumania, who said that 18 years should be established as the universal age of marriage; there could be no uniform age for reasons of race and climate. He referred to the testimony of many Europeans in India—officials, social workers and missionaries—as to the conditions of mothers and children, which dispelled the ignorant and prejudiced allegations of persons who had spent only a short time in the country. The most hopeful sign of the future was the way in which the rising generation of educated Indian women were taking to child welfare and other social work. He said that much mischief was being done in India by the exhibition of objectionable and unsuitable cinematograph films from the West, and he thought that the League should take up a strong attitude in this matter, which was a source of serious international trouble. He supported the view that the Governing Body of the Cinema Institute at Rome should contain women and also representatives of the East. (We may here note that Dr. R. P. Paranjpye has since been appointed by the Council of the League to this Governing Body.) With regard to the question of women police, he said that female criminals were practically unknown in India and that women were at present little concerned with outdoor or public life. The key-note of the life of women in India was not material enjoyment but sacrifice for others.

The following is the text of the Assembly Resolutions :—

The Assembly notes the report submitted by the Child Welfare Committee, thanks it for the work it is doing and requests it to go forward along the lines described in the report on its fourth session.

The Assembly, remembering that, at its first session in 1925, and at all its later sessions, the Child Welfare Committee has made a study of the various factors involved in the question of the cinematograph in relation to children, is glad to see that the Committee will be represented by at least one member on the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. It requests the Child Welfare Committee to keep in close touch with the Institute.

The Assembly attaches particular importance to the work undertaken by the Child Welfare Committee's Legal Sub-Committee in connection with the preparation of—

- (1) a preliminary draft convention for the repatriation of minors who have escaped from the authority of their parents or guardians;
- (2) a preliminary draft convention for the relief of minors of foreign nationality. This draft would be in the nature of a model scheme, with a view to facilitating subsequent work on the question and for application between interested countries;
- (3) a preliminary draft convention on the execution of judgments relating to maintenance payable on behalf of children by persons responsible for their support who have deserted them and gone abroad.

The Assembly invites the Child Welfare Committee diligently to pursue its efforts in this direction. (Resolutions adopted on 18th September 1928.)

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

84. The main points which the Committee on this subject had been considering during the last year arose out of the report of the Special Body of Experts. They concerned (1) the extension of the enquiry of the Special Body; (2) the abolition of the system of licensed houses; (3) measures to be taken against *souteneurs*. As to the first, the Committee itself had discussed whether the Special Body, if it resumed its operations, which was dependent upon the provision of funds from outside sources, should renew its enquiries in the countries which had already been examined, or whether it should undertake a new field of enquiry, particularly in the East. The Committee itself had come to no decision on this point, but the Assembly expressed the hope that it would be possible to extend the investigations to countries where no investigation had yet taken place. As to the abolition of licensed houses, the Committee had passed a resolution expressing the hope that the Governments of those countries which still retain the system should examine the question in the light of the report of the Special Body and, in order to facilitate this examination, the Secretariat had been asked to make a study of the laws and regulations in force in those countries where the system has been abolished. Delegates from such countries were unanimous in stating that the policy of abolition had been attended by nothing but good results. As to the third matter, there was unanimity that stricter measures against *souteneurs* should be adopted and general satisfaction that a concise study of the laws and penalties was being prepared by the Secretariat.

85. As in the case of the preceding subject, Mr. Mallik took the opportunity of expressing recognition of the value of the work which was being accomplished. A fuller report of his speech will be found in the Appendices. He said that the information contained in the report of the Special Body would be valuable to all countries in spite of differences of practice, methods and social conditions. As India had been the object of serious misrepresentation outside the League, Mr. Mallik explained to the Committee what had been done in India in recent years. There was still one practice known as *devadasi*, the continuance of which he deeply deplored. But a strong body of public opinion had grown up which protested against this practice. The Madras Legislative Council had recently passed a resolution recommending the Government

to promote legislation on the subject, and Mr. Mallik thought that there was every reason to hope that the practice would be suppressed in the near future. He went on to say that India had no objection to the extension of the enquiries of the Special Body to the East, including India, provided that these enquiries related only to the international traffic and not to internal conditions. If the scope of the enquiries were to be enlarged so as to embrace internal aspects of the question, it would be reasonable that the enquiries should be continued in this form in those countries where they had already been carried out in their restricted form. The question of the abolition of licensed houses had been discussed on the one side from the point of view of science and statistics and on the other side from the more humane point of view. Mr. Mallik was in favour of the humane rather than the scientific attitude in social matters. He ended by saying that the abolition of commercialised prostitution was pre-eminently a suitable subject for the League.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions :—

I. The Assembly takes note of the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, thanks the Committee for the good work it has accomplished, and expresses the hope that this work will be continued along the same lines.

II. The Assembly takes note of the second part of the report of the Special Body of Experts published in November 1927, and expresses its appreciation of the splendid work done by the Experts and their co-workers. It expresses the hope that it will be possible to extend the investigations to countries where no investigation has taken place before.

III. The Assembly notes with satisfaction that the Committee has examined the resolution passed by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session as to "the desirability of recommending to all Governments the abolition of licensed houses," and it supports the Committee's request that "the Governments of all those countries which still retain the licensed-house system will investigate the question as soon as possible in the light of the report made by the Special Body of Experts."

IV. The Assembly desires to call attention to the great importance of the employment of women police as a preventive measure. (Resolutions adopted on 18th September 1928.)

TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

86. The outstanding fact of the year is that the Geneva Opium Convention of 1925 has received the necessary number of ratifications and will shortly come into operation. At the date of the Assembly there were 29 parties to the Convention and four more States were expected to ratify it shortly. The Central Board to be set up under the Convention will probably be in existence before the end of the year. The Geneva Convention of 1925, if strictly applied, should prove a powerful instrument in the suppression of the traffic in drugs.

87. The Advisory Committee regard the position of the illicit traffic as still highly unsatisfactory. The manufacture of harmful drugs continues greatly in excess of legitimate requirements, and the new methods of manufacture are rendering supervision increasingly difficult. The situation is, therefore, in the view of the Committee, extremely serious, if not alarming. The Committee had studied the best methods of ensuring administrative control over the drug traffic and had drawn up a standard set of regulations or code for the suppression of the traffic. The Committee had also requested the Council to urge upon Governments that all factories manufacturing dangerous drugs should either be State-owned or placed under effective Government supervision. These recommendations, after submission to the Council, were communicated to Governments by the Secretary-General. The Committee has dealt with certain points in regard to the status of the Secretariat of the Central Board, recommending by a majority that it should be appointed by the Secretary-General on the nomination of the Central Board, subject to the approval of the Council, and that it should form an integral part of the Secretariat of the League. This matter awaits the final decision of the Council. The Committee has also been concerned at the efforts of certain manufacturers to find substitutes for morphine since the latter was made subject to control, and steps are being taken, as far as possible, to bring these substitutes equally under control.

88. Sir Venkata Reddi made an impressive and reasoned statement on India's attitude in regard to the general position. The text of the speech will be found among the Appendices. He applauded the great service which the Advisory Committee was rendering and, after paying tribute to the efforts of others, he claimed attention to the service which had been rendered to the world by India. He summarised the history of international efforts for the suppression of the opium traffic from the Conference of Shanghai in 1909 up to the Geneva Conferences of 1924 and 1925. He justified the attitude of India when differences arose at the Geneva Conference leading to the withdrawal of the United States and China. China was the greatest producer of opium in the world, and India had at one time been the greatest producer, the greatest user of opium in the world, and India had as much as India, and China much more. He asked what opium-producing country had done as much as India to fulfil the obligations which had been undertaken. The Committee was being asked to congratulate certain countries for making the production of drugs a Government monopoly. But this had been the position in India for many years. He gave the statistics showing the reduction of acreage under poppy cultivation in India in the last 20 years, and the reduction of revenue, which worked out at an average of at least £4 million a year. In 18 years India had sacrificed a revenue of £72 million. India had made this sacrifice, not because she could afford to

do so, but in order to show respect for international opinion, and to assist in the task of suppressing vice connected with the use of drugs. India did not consider that her great sacrifices had met with an adequate response from other countries, either producers or consumers of opium. There had rather been an increase of opium smoking and a larger production of narcotic drugs. He mentioned incidentally that the work of the Advisory Committee had in recent years been concerned more with the traffic in drugs than with the questions of opium production and opium smoking. He described the successive steps taken by India for controlling the opium trade, concluding with the Government of India's decision in 1925 to reduce progressively, and ultimately to extinguish, exports to all destinations except for medical and scientific purposes. In 10 years from 1925 those who wished to obtain opium for smoking or for similar purposes would have to get their supplies from countries other than India. Passing on to the Central Board, which is to be set up under the Geneva Convention of 1925, he laid emphasis on the necessity for the independence of this Board being secured and maintained at any cost. The members of this Board would have to be persons of experience in regard to the production of opium and the control of the traffic, and he thought that India, in view of her sacrifices and her great experience, should be regarded as qualified to supply a suitable candidate for the Board. (It is gratifying to be able to add that Sir B. K. Mullick has since been appointed by the Council to the Central Board.)

The Resolution of the Assembly was as follows :—

The Assembly notes with approval the reports of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs on the work of its tenth and eleventh sessions, together with the resolutions contained therein. (*Resolution adopted on 20th September 1928.*)

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY ON OPIUM SMOKING IN THE FAR EAST.

89. A Conference of the parties to the Geneva Opium Agreement of February 1925 is due to be held next year. The British Government believed that it would greatly facilitate the work of this Conference if a previous study were made of the problem of controlling the practice of opium smoking under the conditions which exist in the Far East at the present time. Control is hampered, if not nullified, by the difficulties which arise from the illicit traffic and which have increased rather than diminished since 1925. These difficulties are specially prominent in Hong Kong and, to a lesser extent, in Malaya. But they are by no means confined to these two countries. It was anticipated that an independent Commission, appointed by the League, would be able to present an unbiased statement of the actual position and valuable suggestions as to the means to be adopted for regulating it.

90. Sir Venkata Reddi was among those who supported the proposal of the British delegate. He said that the Government of India approved the suggestion. The Commission would not find anything of interest in India except in the province of Burma, which was practically the only part of India in which opium smoking existed, and he assumed that the Committee would wish to visit Burma. Before the Conference met in 1929 it seemed essential that reliable information should be available in regard to opium smoking in the East. The Commission was intended to undertake preliminary work for this Conference, and if the proposal, which the Chinese delegate had made, that the Commission should extend its enquiries to the whole subject of narcotic drugs was approved, the Conference would have to be indefinitely postponed. He suggested that it was for the Fifth Committee to say whether, and to what extent, the Commission was desirable and that the question of whether funds could be found for it should be left entirely to the Fourth Committee.

91. The Fifth Committee eventually decided by 13 votes to 1, with 17 abstentions, to recommend the appointment of the Commission. After consideration by the Fourth Committee the sum of 100,000 francs was included in the Budget of the League as a contribution towards the expenses of the Commission. The British Government has offered a contribution towards the expenses and certain other Governments are ready to make contributions and to offer hospitality. It was made clear that the Government of India are not prepared to contribute financially.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly recommends the Council to appoint a Commission of three persons to enquire into and report upon the situation in the Far Eastern territories of the Governments which agree to such an enquiry as regards the use of opium prepared for smoking; the measures taken by the Governments concerned to give effect to the obligations undertaken in Chapter II of the Hague Opium Convention of 1912 and in the Geneva Opium Agreement of February 1925; the nature and extent of the illicit traffic in Opium in the Far East and the difficulties which it causes to the fulfilment of those obligations; and to suggest what action should in the circumstances be taken by the Governments concerned and by the League of Nations.

The Assembly also expresses the hope that the Government of the United States will permit the Commission to visit the Philippines and inform itself of the experience of the system of prohibition in operation there. (*Recommendations adopted on 24th September 1928.*)

REFUGEES.

92. Since the early days of the League the High Commissioner for Refugees (Dr. Nansen) has, with the League's support and approval, been occupied with the problem of resettling

and providing legal status for the large populations (mainly Russians and Armenians) which were left without homes as a result of the war and the events immediately following the war. The total number of Russian and Armenian refugees was originally estimated at 1,300,000, and there now remain some 200,000 unemployed though capable of work. The service is regarded as one of a temporary character, and it is hoped that the time may eventually come when the League will have completed its mission. It was recognised by the Assembly that in present circumstances international action was still necessary for some time to come. The Assembly noted that a complete solution could only be provided by the return of the refugees to their country of origin or their assimilation by the countries at present giving them shelter, and it urged the Governments concerned to provide the refugees with all possible facilities for acquiring the nationality of the countries in which they at present reside. For some time past the administrative work of finding employment for refugees has been mainly carried out by the International Labour Office, which no longer finds itself qualified to deal with this problem. In future the High Commissioner, assisted by a mixed Commission consisting of representatives of the League and representatives of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, will be entrusted with the whole responsibility under the League.

The following is the text of the Resolutions adopted by the Assembly :—

The Assembly :

(1) After examining the reports submitted by the High Commissioner for Refugees and by the Director of the International Labour Office on questions connected with Russian, Armenian, Turkish, Assyrian and Assyro-Chaldean refugees ;

(2) Recognises the progress achieved in the course of the year ;

(3) Notes that a complete solution of the problem can only be provided by the return of the refugees to their country of origin or their assimilation by the countries at present giving them shelter ;

(4) Earnestly invites the Governments concerned to provide the refugees with all possible facilities for acquiring the nationality of the countries in which they at present reside ;

(5) Whereas, however, in present circumstances, international action is still necessary for some time to come ;

(6) In conformity with the resolution of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, invites the Council of the League to take urgently all necessary steps to appoint an Advisory Commission to be attached to the High Commissioner ;

(7) Recommends the Council to invite this Advisory Commission to submit to it, before the next ordinary session of the Assembly, a general report on the possibility of reaching a final solution as soon as possible and on the means by which this object might be attained ;

(8) Earnestly invites States Members to adopt and apply, on as wide a scale as possible, the Inter-Governmental Arrangements concluded on 5th July 1922, 31st May 1924, 12th May 1926, and 30th June 1928, which offer the refugee work the means by which it may gradually become self-supporting ;

(9) Points out, however, that the respective Governments must be left free to decide whether and how far they are prepared to give force of law to the recommendations adopted by the Inter-Governmental Conference of 30th June 1928 ;

(10) Notes that the taxes to be levied will be fixed in consultation with the respective Governments, that only the representatives of the High Commissioner will be entitled to levy them, and that the employment of the proceeds will be subject to the control of the High Commissioner ;

(11) Declares that the Council's resolution of 27th June 1921 shall be applied in regard to all categories of refugees ;

(12) Recalls with gratitude the endeavours of the High Commission and of the International Labour Office by which about 800 Russian refugees in Constantinople have been successfully evacuated during recent months ;

Cognisant of the very difficult situation of some 2,000 of these refugees who still remain in Turkey and who, in accordance with a Decree of the Turkish Government, must be evacuated from Turkey before 6th February 1929 ;

Expresses the hope that the High Commission will seize every opportunity to press forward their evacuation and that the various Governments will, as an exceptional measure, and subject to the safeguarding of their own interests, authorise the issue of emergency visas to enable the refugees to leave Turkey ;

(13) Adopts the budget for the Refugees Services for 1929, as already approved by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and by the Supervisory Commission, and

Requests the Supervisory Commission to take into consideration the uncertainty of the position of the officials employed in that Service, to which attention has been drawn by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and to grant them the improvements asked for on their behalf. (*Resolutions adopted on 25th September 1928.*)

COMMITTEE VI.—Political Questions.

SLAVERY CONVENTION.

93. In the last 12 months the number of ratifications or final accessions to the Slavery Convention of 1926 has increased from 14 to 26, but there are still several States whose adhesion is most important to ensure the universal application of the Convention. The Sixth Committee noted the receipt of information concerning the abolition of slavery from certain countries, of which India is one. The delegate for Abyssinia maintained that the fact that Abyssinia had not yet ratified the Convention was not preventing her from applying all its provisions. It is considered, however, that the ratification of the Convention by Abyssinia remains greatly to be desired.

The Resolution adopted by the Assembly is as follows :—

The Assembly notes the report of the Council regarding slavery containing communications from the Governments of Great Britain, India, Italy and the Sudan and also notes a list submitted by the Abyssinian delegation.

The Assembly hopes that no effort will be spared to furnish similar information in the future, as it is of considerable interest and utility to the States Members of the League.

The Assembly notes with satisfaction that the number of ratifications and accessions to the Convention of 25th September 1926 has appreciably increased since its last session, and expresses the hope that all countries affected by this question will ratify or accede to the Convention in the immediate future. (*Resolution adopted on 18th September 1928.*)

MANDATES.

94. The Sixth Committee had only to express approval of the manner in which the mandatory principle is being carried into effect by the Powers who hold mandates under the League and by the Mandates Commission. An admirable spirit of co-operation exists between the Commission and the mandatory Powers. The only controversial element in the discussion on this subject was introduced by the Persian delegate, who made certain allegations of a political character in regard to the relations between Persia and Iraq. His statement concluded with a complaint as to the introduction of plague and cholera into Persia from Iraq, India being the source of these diseases. Sir Venkata Reddi protested against this irrelevant and unexpected charge. He said that the Government of India took the utmost care in the matter of quarantine, and suggested that if the Persian Government had any representations to make on this subject they should convey them to the Government of India through the usual channels. When the discussion was resumed the British delegate made a categorical statement in reply to the political allegations of the Persian delegate, and Sir Venkata Reddi added some remarks on the allegation that India was the source of plague and cholera.

The Resolutions adopted by the Assembly are as follows :—

The Assembly :

Having taken note of the work accomplished by the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council in execution of Article 22 of the Covenant :

Desires to convey to them its admiration for their continued efforts and for the spirit of co-operation which has characterised their work ; and

Trusts that this will always continue to be the case.

The Assembly :

(a) Expresses the hope that the Permanent Mandates Commission's work on the question of the application of the principle of economic equality will be actively pursued, and that the mandatory Powers will supply all the information requested ;

(b) Hopes that the study of the question of the liquor traffic will, with the hope of the mandatory Powers, lead to effective results ;

(c) Expresses the opinion that it is desirable that the mandatory Powers should furnish and keep up to date all the particulars necessary to complete the statistical tables already compiled by the Secretariat. (*Resolutions adopted on 18th September 1928.*)

ESTABLISHMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN ERIVAN.

95. The High Commissioner for Refugees, Dr. Nansen of Norway, has for some years been endeavouring to find a financial basis for certain schemes which have been prepared with this object. Dr. Nansen has now received offers from certain Governments and from Armenian organisations which would permit of the execution of part of these schemes. The question was whether the Assembly would agree to provide funds for the administrative expenses. The proposal met with some opposition, and Sir Venkata Reddi spoke with the object of raising doubts as to the advisability of taking up a task which there seemed little prospect of carrying out completely and in a manner which would increase the prestige of the League. It was, however, eventually decided that the work should be carried on, so far as funds permitted, under the auspices of the League, and that the League should provide 65,000 francs (subsequently reduced by the Fourth Committee to 50,000) to meet the administrative expenses.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly :

Decides that the work of establishment of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan shall be carried on under the auspices of the League of Nations ;

Requests the Council to continue negotiations with those Governments which have offered assistance in this work, in order that the conditions under which other offers have been made may be fulfilled ;

Approves the inclusion in the budget of the sum of 50,000 Swiss francs to meet the administrative expenses of this work. (*Resolution adopted on 25th September 1928.*)

ORGANISATION FOR INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

96. This subject has hitherto been dealt with by the Second Committee, but it was transferred to the Sixth Committee this year as a temporary arrangement with the object of making the work of the Committees more equal. The work of this Organisation received an unusual amount of attention this year, and it would appear that its value is being increasingly recognised. The funds of the Institute in Paris have been augmented by an

increase of the contribution from the French Government and by additional contributions from other Governments.

97. Intellectual co-operation is described in the Report of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation presented this year to the Assembly as having two aspects: first, that of promoting and co-ordinating intellectual life in all its departments by means of the improvement or creation of instruments of work, which is the more practical aspect ; and secondly, that of bringing intellectual workers to realise that their interests and duties are everywhere identical, and to create among them a spirit of universality and intellectual harmony on which all other forms of reconstruction need to be based. There is, however, a feeling that the Institute at Paris is in danger of diffusing its energies, and it is therefore satisfactory that the Committee has decided to take stock of its work and to review at its next session all schemes submitted to it and all work in hand, so that the Organisation may concentrate its efforts on essential tasks and may reduce the administrative or bureaucratic element to a minimum.

98. Sir Venkata Reddi took part in the discussion with a speech of which the text will be found in the Appendices. He said that while the first object of the activities of this Organisation had been to strengthen the links in the intellectual life of the different countries of Europe, he thought that it would be useful if these activities were extended to the East. There were scholars in the East whose researches might be associated with those of Western scholars with valuable results. The world, and the League in particular, had been engaged since the Great War in trying to outlaw war. There had been a Great War in India also, known as the Mahabharata War, which had in a sense been more disastrous than the Great War of 1914-8, because in addition to the human and material loss which it had caused, it had destroyed arts and sciences and a whole civilisation. The Mahabharata War had been followed by the establishment of the doctrine that non-violence is the supreme law, which might be likened to the Paris Pact of this year. This doctrine had not succeeded in preventing further wars, and research into the causes of its failure by intellectual co-operation between East and West might possibly contribute to a more happy development of the present situation. He believed that the solution of the problem of preventing future wars rested with the intellectual rather than with the political world. He then went on to speak of some of the particular subjects referred to in the report, and he noted that the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation was concerned, not only with the opinions of Governments, but with those of the non-official public. He anticipated that on the subject of the protection of scientific property the opinion of India might lay more stress on the importance of preserving the public interest than on that of securing the rights of private individuals, which seemed to be the principle underlying the draft Convention which had been prepared and which was now under the consideration of Governments. It had not yet been possible for special reasons to form a National Committee in India. The Central Government in India is no longer exclusively, or even mainly, concerned in the subject of education, and it would be necessary to secure agreement between the provincial authorities before any central body could be formed for intellectual co-operation. In regard to the exchange of teachers between different countries and the sending of students from one country to another, obvious difficulties arose in the case of India of a geographical and financial nature. But a considerable amount of work was being done in India to promote the education both of children and of adults in the ideals and work of the League and in the value of international co-operation, and he hoped that still more would be done in the near future as the result of consultations which are taking place between the Central and the local authorities.

The text of the Resolution of the Assembly is as follows :—

The Assembly has taken cognisance of the reports submitted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Governing Body of the Institute. It is pleased with the results obtained by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation as well as with the work of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation during the past year.

The Assembly notes that its recommendations in preceding years in regard to eventual contributions from other States to the budget of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation have been acted on, that additional countries have granted subsidies, while France itself has increased its contribution by 500,000 French francs, so that the budget of the Institute for the year 1929 now amounts to 2,896,000 French francs.

It takes note of the progress made in regard to certain important questions :

Scientific property, co-ordination of bibliography for several sciences, co-ordination of institutes of higher political and social studies ;

The work of the International Museums Office and the contemplated extension of its work in favour of scientific museums and similar establishments ;

The part played by the representatives of the Committee and of the Institute at the recent Rome Conference for the revision of the Berne Copyright Conventions, and especially in the discussions which culminated in the recognition of the moral rights of authors, recommended by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ;

The action taken by several States in pursuance of the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Young People in the Aims of the League, the beginning of the work of the Educational Information Centre in Geneva and Paris, and the contemplated publication of a Survey devoted to these questions.

The Assembly recognises the importance of the problem of the international circulation of books and hopes that the obstacles in the way of the circulation of scientific and technical publications may, as far as possible, be removed.

The Assembly, in view of the general identity of principles between the Convention of Berne, as revised first in Berlin and then in Rome, and the Copyright Convention signed in 1910 at Buenos Ayres by the American States and revised in Havana in 1928, requests the Council to have its competent organs make all the necessary investigations and consultations regarding the desirability of a general agreement having for its object the unification, on an international basis, and in full conformity with the wish expressed at the Rome Conference for the revision of the Berne Copyright Conventions, of all laws and measures for the protection of intellectual property.

The Assembly notes with satisfaction the readiness with which teachers in secondary and elementary schools have answered the appeal for co-operation addressed to them, and welcomes the organisation of courses of study with a view to their special requirements, not only on a national basis by various committees, but also on an international basis at Geneva and elsewhere. It is glad of the support received from Governments by which, following the recommendations by the Sub-Committee of Experts of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, facilities have been offered to teachers for following these courses of instruction, and convinced of the paramount importance of the training of teachers for such teaching, it expresses the hope that similar facilities will be offered by the other States Members of the League.

The Assembly requests the States Members to take into consideration the need for the systematic organisation of the exchange of children in secondary schools during the summer holidays with a view to developing the spirit of peace and international co-operation, for which purpose the existing University offices should be utilised or special organisations created.

Convinced that this international exchange of school children would greatly promote mutual understanding among peoples, the Assembly recommends that arrangements be made between different countries on this subject, and it begs the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to instruct the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the Secretariat of the League to facilitate the execution of such arrangements.

It draws the special notice of Governments and requests them to give the greatest possible effect to the resolutions of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in regard to—

- (1) the creation in the national or central library of every State of an information bureau;
- (2) the preservation of prints and manuscripts;
- (3) the suppression of Customs duties on prints sent to libraries and recognised institutes;
- (4) the adoption of the necessary measures for the preservation and the study of primitive languages which are dying out.

Finally, it calls the attention of Governments to the danger of cinematographic performances and of broadcasting characterised by a spirit antagonistic to that of the League. (*Resolutions adopted on 24th September 1928.*)

Lord Lytton's Speech in the Assembly on the Budget.

99. As already stated in para. 71 above, we had expressly reserved our liberty of action when the Budget came before the Assembly. We had, in the meantime, asked for and obtained from the Secretary of State instructions as to the attitude which we should adopt, and it was in accordance with these instructions that Lord Lytton made the speech of which the following is a summary. The full text will be found in the Appendices.

100. He said that the inadequacy of the concessions to the views of the Indian Delegation at an earlier stage compelled him to take this last opportunity of expressing emphatically the great anxiety of the Indian Delegation at the upward tendency of the Budget. He wished to direct attention to—

First, the unsatisfactory character of the existing procedure for determining the League's expenditure;

Secondly, the responsibility of the Assembly for the Budget of the International Labour Organisation equally with those of the Secretariat and the Permanent Court; and

Finally, the special circumstances of India's membership of the League.

101. In regard to the first point, he recalled that the Assembly of 1926 appeared to be in general agreement that the contributions of States had reached their limit. Last year the increase in the Budget was only moderate, but this year the Assembly was asked to approve an increase of no less than 1,700,000 francs, or nearly 7 per cent. of the total approved last year. India could not agree to a normal increase at this rate. There were no circumstances to justify an exceptionable increase of expenditure this year, and if this increase was to be regarded as normal the total expenditure of 1926 would be doubled in 10 or 12 years' time. This increase was not merely due to increasing appreciation of the League and to increasing use of it, but to defective procedure for controlling and limiting expenditure. The budgetary control of the League was very weak compared with that of an efficient national government. National governments had independent finance departments whose influence was continually exercised in the direction of economy and whose ability to find money governed all decisions to spend it. There was also the more remote control of the taxpayer. The League, on the other hand, had no executive government with whom rested the initiative of expenditure. All the departments of the League were more interested in spending than in saving. The Supervisory Committee did not discharge all the functions of a Finance Ministry and the control of the Fourth Committee was not that of a body responsible for finding the money for such expenditure as it approved. Lord Lytton recognised that these defects might be inherent in the constitution of the League. He referred to them with the object of emphasising that, in the absence of the safeguards which exist in the government of a State, the League was dependent for economy solely on the exercise by its members of self-restraint.

and the spirit of reasonableness. This year's proceedings showed little indication of either goodwill or self-restraint. Those whose duty it was to bring forward and defend claims for expenditure had not acted with moderation and those who had to scrutinise the merits of those claims had acted with too little determination. The necessary balance between considerations of policy and finance could only be achieved if the members of the Fourth Committee not only possessed special qualities of judgment and experience, but were also given a reasonable discretion in the use of them. As it was, those who spoke favourably of economy in general had been among the first to criticise proposals for reduction. New services had been approved which might be desirable, but were neither urgent nor essential. New posts had been created, the necessity of which for the actual purposes of the work in hand had not been established.

102. In regard to the control of the Assembly over the Budget of the International Labour Organisation, Lord Lytton said that that Organisation could not be regarded as independent since it was financed by the League. It was in the case of this Organisation that there had, this year, been so conspicuous an absence of any disposition to meet demands for economy in a reasonable spirit. He maintained that it was wholly inadmissible to claim that the International Labour Organisation was autonomous to a degree which would deprive the Assembly of any practical financial control and would require the Assembly merely to vote money for programmes which had already been finally settled.

103. Coming to the last point, Lord Lytton said that India was probably the country whose Government found the most difficulty in justifying the contribution due from her. The proportion of the League's work which could be represented as being of benefit or interest to India was far from corresponding with India's share in its expenditure, which was higher than that of any State not permanently represented on the Council. The fact that the amount of her contribution could be employed for important national services, for which funds were needed, was not the whole difficulty. There was a view in India, as in other Eastern countries, not only that the League did not carry out much work of value to Eastern countries, but that its tendency was to strengthen European interests at the expense of those of other continents and races. If the League might now be regarded as firmly and finally established in Europe that was by no means the case in Asia. It was important that the work of those who were supporting the interests of the League and its ideals in the East should be made as easy as possible. The more the East could be brought into direct contact with the work of the League, and the more the League demonstrated that it worked as much and as impartially for Asia as for Europe, the less would be heard of financial grievances. The best solution lay along the line of increasing collaboration between East and West. But pending such a development the claim for a limitation of the financial burden involved in membership of the League was, in the case of India, an urgent one which needed to be received with greater sympathy and attention. Every increase of the financial burden, without a corresponding extension of the sphere of work, increased the difficulty of maintaining that membership of the League was worth the price.

104. Lord Lytton ended by reminding the Assembly that, weak as the normal procedure of the League might be, there existed, in the last resort, one method by which a dissentient member might insist upon its views being respected, namely, by refusal to vote the Budget, which, like everything else, requires unanimity. He appealed to all those concerned not to force the Indian Delegation to resort to this method. While the Indian Delegation refrained from this extreme step this year there might be no alternative, if this protest were disregarded in framing future Budgets, but to make the assent of the Indian Delegation to the Budget conditional upon obtaining some limitation of expenditure.

105. Lord Lytton was followed by the Norwegian delegate, Mr. Hambro, who had taken a leading part in the proceedings in the Fourth Committee. Mr. Hambro strongly supported the criticisms which had been made by Lord Lytton. The only speaker who attempted to reply to Lord Lytton was the Portuguese delegate, who had acted as Chairman of the Fourth Committee, and his remarks did not appear to be very effective.

106. Mr. Hambro had stated in the course of his speech that he wished to move a reduction of the Budget of the International Labour Organisation by 38,500 francs, this being the amount provided for the creation of a new post of Chief of Division intended to satisfy the demands of a State which did not consider itself adequately represented in the Office. Mr. Hambro's motion to this effect, on being put to the vote, was defeated by 18 votes to 6 with 11 abstentions. Mr. Hambro and Lord Lytton stated that they did not intend to press their view and the whole Budget was accordingly passed with unanimity.

107. Although Lord Lytton's speech had necessarily to be made at the very end of the Assembly Session, when some of the delegates had already left Geneva, it has undoubtedly served to draw attention, not only to the financial administration of the League, but to the importance of broadening the basis of the League's activities. It was inevitable that, in the years immediately following the war, international activity should concentrate upon the

urgent problems of European reconstruction. But the phase which demanded that concentration is passing, and it was timely to remind the nations that the preoccupation of the League with European affairs must pass with it. Actual insistence upon reasonable economy is, in itself, an important function. The part which Indian Delegations have consistently played at Geneva in demanding the observance of sound financial principles has, we believe, been of value to the League in promoting its efficiency and in maintaining its prestige. But it is of at least equal importance to secure that the League observes in practice that universality which it claims in principle. We believe that financial pressure may be usefully and legitimately employed to this end, provided it is used with discretion and with a full sense of responsibility. Fair-minded persons are beginning to recognise that the non-European countries, and India in particular, cannot reasonably be expected to acquiesce in a constantly increasing Budget, which is distributed among the States Members on the assumed basis of an interest proportionate to economic capacity, so long as the main incidence of the League's activities remains unchanged. We hope that the action which we took this year may, in the near future, have its due effect upon the total cost of the League's activities, upon the relative share of India in that cost, and upon the relative value to India of the results of the League's expenditure.

108. We conclude by observing that if India is to demand that her practical interest in the work of the League should approximate more closely to her share of the expenditure, it is all the more necessary that the advantages which India already enjoys in consequence of her membership of the League should be appreciated at their true value. Nothing that we have said should be taken as supporting the view that the advantages which India already derives from the League are negligible. These advantages have always, on the contrary, been considerable and they are becoming more so. They include in particular a degree of international status which India would not now enjoy, nor be able to obtain, if her separate signature to the Treaty of Versailles had not made her an original member of the League.

(Signed) LYTTON.
TALEY MUHAMMAD KHAN,
Nawab of Palampur.
S. N. MALLIK.

February 1929.

LIST OF APPENDICES.

Appendix I.	List of States represented and their Delegations - - - - -	PAGE 43
Appendix II.	Reports of Committees to the Assembly, &c. :—	
ANNEX	I. Report of the Second Committee on the work of the Health Organisation - - - - -	48
ANNEX	II. Report of the Second Committee on the question of Greek Refugee Settlement and Greek Stabilisation Loan - - - - -	50
ANNEX	III. Report of the Second Committee on the work of the Financial Committee - - - - -	51
ANNEX	IV. Report of the Second Committee on the work of the Economic Organisation - - - - -	52
ANNEX	V. Report of the Second Committee on the question of Bulgarian Refugee Settlement and Bulgarian Stabilisation Loan - - - - -	55
ANNEX	VI. Report of the Second Committee on the question of the relations between the League of Nations and Institutes or Bodies set up under its authority - - - - -	57
ANNEX	VII. Report of the Third Committee on the question of Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant - - - - -	58
ANNEX	VIII. Report of the Third Committee on the question of a Wireless Station for the League of Nations - - - - -	59
ANNEX	IX. Report of the Third Committee on the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference - - - - -	59
ANNEX	X. Report of the Third Committee on the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, Non-Aggression and Mutual Assistance - - - - -	61
ANNEX	XI. Report of the Fourth Committee on Financial Questions - - - - -	63
ANNEX	XII. Report of the Fifth Committee on Child Welfare - - - - -	71
ANNEX	XIII. Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children - - - - -	71
ANNEX	XIV. Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs - - - - -	72
ANNEX	XV. Report of the Fifth Committee on the proposal by Great Britain for a Commission of Enquiry on the Control of Opium Smoking in the Far East - - - - -	74
ANNEX	XVI. Report of the Sixth Committee on Mandates - - - - -	74
ANNEX	XVII. Report of the Sixth Committee on the Slavery Convention - - - - -	75
ANNEX	XVIII. Report of the Sixth Committee on Intellectual Co-operation - - - - -	75
Appendix III.	Certain Speeches delivered by Members of the Indian Delegation at the Ninth Assembly :—	
ANNEX	I. His Highness the Nawab of Palampur, in the Assembly, on 7th September 1928 - - - - -	77
ANNEX	II. Lord Lytton, in the Assembly, on 26th September 1928 - - - - -	78
ANNEX	III. Sir E. Chamier, in the First Committee, on 22nd September 1928 (résumé) - - - - -	80
ANNEX	IV. Mr. Mallik, in the Second Committee, on 14th September 1928 - - - - -	80
ANNEX	V. Mr. Yusuf Ali, in the Second Committee, on 15th September 1928 - - - - -	81
ANNEX	VI. Mr. Mallik, in the Second Committee, on 17th September 1928 - - - - -	82
ANNEX	VII. Mr. Yusuf Ali, in the Second Committee, on 17th September 1928 (résumé) - - - - -	83
ANNEX	VIII. Lord Lytton, in the Third Committee, on 13th September 1928 - - - - -	84
ANNEX	IX. Lord Lytton, in the Third Committee, on 14th September 1928 - - - - -	84

Appendix III—continued.

		PAGE
ANNEX	X. His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur, in the Fourth Committee, on 11th September 1928	85
ANNEX	XI. Mr. Yusuf Ali, in the Fourth Committee, on 15th September 1928	86
ANNEX	XII. Mr. Yusuf Ali, in the Fourth Committee, on 17th September 1928	86
ANNEX	XIII. Mr. Yusuf Ali, in the Fourth Committee, on 18th September 1928	87
ANNEX	XIV. Mr. Yusuf Ali, in the Fourth Committee, on 20th September 1928	87
ANNEX	XV. Mr. Mallik, in the Fifth Committee, on 6th September 1928	87
ANNEX	XVI. Mr. Mallik, in the Fifth Committee, on 12th September 1928 (résumé)	89
ANNEX	XVII. Sir K. V. Reddi, in the Fifth Committee, on 13th September 1928	90
ANNEX	XVIII. Sir K. V. Reddi, in the Fifth Committee, on 15th September 1928	93
ANNEX	XIX. Sir K. V. Reddi, in the Sixth Committee, on 11th September 1928	93
ANNEX	XX. Sir K. V. Reddi, in the Sixth Committee, on 19th September 1928	95

APPENDIX I.

List of States represented and their Delegates. (Many Delegations were also accompanied by Expert Advisers.)

- ABYSSINIA.—His Excellency Count Lagarde, Duc d'Entotto (Minister Plenipotentiary, Diplomatic Representative of the Abyssinian Empire accredited to the League of Nations, High Counsellor).
Special Delegation.—His Excellency le Bettoaddé Guetatcheou. Ato Woldé Maryam. Ato Guebré Egzabeher.
- ALBANIA.—M. Mehdi Frashëri (Minister of State). M. Djafer Villa (Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).
- AUSTRALIA.—The Hon. Alexander J. McLachlan (Senator). Major-Gen. the Hon. Sir Granville de Laune Ryrie, K.C.M.G., C.B., V.D. (High Commissioner in London). Sir William Harrison Moore, K.B.E., C.M.G., B.A., LL.D.
Substitutes.—Mr. Richard Percy Clive Baillieu. Mrs. Ethel McDonnell.
- AUSTRIA.—His Excellency Dr. Ignaz Seipel (University Professor, Federal Chancellor). His Excellency M. Emerich Pfügl (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Austrian Representative accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Max Hoffinger (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the Swiss Confederation).
Substitute.—Dr. Richard Schüller (Head of Section at the Department for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations).
- BELGIUM.—His Excellency M. Paul Hymans (Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. P. E. Janson (Minister for Justice, Member of the House of Representatives, former Minister for National Defence, former President of the Order of Advocates at the Brussels Court of Appeal). Viscount P. Poulet (Minister of State, Member and former President of the House of Representatives, former Prime Minister, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, Professor of International Law and Diplomatic History at Louvain University). Count H. Carton de Wiart (Minister of State, Member of the House of Representatives, former Prime Minister, former Minister for Justice). (During M. Hymans' stay at Geneva, Count Carton de Wiart acted as substitute delegate.)
Substitutes.—Baron Moncheur (Honorary Ambassador). Baron Edouard Rolin-Jacquemyns (Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, Member and former President of the Institute of International Law, former Minister for the Interior). M. Fernand van Langenhove (Chef du Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. J. Mélot (Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Henri Rolin (Barrister at the Brussels Court of Appeal, Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. O. Louwers (Colonial Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).
- BRITISH EMPIRE.—The Right Hon. Lord Cushendun (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). Sir Cecil James Barrington Hurst, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C. (Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office). The Right Hon. Godfrey Locker-Lampson, M.P. (Parliamentary Under Secretary, Foreign Office).
Substitutes.—Mr. A. Duff Cooper, D.S.O., M.P. (Financial Secretary to the War Office). The Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, D.B.E.
- BULGARIA.—His Excellency M. Vladimir Molloff (Finance Minister). M. Dimitri Mikoff (Chargé d'Affaires in Switzerland, Permanent Bulgarian Representative accredited to the League of Nations).
- CANADA.—The Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., C.M.G., LL.D. (Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council of Canada, Secretary of State for External Affairs). The Hon. Raoul Dandurand, C.R., C.P., LL.D. (Senator, Member of the Privy Council of Canada, Minister of State, Representative of the Government in the Senate). The Hon. Charles A. Dunning, P.C. (Minister for Railways and Canals, Member of the Privy Council of Canada).
Substitutes.—The Hon. Philippe Roy, C.P., M.D. (former Senator, Representative of Canada in France). Mr. O. D. Skelton, M.A., Ph.D. (Under Secretary of State for External Affairs). Mr. Walter A. Riddell, M.A., Ph.D. (Dominion of Canada Advisory Officer accredited to the League of Nations).
- CHILE.—His Excellency M. Enrique Villegas (Ambassador at Rome, former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chilean Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Luis V. de Porto-Seguro (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin). His Excellency M. Pedro F. Iñiguez (Minister Plenipotentiary, former Minister for Justice and Education).
Substitute.—His Excellency M. Jorge Valdés-Mendeville (Minister at Berne, Head of the Permanent Secretariat accredited to the League of Nations).
- CHINA.—His Excellency M. Wang-King-Ky (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Belgium, former Professor at the University of Peking of the History of Treaties concluded between China and Foreign Powers). M. Tsi-Tche (Chargé d'Affaires in France).
- COLOMBIA.—His Excellency Dr. Francisco José Urrutia (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former President of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). His Excellency Dr. Antonio José Restrepo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, former Senator, Permanent Colombian Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency Dr. Luis Samper-Sordo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, former Senator).
Substitute.—M. Efraín Gaitán-Hurtado (former Director of the Diplomatic Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

CUBA.—His Excellency M. Orestes Ferrara (former President of the Chamber of Deputies, Ambassador at Washington). His Excellency M. Aristides de Agüero y Bethancourt (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin and Vienna). His Excellency M. Guillermo de Blanck (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Carlos de Armenteros (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). His Excellency M. J. A. Izquierdo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Ramiro Hernández Portela (Counsellor of Legation in Paris).

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—His Excellency Dr. Eduard Benes (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Stephen Osusky (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). His Excellency Dr. Ferdinand Veverka (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitute.—Dr. Vladimir Slavik (Counsellor at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

DENMARK.—His Excellency M. laust Moltesen (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Herluf Zahle (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration). M. P. M. L. Birke (Brigadier-General, Chief of the Staff, Senator). (During M. Moltesen's stay at Geneva, General Birke acted as substitute delegate.) M. F. H. J. Borgbjerg (former Minister, Member of Parliament).

Substitutes.—M. P. Munch (Doctor of Philosophy, former Minister, Member of Parliament). M. Holger Andersen (Member of Parliament). M. William Borberg (Permanent Danish Representative accredited to the League of Nations). Mlle. Henri Forchhammer (President of the National Council of Danish Women, Member of the Central Administration of the International Council of Women).

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.—Dr. Tulio Franco Franco (Chargé d'Affaires in Paris, Rome and Berne).

ESTONIA.—His Excellency M. Hans Rebane (Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies. (During M. Rebane's absence from Geneva, General Laidoner acted as President of the delegation.) General Johan Laidoner (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs, former Commander-in-Chief of the Estonian Army). M. Otto Strandman (Minister at Warsaw, former Prime Minister, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

FINLAND.—His Excellency M. Hjalmar J. Procopé (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Rafael W. Erich (former Prime Minister, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). His Excellency M. Rudolf Holsti (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Finnish Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—M. E. Hynninen (Minister for Communications and Public Works). M. Väinö Voionmaa (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Professor at the University of Helsinki). Mme. Tiina Haimari (President of the National Council of Women of Finland). Baron Aarno Yrjö-Koskinen (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Hugo Valvanne (First Secretary of Legation).

FRANCE.—His Excellency M. Aristide Briand (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Paul-Boncour (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister). M. Jules Pams (Senator, former Minister).

Substitutes.—M. Louis Loucheur (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister for Labour, Health, Public Relief and Social Insurance). M. Lucien Hubert (Senator). M. François Labrousse (Senator).

Assistant Delegates.—M. Fromageot (Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Léon Jouhaux (Secretary-General of the General Labour Confederation). M. Robert Séro (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Paul Bastid (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. René Cassin (Professor at the Faculty of Law at Lille, Honorary President of the Federal Union of the Mutilated and former Combatants).

GERMANY.—Herr Hermann Müller (Chancellor of the Reich). Dr. Carl von Schubert (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Friedrich Gaus (Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—Count Bernstorff (Ambassador, unattached). Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid (Member of the Reichstag). Dr. Ludwig Kaas (Professor of Theology, Member of the Reichstag, Canon and Domestic Prelate to His Holiness the Pope). Baron Rheinbaben (Member of the Reichstag, former Secretary of State).

GREECE.—His Excellency M. Alexandre Carapanos (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Nicolas Politis (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). His Excellency M. Demètre Caclamanos (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Vassili Dendramis (Minister at Berne). His Excellency M. Jean Politis (Resident Minister, Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

GUATEMALA.—His Excellency M. José Matos (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

HAITI.—His Excellency M. Alfred Nemonours (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris).

HUNGARY.—His Excellency Count Albert Apponyi (former Minister). His Excellency General Gabriel Tanczos (former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Baron Joseph Szerényi (former Minister for Commerce).

Substitutes.—Mme la Comtesse Apponyi. His Excellency M. L. Gajzágó (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Paul de Hevesy (Resident Minister, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). Baron Gabriel Apor (Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Joseph Vészi (Member of the Upper Chamber). M. A. de Egry (Member of the Upper Chamber). M. J. Lakatos (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Count François Hunyadi (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

INDIA.—The Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (former Governor of Bengal). Captain His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O. Mr. S. N. Mallik, C.I.E. (Member of the Council of India).

Substitutes.—Sir Edward Maynard des Champs Chamier, K.C.I.E. (Legal Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, former Chief Justice of the High Court of Patna). Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi (former Minister of Agriculture and Industries, Madras). Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., I.C.S. (retired) (former Revenue Member, Hyderabad).

IRISH FREE STATE.—Mr. Ernest Blythe (Vice-President of the Executive Council, Minister for Finance). Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald (Minister for Defence). Professor John M. O'Sullivan (Minister for Education).

Substitutes.—Mr. John A. Costello (Attorney-General). Mr. Michael MacWhite (Representative of the Irish Free State accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitute and Secretary-General.—Mr. Sean Murphy (Assistant Secretary, Department of External Affairs).

ITALY.—His Excellency Professor Vittorio Scialoja (Minister of State, Senator, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Count Lelio Bonin-Longare (Minister of State, Ambassador, Senator). M. Fulvio Suvich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Under Secretary of State at the Ministry for Finance).

Substitutes.—His Excellency General Alberto de Marinis Stendardo di Ricigliano (Senator). Count Antonio Cippico (Senator). M. Stefano Cavazzoni (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister for Labour). Baron Alessandro Sardi (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Under Secretary of State at the Ministry for Public Works). M. Cesare Tamedei (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Dino Altieri (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Ermanno Amicucci (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Ernesto Belloni (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Gaetano Polverelli (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Edmondo Rossoni (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Augusto Rosso (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, 2nd class). M. Massimo Pilotti (Counsellor at the Court of Cassation). Captain Don Fabrizio Ruspoli (Naval Delegate on the Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions of the League of Nations). Count Manfredi Gravina. Professor Giuseppe Gallavresi.

JAPAN.—His Excellency M. Mineitiró Adatei (Ambassador to France, Permanent Japanese Representative on the Council of the League of Nations, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, Vice-President of the Institute of International Law, Member of the Imperial Academy of Japan). His Excellency M. Matsuzo Nagai (Ambassador to Belgium). Baron Yoshiaki Fujimura (Member of the House of Peers, former Minister for Communications).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Isaburo Yoshida (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). His Excellency M. Naotake Sato (Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office). His Excellency M. Eiichi Kimura (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Czechoslovakia). M. Saburo Kurusu (Consul-General at Hamburg). *Substitute and Secretary-General.*—M. Nobumi Ito (Counsellor of Embassy, Assistant Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office).

LATVIA.—His Excellency M. Antons Balodis (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Charles Duzmans (Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Vilis Selumans (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Edvin Magnus (Minister for Justice). Dr. Peters Olins (Director of the Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs dealing with Western Affairs).

LIBERIA.—His Excellency Baron Rodolphe Auguste Lehmann (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitute.—M. Nicolas Ooms (First Secretary of Legation in Paris).

LITHUANIA.—His Excellency Professor A. Voldemaras (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). (During the absence of M. Voldemaras from Geneva, M. Sidzikauskas acted as President of the Delegation.) His Excellency M. Venceslas Sidzikauskas (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin). Dr. Dovas Zannius (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Prague).

LUXEMBURG.—His Excellency M. Joseph Bech (Minister of State, Prime Minister). His Excellency M. Emile Reuter (Honorary Minister of State, President of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Gaston Diderich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Burgomaster of the town of Luxembourg).

Substitutes.—M. Charles Vermaire (Consul at Geneva). M. Albert Wehrer (Doctor of Law, Barrister, Attaché at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

NETHERLANDS.—His Excellency le Jonkheer F. Beelaerts van Blokland (Doctor of Law, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency le Jonkheer J. London (Doctor of Political Science, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). le Jonkheer W. J. M. van Eysinga (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Professor at the University of Leyden). His Excellency Count J. P. van Limburg Stirum (Doctor of Law, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin, former Governor-General of the Dutch Indies). (During and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin, former Governor-General of the Dutch Indies). (During le Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland's stay at Geneva, Count van Limburg Stirum acted as substitute delegate.)

Substitutes.—M. Joseph Limburg (Doctor of Law, Member of the Council of State, former Member of the Second Chamber of the States General). M. E. Heldring (President of the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce). M. J. P. A. François (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Head of the League of Nations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Extraordinary Professor at the School for Higher Commercial Studies at Rotterdam).

NEW ZEALAND.—The Hon. Sir James Parr, K.C.M.G. (High Commissioner in London, former Minister for Education and Justice, former Postmaster-General).

Substitute.—Major-Gen. Sir George Richardson, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G. (former Administrator of Western Samoa).

NICARAGUA.—His Excellency M. Tomas Francisco Medina (Minister in Paris, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). M. Antoine Sottile (Doctor of Law, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

NORWAY.—His Excellency M. Joh. Ludwig Mowinkel (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Fridtjof Nansen (Professor at the University of Oslo). M. Carl Joachim Hambro (President of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Storting).

Substitutes.—Dr. Christian L. Lange (Secretary-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union). M. P. L. Kolstad (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Deputies). Mme. Ingeborg Aas (Doctor of Medicine). Dr. Frode Castberg (Professor at the University of Oslo).

PANAMA.—His Excellency M. Octavio Mendez Pereira (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris and London).

PARAGUAY.—Dr. Ramon V. Caballero (Chargé d'Affaires in Paris).

PERSIA.—His Highness Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi (Ambassador in Turkey, former Prime Minister). His Excellency Hussein Khan Alâ (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister). Dr. P. Parviz Khan Kitabgi (Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—Dr. Hussein Khan Ghadimy (Head of the Persian League of Nations Office).

POLAND.—His Excellency M. Auguste Zaleski (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. François Sokal (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Hipolit Gliwie (Vice-President of the Senate, former Minister for Commerce and Industry).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Jean de Modzelewski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). M. Witold Chodzko (Director of the State School of Hygiene at Warsaw, former Minister for Health). His Excellency M. Jules Lukasiewicz (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Riga). M. Sigismund Gralinski (Doctor of Law, Member of the Diet).

PORTUGAL.—His Excellency Dr. Augusto de Vasconcellos (former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Portuguese League of Nations Service). (In the event of the presence of His Excellency M. Bettencourt Rodrigues, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at Geneva during the Assembly, he will act as President of the Delegation.) His Excellency Dr. J. C. Franco Frazao, Count de Penha Garcia (former Minister for Finance, former President of the Chamber of Deputies, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration). His Excellency Dr. Alberto d'Oliveira (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne and Brussels and accredited to the League of Nations).

ROUMANIA.—His Excellency M. Nicolas Petresco Commène (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin). His Excellency M. Constantin Antoniadu (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the League of Nations). M. Mircea Djuvara (Professor at the University of Bucarest, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Substitutes.—Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco (Member of the Roumanian Academy). M. Vespasian V. Pella (Professor at the University of Jassy, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

SALVADOR.—His Excellency M. Gustavo Guerrero (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France).

SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES, KINGDOM OF THE.—His Excellency M. Voislav Marinkovitch (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Milan Rakitch (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome). His Excellency M. Djordje Djouritch (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London).

Substitutes.—M. M. Straznicki (Doctor of Law, Professor at the University of Zagreb). M. Leonidas Pitamic (Doctor of Law, Professor at the University of Ljubljana). General Michel Nenandovitch. M. Constantin Fotitch (Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

SIAM.—His Highness Prince Charoon (Minister in Paris). His Highness Prince Varnavaiya (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, Brussels and The Hague). His Highness Prince Vipulya (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Oslo).

SOUTH AFRICA.—Mr. J. S. Smit (High Commissioner in London). The Hon. Albertus Johannes Werth (Administrator of South-West Africa). Mr. Daniel Johannes de Villiers (Trade Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in Europe).

SPAIN.—His Excellency M. José Quiñones de León (Ambassador in Paris). His Excellency M. Emilio de Palacios y Fau (Ambassador in Brussels). His Excellency the Marquis of Torrehermosa (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

Substitutes.—M. Eduardo Cobián (former Under Secretary at the Ministry for Finance, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies). His Excellency M. Leopoldo Palacios Morini (former Under Secretary at the Ministry for Finance, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Professor at the University of Madrid, Director of the Social School). His Excellency M. Cristóbal Botella (Doctor of Law, Legal Adviser to the Embassy in Paris, President of the Franco-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal at Paris, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies). His Excellency M. Julio Casares y Sánchez (Member of the Royal Spanish Academy).

Assistant Delegate.—Count de San Esteban de Cafongo (Minister Plenipotentiary, Chief of the Political Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

SWEDEN.—His Excellency M. Jonas Eliel Löfgren (Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. B. Östen Undén (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Professor at the University of Upsal). M. J. L. Widell (Head of the Civil Department of the Central Administration of the Army).

Substitutes.—Dr. T. M. Höjer (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Oslo). M. K. I. Westman (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

SWITZERLAND.—His Excellency M. Giuseppe Motta (Federal Councillor, Head of the Political Department). Colonel Gottfried Keller (Member of the Council of States). M. Walther Burekhardt (Professor at the University of Berne).

Substitute.—M. William Rappard (Professor at the University of Geneva).

Substitute and Expert.—M. Walter Stucki (Director of the Commercial Division in the Department of Public Economy).

URUGUAY.—His Excellency Dr. Alberto Guani (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France). His Excellency M. Pedro Cosío (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Germany). His Excellency Dr. Alfredo de Castro (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).

VENEZUELA.—His Excellency M. César Zumeta (former Minister for the Interior, former Senator, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris and Berne). His Excellency M. Diógenes Escalante (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London). His Excellency M. C. Parra-Pérez (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome).

Substitute.—Dr. J. M. Hurtado-Machado (Chargé d'Affaires at Berne).

APPENDIX II.

Reports of Committees to the Assembly, &c.

ANNEX I.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Health Organisation.*
(Rapporteur: *Professor John M. O'Sullivan, Irish Free State.*)

The work of the Health Organisation, its Committees and activities, is characterised by the same principle of continuity that is found in the work of the League in general. Hence the present report is but a fragment with jagged ends, and must be read in conjunction with those of previous years. It looks back on the past and forward to the future.

As will be apparent from even a hasty reading of the various reports, the work of the Organisation is already quite extensive. Though at first there was some doubt of the wisdom of the League developing along this line, now the demands made are such that there is no prospect of satisfying them all. For here, as elsewhere, a somewhat rigid limitation of effort is a condition of producing work of real value, and the Health Organisation has shown its wisdom in recognising this. Its success has been due, among other things, to the fact that its programmes have been carefully thought out and often even confined to one aspect of a big subject, to a sphere of investigation comparatively small, no doubt, but one in which, owing to its very circumscription, results might be expected in a reasonable time. Yet this wise self-restraint does not hinder the progressive extension of the field of investigation.

The various conferences and sessions of Commissions which were held in the past 12 months were by no means instances of isolated activity; they represented successive stages in the logical solution of international health problems the preliminary steps in connection with which had been taken at an earlier period in the life of the Health Organisation. Thus at a conference held at Frankfurt in May agreement was reached on a series of international standards which will serve as units of measure for the activity of sera and biological preparations, notably anti-diphtheritic, anti-tetanic and anti-dysenteric sera, and for the arseno-benzines, insulin, pituitary extract, digitalis, &c. That these results were achieved is due to previous conferences and to long and minute researches in the principal institutes concerned.

This work on sera and vaccines is not a bad illustration of the Organisation's manner of working and attaining its ends.

It is a technical organisation of the League, remains international and operates through existing national and international bodies. It stimulates, not supersedes, them. There is no encroachment on the activities of the different national administrations and research institutions. Success has been achieved not by the assertion of any claim to be, as it were, a central authority on medical service or a public health administration, exercising quasi-legislative powers, but by appealing to those who are responsible for the actual work in the different countries, getting them to co-operate and come to agreement, and by providing opportunity to public health officers, for example, of availing themselves, if they are willing, of the pooled wisdom of their colleagues in other countries.

Persuasion is sometimes necessary, for, though science may claim to know no national boundaries, we often find that in its application it is unduly hampered by differences of local idiosyncrasy, which cause much unnecessary waste. These difficulties may be overcome sometimes by goodwill, sometimes by active personal touch, but the goodwill has often awaited stimulation from the Health Organisation before it became effective, and the opportunity for collaboration has come more than once from the same quarter.

The increasing efficacy of the Organisation's activities is due to its success in bringing various institutions, and even individuals, into closer contact with one another and with the League. The reports show that every year witnesses new demands from the nations and offers of co-operation. It is natural to suppose that the condition of advancement in the future is that the Organisation should continue to be guided by this principle, which indeed is fundamental to the League.

The matters with which the Health Organisation deals are both international and worldwide. It binds together not merely countries but quarters of the globe. The link with the Far East is furnished by the Eastern Bureau of the Health Organisation at Singapore. In addition, there has been this year an "interchange," or study tour, of health officers in India. The Government of that country has invited the Malaria Commission to study the problem of malaria there—an invitation that the Health Committee, with the approval of the Council, has gladly accepted. Furthermore, two experts have been appointed to investigate the health conditions in certain islands in the Pacific, in accordance with the suggestion of the International Pacific Conference held in Melbourne in 1926—a suggestion considered and approved by the Assembly in 1927. As usual, a number of Far Eastern public health officers and experts, notably from Japan, have been given facilities by the Organisation to study Western experience in the prevention of disease and the protection of the public health.

The Assembly at its last session noted with satisfaction the steps taken by the Health Organisation to extend its activities to various Latin-American countries and welcomed the practical suggestions for continued co-operation presented by the health authorities and experts of the Argentine, Brazil, and Uruguay. During the last 12 months this collaboration has been actively pursued and the important investigation on infant mortality being carried on in seven European countries is being pursued along similar lines by experts nominated by the health administrations in the Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay. The work on the two continents is co-ordinated by the Health Organisation at Geneva. The investigation in Europe is now completed and in a year or so the results of the enquiry in the Latin-American countries will be available. It will thus be possible to utilise the experience acquired and compare the results of the measures employed to cope with infant mortality in various rural and urban districts of two widely separated parts of the globe.

A distinguished health expert from Uruguay has been sent to Europe by his Government to study under the auspices of the Health Organisation and the International Labour Office the experience of some of the older countries in regard to the problems of medical assistance and social insurance. This fruitful collaboration with the health authorities and experts of Latin America will, we hope, be amplified and extended to other countries of the New World in the near future.

I do not propose to describe in detail these or other activities of the Health Organisation; I shall merely catalogue a few of the more important of them which justify the statement that its work has extended to practically every country in the world, and then refer for a moment to two other matters: the work of the Eastern Bureau at Singapore and the system of liaison with public health administrations established by means of the collective and individual interchanges of public health and medical officers.

A general conference on the prevention of malaria held in Geneva in June was attended by malarialogists from all the countries having an important malaria problem. The principles and methods of malaria control were discussed in the light of reports prepared by the Malaria Commission of the Health Committee on the basis of its study tours in the Old and New Worlds. A report was issued which is a consensus of the views of the most qualified malarialogists and, as such, will be invaluable to any Government faced with a malaria problem.

One of the best methods of securing agreement among scientists is to undertake joint studies of the method or subject under discussion, and on a number of points on which the opinion of malarialogists is still divided, on account of a lack of sufficient information, such common studies are being undertaken, the Health Organisation acting as the mechanism of co-ordination. In connection with malaria, mention must be made of the courses for the training of experts organised for the third successive year in London, Hamburg and Paris under the auspices of the Health Organisation. A fourth course was added this year in Rome, and the theoretical courses were followed by practical work in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Italy and Spain.

I have already mentioned the important work in connection with the standardisation of sera.

The Conference of Health Experts on Infant Welfare met in London in July, and was received hospitably by the Minister of Health and the Chief and Senior Medical Officers of his Ministry. Decisions were taken in regard to the preparation of the reports on the enquiries concluded in 29 urban and rural districts of seven European countries—enquiries which have been described in detail in previous reports to the Assembly.

The Cancer Commission continued its work along lines already indicated in previous reports, special attention being paid to occupational cancer (with the collaboration of the International Labour Office), a form which appears to be more susceptible to preventive measures than other forms. The Commission is also studying the methods and results of the radiological treatment of cancer, which in certain cases has proved of so much value. These subjects were discussed at sessions held in Geneva in April, in London in July and in Paris in August.

The Smallpox and Vaccination Commission held two sessions in Geneva this year (April and August), and was able to reach conclusions on a number of important points. At the last session, experts from many of the important vaccine establishments of the world were present, and proposals for co-ordinated studies will be presented to the Health Committee. In addition to the above, the Commissions on Opium, Education in Hygiene and Preventive Medicine, Leprosy and Fumigation of Ships met during the year, and progress was made with the work of the Commission of Expert Statisticians and the Joint Commission for the Study of the Relationship between Public Health Services and Health Insurance Organisations.

Effective help is given to sanitary police organisation by the epidemiological information supplied by the Health Organisation in ever-increasing completeness, reliability and quickness. Information received, if sufficiently important, is cabled, broadcast by wireless, and mailed daily to the different health administrations.

The work of the Eastern Bureau at Singapore, so frequently praised by delegates to previous sessions of the Assembly, continues to develop satisfactorily, thanks to the support it receives from the health administrations of Governments in that area.

Having succeeded in the rapid collection and transmission of information concerning epidemic diseases from the majority of ports in its area, the Bureau is now being furnished with intelligence of the same character relating to the hinterland of ports and of countries as a whole. The Bureau communicates this information to the health authorities concerned by means of an increasingly efficient network of wireless placed at the disposal of the Bureau by the generosity of the administrations of French Indo-China, Germany, the Netherlands East Indies, India, Japan, British North Borneo, Madagascar and Shanghai. The fact that this service is appreciated is evidenced by the action of the Governments concerned, which send yearly delegates to the Advisory Council; the majority of them contribute to the support of the Bureau, and place their wireless equipment at its disposal, in addition to supplying it with the accurate and immediate epidemic disease reports upon which depends its proper functioning. It is not too much to say that the work of the Eastern Bureau of the Health Organisation at Singapore furnishes to health administrations in that area the information needed to organise effective action against epidemic disease.

The Bureau also acts as a centre of co-ordination for the investigation of problems relating to plague and cholera, and on the suggestion of the Advisory Council, is collecting detailed information in regard to the quarantine stations of the East.

One division of the work of the Eastern Bureau to which I would call your special attention is that relating to infected ships. In the first 11 months of 1927 the Bureau received and distributed information in regard to 162 vessels having on board persons suffering from epidemic diseases. The reports which the Bureau is able to make to health administrations are becoming more timely and complete, and therefore more useful, from month to month.

In recent years the Health Organisation has extended its efforts and investigations to the rather complicated questions of social and rural hygiene.

The "interchanges" or study tours of public health and medical personnel, which provide a system of liaison with the various health administrations, have been commented on favourably from year to year by successive sessions of the Assembly, and I should like to call your special attention to the record of the past 12 months in this regard. Groups of public health officers have studied the multiple aspects of hygiene and preventive medicine in Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, India, the Netherlands, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and before the present session of the Assembly closes an interchange will have begun in Italy. Two important results are attained by these interchanges: first, the promotion of collaboration between the various health administrations

themselves as well as between them and the Health Organisation; and second, the diffusion of information concerning public health principles and practice, for something worthy of imitation will be found in the public health work of every country.

This year for the first time an "interchange" restricted to the study of problems of rural hygiene was organised. As a representative of a State that is predominately agricultural in character, I should like to pay a special tribute to the Health Organisation in this connection. The health administrations of the different countries concerned welcomed this innovation so warmly that this type of activity will probably be continued in the future. Typical rural areas in six countries of Central and Western Europe were visited by a group of 22 health officers and sanitary engineers from different countries. In each area a complete study was made of the system of public health organisation and administration, and, in addition, opportunity was given to examine the work of all other organisations, whether governmental, semi-public or private, which exert any influence on the public health. For example, questions of public instruction were studied in the public schools, the activities of co-operative organisations were reviewed, schools of agriculture were visited, problems of medical education and assistance were discussed, so that every participant in the interchange was afforded an opportunity of studying rural hygiene as a whole in the light of information concerning every agency exerting any favourable influence. A detailed comparative study was possible of rural housing, water and milk supplies, sewage and its disposal, &c. At the final conference, held in Geneva, nearly all the participants declared their intention of applying in their own districts some of the practices or methods they had studied in other countries. A study tour such as this should serve to stimulate the development of rural hygiene by the interchange of ideas and suggestions, for which it furnishes a unique opportunity, and the accumulation of a mass of common knowledge in regard to principles which should govern the application of public health measures in general.

We should, I think, congratulate the Health Organisation on its study of rural hygiene, which is so important in nearly every country.

If the Health Organisation has been able to accomplish as much in this and other fields, it is due to the collaboration of the health administrations and experts of the various States within and without the League, for which the Health Organisation acts as a co-ordinating mechanism. If the work on standards, malaria, infant mortality, rural hygiene and all the other subjects mentioned in the reports submitted to the Assembly has been successful, it is due to the generosity and collaboration of the Governments concerned, which have spared no pains to ensure the success of this international work.

I do not make any comparison between the work which is the object of our deliberations to-day and the other, what some might consider the more obviously legitimate, work of the League. But it is clear that here we have work in the accomplishment of which no national rivalries need be aroused—co-operation, not rivalry, is what is most natural—we have aims in the pursuit of which all can unite. Even from the point of view of international peace, is there not something to be gained by this? Working together for a common aim, without any of the *arrière-pensées* that may sometimes influence us in the political and economic spheres, may bring the nations closer together. There is also this factor to be borne in mind—the work that is here being accomplished is so obviously useful to humanity, to the different countries, that it is not likely to encounter the facile cynicism that the League sometimes meets in its other endeavours.

The solidity and utility of the work of the League in other spheres cannot be called in question by anyone who has a real appreciation of the present conditions of the world, but the work of this Organisation is perhaps more readily appreciated by the ordinary citizen, and well worthy of the continued support of the League.

I have the honour to propose the adoption of the following draft Resolution. (For text of Resolution adopted see page 16.)

ANNEX II.—*Report by the Second Committee on the question of Greek Refugee Settlement and Greek Stabilisation Loan.* (Rapporteur: M. François, Netherlands.)

The League's financial work for Greece falls under two heads:—

- (1) Refugee settlement; (2) financial stabilisation.

As regards the former, it is hard to imagine what would have happened in 1923 if Greece had not been able to obtain, through the League, the means of settling the mass of refugees just added to her population in numbers estimated at over 1,000,000 souls, mostly hailing from Asia Minor. The magnitude of the work accomplished by the Refugee Settlement Commission, which had been mainly responsible for settling the refugees, is not generally realised. I should like to quote in this connection a few figures from the Commission's Nineteenth Report, which gives a very full account of the results achieved up to the present.

On agricultural and urban settlement the Commission has spent altogether, not including general expenses, a total of over £9,000,000 sterling, of which nearly £8,000,000 went towards agricultural settlement and a little more than £1,000,000 towards urban settlement. It has settled more than 143,000 families in the country, while 28,000 families are living in urban dwellings built by it. It has apportioned over 8,000,000 stremmas of land. As regards rural settlement, it has built more than 58,000 houses and 4,000 more are still under construction. As regards urban settlement, the Commission has built almost 18,000 houses and 3,000 more are now under construction or will soon be begun.

The impetus which the settlement of refugees has given to the general prosperity of the country is extraordinary. To take a few instances: the area under cultivation in all Greece increased from 1.4 million stremmas in 1923-4 to nearly 2.5 millions in 1926-7. The total wheat crop rose from an average of about 600,000 tons in the years 1922-4 to over 900,000 tons in the last two harvests. The output of tobacco has doubled, having risen from 25,000,000 kilos in 1922 to an average of 60,000,000 kilos in the last year or two. Half of this tobacco crop is the produce of refugee growers.

Another result of refugee settlement is that Greek Macedonia has now a far more homogeneous population than for centuries past.

Now, after four years of hard toil, the bulk of the work of settlement is finished. To quote the Commission's report, "the main part of the undertaking has been accomplished; the large majority of refugees are settled and at work, some being engaged in production and others in trade." Nevertheless, much still remains to be done, both for the urban population, whose settlement is a problem not yet completely solved, and for the agricultural population, whose equipment could in some cases be supplemented so as to enable it to become self-supporting.

I am sure that the Assembly will desire to congratulate the Commission on the work accomplished, and to express the wish that the work that still lies before it will be carried out in the same satisfactory manner.

As regards financial stabilisation, the outstanding event has been the issue of the Stabilisation Loan.

The scheme of stabilisation was embodied in the Protocol signed on 15th September 1927, in time to come before the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session. This Protocol provided for the issue of a loan of £9,000,000 sterling, of which one-third was to be applied to assisting the refugees, one-third to paying off the budget arrears and one-third to setting up the new bank of issue. Actually, the loan was issued for a net sum of £6,500,000 sterling only, as the Greek Government has concluded an arrangement with the State and Treasury Departments of the United States for raising a loan of £12,167,000 (approximately £2,500,000 sterling), repayable in 20 years and to be applied solely to refugee settlement. The United States Congress adjourned in May without ratifying this arrangement, which cannot therefore be approved until Congress next meets in December.

The loan, which produced a net amount of £6,500,000, was successfully floated in London and New York in January 1928. The rate of interest was 6 per cent. and the rate of issue 91. This was an exceedingly good price for the Greek Government and shows the financial advantages a Government obtains by the issue of a loan under the auspices of the League of Nations.

The new bank of issue, the Bank of Greece, opened in May with a gold and foreign exchange reserve amounting to over 53 per cent. of its note circulation and other sight liabilities. The drachma was legally stabilised at 375 drachmae to the £. The Government's budget balances, though at a rather high level, so that, to assure the economic future of the country, drastic economy in public expenditure will have to be observed.

The financial stabilisation in Greece has been a great success and marks one more triumph to add to the remarkable achievements of the Financial Committee in Austria, Hungary and other countries.

I have the honour to propose to the Assembly, in the name of the Second Committee, the adoption of the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution see page 15.)

ANNEX III.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Financial Committee.* (Rapporteur: M. Suvich, Italy.)

Two of the principal questions in the sphere of finance in which the League has been active, namely, the settlement of refugees and stabilisation in Greece and Bulgaria, have been dealt with in separate reports; but the Financial Committee and the Secretariat of the League have also concerned themselves with other questions to which it seems desirable to draw the Assembly's attention.

They have had to make a thorough study of the problem of financial assistance in case of war or threat of war; before the projected plan can be continued and completed on the technical side, the Assembly will be called upon to reach decisions on certain legal and political points which are laid before it by the Third Committee.

Of the other activities of the Financial Organisation I shall merely give a brief summary, since these are either matters on which the Assembly has already expressed its views and which are developing regularly, or questions which are still in the initial stage of enquiry and will be able to be dealt with separately at subsequent Assembly sessions.

1. GRECO-BULGARIAN EMIGRATION.

In September 1927 the Council had requested the Financial Committee, if necessary, to give advice to the President of the Mixed Commission for Greco-Bulgarian emigration on the subject of the settlement of the financial obligations incurred by the Bulgarian and Greek Governments through the emigration. In December the Financial Committee helped the two Governments to draft an Agreement, which was approved by the Council and signed by these Governments. This Agreement lays down the procedure for the award of compensation by each Government to the exchanged populations for the property abandoned by them, and it also contains provisions for the settlement of the debts incumbent on each Government in that respect. The Agreement was ratified by Bulgaria in April, but has not yet been ratified by Greece.

2. FINANCIAL RESTORATION OF PORTUGAL.

At the request of the Portuguese Government, the Council, in December 1927, asked the Financial Committee and the Secretariat to study the financial situation of Portugal. A delegation from the Committee and the Secretariat went to Lisbon to investigate the situation, and at the March session the Financial Committee endeavoured to prepare, in agreement with the Portuguese Government, a programme of restoration, including the flotation of a loan.

As regards that part of the scheme which concerns the loan, the Portuguese Government did not see its way to accept the measures of control contemplated in the plan proposed by the Financial Committee, and, therefore, informed the Council that, to its great regret, it had decided not to take any further steps with regard to the loan which was to have been issued under the auspices of the League.

3. PURCHASING POWER OF GOLD.

The Council invited the Financial Committee to examine to what extent and by what means the League could most usefully assist in the study and solution of the problem of undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold.

At its session of September 1928 the Committee held a first exchange of views as to the best method of arranging for a study of the various questions involved, and requested the Secretariat to compile certain information which, in its opinion, might form a useful basis for such further study.

4. VARIOUS.

With reference to the questions connected with the loans to the Municipality and State of Danzig and the currency and banking reform in Estonia, I have much pleasure in stating that, thanks largely to the goodwill displayed by the authorities of the countries concerned, the schemes are developing on perfectly sound lines and call for no special remark.

Lastly, with regard to the employment of the balances of the Hungarian and Austrian loans, we have reached the termination of this work, which—as has already been pointed out several times at previous sessions of the Assembly—represents a definite and genuine success and a clear demonstration of the benefits that can be derived from the co-operation of States Members of the League in this field.

A mere list of the Financial Committee's operations cannot give a proper idea of its activity; the importance of the Committee's quarterly meetings is also to be seen in the close contact which membership of the Committee provides with the leaders of financial policy in many countries. Experience has demonstrated the value of these periodical exchanges of opinion.

On behalf of the Second Committee, I have the honour to propose the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution, see page 15.)

ANNEX IV.—Report by the Second Committee on the Work of the Economic Organisation. (Rapporteur: M. Loucheur, France.)

Before summarising the actual results and the programme of the economic work of the League of Nations, I should like to make a general remark on its scope and importance. The World Economic Conference of 1927 marked not merely a stage but an epoch in the development of this work. In the first years following the war, the exceptional circumstances and special necessities of the war period continued to dominate the economic policy of the nations; no rapid or immediate change was possible. If international action was required during the first period, it was not in the economic but in the financial sphere. The disorganisation of the monetary systems constituted a more serious obstacle to the work of reconstruction than any of the hindrances to be encountered in the sphere of economic policy.

During these first few years the League of Nations therefore paved the way for financial reconstruction; to-day the success of this work is manifest to us. As regards its economic work, this had perforce a more modest character, and consisted rather in preparatory investigations and work. But, in 1927, this initial period was nearly closed; the depreciation of currencies had ceased to be the most serious difficulty; it was becoming evident that the sphere of economic policy was the one in which progress was now called for. It was also recognised that in many countries the feeling was growing that action in this domain was becoming essential and urgent.

The World Economic Conference was convened in response to this feeling, the nature of the report which it drew up and the unanimous adoption of this report, as well as the approval with which its principles were greeted both by Governments and by representative industrial and economic organisations like the International Chamber of Commerce, showed that this Conference had come at the right moment, and that there really existed a powerful current of opinion calling for action in the economic sphere. The Conference did not, properly speaking, create a new force. Its main function was to reveal, display and mobilise existing forces. It was under the impulsion of a vast movement of public opinion which already existed before the Conference, but was reinforced by the latter, that the programme which is before you was drawn up. Thus the effect of the Conference has been a transformation rather than an ordinary normal development of the tasks devolving upon the Economic Organisation. It is now for us to decide whether we desire to promote or restrain this movement.

Do not expect from me a systematic and detailed summary of all the questions dealt with in the past year by the Economic Organisation. You are familiar with them, having certainly perused the parts of the report on the work of the Council which deal with this subject and the two or three other essential documents which have been circulated. I shall therefore confine myself to a rapid survey of the most important points.

1. A year ago the Assembly recognised that it was necessary to make certain modifications in the *Economic Organisation* of the League so as to provide satisfactorily for the application of the World Economic Conference's recommendations. You then laid down certain definite guiding principles, which have since been followed by the Council.

The composition of the Economic Committee was made subject to certain rules, and was reinforced by the addition of a member from the United States of America and the creation of corresponding members.

The Consultative Committee was set up in due course according to your indications. The Council decided, however, to enlarge it rather more than you had contemplated, so as to provide for an adequate representation of the different economic forces.

These two Committees have recourse, for the study of particular technical questions, to the help of experts whose duties cease once their task has been performed.

I may add that we can always rely on the help of the Financial Committee, whose work there is no need for me to praise.

Last year has shown us that, far from overlapping, the Economic Committee and the Consultative Committee perform in the same sphere two distinct and equally necessary functions.

The first-named Committee, consisting almost entirely of high officials, who come to Geneva, it is true, in a personal capacity, but exercise a direct influence on the evolution of economic policy in their respective countries, is thus admirably qualified to go into all the details of international economic problems, to work out the solutions required, to judge how far these solutions are

practicable at a particular moment and, if necessary, to induce the different Governments to give them sanction by means of international agreements.

The Consultative Committee, on the other hand, which consists of eminent personalities representing the most varied—and often even conflicting—economic tendencies and interests, and coming from 26 different countries, establishes direct touch with the most competent section of public opinion, and constitutes a centre whence each year new ideas may emerge which are likely to be of particular value as representing the views of the most varied economic circles.

Without this direct contact with “the open air,” the Economic Committee might to some extent run the risk, despite the progressive spirit of its members, of marking time. On the other hand, without the prudent and experienced guidance of the Economic Committee, the Consultative Committee might sometimes run the risk of trying to go too far. Together, however, they are like the combination of engine and steering-wheel which alone can ensure constant progress at a reasonable pace.

2. You will remember that last year you expressly asked for the preparation of a *statement of the different replies given by the Governments* in regard to their attitude to the recommendations of the Conference and of the measures taken to apply these recommendations in the different countries. You will find full particulars in document C.E.I. 45 (1) containing declarations of goodwill from a large number of Governments, and in document C.C.E. 7, prepared by the Secretariat for the Consultative Committee. The latter gives a *summary of the principal events* which occurred between May 1927 and May 1928 in the sphere of commercial policy. It enables an idea to be formed of the influence exercised in this sphere by the World Economic Conference. The same document also contains a short description of the developments which took place in the economic situation in 1927.

It would be an excellent thing if each year, when the Consultative Committee meets, the Secretariat could prepare a summary similar to that which it drew up this year. We should thus have, in the first place, an impartial and succinct review of the economic situation during the year and, in the second place, an equally impartial and succinct description of the measures taken by the Governments to meet this situation and to improve it.

3. This was also the object of the first part of the report of the Consultative Committee, which met for the first time last May.

As regards *international trade*, this Committee found that the work was already well advanced, thanks to the Economic Committee. Its task, therefore, was light; it had merely to give its approval and encouragement to the various activities that had been undertaken. In one particular domain, however, it exercised a decisive influence, by encouraging the Economic Committee to make partial efforts towards the conclusion of collective agreements for the reduction of the Customs duties applicable to certain very important categories of goods. I shall revert later to this question.

With regard to *industry*, the Consultative Committee, having found that it was impossible to give effect to certain of the Resolutions of the Economic Conference, laid down definite lines on which studies regarding international industrial understandings and the various forms of rationalisation should be conducted.

With regard to *agriculture*, the Consultative Committee preferred to await the outcome of the negotiations proceeding between the Secretary-General of the League and the President of the International Institute of Agriculture with a view to establishing closer contact between the two bodies.

Lastly, two important questions, namely, the position of the *coal and sugar industries*, were referred to the Committee itself by one of its members. At first this new departure aroused a few apprehensions, but the fact that the examination of the Consultative Committee's recommendations has been entrusted to the Economic Committee is, I think, calculated to allay these.

The Committee has often enough given evidence of its prudence, and we may be sure that it will not allow itself to be drawn into hasty conclusions or in any way fail to take into account the legitimate interests at stake, whether of producers or consumers, countries or persons.

Moreover, we know to-day that several producer and consumer countries are convinced that it is in their joint interest to have these two problems, in all their aspects, investigated without delay.

4. Last year, at this season, you expressed the wish that the *International Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions*, which was to meet a few weeks later, should put an end, by means of a collective agreement, to a regime regarded by all as one of the greatest handicaps to international trade.

Your wish was fulfilled by the Convention of 8th November 1927, completed by the Supplementary Agreement of 11th July 1928. At the present time, it has been signed by 27 countries. This large number shows how greatly the Governments appreciate this first effort to secure greater freedom in international trade.

The first Conference, held in October 1927, while recognising the principle of the abolition of prohibitions, encountered serious obstacles, and it was only by allowing some important, but fortunately temporary, exceptions in favour of specifically mentioned countries that agreement could be reached.

This state of things, however, necessitated the calling of a second Conference in July last, to deal with the claims for exceptions which the other signatory Governments had been authorised to present in the interval, and to determine the conditions under which the Convention could come into force. In particular, it was necessary to ascertain the number and names of the countries whose ratification or accession was considered indispensable if the Convention was really to be effective. I am glad to say that, at this second Conference, agreement was reached on both points, and that most of the claims for exceptions were withdrawn.

This result was greatly assisted by the meeting, in the interval between the two Conferences, of representatives of the Governments interested in the *importation and exportation of hides, skins and bones*, commodities which it seemed must inevitably form the subject of reservations in the general Convention. Not only did these representatives agree to abolish prohibitions, but they went

further, and concluded a collective agreement abolishing export duties in the case of hides and skins, and restricting the level of such duties in the case of bones.

We have before us an agreement—signed by 16 States—the importance of which exceeds that of its actual contents, inasmuch as it represents the first stage on the way to those collective agreements on Customs duties so strongly recommended by the Economic Conference. Of course, partial experiments of this kind do not in the least mean that we must relinquish the hope of arriving one day at general agreements for the lowering of Customs barriers.

After this successful experiment, the Economic Committee, encouraged by the Consultative Committee, has now embarked on further studies regarding the Customs regime now ruling for products like aluminium, iron (semi-finished products), leather, cement, timber (unlewn and sawn), cellulose and paper, fresh fruits and vegetables, rice, to see whether collective agreements can be arrived at for these commodities.

5. It is clear, however, that all efforts tending to that object are closely related to the establishment of a *simplified and standardised Customs nomenclature*.

The Economic Conference expressly recognised the close connection existing between the unification of nomenclature and the reduction of duties.

I am glad to inform you that an admirable committee of experts has succeeded, in less than a year, in drawing up the complete framework of a Customs nomenclature. This framework has been put to a practical test and has proved equal to including in its various subdivisions the different tariff items of five countries with a varied industrial production.

The experts and the Economic Committee agree with the organisations concerned to which the framework has been communicated in thinking that it may henceforward be considered as final. The Council has just communicated it to all the Governments, and we are here in presence of a concrete result of the highest importance.

The experts now propose to undertake the second part of their task, which consists in filling a few of the more important sections of their framework by means of a veritable Customs classification, so devised that it can be utilised both by countries of simple economic structure and by countries with a highly developed industry.

6. The task devolving upon the Economic Committee in regard to *commercial policy* was, in broad outline, as follows:—

- (a) Comparative examination of the various contractual methods.
- (b) Study of the most-favoured-nation clause.
- (c) Possibility of collective agreements in the matter of Customs tariffs.

Interesting conclusions have been submitted to the Council by the Economic Committee on all these questions. These conclusions will, we hope, shortly be embodied in one coherent doctrine, which can be communicated to the different countries.

The Economic Committee, finding itself confronted with two different methods—that of the *hard-and-fast tariff* on the one hand and of the *negotiable tariff* on the other—agreed that it would be a mistake to condemn or approve in too absolute a manner either of these methods. It holds that the point of real importance is the spirit in which they are applied. The Economic Committee's reports already show a tendency to reconcile these two systems. The Committee is unanimously of opinion that, while the supporters of the theory of the hard-and-fast tariff must now admit the necessity of taking into consideration the representations of other countries, the supporters of the negotiable tariff must understand in their turn the necessity of refraining from tariffs established solely for use as offensive weapons; their tariffs should be adapted as closely as possible to the real needs of the country and merely include a reasonable margin for negotiation.

As regards the *most-favoured-nation clause*, the Economic Committee may be regarded as having made good progress toward the completion of the task assigned to it by the World Economic Conference, for it has illustrated in a concrete manner the full meaning and nature of that clause, as well as defined all admissible exceptions.

Finally, in regard to the hitherto unexplored territory of *collective tariff agreements*, I told you just now that the Committee, without giving up hope of general agreements, has preferred to adopt a practical method consisting in a series of experiments with certain groups of commodities of particular importance in international trade. It is to be hoped that the Economic Committee's efforts in this direction will shortly lead to a definite result.

7. During the past year the Economic Committee has put the finishing touches to the preparation of three draft conventions: one of them deals with the unification of statistical methods, the second is intended to secure equitable treatment for foreigners and foreign enterprises, and the third aims at the unification on a large scale of laws relating to bills of exchange, promissory notes and cheques.

(a) The *Diplomatic Conference on Statistics* has been convened for 26th November next. In accordance with a practice which has hitherto given excellent results, the Conference will open on the basis of a draft convention carefully studied by the Economic Committee, assisted by competent experts. We therefore have every reason to hope that the States will agree, according to the provisions of the draft, to publish at regular intervals certain categories of statistics of special importance, and to adopt common rules for their compilation.

Studies are likewise in progress, in co-operation with the International Chamber of Commerce, for the unification of the terminology of *industrial statistics* in certain branches of production. These various measures will at a later stage give the Economic Organisation of the League the benefit of data which are genuinely comparable, thanks to which it will be able each year to follow, more satisfactorily than has hitherto been possible, the course of economic evolution, whether in connection with the production or the circulation of goods.

(b) You know that for some years past the Economic Committee, being desirous of ensuring equitable treatment for commerce in all spheres, has given its most careful attention to the *treatment of foreigners and of foreign concerns*. Its work led to the adoption of two series of recommendations which were, by decision of the Council, communicated to the different countries, but the World

Economic Conference considered that the moment had come to make a fresh step forward and to prepare a collective agreement. This was one of the tasks to which the Economic Committee, in co-operation with the International Chamber of Commerce, devoted its energy during the past year. Its effort led to the preparation of a draft convention which is now before the Governments with a view to the convening of a diplomatic conference within the course of next year.

The chief aim of this draft is to guarantee foreigners, allowed to establish themselves in the territory of any one of the contracting countries, treatment as far as possible equal to that granted to nationals. Its adoption would indubitably constitute a considerable step forward in international economic relations.

(c) The question of the *unification of legislation on bills of exchange, promissory notes and cheques* has long engaged the attention of the business world, and it was to some extent under the impulsion of public opinion that the Economic Committee resumed the study of this very complex question.

With the help of two different committees of experts, it was able to draw up draft conventions tending to bring at least partially into line the legislative systems of the Continental type. But where national legislative systems still diverge, the Economic Committee's draft supplies a remedy by means of the original conception of uniform rules for solving conflicts of laws. Moreover, these rules may be accepted by countries acceding to the agreement as well as by those remaining outside it.

8. During the Conference on the Abolition of Prohibitions and Restrictions, it was found that countries which exported animals and plants experienced a certain amount of difficulty in acceding to a general agreement which gave them no guarantee against the rigorous and—as it often appeared to them—unjustified application of certain import prohibitions or restrictions imposed for the *protection of animals and plants against disease*.

On the other hand, certain States emphasise with reason the necessity for improving and multiplying defensive measures against diseases. Keeping both these points of view in mind, the Economic Committee submitted the first of the two questions to a committee of experts which has already published a striking report on the organisation of veterinary services, and which is now making a critical study of the veterinary frontier measures in force. The completion of these investigations would be a definite step towards the greater freedom of trade recommended by the Economic Conference.

9. You will remember that the last session of the Assembly opened for the signature of all States a Convention for securing the execution of foreign *arbitral awards*. As you know, this Convention is closely connected with the Protocol on Arbitration Clauses which was also opened for signature by the Assembly in 1923.

This protocol has been ratified by 19 States, without counting the accession of Great Britain on behalf of most of her Colonies. The 1927 Convention has already been signed by 11 States.

In order that the position in this connection may be really satisfactory, it is to be hoped that the States which, in ratifying the 1923 Protocol, showed their interest in the question will proceed without delay to ratify the 1927 Convention, since the latter is intended to ensure the execution of arbitral awards, while the 1923 Protocol only establishes their validity.

10. In accordance with a resolution adopted by the last ordinary session of the Assembly, the Secretariat has distributed to the various Governments a pamphlet giving an outline of the *direct or indirect methods* by which a *foreign buyer* can satisfy himself of the quality of goods bought by him in the various countries.

The particulars contained in this pamphlet are, it is true, incomplete, but its aim was mainly to direct the attention of Governments to the utility of a publication of this kind, both in importing and exporting countries.

There is reason to hope that it will soon be possible, with the co-operation of the Governments, to publish a fuller and more correct account of these measures.

11. In one of its general resolutions the Economic Conference emphasised the relation which exists between economic policy and peace. The Consultative Committee, in its turn, recommended that a preliminary study should be made of the economic tendencies affecting the peace of the world.

The importance of this question, which is directly related to the first of the Conference's two objects—that of bringing about conditions favourable to peace—is obvious, and it seems desirable that, apart from the practical work already discussed and decided upon by the Economic Committee, a preliminary study of this question of principle should be undertaken by the Economic and Financial Organisation.

As you see, we have before us a large body of definite results which give evidence both of the effectiveness of the methods followed by the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations and the care it bestows on the execution of these tasks. I am sure that the Assembly will desire to express its high appreciation, and this will constitute the best encouragement for the Organisation to continue its work.

The Second Committee has the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft Resolutions. (For text of Resolutions see page 13.)

ANNEX V.—Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly on the question of Bulgarian Refugee Settlement and Bulgarian Stabilisation Loan. (Rapporteur: M. Philippe Roy, Delegate of Canada).

I.—BULGARIAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT.

Thanks to a loan of £2,250,000 issued under the auspices of the League of Nations in the winter of 1926, the plan for the settlement of Bulgarian refugees has now been in operation for two years.

We may say without hesitation that the results achieved during these two years are highly satisfactory, and the experience that has been gained justifies the hope that this admirable humanitarian work, which is, moreover, such an important contribution to the pacification of the Balkans, will be brought to a successful conclusion under the conditions contemplated in the Protocol signed at Geneva in September 1926.

At the outset there were grave difficulties, particularly in procuring land for the refugees. Such difficulties were probably unavoidable in a country where the land survey is extremely defective and titles to land are often disputed: your *rapporteur* last year alluded to this position. The League of Nations Commissioner thinks, however—and M. S. Sarafov, Director-General of Refugee Settlement, agrees—that, at the present rate of progress, approximately 90 per cent. of the refugees will have been furnished with land by the end of this year. That means that these refugees will have been finally given the plots of land on which they are to settle, and that their title can never more be disputed, for they will be in possession of plans and title-deeds establishing their rights.

The remaining families—between 3,000 and 4,000, if we hold to the total number of families to be settled (33,000) as originally specified in the settlement plan—will be established on lands reclaimed for cultivation by marsh drainage and flood protection works.

It is obvious enough that the distribution of land forms the essential basis of the settlement, and must precede other forms of assistance such as the erection of houses and the provision of equipment, cattle, &c.

The League Commissioner states, in his eighth report, dated 1st August, that more than 2,000 houses have already been, or will shortly be, completed, and that large quantities of equipment and draught animals have been distributed.

In his quarterly reports, the League Commissioner rightly devotes a section to health, making special reference to the malaria campaign which he has undertaken with the help of the Bulgarian health authorities.

In December 1926 the Council was seriously alarmed by the risks attendant upon the settlement of refugees in those parts of Bulgaria where malaria was specially prevalent. The information given by the Commissioner in his last report, and the figures he supplies, are most reassuring. He states that "not the least valuable result is the disappearance of the fear, at first very widespread among the refugees, of being established in areas which they regarded as hardly fit to live in owing to the acute prevalence of malaria. This fear has now given way to increasing confidence in the methods of palliating, if not completely eradicating, the disease."

The progress that has been made is due to the methods suggested by the experts whom the Health Section has on several occasions sent to Bulgaria. Here we have a valuable example of the results of co-operation between technical organs of the League.

Another factor, the importance of which cannot be too greatly emphasised, is the assistance given by the Rockefeller Foundation in this field. This admirable institution, which has already in several fields earned the League's gratitude, has this year set up an anti-malaria demonstration centre in Bulgaria. As you are aware, it has acquired considerable experience in this direction through its untiring activity in various countries, and we may be sure that its aid in the work already undertaken will be of inestimable value.

The League Commissioner, M. Charron, has given the Second Committee a very vivid and detailed description of his work. Considerable difficulties have yet to be overcome, some of them inherent in the nature of the work and some arising out of local circumstances; but it has given us great satisfaction to hear that co-operation on the part of the Bulgarian authorities has always been forthcoming. M. Charron has described to us in very striking terms the state of mind of these thousands of families who have been in Bulgaria for years and have never been able to settle down in permanent homes. This work of international co-operation has given them the longed-for plot of ground, the house, and the means of earning a living. Bitterness and regret have given place to happiness and confidence in the future.

Hearing the statement made by M. Charron, the League's Commissioner, and reading his reports, the Committee has realised to how great an extent the success and the lasting character of the work accomplished are due to our Commissioner and to M. Sarafov, Head of the Bulgarian Refugee Settlement Department, and to their staff. I should like to express in this report our high appreciation of the ability and devotion with which they have carried on their work during the year that has elapsed since our last meeting.

II.—STABILISATION LOAN.

It is interesting to note that, in the case of Bulgaria as in the case of Greece, the Government, having sought the help of League organisations in attacking a special problem such as that of refugees, has gone on from this to seek further collaboration for a wider scheme of financial reconstruction and currency stabilisation. The details of the scheme for Bulgaria are described in the annual report to the Assembly. It follows in the main the principles applied successfully in previous schemes. The provisions made include the liquidation of budget arrears from past years, the reduction of the State debt to the National Bank in order to make possible the stabilisation of the currency, the reorganisation of the National Bank and the nomination of a technical adviser by the Council of the League of Nations, and the construction of certain roads and railways on a carefully prepared plan by the Bulgarian Government, with the assistance of an expert recommended by the Transit Organisation of the League. A part of the loan is also devoted to strengthening the position of the Agricultural Bank and of the Central Co-operative Bank. The most interesting point in the scheme has been the provision regarding the Bank of Issue, which is, at present, a State Bank. This matter gave rise to some difficulties at one time, but arrangements have now been made whereby a technical adviser to the National Bank, who is to be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, will continue in office for not less than two years after the transformation of the bank into a share company.

The amount required for all these purposes is £4.5 millions sterling, allocated as follows:—

	£
National Bank - - - - -	1,500,000
Agricultural Bank - - - - -	500,000
Central Co-operative Bank - - - - -	150,000
Budget arrears - - - - -	1,100,000
Roads and Railways - - - - -	1,250,000
	£4,500,000

The service of the loan is secured upon the Customs, which have been freed for this purpose to the extent required from prior treaty charges (reparations, &c.). If the assigned revenues fall below 150 per cent. of the annual sum required, further revenues shall be called for. Trustees are to be appointed by the Council of the League.

The whole scheme has been approved by the Council, embodied in a Protocol and signed by the Bulgarian Government, and it is to be expected that the loan will shortly be issued. Since the annual reports to the Assembly were issued, a meeting of the Financial Committee has been held, which recommended the Council to increase the above amount to £5 millions sterling, the additional sum to be employed in connection with the earthquakes which ravaged parts of Bulgaria during the spring of 1928.

The preparation of the present scheme has been the main achievement of the Financial Committee during the past year, and the Committee and the Bulgarian Government are to be congratulated on having made one more valuable contribution to the progressive financial and economic stabilisation of Europe, with all its important consequences in promoting a sense of political security and pacification.

On behalf of the Second Committee, I have the honour to propose that the Assembly should adopt the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution see page 15.)

ANNEX VI.—*Report of the Second Committee on the question of Relations between the League of Nations and Institutes or Bodies set up under its Authority.* (Rapporteur: Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid, Germany.)

The Second Committee has considered the questions connected with the relations between the League and the institutes and bodies set up under its authority.

The Committee noted with satisfaction that the Council, at its meeting on 7th June 1928, approved a report submitted by the Chinese representative, defining in precise terms what should be the nature of the relations between the League and the institutes and bodies set up under its authority. The Committee is of opinion that the Assembly may congratulate the Council on having thus cleared up in a satisfactory manner a question which, in the development of international life, has come to play an increasingly important part in the accomplishment of the League's work.

The report adopted by the Council treats exhaustively of both aspects of the question. It deals first with the application of the general principles to be followed in placing international bureaux under the direction of the League—that is, with the application of Article 24 of the Covenant—and, secondly, with the general rules which might in the future govern the acceptance of international institutes by the League.

The Committee considers it superfluous to summarise in its report to the Assembly the principles laid down in the first part of the Council's report, on the application of Article 24 of the Covenant. They are set forth in great detail, and any abbreviation might distort the meaning of the original text, which all the Members of the Assembly have before them. The Committee desires, however, to state that it is in full agreement with the principles indicated by the Council for the application of the Article in question. These principles provide a solid foundation for fruitful co-operation between the League and the international bureaux, as contemplated in the Covenant. While retaining their constitutional autonomy, these bodies would function more or less as extensions of the League itself within limited specialised fields. It would be for the League to see that these organisations preserved their international character and that their work was carried on efficiently and did not overlap the work of other institutions. If conceived and carried through on these lines and the placing of an international bureau under the direction of the League can do nothing but good to both parties.

The second part of the report aims at defining the rules which might govern in future the acceptance of international institutes offered to the League of Nations. The Assembly will recall the generous offers made by the French and Italian Governments, which have led to the creation of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, the Institute for the Unification of Private Law and the Educational Cinematographic Institute. It is probable that further similar offers will be made to the League with the object of providing for the accomplishment of other work of general concern through international co-operation.

It has therefore been thought desirable to establish here and now certain general rules which would apply in such contingencies. The rules proposed to us by the Council are based upon a fundamental principle: "The object of the institute must come within the sphere of activity of the League of Nations, the institute serving as a working instrument." The Council's report continues: "The adoption of the principle suggested at the beginning of this clause must obviously have a restrictive effect on offers of institutes to the League, but this restriction appears to be not only in keeping with the intention of the Assembly resolution but even desirable in itself, in that it affords a definite solution of the question and precludes all danger of ambiguity." The Second Committee cannot but adopt these views. Like the Council, it is particularly anxious that any institute that may be established should be attached to an advisory technical League organisation—this being fully justified by analogy with the procedure adopted by the League for all technical activities. Moreover, it is supported by all the available precedents, as may be seen from the statutes and regulations of the three institutes of this kind already in existence.

The Second Committee therefore feels that it is able to agree to the report adopted by the Council. It would, however, prefer that, when an institute of this kind is created, its financial status should also be examined, with a view to ascertaining whether the institute possesses sufficient funds to allow of the effective fulfilment of the international duties entrusted to it. Moreover, to meet two special points raised by its members, the Committee suggests that the following additions should be made to the report :—

- (1) After the words "provision should be made for a governing body" insert the words "which will meet at regular intervals."
- (2) Insert the following sentence at the end of para. (c): "care should be taken that the nomination of members, both to the governing body and the superior staff, be made without distinction of sex and to correspond with the international character of the institute."

In view of the foregoing observations, the Second Committee feels justified in proposing the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution see page 17.)

ANNEX VII.—*Report of the Third Committee on the question of Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant.* (Rapporteur: His Excellency M. N. Politis, Greece.)

Among the tasks assigned to the Committee on Arbitration and Security by the Assembly resolution of 26th September 1927, which provided for the Committee's appointment, was "the systematic preparation of the machinery to be employed by the organs of the League of Nations with a view to enabling the Members of the League to perform their obligations under the various articles of the Covenant (Resolution V, No. 3, para. 5)."

The Committee on Arbitration and Security decided to begin with the study of Articles 10, 11 and 16, keeping in mind the possibility of co-ordinating them with other articles later.

It selected these articles as being the ones which have most engaged the attention of the organs of the League hitherto. But the Committee had no intention of restricting its future field of action. On the contrary, it resolved to devote its attention later to other clauses of the Covenant, especially the provision of Article 13, para. 4, which lays down that, in the event of failure to carry out arbitral or judicial awards, "the Council shall propose what steps shall be taken to give effect thereto." In the course of its work the Committee more than once had occasion to appreciate the peculiar importance of this provision. It realised that, in the absence of a complete system of sanctions, the development of compulsory arbitration would be greatly assisted by Article 13, para. 4, a thorough study of which should be embarked upon as soon as possible.

Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant were first discussed in an important memorandum by M. Rutgers, who endeavoured to determine their meaning and practical bearings.

It was forcibly demonstrated by the author that, first and foremost, in order to fulfil its essential mission for the maintenance of peace, the League must prevent war; that the application of measures of repression should only be contemplated in extreme cases when preventive measures had failed; that, as an effective means of ensuring the peace of the world, Article 10 was of greater significance than Article 16, the more so as, if applied conscientiously and fully, Article 11 would facilitate any application that might be made of Article 16, inasmuch as the procedure of Article 11 enabled the Council to follow the development of the dispute, and so obtain grounds for the decisions which it might be called upon to take under Article 16—in particular, as regards the determination of the aggressor, the Council would be guided very largely by the degree and manner in which the conflicting parties had lent themselves to the action previously taken by it under the Covenant, and especially under Article 11, for the purpose of maintaining peace.

It was argued further that a hard-and-fast definition of the terms "aggression" (Article 10) and "resort to war" (Article 16) would be dangerous, for it might oblige the Council and Members of the League to decide that there had been a breach of the Covenant, and thus bring sanctions into play at a time when it would be better not to take measures of coercion. Moreover, there would be the risk of setting up criteria which, in unforeseen circumstances, might lead to the designation of a State which, in actual fact, was not responsible for the hostilities.

The memorandum considered further that it would be helpful, in the case of resort to war, if the Council delivered an opinion as to whether there was or was not a breach of the Covenant and declared which of the two conflicting parties had broken the Covenant; and lastly, that the preparation of the military sanctions provided for in Article 16 did not seem likely to promote the growth of mutual confidence between the States Members of the League, unless, at the same time, pacific procedures were organised for the settlement of all international differences, and a general understanding was reached for the reduction and limitation of armaments.

The above ideas, together with those embodied in the memoranda on arbitration and security, were summarised in the introduction which the three rapporteurs, in agreement with the Chairman of the Committee, placed at the beginning of their report.

They gave rise to a detailed discussion, in the course of which two currents of opinion came to light, one emphasising the degree of security provided by the Covenant and the other laying stress on its inadequacy. Eventually the Committee adopted a resolution in the following terms :—

- "The Committee on Arbitration and Security :
 "After studying the introduction to the memoranda on arbitration, security, and the articles of the Covenant submitted by the Chairman,
 "Declares its concurrence in the views therein expressed that :
 "(1) The Covenant itself creates a measure of security which needs to be appreciated at its full value, and that its articles are capable of being applied in such a way that in the majority of cases they can prevent war ;
 "(2) The common will for peace of the States Members of the Council can be exercised effectively within the framework of the Covenant, all the more so because that instrument does not provide any rigid code of procedure for the settlement of international crises, and that it is, therefore, inexpedient to attempt to draw up in advance a complete list of measures for preserving international peace ;

- "(3) For those States which seek more effective guarantees of security, side by side with an extension of the machinery for the pacific settlement of their international disputes, the conclusion of security pacts with other States in the same geographical area constitutes one of the most practical forms of supplementary guarantee which it is at present possible to recommend."

After discussing M. Rutgers' memorandum at its second session, the Committee, at its third session, adopted in regard to Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant a resolution in which it gave its approval to the main conclusions of this document, in terms expressing the various shades of opinion which had been manifested in the course of the debates.

Subject to the observations made in the present report, the Third Committee has felt able to subscribe entirely to views expressed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security in regard to Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant.

It therefore proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution see page 21.)

ANNEX VIII.—*Report of the Third Committee on the question of a Wireless Station to be created with a view to providing the League of Nations with Independent Communications in Time of Emergency.* (Rapporteur: His Excellency M. Guerrero, Salvador.)

The Committee, after examining the question of the wireless station to be created with a view to providing the League of Nations with independent communications in time of emergency, is of opinion that it is not advisable to recommend an immediate decision to the Assembly on this subject.

Two proposals were laid before the Assembly, one providing for a station belonging permanently to the League and the other a station consisting of a short-wave and a medium-wave post to be equipped and operated in ordinary times by the Swiss Administration, and to be handed over in time of emergency to the exclusive control of the League of Nations. Both these proposals were submitted to the Members of the League in the Supplementary Report of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit, dated 8th August, and in the Swiss Federal Government's note and memorandum, dated 21st August. It has not been possible for the majority of the Governments, and particularly for those of States Members of the League situated at a distance, to give these proposals full consideration.

We also considered that supplementary studies might with advantage be undertaken to determine, in the case of each proposal, the cost of installing the short-wave post, the amount of revenue to be anticipated therefrom, and the communications which could be regularly established with other stations. It would also be desirable, before adopting a decision whether it is necessary for the League to have, in time of emergency, a short-wave station at its disposal, to obtain more definite information as to the facilities and guarantees which the Governments might offer for the safe retransmission of communications emitted by a medium-wave post.

A study, in the interval between this session and the next, of the legal questions to which the use in time of emergency of a wireless station might give rise also appears desirable.

The Committee has noted that, pending the final settlement of the question, the Swiss Government proposes to establish near Geneva the medium-wave post contemplated in its offer. The Swiss Government does not, however, see its way to applying to this medium-wave post alone, which it intends to set up in any case, the terms of its offer relating both to this medium-wave post and the short-wave post, the costs and profits of which were to be taken over by the League of Nations. It should, however, be added that the Swiss delegation expressed the intention of recommending the Swiss Federal Council to agree with the League of Nations as to the terms of a *modus vivendi* which, in the Swiss delegation's opinion, would effectively ensure the full freedom of communications of the League of Nations both in time of peace and in time of emergency.

The Committee proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft Resolution. (For text of Resolution see page 23.)

ANNEX IX.—*Report of the Third Committee on the Work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.* (Rapporteur: His Excellency Dr. Benes, Czecho-Slovakia.)

In order to give an absolutely clear idea of the present state of the preparatory work for the Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments, I think it may be well to recall very briefly the substance of the discussions which took place during the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly in regard to the problem of the reduction and limitation of armaments and to link it up with the discussions of the present Assembly.

It will be remembered that at the last ordinary session of the Assembly all the delegations agreed that the Preparatory Commission's work should be continued, that nothing should be neglected to bring it to a successful conclusion as soon as possible, and that the Conference itself should be convened as soon as the conclusion of the preliminary technical work permitted. But at the same time it was unanimously recognised that the great work of disarmament can only be carried out gradually and by stages, and that it will mainly depend on the progress achieved simultaneously in the matter of security.

The Resolutions adopted on 26th September 1927 were based on these two main ideas. In the first place, they led to the creation of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, which has done valuable work, dealt with in the reports submitted to the present Assembly by M. Guerrero, M. Politis and M. Rolin Jaequemyns. In the second place, as regards the Preparatory Commission itself, the 1927 Assembly, in the same Resolutions, had "requested the Council to urge the Preparatory Commission to hasten the completion of its technical work and to convene the Conference on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments immediately this work had been completed."

Since the last ordinary session of the Assembly, the Preparatory Commission has met on two occasions. At its fourth session, which took place from 30th November to 3rd December 1927, it set up the Commission on Arbitration and Security, which immediately set to work. At its fifth session, which was held from 15th to 24th March 1928, it was forced to realise that the general situation necessitated a fresh adjournment. But it hoped to be able to hold a meeting soon, and therefore decided to leave its President free to fix, according to circumstances, the date at which it would be practically useful to convene a new session of the Commission, in order to proceed to the second reading of its preliminary draft Convention. It also expressed the hope that the next session would begin at the earliest suitable date and, if possible, before the present session of the Assembly.

It should be mentioned that, during these two sessions, the President of the Preparatory Commission addressed an urgent appeal to the Governments whose opinions differed most widely, asking them to endeavour to bring their views closer into line by means of diplomatic negotiations. Since then the British and French Governments have announced that, in pursuance of this invitation of the President of the Preparatory Commission, they have entered into negotiations which have led to an agreement on the solution of certain technical problems raised by the Preparatory Commission's work. Nevertheless, considering that the situation had not yet developed sufficiently to allow of the desired result being attained, the President did not feel justified in convening the Preparatory Commission before the beginning of the Assembly.

Such was the position when the general discussion began in the plenary meetings of this year's Assembly and in the Third Committee.

This discussion showed that the delegations have remained true to their views as expressed at the last Assembly, and that there exists a unanimous desire for the work of disarmament to be carried through as rapidly as possible. Nevertheless, various delegations have drawn attention to the manifold difficulties which must inevitably attend a task of such wide scope. They pointed out, moreover, that, notwithstanding these difficulties, the general situation is tending to develop on the lines laid down in Article 8 of the Covenant, certain States having already spontaneously reduced their armaments to a considerable extent. Other delegations expressed the view that the progress of the preparatory work and the results hitherto achieved could hardly be regarded as satisfactory.

Two draft Resolutions, one submitted by the French delegation and the other by the German delegation, were laid before the Third Committee. Both drafts referred to the close connection existing between international security and the reduction and limitation of armaments, and both stated that the present conditions of security were such as to allow of a first step being taken towards disarmament. In the French delegation's proposal, however, it was considered essential that the efforts of the Governments concerned to remove the technical differences which have hitherto hampered the work of the Preparatory Commission should be pursued and completed before the Commission was summoned, so as to enable the latter to meet with the best prospects of final success. Accordingly, the Council was requested in this draft to make an earnest appeal to the Governments to seek agreed solutions which would enable the work of the Preparatory Commission to be speedily resumed and brought to a successful issue. The draft concluded by proposing that the Assembly should express the hope that these solutions might be arrived at in sufficient time to enable the Commission to meet at the end of the present year or, should this not be feasible, at the beginning of 1929.

On the other hand, the German delegation's proposal, while recognising the importance and desirability of direct negotiations between the Governments concerned, expressed the opinion that, in the event of the failure of such negotiations, the Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments should itself decide any questions which had still to be settled. Accordingly to this draft, the Assembly was therefore to request the Council to fix a date in 1929 for the meeting of the Conference, while leaving it to the President of the Preparatory Commission to convene the Commission at such time as would enable the programme of the Conference to be drawn up.

The Third Committee took these two drafts together as the basis of its discussion and considered in detail every aspect of the problem. The discussion was long and difficult, but thanks to the spirit of conciliation and co-operation animating the delegations concerned, it was found possible to reconcile the different points of view to a considerable extent, so as to enable the Committee to submit the following findings and proposals to the Assembly.

In the first place, the Committee was unanimous in thinking that the present situation was such as to allow of definite results being obtained in connection with a first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments.

In point of fact, the general political situation is continually improving. The Covenant of the League of Nations, the Treaties of Peace, particularly the reductions effected in the armaments of certain countries as the result of these treaties, and the Locarno Agreements, have created conditions of security which make it possible to contemplate the conclusion of a General Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Moreover, the situation may further improve for those countries which regard their present degree of security as insufficient, when they have put the proposals of the Committee on Arbitration and Security into effect, as it is hoped they will do.

Furthermore, the various difficulties which have hitherto held up the Preparatory Commission's work are beginning to diminish. As an instance of this, we may mention the efforts recently made by certain Governments to prepare the ground for the future work of the Commission. It seems clear that, if other efforts of this kind were made to settle current difficulties, the chances of success of the Preparatory Commission's next meeting would be considerably increased. The Assembly will doubtless, therefore, express the hope that the Governments concerned will take steps in this direction as soon as possible, and suggest to the Council that it might ask the President of the Preparatory Commission to keep in touch with the Governments concerned with a view to acquainting himself with the progress of their negotiations and to convening the Commission as soon as possible.

The Third Committee did not consider that a definite date could be given for the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission. Moreover, the Assembly is not called upon to give explicit instructions to the Preparatory Commission, which includes non-Member States, seeing that the Commission has itself instructed its President to fix the date of its next meeting. All the members of the Assembly, however, will wish this meeting to be held at the end of the present year, or at all

events at the beginning of 1929. The President of the Preparatory Commission, expressing the Commission's view, has interpreted this desire as, in any case, imposing on him the obligation to convene the Preparatory Commission, but at the same time as allowing him a certain discretion in fixing the actual date—which is essential if the danger of interrupting negotiations which might be in progress, with good prospects of success, is to be avoided.

With regard to the convening of the Conference for the limitation and reduction of armaments itself, the general impression in the Third Committee was that at the close of the session's work, which in these circumstances will be reached at the end of the present year or at the beginning of 1929, the Preparatory Commission will certainly think it desirable to make a general report to the Council of the possibilities of the First General Conference and the date at which it might be held.

The importance and utility of this first stage should not, however, obscure the fact that the work for the reduction and limitation of armaments calls for arduous, protracted and continuous efforts. It should, therefore, be clearly emphasised here and now that the work of the Preparatory Commission and of the Committee on Arbitration and Security will have to be systematically pursued so as to render possible at later stages the gradual limitation and reduction of armaments in proportion to the growth of security.

The Third Committee, therefore, has the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution see page 18.)

ANNEX X.—*Report of the Third Committee on the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, Non-Aggression and Mutual Assistance.* (Rapporteur: M. N. Politis, Greece.)

Among the tasks assigned to the Committee on Arbitration and Security under the Assembly Resolution of 26th September 1927 is "Action by the League of Nations with a view to promoting, generalising and co-ordinating special or collective agreements on arbitration and security."

The Committee on Arbitration and Security prepared two groups of model treaties in this connection, one relating to arbitration and conciliation, and the other to non-aggression and mutual assistance.

Each group of model treaties was accompanied by an introductory note and two resolutions, one regarding the submission and recommendation of the model treaties in question, and the other regarding the good offices of the Council. Moreover, the Committee on Arbitration and Security adopted a resolution concerning the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

I.

As regards the model treaties of arbitration and conciliation and the draft resolution regarding the submission and recommendations of these models, the Third Committee asked the First Committee for a legal opinion. In order to facilitate liaison between the two Committees, a Sub-Committee was constituted, consisting of members appointed by each of those two Committees, and this Sub-Committee considered in detail the model treaties in question.

The Committee on Arbitration and Security had prepared six model Conventions for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, i.e. three model general conventions and three model bilateral conventions.

A prior question arose in regard to the general conventions, i.e. how to establish between them the indispensable connection which was lacking. Two methods were contemplated by the First Committee—a common Protocol linking up the three conventions, and the fusion of these conventions into a single instrument. After exhaustive consideration, the Sub-Committee adopted the second method, which appeared to it to be the more practicable, and drew up a General Act (Annex I)* which was approved by the First Committee. This instrument in no way impairs the value of the three conventions; rather it increases their value as regards the simplicity of the system and the elasticity of the undertakings. The General Act consists of four chapters, the first three of which reproduce the distinctive provisions of the three Conventions C, B and A, while the fourth combines the general provisions of these conventions. The General Act is open to the accession of States, and may be accepted by them in whole or in part (Article 38).

The elasticity which the Committee on Arbitration and Security desired to give to the system of the three conventions is maintained, and even increased, in the General Act. Not only does the latter give States a possibility of limiting their engagements (Article 38) and of making reservations (Article 39)—the regulations relating to which have been revised and made more explicit—but it also allows of the scope of the engagements already entered into being extended at any moment or of the reservations made being abandoned (Article 40). The General Act also allows of partial denunciation, which may consist in the notification of new reservations (Article 43).

Thus, while retaining the character of a law capable of becoming universal, the General Act lends itself by the diversity of its provisions to an infinite variety of situations and requirements.

It further preserves the essential character which the Committee on Arbitration and Security had finally given to the three conventions. Like these conventions, it is not a draft which requires to be negotiated upon, or to receive signatures, in order to become an effective instrument. It is a document which can be converted into a convention as soon as it is accepted in its entirety or in part by two States. It will remain open indefinitely for the accession of all other States. Naturally, it is assumed that Governments will first secure the parliamentary approval necessary under their respective national constitutions, and that, in this way, the accessions will become valid.

The provisions of the General Act resulting from the fusion of the three conventions have been modified in certain points, in view of the observations made by various delegations.

Among the most important of these changes, mention should be made of the following:—

- (1) The choice of the members of the Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Chapter III in the case of disagreement among the parties (Article 23). This change was effected for the purpose of ensuring still more completely the impartiality of the Tribunal.

* Not printed.

- (2) The deletion of the reservation regarding constitutional principles (Article 39). The reasons which led to this reservation being omitted are that it would have created inequality as between States possessing different constitutional systems and also that what is essential in this reservation can be safeguarded by the provisions of para. (c) in the same article.
- (3) The addition to the above-mentioned para. (c) in Article 39 of a reference to disputes concerning "specific subject-matters." This would enable States which have concluded conciliation treaties with other States, and which do not desire, as regards these States, to enter into undertakings concerning judicial or arbitral settlement, to assume such undertakings with other States by acceding to the General Act.

Other amendments were proposed, but were not adopted, such as:—

- (1) The definition and enforcement of the term "reasonable time" in Article 31, para. 1. It is, indeed, impossible to indicate what a "reasonable time" might be under the different national laws of the various countries, in view of the variety of the judicial systems and the practice of different States. Moreover, Article 39, under which all disputes regarding the interpretation and application of the General Act are submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice, provides the means for dealing with any possible abuses.
- (2) The addition to Article 39 of a provision whereby, should one party accede with reservations, any other party which has already acceded would be entitled, within a very short period, to indicate reservations which would be valid solely in its relations with the above-mentioned party. This addition would have seriously complicated the general structure of the system; and have led in practice to inextricable difficulties.

From another point of view the proposals of the Committee on Arbitration and Security continue unchanged. By framing three model bilateral conventions in addition to the three model general conventions, the Committee did not intend to indicate any preference as between these two classes of treaty. They were submitted simultaneously to take account of the two tendencies which had appeared in the course of the Committee's work, i.e. one favourable to general engagements and the other to particular engagements. Their simultaneous presentation thus constituted, as between these two tendencies, a compromise which continued to be respected. Nevertheless, the framing of the General Act caused certain misgivings in this respect. The First Committee desired to remove them by categorical statements contained in the draft resolution accompanying these documents. Three model bilateral conventions are annexed to this draft resolution, in addition to the General Act; and it is stated in the resolution that countries which prefer particular agreements may conclude such agreements either by using the model bilateral conventions or by concluding their agreements on other bases.

The draft resolution further includes the substance of the preamble to the three general conventions and of the draft resolution relating thereto: clauses taken from the provisions of the three general conventions regarding the action of the League of Nations (No. 7) which it seemed preferable to separate from the actual text of the General Act, so as to allow of this Act meeting the case of States, not Members of the League of Nations. During the course of the discussion in Committee this clause was modified so as to dispel certain apprehensions. It was understood that the action of the Council did not entail the interruption of any procedure which had been begun and the particular circumstances of this action should be subjected to a further detailed study. Finally, two provisions, one of which (No. 9) provided for the communication of the General Act and of the model bilateral conventions to States Members of the League of Nations and to such States non-Members of the League as may be indicated by the Council, and the other (No. 10) providing for the preparation by the Secretariat of the League of a list of the general or particular engagements contracted, to enable all of them to follow the future progress of the procedure for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

The Third Committee also examined the draft resolution for the Assembly, drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, concerning the good offices of the Council with a view to the conclusion of treaties on the pacific settlement of international disputes. It adopted this draft with a slight addition in the last paragraph to bring it into line with the corresponding draft resolution concerning the good offices of the Council with a view to the conclusion of treaties of mutual assistance and non-aggression.

The Third Committee therefore has the honour to submit to the Assembly for approval the two following draft Resolutions. (For text of Resolutions see page 20.)

II.

As regards the question of non-aggression and mutual assistance, the Committee on Arbitration and Security has drawn up three model treaties (Annex 3),* namely, a model collective treaty of mutual assistance, a model collective treaty of non-aggression, and a model bilateral treaty of non-aggression. These model treaties contain, in Chapter II, stipulations concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes. These stipulations are broadly similar to the corresponding stipulations in the General Act and in the model bilateral conventions for the pacific settlement of disputes.

The principles of these model treaties concerning non-aggression and mutual assistance were explained in the introductory note drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

It will be seen from this note that the model treaties do not provide for mutual assistance by the contracting parties in the case of aggression by a third State. This note indicated that it had been decided to insert in the said models only clauses of a general character likely to be accepted in a treaty of this kind. Care was taken to indicate a certain number of particular clauses which might be found useful in certain circumstances. Such are, for example, the clauses relative to flagrant aggression and to demilitarised zones.

- (1) As regards the clause concerning flagrant aggression, it has been proposed to accept as a general rule in treaties of mutual assistance a clause similar to Article 4, para. 3 of the Rhine Pact of Locarno. This clause reads as follows:—

"In the case of a flagrant violation of Article 1 of the present Treaty by one of the High Contracting Parties, each of the other Contracting Parties hereby undertakes immediately to

* Not printed.

come to the help of the Party against which such a violation or breach has been directed, as soon as the said Power has been able to satisfy itself that this violation constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression and that, by reason either of the crossing of the frontier or the outbreak of hostilities, immediate action is necessary. Nevertheless, the Council of the League of Nations, when officially informed of the question in accordance with the first paragraph of this article, will issue its findings, and the High Contracting Parties undertake to act in accordance with the recommendations of the Council, provided that they are concurred in by all the members other than the representatives of the Parties which have engaged in hostilities."

Certain States attach particular importance, in the case of a flagrant aggression, to the promise of assistance before action is taken by the Council. But it was also thought that it would be wiser not to recommend the system adopted at Locarno and that the examination of the special circumstances of each case will allow it to be decided whether the clause in question should be inserted in a given treaty or not.

(2) In the same way, as regards the establishment of demilitarised zones, it was recognised that, while they are often capable of giving the nations concerned a greater sense of security, this is not always the case. Here, again, all depends on circumstances. If the contracting parties or some of them consider it useful to establish such zones on their frontiers, they may do so by means of special conventions.

During the discussion before the Third Committee, it was suggested that it might be well for the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference or the Committee on Arbitration and Security, to draw up model regulations for demilitarised zones. Such a model might no doubt greatly facilitate negotiations between States who were prepared to establish a zone or zones along their frontiers. In the proceedings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union we already possess interesting suggestions in this connection, in particular a preliminary draft of "General Regulations" for demilitarised zones, voted by the Union at its conference at Washington in 1923.

The Third Committee decided to amend slightly the draft Resolution prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security for the submission and recommendation of the treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance. To meet the wish expressed by certain delegations, the Third Committee added the reference to the explanations given in the introductory note drawn up by the aforesaid Committee.

It also completed the same Committee's draft Resolution regarding the good offices of the Council with a view to the conclusion of treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance. It did this with the object of making it clearer that in such cases the Council's intervention could only be sought by one of the parties concerned.

The Third Committee, therefore, has the honour to submit for the approval of the Assembly the following draft Resolutions. (For text of Resolutions, see page 20.)

III.

The Committee on Arbitration and Security recommends that a draft Resolution concerning the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice be submitted for the approval of the next Assembly. This draft was examined by the First Committee, which made a useful addition to the penultimate paragraph. The Third Committee accepted the text thus revised. It therefore has the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution, see page 21.)

IV.

Lastly, the First Committee examined and approved a draft Resolution submitted by the French delegation concerning the documentation of the Secretariat of the League of Nations in regard to treaties on peaceful settlement and arbitral awards.

The Third Committee, having accepted this proposal, has the honour to submit for the approval of the Assembly the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution, see page 21.)

ANNEX XI.—General Report of the Fourth Committee on Financial Questions. (Rapporteur: His Excellency M. Vladimir Molloff, Bulgaria.)

The present report, which should be read in conjunction with the Minutes of the Committee, deals with all financial and administrative questions on the Agenda of the Fourth Committee, except that of contributions in arrears, of the construction of new buildings, and of an amendment to Article 1 of the Financial Regulations, which forms the subject of separate documents.

I.—AUDITED ACCOUNTS FOR 1927.

The Committee unanimously recommends that the Assembly should approve the accounts of the Secretariat and autonomous organisations of the League in the form in which they have been submitted. It also agrees with those of the auditor's recommendations which have been adopted by the Supervisory Commission.

II.—BUDGET FOR 1927.

SECRETARIAT AND SPECIAL ORGANISATIONS.

(a) General Discussion.

This year a very important general discussion took place before the budget itself was examined. The Secretary-General explained that the League's budget differed from national budgets in two essential points—before being submitted to the Assembly it was considered in every detail by the Secretariat and then by the Supervisory Commission. Any credit which the Secretary-General could not justify in whole or in part was ruthlessly reduced or suppressed by the Supervisory Commission. Secondly, as the Assembly met only once a year, the Secretary-General was not, like

national Governments, able, if necessary, to apply to Parliament in the course of the financial year for additional credits. The total funds voted at one session of the Assembly had to suffice for the continuation of the League's work until the following session.

Apart from a small sum of 50,000 francs, the increase in the budget for 1929 over that of 1928 was entirely due to four items:—

- (1) 300,000 francs added to the Economic and Financial Organisation's budget to cover fresh work decided upon by the Consultative Committee and the Economic Conference, whose resolutions were approved by the last Assembly ;
- (2) 80,000 francs in the budget of the Transit Organisation for the collection and exchange of information regarding communications and transit. When last year it was decided to refuse this credit, the Assembly had, in a sense, given a moral undertaking to grant this credit as soon as the financial situation of the League allowed ;
- (3) 330,000 francs for a Conference on the Codification of International Law ;
- (4) 126,000 francs for the Central Opium Board.

After pointing out that the best method of effecting economies in this year's and future budgets would be to persuade the technical committees to reduce their programme of work, the Secretary-General concluded by saying that, if they set the total figure of the Secretariat's budget against the multiplicity of its tasks, and remembered that the budget of the League of Nations was the only budget in the world for the organisation of peace, they might, far from regarding the sum of 14,500,000 francs as exaggerated, even be surprised at its modest proportions.

From the observations made by the various delegates who took part in the general discussion on the budget, the following principles emerged :

Certain delegates asked that the budget should be referred back to the Supervisory Commission so that that Commission might work out the effect of making reductions up to a total of 1,000,000 francs, and submit the result to the Fourth Committee, so that the latter could decide what economies could, in fact, be recommended to the Assembly. They argued that the increase in the 1929 budget, as compared with the 1928 budget, was 6 per cent., and, taking into account certain probable additional credits, would amount to 7 per cent., the greatest increase since 1922. Although the task of pressing for economies was a thankless one, and those who undertook it were immediately accused of unfriendliness towards the League, they thought that the League's prestige would diminish if they permitted its expenditure to grow out of all proportion. Another member of the Committee, referring to the Supervisory Commission's report and to previous discussions in the Assembly, said he thought that it would be desirable to define the League's field of activity in the form of a very clear programme of work to be undertaken gradually; the League's budget might be stabilised at about 25,000,000 francs, the advantage of this being that countries would know in advance the exact amount of their contribution to the League. After emphasising the importance of several principles inseparable from good administration, the speaker, interpreting the opinion of the Commission, congratulated the Secretary-General, the Under Secretary-General in charge of Internal Services, and the Treasurer, on the excellent results they had obtained.

Generally speaking, the Committee held that it would be well to stabilise progressively the budgets of the various technical organisations of the League, but expressed a doubt as to the possibility of fixing a rigid maximum for the whole budget of so young an institution as the League. Certain members thought that in some cases stabilisation would connote stagnation. That does not mean that the budget figures should not be reduced to the lowest possible figure, or that any credits which do not directly contribute to the work of the League, as defined in the Covenant and the resolutions of the various Assemblies, should not be ruthlessly refused; indeed, the members of the Assembly and members of Parliament are experiencing some anxiety in view of the recent tendency to increase the budget. The importance of the League is not to be measured by the number of conferences held and questions dealt with, and any conference which does not seem to be strictly necessary should be excluded from its programme of work. One member of the Committee explained his fears on this subject: conferences usually lead, he said, to the preparation of a convention, but conventions are useless until they have been signed, ratified and, above all, applied. Certain Governments feel very strongly that the number of conventions still waiting to come into force indicates that some of the friends of the League have been proceeding too rapidly in international matters.

The League's task is complicated by two other difficulties of a financial nature. On the one hand, certain members of the League consider that their assessment under the present scale is too high. On the other, the burden falling on countries which regularly pay their contributions is increased by the non-payment of certain contributions in arrears and by the fact that it is impossible, in actual practice, to count on the payment of current contributions by certain States.

In the vast majority of cases the contributions to the League do not constitute a heavy burden for the States, as will immediately be realised if they are compared with the sums provided in budgets for national defence, for instance. Nevertheless, the sums voted by the various Governments, which, of course, could have been used in undertaking or developing necessary and even urgent national work, might give rise to awkward criticism, if these same Governments had not every confidence in the financial administration of the League, and were not perfectly sure that the different sums included in the budget were to be expended on really necessary work.

Two tendencies became apparent from the very outset of the general discussion on the budget:

Some members were of opinion that, before it was examined by the Fourth Committee, the budget should be sent to the Supervisory Commission, which, by reason of the special qualifications and limited number of its members, was in a better position than the Fourth Committee to undertake, with a reasonable prospect of success, the technical work of showing where economies might be effected if certain decisions of principle were taken.

Other members, referring to the report in which the Supervisory Commission asked the Assembly to give a ruling in advance on the financial policy to be followed in the circumstances, considered that the Fourth Committee should shoulder its own responsibilities, after consulting the competent Committees of the Assembly.

The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission pointed out that the main function of the Fourth Committee was to organise and co-ordinate the separate efforts of the other Committees. The duty of the Supervisory Commission was to assist the Fourth Committee in its work by giving technical advice. The Supervisory Commission had, at its May session, reduced the ordinary budget of the League to a minimum; the only further economies that could be effected concerned points which the Assembly must itself decide. In these circumstances, the Supervisory Commission would not be able to achieve any useful results until the Fourth Committee had stated its opinion regarding the political desirability of the new expenditure mentioned in the Supervisory Commission's report.

As most of the delegates shared the view of the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted. (For text of Resolution see page 28.)

(b) *Detailed Examination of the Budget.*

Chapter I. Assembly and Council

In adopting the credits for the session of the Assembly, the Committee requested the Secretary-General to submit to it, together with the draft budget for 1930, a statement showing the sum which would be necessary to cover the travelling expenses of three delegates from the capital of their country to Geneva and back. The possible inclusion in the Assembly budget of a credit to cover the travelling expenses of delegates would be in keeping with the precedents set by certain Commissions, and would eliminate one of the obstacles in the way of the participation of representatives from certain very distant countries.

As regarded the unforeseen expenditure, subject to a special vote of the Council, it remained understood that this credit was intended solely to cover expenditure of a political nature that the Council may be obliged to incur during the year.

Chapter II. *General Services of the Secretariat.* (Item 4: Salaries, Wages and Allowances of the Secretariat.)

A general, and at times very animated, discussion took place in the Fourth Committee in connection with the adoption of the item for salaries.

Certain members, referring to articles which had recently appeared in the Press, expressed doubt whether the atmosphere of the Secretariat was as firmly international as it had been in the beginning. While declaring their absolute confidence in the Secretary-General, they expressed a fear that there was a danger of the principles laid down in the report concerning the organisation of the Secretariat, adopted by the Council in 1920 on Lord Balfour's proposal, being forgotten. Whereas certain States—fewer and fewer every year, it is true—were not yet “represented” in the Secretariat, nationals of a certain group of Powers filled too large a number of posts; there was a growing tendency for the higher officials to be members of the diplomatic service of their respective countries, and certain States laid a permanent claim to high posts.

In reply, the Secretary-General pointed out that he had himself been largely responsible for the drafting of the report adopted by the Council on Lord Balfour's proposal, and that he had always kept closely to the principles enunciated therein. He had always followed the rule that officials of the Secretariat were the servants of all the nations who together formed the League, and had taken care that this principle should always be applied. As Secretary-General, he had always refused to ask the Council to approve the appointment of any person whose qualifications did not seem to him to be entirely satisfactory. Though it might be true that the highest posts in the Secretariat were held by nationals of certain groups of Powers, that was due to the instructions he had received in 1919, in Paris, from the Organising Committee of the Secretariat and, in one case, to a decision of the Fourth Committee itself. A claim by any particular Power for a monopoly of any particular post or posts in the Secretariat was untenable. He had been faithful to the undertaking he had given to the Fourth Committee several years previously. The number of officials of British and French nationality of and above the rank of Member of Section had not increased for several years. He would, moreover, be prepared, if the Committee so desired, to undertake not to increase the number of German or Italian officials of the same standing. He had had the honour to occupy his post for a long period of years; he did not know how much longer he would be able to carry out his duties. But, in his case, two factors would always be decisive—he would immediately resign if the British Government endeavoured in any way to influence him in the exercise of his duties (he might say that it never had done so); and secondly, he would not remain Secretary-General if he were not absolutely certain that he enjoyed the confidence of all the Members of the League.

After this long and important discussion the following Resolution was unanimously adopted:
(For text of Resolution see page 28.)

The Italian representative pointed out that sufficient time had elapsed since the establishment of the Secretariat at Geneva to enable them to form an opinion as to the efficacy of the system of staff organisation approved by the 1921 Assembly. He thought that the time had now come to consider, in view of the experience gained, the present situation and the improvement which might be made in order to ensure in the future, as in the past, the best possible administrative results. He therefore proposed that the Fourth Committee should adopt a resolution which was approved in the following form. (For text of Resolution see page 29.)

Chapter II. Items 5 to 17.

In answer to a request by one of the members of the Committee, the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission stated that the Commission would consider before the next ordinary session of the Assembly whether it was absolutely necessary to provide so large a credit as the one included in the 1929 budget for travelling expenses and subsistence allowances for the general services.

The Committee noted with satisfaction that, as a result of the reorganisation of the Publications Service, the receipts derived from the sale of publications had increased considerably.

Several members of the Committee said they agreed with the proposal contained in the Supervisory Commission's report to the effect that the cost of postage should be reimbursed by persons to whom publications were sent by the League free of charge.

The Norwegian delegate drew the Committee's attention to the Supervisory Commission's observations concerning the salary of the new Director of the *Administrative Commissions and Minorities Question Section*. He expressed his opinion that officials ought, as a general rule, to be engaged at the lowest salary for their category. As this new official had been appointed after the preparation of the budget, the Secretary-General agreed to a reduction of 2,000 francs on this item.

In reply to a question, the Secretary-General stated that the suppression of a post in the Administrative Commissions and Minorities Questions Section did not in any way mean that the Secretariat under-estimated the importance of that Section's work.

After a prolonged discussion, the Committee reduced by 100 francs the credit opened for the publications of the *Mandates Section* in order clearly to mark its desire that the mandatory Powers should in future increase the number of copies of their annual reports sent free of charge to the League of Nations.

The Committee recognised that it was essential that persons interested should be able to apply to the Secretariat when they wished to obtain these reports, the reprinting of which by the League of Nations had been discontinued several years ago on grounds of economy. Moreover, these reports were the very best propaganda for the mandatory Powers, so that the latter might possibly be willing to make this slight sacrifice.

The Indian delegate's proposal to bracket under one subhead the appropriations for investigations, the Disarmament Conference and the International Conference for the Supervision of the Private Manufacture of Arms gave rise to an interesting discussion.

The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission explained that the appropriation made for the unforeseen expenditure of the Council was only intended to meet totally unforeseen expenditure of a political character. If, as was probable, the sums provided for the three above-mentioned purposes were not expended in 1929, they would be used to constitute the surplus for the financial year and would thus be returned to the States Members. Moreover, the Assembly had always insisted that these items, which referred to entirely distinct purposes, should remain separate.

The Secretary-General having emphasised the exceptional character of the grant to the Director of the Section for the Reduction of Armaments, this item was adopted without modification.

Although, for political reasons, the proposal of the representative of India to charge the cost of printing connected with the slavery question to the budget of the Mandates Section was not accepted, the Secretary-General agreed to a reduction of 500 francs in connection with item 20, the *International Slavery Convention*.

The Committee recommends the Assembly to fix the budget of the *Economic and Financial Organisation* at the figure entered in the budget submitted to the Assembly, namely, 1,359,045 francs for the general work of the Organisation, and 375,000 francs for the consequences of the Economic Conference. It should be pointed out, however, that, as a result of various recommendations of the Second Committee, the Organisation will have to undertake in 1929 certain studies and enquiries which were not provided for in the original budget. But this new expenditure is compensated by the postponement to another year of certain work originally contemplated, and by certain reductions proposed by the Supervisory Commission.

The Supervisory Commission's report on this question gave rise to an exchange of views on the tasks which will have to be undertaken next year. In the first place, it was understood that studies on "groups of commodities" will be confined to the articles mentioned in the Second Committee's report. Secondly, after a discussion, during which the Italian delegate referred to the observations made by the British delegate on the occasion of the general discussion on the budget, the Committee decided that a reference should be made in its report to the necessity of avoiding any overlapping between the Economic and Financial Organisation and other international organisations.

The Committee approved the reductions, amounting to 30,000 francs, proposed by the Supervisory Commission in the budget of the *Communications and Transit Organisation*. It voted a credit for the conference, the convocation of which is provided for in Article 12 of the agreement concluded by the first Opium Conference; it agreed, on the other hand, to suppress the sum of 100 francs provided for in the original budget *ad memoriam* for a possible conference on the revision of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of Obscene Publications. The Committee also associated itself with a proposal made by the Supervisory Commission which will permit the League of Nations, without increasing its budget, to publish annually a survey with the object of keeping the younger generation informed of the work of the League, and of making known to the members of the teaching profession in the different countries the experience acquired and the results obtained in this sphere.

The Committee approved a new item of 50,000 francs: "Administrative Expenses for the Settlement of Refugees in Erivan." As a result of the appeal made by the Council, promises of contributions or of loans on favorable terms amounting to about £155,000 have been received, subject to the condition that the work of settling Armenian refugees on arable land in the Republic of Erivan should be placed under the patronage of the League of Nations, which should bear the administrative expenses.

The Fourth Committee has learnt with interest that, under certain decisions of the First Committee, the credit included in the budget for the Committee of Experts for the Codification of International Law could be reduced from 45,000 to 9,000 francs.

Having been informed that the preparatory work for the disarmament Conference and the Codification Conference may not be completed before the next Assembly, and that it would be scarcely practicable for the two Conferences to be held simultaneously next autumn, the Fourth Committee has decided to strike out of the 1929 budget the proposed credit for the Codification Conference, and to add the following note at the end of Schedule "S" of the budget:—

"The Conference will be held at the beginning of 1930, unless the Disarmament Conference is not held in 1929; in the latter case, the credits voted for disarmament can be used for the Conference on Codification up to the amount of 208,500 francs."

This operation, the reasons for which are purely administrative, has made possible a saving of 337,000 francs on the 1929 budget. If the Disarmament Conference takes place in 1929, the Codification Conference will be postponed till 1930; but if the Disarmament Conference is not held in 1929, the Codification Conference will be convened for that year.

The Fourth Committee takes this opportunity of offering its heartiest thanks to the Netherlands Government, which has stated that, subject to parliamentary approval, it is ready to make itself responsible, up to a maximum of 128,500 francs, for the difference between the total expenses entailed by the holding of the Conference at the Hague and the sum of 208,500 francs, representing the budget of the Conference if it had been decided to hold it at Geneva.

The Fourth Committee has before it a report in which the Supervisory Commission proposed the rejection of the Fifth Committee's proposal that an item of 250,000 francs should be included in the budget to cover the expenses of a Commission to be sent to the Far East to enquire into the position as regards prepared opium. After discussing the matter, the Committee appointed a Sub-Committee to make a further examination of the question.

The Sub-Committee noted with extreme satisfaction that the British Government was prepared to offer the sum of 50,000 francs towards the expenses of the enquiry. While the Sub-Committee had not sufficient information as to the preparation made in the different countries which it is proposed to visit in order to ensure the success of the enquiry, and while there exists a certain amount of uncertainty as to the estimated cost of the scheme, the Sub-Committee was strongly impressed by the importance and urgency of the work now contemplated.

The Fourth Committee has therefore decided to limit the financial responsibilities of the League in connection with this enquiry, to recommend that the question should be treated exceptionally and to vote for 1929 a credit of 100,000 francs, which will demonstrate that the League is not evading the task which devolves upon it under the terms of the Covenant. It is, however, understood that the British Government will ascertain whether the Governments concerned would be willing to offer additional contributions in order to finance the whole scheme.

The British Government's report will be sent to the Secretary-General for examination by the Supervisory Commission, which will submit its observations to the Council in sufficient time before a final decision in the matter will be taken by the Council.

Lastly, the Committee accepted the Supervisory Commission's proposal to enter in the fourth part of the budget, "Buildings at Geneva," the sum of 70,000 francs to pay back into the Building Fund the sum used for the enlargement of the Council hall. It also associated itself with the observation of principle made by the Supervisory Commission in this connection.

I.—General Discussion.

The general discussion on the budget of the International Labour Organisation was of unusual length this year. In addition to those budgetary questions strictly so called which arise annually in connection with the examination of the budget, "the constitutional problem," i.e. the problem of the rights and powers of the Fourth Committee in regard to that budget, was a subject of lengthy consideration.

The discussion began with a statement by M. Albert Thomas on the essential features of his budget of 1929. This involves a net increase of about 528,000 francs, the larger part of which, some 395,000 francs, is of an obligatory—and in some cases exceptional—character. This part represents increases necessitated by the fulfilment of existing contracts (increased salaries, Provident Fund, travelling expenses), amounting to 172,000 francs, and by increases, totalling 229,000 francs, resulting from decisions of the directing bodies of the Organisation (double conference, increase in the number of commissions, &c.). The Governing Body, on whose behalf M. Albert Thomas submitted the budget to the Fourth Committee, did more, however, than merely ask for funds to meet this necessary increase; it thought it essential to meet the most urgent new needs relating to the development of scientific work, the extension of relations and the diffusion of publications. In all these considerations, the Governing Body decided to allocate a number of

Having regard to all these considerations, the Governing Body has decided to allocate to the development credits, the most important of which by far, representing 219,000 francs, relates to new appointments.

Of the 17 new appointments in question, special reference will be made to the creation of a fourth division. This new Division, the Governing Body having decided on the creation of a fourth division. This new Division, the Governing Body will co-ordinate the activities of the Administrative Section and that of the Publishing Department will have the general control over the administration of the Section. The Chief of the new division will have the general control over the administration of the Office and this will enable the Director and the Deputy-Director to devote themselves more completely than it is possible for them to do at present to the political and general supervision of the Office.

The Governing Body has effected economies amounting to about 120,000 francs.

On the other hand, the Governing Body has effected economies during the

In the course of the discussion following this, disappointment with the large net increase in the 1929 budget as compared with that of 1928. They emphasised the necessity of stabilising this budget in the same way as the budgets of the other organisations of the League, since they did not regard the arguments put forward in justification of the increased expenditure as being entirely convincing. A feeling was growing up in certain countries that the International Labour Organisation was passing too many conventions and that the International Labour Office was issuing too many publications. It would be desirable to moderate these activities slightly.

Other speakers pointed out that the representation of nationalities was satisfactory in the International Labour Office, and that in this case also it appeared as if the large countries of France and England, were unduly "represented."

The Director of the International Labour Office replied to these various general criticisms. He pointed out, as regards the conventions, that their number depended on the intensity of modern social conditions, which year by year were raising problems affecting new categories of workers. Even a convention which had not been ratified had a high moral value as an example and model.

The legislation of new countries or countries which had been reconstructed was very largely based on the work of the International Labour Conference.

The growing appreciation with which the publications of the Office were regarded was shown by the increased sales, the estimated receipts having risen from 45,000 francs in 1924 to 170,000 francs in 1929. If this figure was compared with the amount of the credits for printing, and if it was remembered that the Office had to make a large gratuitous distribution, they would admit that the result might be regarded as satisfactory.

In reply to the observations regarding the "representation" of nationalities, the Director stated that he had followed three rules in appointing his staff. The first was that, having regard to Article 393 of the Treaty of Peace, he had refused, and would continue to refuse, to provide for a strictly proportional "representation" as between States. The second rule was, as far as possible, not to stereotype the "representation" of nationalities on the staff of the Office, as the years went on, and not to consider that certain States had a traditional right to certain appointments. The third rule was that the Office could not tolerate interference from any State which might desire to press the claims of an official candidate.

M. Albert Thomas had hitherto attempted, and would continue to attempt, to reconcile, as far as lay in his power, the three essential requirements—to ensure an equitable representation of nationalities; to guarantee a large output of good work by appointing the ablest candidates; and to give the staff adequate opportunities of promotion. If these conditions were fulfilled, the Director could not give any undertaking not to appoint new candidates of French or British nationality in future.

The Director agreed in principle as to the necessary stabilisation of the budget of the Office. But at the same time he asked the Committee to bear in mind that any such stabilisation could only be relative, for the International Labour Office, like the other organisations of the League, was a young body, and, moreover, this stabilisation had been effected, since for the past eight years the budget of the Office had varied between some seven million and eight and a half million francs.

The constitutional problem was the second important point to be raised during the general discussion. What were the respective rights and powers of the authorities constituting the International Labour Organisation on the one hand, and the Assembly on the other hand, as regards the budget of the International Labour Office? The speakers laid stress on the difficulty of giving a definite reply to this question, while others referred to Article 6 of the Financial Regulations which, in their opinion, made the legal position clear.

The Director of the International Labour Office, referring to the decision taken by the Council of the League at San Sebastian, pointed out that it was for each Government to give precise instructions to its delegates on the Governing Body regarding the budget of the Office. It was desirable, further, that those instructions should be definitive, and that the delegates of the same Governments on the Fourth Committee should receive instructions identical with those given to the delegates on the Governing Body.

As regards the particular point of identity of instructions, several speakers observed that this applied only to Governments which were represented on the Governing body, i.e. to a minority of Governments; delegates of the majority of the Governments, which were not so privileged, would have to be able to express their views freely in the Fourth Committee regarding the budget of the International Labour Organisation.

In closing his statement on this constitutional problem, M. Albert Thomas observed that, though the principles seemed to be somewhat vague, the present arrangement had so far worked satisfactorily in practice and it would be advisable to keep to it.

The Committee was of opinion that, in accordance with the Financial Regulations, only the Assembly had the right to approve or amend the budget of the International Labour Organisation. It was necessary, however, that the Assembly, in the exercise of this indisputable and undisputed right, should take account of the system in force in the International Labour Organisation, which provides that the budget submitted to the Assembly is that approved by the Governing Body of the Office.

2. CONSIDERATION OF THE ITEMS.

Item 1: Sessions of the Conference, 432,000 francs.

The proposal for holding two conferences, a General and a Maritime Conference, in 1929, gave rise to an animated discussion.

First of all, doubt was expressed as to the actual necessity of holding two conferences, and alternatively, if the conferences were proved to be necessary, as to the impossibility of holding them consecutively.

Several speakers urged that if the two conferences could be convened one after the other, this would mean not only a reduction of 27,000 francs in the budget of the Organisation, but also a very considerable saving for distant countries, which would thus have to pay travelling expenses once only and not twice.

M. Albert Thomas said that the Governing Body had decided to hold a double conference on political grounds, and after consulting all the Governments and all the groups concerned. To have a break between the conferences was an administrative as well as a political necessity.

In the first place, only the maritime countries proper, and the countries attaching special importance to maritime questions, should be represented at the conference, and, in the second place, it was impossible to expect the staff to stand the heavy strain of a conference for seven weeks on end.

The credit demanded for Item 1 was put to the vote and passed by the Committee. At the same time, however, the Committee unanimously adopted the following Resolution:—

"The Fourth Committee hopes that, if in future it is decided that the International Labour Organisation shall hold two conferences in the same year, the dates shall be so chosen that these conferences shall take place consecutively, for reasons of economy."

Item 2: Sessions of the Governing Body, 95,000 francs.

The credit demanded was passed by the Fourth Committee.

Item 2b: Unforeseen Expenditure of the Governing Body and the Conference, 8,000 francs.

Item 3: Salaries, 5,291,655 francs.

After three consecutive votes, the Fourth Committee approved the creation of the 17 new posts requested, on the understanding that the appointments should be subject to the holders agreeing to such changes as the next Assembly might make in the Statutes. The creation of the new post of Chief of Division was approved by 16 votes to 10. One delegation, however, reserved the right to bring the question of the new posts before the Assembly.

All the remaining items of the budget of the International Labour Office were then passed by the Committee without discussion.

3. PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

The Committee approved the budget of the Permanent Court of International Justice without modifying it in any way. It noted the explanations for the increase in the budget given by the Registrar and mentioned in the Supervisory Commission's Report.

III.—REPORTS OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

The Committee examined the work accomplished by the Supervisory Commission since the last Assembly, the results of which were embodied in the four important reports submitted to the Assembly.

(a) The Fourth Committee approved the Supervisory Commission's solution of the problem of the adjustment of salaries; it hopes that all the officials of the three organisations will accept stabilisation at the 1921 rate (the 1922 rate in the case of the Permanent Court of International Justice).

(b) Subject to a few slight alterations, the Fourth Committee approved the amendments to the Financial Regulations proposed by the Supervisory Commission to settle the question of supplementary credits and of any disagreements which might arise between the Fourth Committee and another Assembly Committee on the subject of budgetary credits. The Assembly will doubtless remember that, as the result of certain difficulties which had arisen last year, the Supervisory Commission had been asked to consider what amendments might be made in the present procedure.

The object of the three slight amendments approved by the Fourth Committee was to give more exact effect to the intentions of the Supervisory Commission as expressed in its report of 20th June.

It was clearly understood that proposals entailing an increase in the budget as contemplated by Article 16 (a) might be made even by telegram, provided that the telegram contained a full statement or was followed immediately by a full statement.

(c) In adopting the conclusions of the report submitted by the Supervisory Commission on the question of publications, the Fourth Committee noted the views of one of its members on the subject of the inferior quality of the paper used and the poor appearance of certain League publications. The delegate in question considered that receipts from sales would increase if the publications were made more attractive. The Chairman of the Secretariat Publications Committee pointed out that the paper was carefully selected and its quality depended on the degree of permanence of the publications in question. The Publications Committee, which was closely studying the question, would act on the suggestions made, in so far as they could be reconciled with the need of cutting down expenditure to what was strictly necessary.

In order to emphasise its desire to reduce the high cost of publishing the minutes of Committees, the Fourth Committee, in agreement with a proposal adopted two years ago by the Assembly, approved the following draft Resolution. (For text of Resolution see page 29.)

IV.—ALLOCATION OF LEAGUE EXPENDITURE.

The Fourth Committee approved the report submitted by the Committee for the Allocation of the Expenses of the League, under the terms of which the budgets for the financial year 1930 would be adopted as a basis of the revised scale for the allocation of League expenditure; this would allow the Allocation Committee to prepare a revised draft scale for the 1932 Assembly.

While accepting the proposals made by the Allocation Committee in the matter, the Indian delegate asked the Chairman of the Committee for the Allocation of Expenses whether the results of this investigation might not be submitted to 1931 Assembly. The Chairman of that Committee, having pointed out that this suggestion could not be adopted owing to technical considerations, the Indian representative said he would raise no objection if an earlier date was not possible. Consequently, the provisional scale will remain in force during the four years 1929–32 inclusive.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

Replying to a point raised in the debate on the amendments to the Financial Regulations, the Under-Secretary-General in charge of Internal Administration assured the representative of South Africa that the Secretariat would give its most careful attention to the point he had raised as to the need for despatching the League's communications to distant countries in sufficient time.

The Fourth Committee desired to express its appreciation of the authority, tact and impartiality with which their able President, M. de Vasconcellos, had presided over the proceedings. The Committee also wished to thank the honourable representative of Poland, M. de Modzelewski, who had acted as Vice-Chairman.

In conclusion, the Fourth Committee proposed the following draft Resolutions for adoption by the Assembly. (For text of Resolutions see page 28.)

ANNEX :—*Modifications in the Budget made by the Fourth Committee.*

	Add. Sw. Frs.	Subtract. Sw. Frs.
Item 8.—Travelling expenses of officials of the League :		
(c) Removal expenses to and from Geneva -	2,460	
Item 11.—Publications Department :		
(b) Treaty Series -	25,000	
(f) Cinematographic films and photographs -	66	
Item 16.—Unpaid Liabilities Fund -	2,500	
Item 18.—Administrative Commissions and Minorities questions :		
(1) Salaries -		2,000
Item 20.—Mandates :		
(4) Printing and documentation -		100
Item 21.—Communications and Transit Organisation :		
5 (b) Printing and documentation for the collection and exchange of information on communications and transit -		14,000
7 (b) Salaries: Additional permanent staff for the collection and exchange of information on communications and transit -		15,000
8 Travelling and removal expenses of the Secretariat -		1,000
Item 22.—International Health Organisation :		
I.7 Unpaid liabilities in respect of previous years -	6,554	
Item 23.—Social questions :		
3 (v) Control of traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs : Conference -	13,400	
(vi) Commission of Enquiry to the Far East on the control of prepared opium -	100,000	
5 (a) Othersocial questionsand "Unforeseen contingencies" -	75	
5 (b) Conference for the Revision of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications -		100
Item 28.—Progressive Codification of International Law :		
(a) Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law -		36,000
(b) First Codification Conference -		337,000
Item 26.—International Convention on Slavery -		500
New Item 30.—Settlement of Armenian Refugees in Erivan -	50,000	
Item 32.—(d) Library : Equipment, shelving, &c. -	4,000	
Part IV.—Buildings at Geneva :		
(b) Enlargement of the Council Hall -	70,000	
Stabilisation of salaries of Secretariat and International Labour Organisation (for details, see Appendix) -	288,681	
Net addition -	562,736	405,700
Original Budget*	157,036	
Budget as approved by the Fourth Committee	26,869,244	27,026,280

APPENDIX.—*Budget for 1929.—Cost-of-Living Reductions.*
(a) Secretariat.

	Amount. Sw. Frs.
Item 4.—(a) Secretariat -	106,654
Item 6.—Liaison with Latin America -	1,035
Item 18.—Administrative Commissions and Minorities -	7,720
Item 19.—Economic and Financial Organisation -	16,340
Item 20.—Mandates -	3,277
Item 21.—Transit -	3,611
Item 22.—Health† -	1,077
Item 23.—Social Questions -	234
Item 24.—Reduction of Armaments -	7,550
Item 25.—Intellectual Co-operation -	4,611
	6,641
	2,571
Total Secretariat -	161,321
(b) International Labour Office -	127,360
(c) Permanent Court of International Justice -	
(Nothing shown).	
Grand Total -	288,681

* The total is shown in the Budget as 26,871,244 Swiss francs : as pointed out in the Report on the Twenty-eighth Session of the Supervisory Commission, this amount was reduced by 2,000 Swiss francs owing to the reduction of 2,000 Swiss francs made in the Refugee Budget of the International Labour Organisation.

† Not including the reduction of the salaries of the officials paid out of the Rockefeller Foundation grants.

ANNEX XII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on Child Welfare.*

The Fifth Committee having taken note of the report of the Child Welfare Committee on the work of its fourth session, expresses to that Committee their appreciation of the work it has accomplished.

The Child Welfare Committee resumed its enquiry into the effects of the cinematograph on children and confirmed the recommendations it had adopted in 1926 and recommended that the attention of every country should be drawn to the advisability, from the point of view of the moral and physical welfare of the young, of showing films in diffused light and in daylight.

The Council of the League asked the Secretary-General to call the attention of the Governments to these recommendations when forwarding to them the report of the Child Welfare Committee on its fourth session.

In the course of its discussions the Fifth Committee decided to ask the Child Welfare Committee to consider at its next session the possibility of establishing supervision over posters and other forms of publicity for cinematograph performances.

The Committee, to whom the Council had referred a scheme for setting up an International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome, examined the draft statutes submitted to it.

When discussing the report of the Child Welfare Committee, the Fifth Committee evinced particular interest in the enquiry into the relation of the cinematograph to child welfare. In view of the influence exerted by the film on the development of the young, several delegates considered that women should be represented on the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, and that care should be taken to secure representation for the views of Asiatic countries on that body.

The examination of the report on the enquiry into juvenile courts conducted by the International Prison Commission was placed on the agenda of the fourth session of the Child Welfare Committee, and the Committee eventually appointed three *rapporteurs* to submit proposals, after consulting the International Prison Commission, regarding the form in which an enquiry into the different auxiliary services of juvenile courts could be pursued.

The Committee also decided to keep the question of illegitimate children on its agenda and requested the Secretariat to complete its report on the legislation on that subject in the different countries. It also considered various other questions, such as blind children, recreation, family allowances, alcoholism and feeble-minded children, with a view to subsequent investigations or studies.

The Child Welfare Committee formed from among its members a Legal Sub-Committee which, at the fourth session, arranged the order of its future work. The questions entrusted to this Sub-Committee seem most important, and the Fifth Committee wishes to place on record its hope that the Legal Sub-Committee may diligently go forward with the work allotted to it.

Lastly, the Committee considered the best way of using the gift of \$5,000 so generously offered in 1925 by the American Social Hygiene Association, and decided that the money could be most usefully employed in studying the problem of the child whose environment is bad or who is exposed to moral and social danger, having regard mainly to the possibilities of preventive action.

It decided to conduct a preliminary enquiry in seven or eight countries.

Together with the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children, it formed a Joint Committee to enquire into the legal age of marriage; the Joint Committee's recommendation on this question was forwarded to the various Governments after receiving the approval of the Council.

The Fifth Committee wishes to place on record the fact that the Child Welfare Committee has commendably endeavoured to narrow its field of action and concentrate on a small number of important questions, and is of the opinion that it should be definitely encouraged to persevere in this direction.

In closing this report, the Fifth Committee proposes the following Resolutions to the Assembly. (For text of Resolutions see page 32.)

ANNEX XIII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children.*
(Rapporteur : Mme. T. Hainari, Finland.)

The Fifth Committee has considered the report on the work of the seventh session of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee. It takes note of the fact that the Council, during its June session, approved the resolutions contained in this report and instructed the Secretary-General to take the necessary action arising therefrom.

The Traffic in Women and Children Committee devoted considerable time during its seventh session to the consideration of Part II of the Report of the Special Body of Experts. It proposed that the Governments and voluntary organisations should be invited to send to the League such additional information as they might have on the subject of the enquiry. The question of continuing the enquiry was also discussed; the Committee was unanimously of the opinion that the enquiry of the Experts should be continued, and the Fifth Committee agrees with this view.

The Assembly at its eighth ordinary session adopted a resolution requesting the Traffic in Women and Children Committee to examine as soon as possible the desirability of recommending to all Governments the abolition of the system of licensed houses. During its last session the Committee discussed this question and passed a resolution expressing the hope that the Governments of those countries which still retain the system of licensed houses should examine the question in the light of the report made by the Body of Experts. In order to facilitate this examination, the Secretariat of the report made by the Body of Experts. In order to facilitate this examination, the Secretariat was asked to make a study of the laws and regulations in force in those countries where the system has been abolished. Various delegates from such countries on the Fifth Committee informed their colleagues of the experiences gained in this respect; they were unanimous in stating that experience had shown that the policy of abolition had been attended with nothing but good results.

The Fifth Committee agrees with the Advisory Committee as to the necessity of adopting stricter measures against *souteneurs* in order to put a stop to their operations, which are among the main causes of the traffic in women. The Fifth Committee therefore noted with satisfaction that the

Secretariat has been requested to prepare a concise study of the laws and penalties relating to the *soulteneur*.

The Fifth Committee also expresses its satisfaction with the fact that the Advisory Committee has taken up the question of the dangers to which music-hall and similar artistes are exposed when travelling abroad.

Note was taken of the decision relating to the subject of obscene publications, namely, that the question of calling a further conference to deal with the matter will be considered at the next session of the Advisory Committee.

The Fifth Committee once more draws attention to the necessity of the employment of women police in order to combat the traffic, and to the good work women police can perform in protecting the morals of young people. A resolution was adopted on this subject.

The Fifth Committee has the honour to submit the following Resolutions to the Assembly. (For text of Resolutions see page 33.)

ANNEX XIV.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.* (Rapporteur: Dr. W. Chodzko, Poland.)

The Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs has held two sessions since the last meeting of the Assembly, namely, the tenth (extraordinary) session, held from 28th September to 8th October 1927, and the eleventh session, held from 12th to 27th April 1928.

The tenth (extraordinary) session was convened by the Chairman, then Sir John Campbell (India), in virtue of the discretion conferred upon him by the Resolution of the Council, dated 11th March 1927. The primary object of the session was to consider the question of the illicit traffic, but advantage was taken of the opportunity presented to discuss various cognate questions, and to deal with certain questions which had been referred to the Committee by the Council.

With a view to combating the illicit traffic, M. Cavazzoni, the representative of Italy on the Committee, presented to the Committee for its consideration a memorandum containing an elaborate scheme for the control of the drug traffic. The Committee felt that the moment was opportune for a general examination of the question of the best methods of ensuring administrative control over the drug traffic and for the preparation of a report on the subject.

A Sub-Committee was, therefore, appointed to consider the whole question of administrative control, including a detailed study of M. Cavazzoni's memorandum. As a result of the work of the Sub-Committee, a standard set of regulations, or code for the supervision of the traffic in narcotics, embracing certain proposals put forward by M. Cavazzoni in his memorandum, was drawn up.

The Committee discussed at great length the ways and means of combating effectively the illicit traffic. With a view to rendering any form of clandestine and illicit traffic impossible, the Committee adopted a resolution requesting the Council to urge as insistently as possible upon all Governments Members of the League and Parties to the Opium Convention that all factories manufacturing dangerous drugs should either be State owned or placed under effective Government supervision. Under either system the Governments would at least—

- (1) regulate and require an accurate accounting of all internal traffic, including the purchase of raw materials, manufacture, sales, distribution, storage;
- (2) strictly control the issue and possession of licences or authorisations for the manufacture, sale, distribution and storage of drugs;
- (3) adopt and rigidly enforce the import and export certificate system;
- (4) strictly control the export of dangerous drugs to any country which does not enforce the import and export certificate system. Where this system is not in force in the importing country, the Government of the exporting country must satisfy itself, beyond reasonable doubt, that the demand is for legitimate purposes only. This precaution is particularly important, since the readiest route which the illicit traffic can follow is through those countries which do not enforce the import and export certificate system. It is recognised that this will present various difficulties until the Central Board has been constituted; but it is imperative that such control should be exercised, as far as that is practicable, by the exporting countries until the Central Board begins to function. Experience in certain countries has shown that, even in present circumstances, a large measure of effective control can, in fact, be exercised in such cases.

Another Resolution was passed, asking Governments to give all information as to the manner in which narcotic substances which have been seized are dealt with, in order that the Committee might be in a position to form an accurate idea as to the traffic.

The report of the tenth (extraordinary) session of the Committee was examined by the Council during its meeting held in December 1927, and the Secretary-General was instructed to take the necessary action in order to give effect to the Resolutions adopted by the Committee. During the discussion which took place in the Council, M. Scialoja, the representative of Italy, called attention to the establishment of the Central Board, as provided for in the Geneva Convention of 1925. He suggested that the Secretariat of the Central Board ought to form part of the Social Section of the League of Nations Secretariat. This question was referred to the Advisory Committee for examination, and was dealt with at the eleventh session of the Committee, which was held in April of this year and presided over by Dr. Carrière (Switzerland).

Two opposite opinions were expressed on this point. On the one hand, M. Cavazzoni held that, in virtue of Article 23 of the Covenant, which entrusts the League with the supervision over the traffic in opium and dangerous drugs, it is not permissible to create an organisation independent of the League of Nations and the Secretariat. On the other hand, it was pointed out that M. Scialoja's proposal was not in conformity with Article 20 of the Geneva Convention, and that, while Article 23 of the Covenant entrusts the League with the supervision over the traffic in opium, this supervision should be exercised in accordance with the stipulations of the Conventions in force.

The Committee adopted by a majority a Resolution stating that the Italian delegate's proposal that the Secretariat of the Central Board should form an integral part of the Secretariat of the League was

in complete agreement with the stipulations of Article 20 of the Opium Convention of 1925, whereby the Secretary-General of the League of Nations is requested to provide for the control of the staff in administrative matters. The Resolution further contained a statement that the proposal did not in any way affect the right, which is conferred on the Central Board, to nominate the members of its staff, who will be appointed by the Secretary-General, subject to the approval of the Council.

The Committee noted with satisfaction the steps taken by the Persian Government to limit opium-poppy cultivation in Persia, and particularly the new law published in July 1928, which constitutes an opium monopoly. This marks an important step forward on the road recommended by the League of Nations.

It appears from the documents submitted to the Committee that the position with regard to the illicit traffic is still highly unsatisfactory; that the manufacture of harmful drugs continues greatly in excess of the legitimate requirements, and that new methods of manufacture are rendering the supervision of the international traffic increasingly difficult. The situation is, therefore, extremely serious, if not alarming. The Committee thought that the attention of Governments should again be drawn to the various measures which the Committee had most earnestly recommended.

In order to facilitate the efforts of each individual Government to stamp out the illicit traffic, the Committee once more insisted upon the necessity of full co-operation; Governments were recommended to supply each other with all particulars necessary for enquiries with regard to persons implicated in smuggling offences, and to communicate to each other, whenever this was recognised as essential, copies of telegrams relating to the transactions of smugglers.

As regards the situation in China, attention must be called to the fact that the British Government has decided to withdraw its protection, and withhold the right to fly the British flag from any vessel proved to have been engaged in smuggling in the navigable waterways of China. The British Government should be congratulated on its important decision.

The Committee was very much concerned at the efforts of certain manufacturers to find substitutes for morphine since this alkaloid was made subject to control. One of these substitutes is benzoyl-morphine, which is already manufactured in comparatively large quantities and has been shown to possess all the properties of a drug of addiction. Moreover, the morphine contained in the benzoyl-morphine can readily be recovered, and hence quantities of morphine which will escape supervision can be put on the market. In addition to benzoyl-morphine there is a whole series of other morphine "esters," i.e., combinations of morphine with an organic acid having the same properties. The danger of this situation is obvious. The Committee therefore thought it necessary to consider the possibility of applying Article 10 of the Geneva Convention to all these products. As, however, the procedure laid down under this Article would still require a certain amount of time, the Committee adopted a Resolution requesting the Council to draw the attention of Governments to the necessity of placing benzoyl-morphine, and possibly other similar substances, under control forthwith. In answer to a question asked by the representative of New Zealand, a statement was made to the effect that 27 Governments had accepted the request made to them for the inclusion of eucodal and dicodide under the Convention.

The efforts made by a number of the signatory countries are wanting in vigour, intermittent and not sufficiently drastic to meet the present situation.

The Fifth Committee urges the delegates to devote their attention to this question, and impress upon their respective Governments the necessity for dealing immediately with the situation with which we are faced, in view of the constant efforts of the persons concerned to circumvent all laws and regulations promulgated by countries which have signed the Conventions.

Para. 14 (d) of the Hague Convention stipulates that the laws and regulations respecting the manufacture and sale of morphine shall apply also to all new derivatives of morphine or its salts and to every other opium alkaloid liable to similar abuse and productive of like ill-effects.

But it is mainly to Article 9 of the 1912 Convention and Article 5 of the 1925 Convention, concerning the limitation of manufactures, that the attention of the various Governments should be drawn.

The Committee has noted with keen interest a communication stating that the Spanish Government had decided to institute a monopoly system for the trade in drugs. We may further note, with great satisfaction, that this question was settled by a law passed on 5th May last.

A further scheme for the limitation of the manufacture of drugs was transmitted by the Government of the United States of America to the League of Nations through the Netherlands Government, and was circulated to the Members of the Committee. It will be examined at its next meeting.

However, in view of the enormous difficulties which are met with in the really effective fight against the illicit traffic, the limitation of the manufacture of these drugs aimed at by the various systems and schemes examined by the Advisory Committee in the course of last year must be taken into consideration. The Committee will no doubt follow with the greatest interest the experience gained by the Spanish Government since the coming into force of its new Drug Act.

The report on the work of the eleventh session of the Advisory Committee was examined by the Council at its June session, and the Secretary-General was instructed to take action on the resolutions contained therein.

At the present moment it seems to the Fifth Committee that the most important new fact is the coming into force of the Convention of 19th February 1925. There are now 29 parties to this Convention. It appeared also, according to statements made by the delegates of Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Norway and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, that additional ratifications may shortly be expected. It is thought that this Convention, if strictly applied, should prove a powerful instrument in the suppression of the traffic. Then, again, the Fifth Committee draws attention to the Code previously mentioned, which is based on the experiences of the manufacturing countries.

The Fifth Committee proposes the adoption of the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution see page 34.)

ANNEX XV.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the proposal by the Government of Great Britain for a Commission of Enquiry on the control of Opium-Smoking in the Far East.* (Rapporteur: Dame Edith Lyttelton, British Empire.)

The Fifth Committee has considered the proposal of the British Government which was referred to the Assembly by the Council that the League should send a small commission to the Far East to study on the spot the problem of the control of the practice of opium-smoking under the conditions existing at the present time. The proposal has arisen out of the difficulties with which the British Government finds itself confronted in the attempt to carry out the undertaking into which it has entered in the Hague Convention "to take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the use of prepared opium with due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned."

The British memorandum explains in detail the nature of these difficulties, which arise from the existence of a large illicit traffic in opium in the Far East, and hamper or even nullify the efforts of the Governments concerned to control and restrict the consumption.

These difficulties existed already in 1924-5, when the first Geneva Conference was held. Since that Conference they have not diminished, but have actually increased. The memorandum refers specially to the difficulties experienced in Hong-Kong, where the Government of the Colony estimates the consumption of illicit opium to be many times that of the Government monopoly opium, but the difficulties are considerable also in Malaya, and it would appear from the proceedings of the Opium Advisory Committee of the League that other Governments experience similar difficulties.

The British Government states that it has proceeded with the measures agreed upon by the Conference of 1924-5, but the present situation appears to them to be such as to call for a fresh examination and review on the spot, especially in view of the fact that under the terms of the agreement of the first Geneva Conference a further conference is due to be held not later than next year.

In view of the many controversies in the past which have surrounded this subject, the British Government suggests that it is most desirable that an unbiased statement of the actual position made by a perfectly independent commission appointed by the League, to which is entrusted by the Covenant the supervision of the traffic, should be laid before the world. Such a commission might, further, be able, as the result of its enquiries, to make valuable suggestions as to the measures to be adopted in the present circumstances. The enquiry would thus provide the material on which the next Conference would be able to base its work.

The British Government's request had reference primarily to the situation in the British Possessions, but the principle of such an enquiry has been accepted also by the other Governments which are parties to Part II of the Hague Convention and the Geneva Agreement of 1925.

A suggestion was made in the course of the discussion that the enquiry should be extended to the Opium situation in China, but this proposal was only assented to by the representative of China on the condition that the enquiry should be extended to all the countries in the world which manufacture dangerous drugs or which produce the raw material for such manufacture. He called attention to the great danger to the Chinese people which is caused by the smuggling of such drugs into China on a large scale. The Fifth Committee, while appreciating and sympathising with the point of view of the Chinese Government, felt that it would be impossible to propose to the Assembly such an extension of the enquiry, for two main reasons. In the first place, an enquiry into production and manufacture would enormously extend the scope of the enquiry, and would in fact necessitate the appointment of a special commission or commissions of a different character. In the second place, the control of the manufacture of and trade in dangerous drugs has been dealt with in the Geneva Convention of 1925, which comes into force on the 25th of this month and which contains new and much stricter provisions designed to strengthen that control. It seemed to the Fifth Committee desirable to await the results of these new provisions before taking up the question of a further enquiry as regards dangerous drugs.

It should be added that a number of delegations, while not opposing the principle of the enquiry proposed by the British Government, felt considerable difficulty in voting for it in view of the present financial situation, and abstained on this ground from recording their vote.

The following Resolution was adopted by 13 votes, with 1 vote against and 17 abstentions. (For text of Resolution see page 34.)

The Fifth Committee further recommended that the Fourth Committee should make provision in the Budget for the cost of the Commission to the Far East. The probable cost of the Commission was therefore examined by a Sub-Committee of the Fourth Committee, which, after consultation with the rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, and taking into consideration the assistance offered by certain Governments towards the enquiry, recommended that the sum of 100,000 francs should be included in the Budget of the League. The British Government undertook to consult with the other Governments concerned as to the arrangements for the enquiry and to prepare a report for the consideration of the Council at its fifty-third session. This report will be forwarded to the Secretary-General in time for its examination by the Supervisory Commission, which will submit its observations to the Council, with whom will lie the final decision.

The Fifth Committee agrees that this course should be adopted.

ANNEX XVI.—*Report of the Sixth Committee on Mandates.* (Rapporteur: Count de Penha Garcia, Portugal.)

The Sixth Committee has examined the Reports and Minutes concerning the execution of the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant in the mandated territories during the period which has elapsed since the last meeting of the Assembly.

Through several of its members, it has paid a deserved tribute to the work of the Council, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Mandates Section of the Secretariat. It greatly appreciated the competence, impartiality and common sense with which this work was carried out.

The good judgment of the Mandates Commission and the wisdom displayed by the Council have been instrumental in removing many of the difficulties presented by the application of the mandates system, which constitutes an innovation and which relates exclusively to certain territories specified in the Covenant, whose political, social and economic situations differ greatly from one another. At the same time, the Committee recognises the spirit of co-operation which inspires the various mandatory Powers, and which is evidenced by the assistance given to the Commission by past or present administrators of the mandated territories. The Committee notes with satisfaction this state of affairs, which is greatly to the credit of the League of Nations.

The Sixth Committee has noted the growing interest displayed by public opinion in the mandates system, and views with satisfaction the growth of the literature concerning Mandates which has recently been enriched by two important works by members of the mandates Commission.

Among the general questions discussed, three deserve the Assembly's special attention, namely, economic equality, the liquor traffic and the systematic and scientific organisation of the work of the Mandates Commission and of the Mandates Section of the Secretariat.

Economic equality is indeed one of the fundamental principles of the mandates system. The Covenant and the Mandates desired to place the territories subject to A and B Mandates under a regime of complete economic equality. The Mandates Commission is pursuing a detailed study of the application of this principle, and to this end the Council, at the Commission's suggestion, has requested the mandatory Powers to supply it with certain information.

The question of the increase in the liquor traffic in certain territories under mandate has from the outset engaged the Commission's attention, and it has already carried out important technical and statistical work in connection with this serious problem. The Council has requested it to pursue its enquiry, and has forwarded to the mandatory Powers requests for data with a view to revising the statistics, obtaining information on Customs tariffs, and determining the territories or parts of territories under mandate to which Article 4, para. 2, of the St. Germain Convention on the Liquor Traffic is applicable.

As regards the systematic and scientific organisation of the work of the Mandates Commission, great progress has already been achieved; but more remains to be done before perfection can be attained. Thanks to the efforts made by the Secretariat in pursuance of the resolution adopted at the fifth ordinary session of the Assembly, the documents concerning the administration of the mandated territories are published each year, and constitute excellent material for study and for making the system more widely known. An analytical index kept up to date would facilitate the study of these numerous and bulky reports, and the Sixth Committee considers that such an index could without great difficulty be compiled by the authors of the reports themselves.

The Mandates Commission's reports contain a considerable number of requests for information, observations or conclusions concerning the annual reports it has examined. The Council has instructed the Secretary-General to forward them to the Governments of each of the mandatory Powers concerned. The same has been done as regards certain petitions examined by the Commission. The mandatory Powers will no doubt make a ready response to these observations and requests for information, so as to permit of the gradual solution of the difficulties noted and the elucidation of the questions which occupy the Commission's attention.

Thanks to the spirit of co-operation which inspires the activities of the various agents of the mandates system, a great work of peace and progress is in process of achievement for the benefit of the inhabitants of the territories under mandate and of the community of nations in general. (For text of Resolution adopted by the Assembly see page 36.)

ANNEX XVII.—*Report of the Sixth Committee on the Slavery Convention.* (Rapporteur: The Right Hon. G. Locker-Lampson, M.P., British Empire.)

The Sixth Committee had under consideration information communicated to the League of Nations by certain Governments respecting the progressive abolition of slavery and conditions analogous thereto. This information was forwarded in response to a resolution adopted by the Assembly at its seventh ordinary session on 25th September 1926, and consisted of communications from the Governments of Great Britain, Italy, India and the Sudan. During the course of the discussion in the Sixth Committee, the Abyssinian delegation handed to the Secretariat a list of certain persons freed from slavery and of persons convicted of offences under the slavery laws of Abyssinia. This list forms an annex to a statement made by the Abyssinian representative to the Committee.

Since the Sixth Committee of the Eighth Assembly considered the question of slavery in 1927, the number of ratifications or final accessions to the Slavery Convention of 1926 has increased from 14 to 26. The following States have ratified or acceded to the Convention during the past year: Belgium, Canada, Republic of San Domingo, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, Italy, Monaco, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway and Sweden. Nevertheless, there are still several States whose ratification or accession is most important to ensure the universal application of the Convention, and who have not yet taken this step.

Apart from the communication of laws and regulations enacted to cope with the problem of slavery and conditions analogous thereto, the transmission of information to the League is not obligatory upon the States signatories of the Convention of 1926. Nevertheless, the Sixth Committee considers that the various Governments should spare no effort to furnish such general information on this subject in order to provide other States with the benefit of their experience.

The Committee submits the following Resolution for adoption by the Assembly. (For text of Resolution see page 36.)

ANNEX XVIII.—*Report of the Sixth Committee on the Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.* (Rapporteur: M. G. Gallavresi, Italian Delegate.)

It would be impossible to enter upon a discussion on intellectual co-operation without paying a respectful tribute to the memory of the great scientist who, at this time last year, held the Committee

of the Assembly under the sway of his personality. Professor Lorentz presided over this difficult and varied work with striking success. The same success will certainly attend the efforts of his distinguished successors, Professor Gilbert Murray, the new Chairman of the Committee, and Madame Curie and M. Destrée, the Vice-Chairmen.

The leading idea of the League of Nations when it began its work in connection with intellectual co-operation was to achieve, in a field where the special tendencies and traditions of the various peoples are of dominant importance, a co-ordination of effort which would ensure a better mutual comprehension on the part of these nations.

Inasmuch as an active intellectual life in the different countries is the essential condition of any fruitful co-operation, the development of local bodies designed to promote this object must be hailed with the greatest satisfaction. We must, therefore, see a decisive step in this direction in the formal establishment of national committees on intellectual co-operation in Germany, Spain and Great Britain, and the almost entire reorganisation of the Italian and certain other national committees. The assistance of the permanent League organisations, such as the Economic Committee and the International Labour Office, has not failed the Committee. This is especially true in the case of the Sub-Committee for Intellectual Rights, whose work is one of enormous difficulty, since it is striving to define the legal status of international associations and foundations and to draw up a model contract of publication; it has studied the problem of the international circulation of books, and, having recognised the importance of that problem, expresses the wish that all obstacles to the circulation of scientific and technical publications should be removed. The same Sub-Committee also endeavours to embody in the practice of the future the principle of scientific property postulated by Professor Ruffini as long ago as 1922.

The Assembly of the League of Nations cannot but await with confidence the result of the enquiry which is being conducted among Governments in regard to the preliminary draft International Convention, which the Secretary-General has been authorised to transmit to the Governments for their opinion. The Sub-Committee took note, with a satisfaction in which the Assembly will share, of the results of the Rome Conference on Copyright, at which the moral right of an author over his work at length obtained recognition, thus crowning the protracted efforts of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, as M. Paul-Boncour lately observed, at the last session of the Council of the League. The Congress of Statisticians at Cairo likewise gave an impetus, and we should like to think a decisive impetus, to the negotiations which the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation is conducting with the object of securing the adoption by Governments of identical rules in the matter of intellectual statistics.

Referring now to the activities under the supervision of the Sub-Committee for University Relations, grateful mention should be made here of the generous contribution by the National Council on Education of the United States of America, with the help of which it has been possible to compile a Handbook of University Exchanges in Europe—an innovation which is to be repeated next year.

The organisation of holiday courses and of study tours, as well as the possibility of extending these advantages to secondary schools, has been considered by the Sub-Committee for University Relations and by certain Governments, among others by the Polish Government.

The Artistic Relations Section of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has displayed its activity principally through the International Museums Office, a particularly successful creation of the International Committee which will render great services. It is accordingly desirable that the Advisory Committee of the Office, which has not yet been convened, should enter on its duties. The question of the educational value of museums was exhaustively discussed at the last session of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, but no definite conclusions were reached. As in all educational problems, special difficulties are encountered as soon as an attempt is made to arrive at an international solution.

The subject of improving the conditions under which translations of literary works are carried out is one of the most complex and interesting questions that have come before the distinguished men whose assistance in the field of intellectual co-operation the League has secured. An agreement has been brought about between the Paris Institute and the Federation of "P.E.N." Clubs. The resumption of the former International Publishers' Congresses, as proposed by the Director of the Insel-Verlag of Leipzig, seems eminently calculated to lead to satisfactory results in the direction desired by the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters. The Sub-Committee has made careful preparation for the Popular Arts Congress to be held at Prague. Although this seems certain to prove successful, it is rather doubtful whether the Committee will be able in future to assume new responsibilities of the same kind.

The Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, bearing in mind the profound artistic and educational importance of the development of the cinematograph, has also drawn the attention of the Assembly to the danger of cinematograph performances inspired by a spirit at variance with that of the League.

Reference should also be made to the suggestion submitted by the Polish delegate to the Assembly at its sixth ordinary session for the international diffusion of literary and artistic works in harmony with the principles of the League of Nations.

The Sub-Committee on Science and Bibliography is still confronted with problems which do not readily lend themselves to any immediately successful solution, though it is precisely these problems the solution of which would lead to true co-operation among men of science throughout the world. While we must await the results of the enquiry into the resources available for scientific research, meetings of experts convened by the Paris Institute, whose work was carefully prepared beforehand, have drawn up draft resolutions concerning the co-ordination of the work of libraries and scientific museums, the best inks and papers for the preservation of documents, the question of dying languages, and the unification of the current bibliographies of the various sciences. The Committee's programme has now been extended to include the science of languages.

All this work, as has been pointed out on several occasions, has been carried out with a remarkable measure of success by the Paris International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. An examination of the Reports by the Director of the Institute and by Dr. Krüss, who spoke on behalf of the Governing Body, the experience acquired by the members of the Committee of Directors, and the detailed discussion which recently took place at the plenary session of the Committee on Intellectual

Co-operation, can but confirm the opinion, expressed last year by Dr. Breitscheil in his report to the Second Committee. The distinguished *rapporteur* emphasised the great utility of such an executive organ placed at the disposal and under the authority of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The international character of the Institute is accentuated by the grants now being accorded by various countries in addition to the basic and original financial support given by the Government of the French Republic.

By a decision of the Assembly, the Sub-Committee of Experts convened two years ago to draw up definite suggestions regarding the instruction of youth in the existence and aims of the League of Nations was also included in the programme of work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The title given to the Sub-Committee seemed likely to confine its work within limits which have happily been enlarged in the course of its various sessions. The work itself has been summarised in an excellent report by M. Destrée, which the last Assembly approved. As a result, an Educational Information Centre has now been established, and the effects which its work has produced on public opinion, particularly in quarters devoted to propagating the ideals of the League of Nations, might warrant the convening next year, if not of the whole Sub-Committee of Experts, at least of the smaller Sub-Committee—chosen from among members of the plenary Sub-Committee. The text prepared by M. Destrée with the assistance of the Committee in question has become a sort of handbook for friends of the League.

It has also been suggested that a Survey should be published on the responsibility and under the supervision of the Secretary-General of the League. This Survey would be prepared by an Advisory Committee consisting of one representative each of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the Paris Institute. The Survey, which would be intended primarily for teachers, would be prepared in the same spirit as that which has governed the work of the Sub-Committee of Experts.

The Sixth Committee requests the Assembly to adopt the Report on the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to approve the following Resolution. (For text of Resolution see page 37.)

APPENDIX III.

Certain Speeches delivered by Members of the Indian Delegation at the Ninth Assembly.

ANNEX I.—Report of a Speech by His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur in the Assembly on the 7th September 1928.

It is with feelings of diffidence and respect that I, a stranger, come before this great gathering of international statesmen, and I earnestly trust that I may count upon your indulgence in the discharge of the responsibility which devolves upon me on this occasion as a member of the Indian delegation, within which I represent more particularly the ruling Princes of India.

India, with her ancient civilisation and culture, and her well-known assimilation of noble ideas, is genuinely interested in the aims and objects of the League of Nations, and is most anxious to promote, as far as lies in her power, the growth of the ideals and activities of the League. This growth has continued during the past 12 months.

Ever since the foundation of the League, attempts have been made in various parts of India to bring into existence societies to develop interest and knowledge of League matters. Such societies did useful work, but they lacked initiative and guidance. Now a central branch of the League of Nations Union has been organised in Delhi, which will co-ordinate and federate the work of the smaller organisations in the various provincial centres, and give the movement the stimulus which it requires.

The social welfare and public health activities of the League have always commanded India's admiration, sympathy and support, and I may be permitted to tender my tribute of praise and gratitude to all workers on behalf of the League in these directions. The interchange of Public Health Officers which was conducted under the auspices of the League and terminated in India in February last was greatly welcomed by public health workers in India, as affording them an opportunity of profiting by contact with workers on similar problems in other countries. Similar beneficial results are anticipated from the acceptance of the invitation of the Government of India by the League Malaria Commission to visit India in the near future.

The inclusion of rural hygiene in the programme of the Health Committee is also of special interest to India. The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India has just reported on this subject, and I feel sure that any material which the more extensive investigations of the League Organisation may be able to place at the disposal of the Indian authorities will be of the utmost value and importance to them.

Similar remarks apply to questions connected with infant mortality, which is also receiving the attention of the Health Committee. As infant mortality is, unfortunately, high in India, any practical suggestions which may result in the lowering of such mortality will be received with the greatest degree of relief and interest by my countrymen.

With regard to the child welfare activities of the League, my two distinguished predecessors, His Highness the Maharajah of Patiala and His Highness the Maharajah of Kapurthala expressed apprehension in the Assembly regarding the danger which might attend international action in these matters owing to vast differences which exist between different communities and nations, differences which are deeply rooted in religion, national customs and conventions. In spite of these difficulties and drawbacks it would be of interest to the Assembly to learn that the Government of India have recently appointed a strong Committee of non-officials to undertake a comprehensive survey of the question of raising the age of consent. I may also mention in passing that Infant Marriage Prevention Laws have been adopted already in some Indian States.

With regard to opium, India has for a very long time pursued an altruistic policy, and imposed upon herself obligations conceived in a spirit of the highest humanitarian ideals, even when she

lines of increasing its activities outside Europe—of increasing, that is to say, the collaboration and co-operation between Europe and Asia, between the East and the West.

In the meantime, in the present circumstances and until this development takes place, India's claim for some limitation of the heavy financial burden involved in her membership is an urgent one. It is a claim, I submit, which deserves a little more sympathy and a little more attention than it has hitherto received.

I must remind the members of this Assembly that the question is often asked in India whether membership of the League is really worth the price. Every increase in this financial burden without a corresponding extension of activities must add to the insistency with which that question is asked year after year, until I fear the time may come when the Government of India may find it no longer possible to answer in the affirmative.

I have felt bound to make this protest on behalf of the Indian Delegation, which is profoundly dissatisfied with this year's budget and with the proceedings in the Fourth Committee. Weak as our normal procedure of control may be, there does exist in the last resort one method by which a dissentient Member may insist upon getting its views respected. Like all the resolutions of this Assembly, that which approves the budget requires a unanimous vote. Therefore I appeal very earnestly to all the Delegations here present, to the Secretary-General of the League, and more especially to the Director of the International Labour Organisation, not to force the Indian Delegation into the very unwelcome necessity of refusing its assent to the budget. In that spirit of conciliation for which we have looked, and I fear looked in vain, in others, we refrain this year from taking the drastic step to which I have referred. I must nevertheless add that, if the protest which I have felt it my duty to make on this occasion is disregarded in the framing of future budgets, the Government of India may find itself obliged to give instructions to its delegation another year to make its assent to the budget of that year conditional upon obtaining some limitation of expenditure of which so large a proportion falls upon the Indian people.

ANNEX III.—Résumé of a Speech by Sir E. Chamier in the First Committee on the 22nd September 1928.

During the discussion on the "General Act," Sir E. Chamier said that he wished to make the position of the Indian Delegation clear. It was unlikely that India would be greatly interested in the General Act, and therefore the Indian Delegation did not propose to take part in the much too hurried discussion on the terms of that complicated document. The Indian Delegation regarded with some apprehension the results of the labours of so large a drafting Committee. He did not intend to express any opinion as to the suitability of the so-called model bilateral conventions. He had not till this morning had the means of knowing what they would be like in their final form, and he had not had time to consider the long list of changes proposed to be made in them. The Indian Delegation understood that the draft Resolution left States quite free to conclude Conventions in any form and terms which they thought proper, and that it was not intended to mean that the Assembly preferred the General Act or the draft model Conventions to Conventions framed in other terms. On that understanding the Indian Delegation was content to allow the Resolution to pass.

ANNEX IV.—Report of a Speech by Mr. Mallik in the Second Committee on the 14th September 1928.

I am absolutely sure I am voicing the feelings of everyone in this Committee when I say that the Report by Prof. O'Sullivan, which is now under consideration, commands our sincerest congratulations. It is one of the ablest of reports I have come across, both as regards the marshalling of facts as well as regards the indication of the real essence of the situation underlying those facts. Though comprehensive yet it is brief, and behind its matter-of-fact appearance it has the charming quality of evoking thought. In one question, which has been deliberately left unanswered, there lies concentrated the whole of the essence, the utility and the justification of the Public Health Organisation of the League. I am therefore sure that we have all studied the Report with both great pleasure and profit. As an Indian I fully agree with him in all that he has said about rural hygiene and its importance, and I greatly thank him for bringing that point of view so prominently forward on behalf of countries which are mainly agricultural and whose people live mainly in the villages.

Coming now to the work of the Organisation, I sincerely and warmly congratulate the League Public Health Committee for the excellent international and world-wide work that it was carrying on in collaboration with the International Public Health Bureau at Paris, as well as the other regional bureaux in other parts of the world. It is beyond my province now and powers always to go into the technical scientific problems at which they are working for several years for the betterment of public health and sanitation irrespective of race, colour or country. But it is with the humanitarian side of the question that I want to say a few words of the deepest appreciation.

As regards the method of work, the principle of practical idealism has been strictly followed. We understand that in spite of ever-increasing demands on its services, the Organisation has set a rigid limitation to its work and efforts, and that, on account of this wise self-restraint, it has succeeded in keeping an eye more on the quality than on the quantity of the works undertaken. Both on account of enthusiasm for doing good work and also for meeting the ever-increasing demands from the various States, the tendency to expansiveness seems to be very natural, and therefore this wise method accepted by the Organisation seems to be a matter of special congratulation.

So far as the work is concerned my attention is first drawn naturally to the excellent work both in prevention and control of disease that is being done by the Singapore Epidemiological Bureau for the last three years. The Government of India greatly appreciates the work for its active practical value and does everything in its power to help and support that work. India takes an important part in the work by broadcasting a collection of information regarding prevalence of epidemics through wireless, which helps a large number of Eastern ports. India is gratified with the fact that the Public Health Commissioner has again been re-elected a Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Bureau in 1928. Very important and helpful enquiries are being carried on as to oral vaccination, plague and other matters.

The next point that occurs to me is the system of interchange tours of medical and sanitary officers. It is needless to say that, India being a country rather backward, owing to special and serious difficulties, such as her vastness, lack of financial resources, &c., in the matter of public health measures she greatly appreciates the utility of these tours. She is anxious to acquire knowledge and experience which has already been gained in different countries of the world, and she is particularly anxious to learn the experience of those other countries in combating the difficulties that stood in their way in the earlier stages of their efforts. From this point of view India deeply appreciates the work of this scheme of interchange, which is expected to benefit her to a very considerable extent, and she earnestly hopes that this scheme will be so financed as to be able to function effectively.

One of these interchanges took place in Japan in 1925 and India took part in it. Another took place in West Africa in 1926 and was equally successful. Last winter an interchange took place in India, and arrangements were made by the Government of India to enable Dr. Madsen, President of the League Health Committee, and representatives of at least 13 other States to make extensive travels in India for studying the problems that confront the Health Organisation, and I am very glad to say that the members of that party were greatly impressed with the way in which India was carrying on her work, in spite of tremendous difficulties on her way. Whether from the point of view of pooling valuable scientific information, or from that of benefiting through the experience of other countries that have gone ahead in their efforts, or from the general point of view of international co-operation and mutual help, India deeply appreciates the scheme and thanks those that have taken part in it.

Coming to the question of malaria, let me point out that malaria is the greatest scourge in India. It not only takes a very heavy toll every year, but it devitalises her citizens to an enormous extent, thereby causing serious loss also in her economic condition. In my own province of Bengal the number of deaths from malaria was 350,000 last year. As the result mostly of this scourge the average length of life for the whole country was 23 to 25 years only. Infant mortality was appalling; about 300 children out of every 1,000 born died there before they were one year old. In Calcutta the figure was 500 and in Bombay it is 600 to 700. In 1924 it had even reached the terribly appalling figure of 824 per 1,000 children born.

Investigations were being made for a very long time in India regarding malaria, but since the discovery made by that brightest jewel of the Indian Medical Service and a great friend of humanity, Sir Ronald Ross, in 1897, we are going on with the work as well as it is possible, and for over a decade the School of Tropical Medicine and other institutions in India have been making vigorous researches. The Government of India is fully alive to the necessity of supporting all well-directed researches in malaria study, and some of the leading Indian medical men and sanitarians have taken the matter up with the most considerable zeal.

Last year the Indian Delegation, on behalf of the Government of India, extended a cordial invitation to the League Malaria Commission to visit India. I now again beg to extend our most cordial invitation to the Commission and to assure it a most cordial welcome in India, both from the Government and the people, who will render every facility and assistance that may be required.

We, in India, have been studying the question of plague for over 30 years, and since the time when Sir W. Simpson, the great authority on the subject, was in his earlier days the Chief Health Officer of Calcutta, whose eminent services we still cherish. Since then further investigations are being made in India on the lines laid down by the Expert Plague Committee which met in 1927, and researches for imposing the prophylactic methods available to combat the disease are being vigorously pursued at centres like the Haffkine Institute at Bombay. It is a matter of great gratification to India that Dr. Asheshov of Yugoslavia—of world-wide fame himself—started the work in India last year, and will carry on his researches there for three years. I need hardly say that we owe a deep debt of gratitude to him.

As regards leprosy, in many parts of India it is a rather prevalent disease. For a long time a good deal of research is being carried on in India by eminent medical men like Sir Leonard Rogers at Calcutta. The School of Tropical Medicine at Calcutta is working in a very commendable way to discover adequate measures to counteract the spread of this most painful and loathsome disease, and to give adequate relief to the miserable sufferer. The League Health Committee in starting a measure of collaboration between itself and the Latin-American Organisation have earned the gratitude of India, as she is also very deeply interested in the question. The British Empire Leprosy Relief Organisation is carrying on excellent work on parallel but independent lines.

India being mainly an agricultural country, over 85 per cent. of the people of which live in villages, her interest in the work of rural hygiene cannot but be of the deepest character. Here again the interchange scheme is of very high value in directly learning the experience of different countries in this very important matter, the difficulties regarding which are most seriously increased by the vastness of this country, the slenderness of available funds, and the diversity of physical conditions that prevail there. The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India have most ably pointed out the necessity of introducing a scientific system of rural hygiene in India, and have indicated the serious consequences of neglect in this connection. There has been an interchange of medical officers in Europe this summer, and the results of the same are being eagerly awaited in India with the fervent hope that the results achieved in Europe will go a great way in helping India in combating this most baffling question of rural hygiene.

I now beg to read out the addition proposed by me out of sheer feelings of gratitude, and I hope the same will be accepted:—

"Congratulate the Organisation on the increasing success of its far-sighted policy of practical collaboration with the extra-European countries."

ANNEX V.—Report of a Speech by Mr. Yusuf Ali in the Second Committee on the 15th September 1928.

In the first place the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit is of great economic and international importance. Some of it is work in which India is not directly interested, but, referring to the history of the questions of previous years, it will be seen that, subject to financial

considerations, India has in general given sympathetic consideration to the work of this Organisation. As regards road signalling, a scheme for the international unification of signs and signals for road traffic in urban and rural areas has been prepared and referred to my Government. They point out that the Indian road system is practically self-contained, and does not join on to international road systems. The land frontiers of India consist of high mountains, through which there is very little international communication. A difference of signs and signals in India from those internationally used would not therefore cause so much inconvenience as in other countries. We recognise, however, the advantage of securing a uniform system, and would, as far as possible, consider how far we could co-operate. The Committee has yet to receive recommendations from various Governments, and the Government of India will then be in a position to state precisely how far they can accept their recommendations.

In the matter of maritime communications India has a more direct interest. The scheme for a uniform system of buoyage and lighting of coasts would *prima facie* seem to present many advantages. At present there are different systems in different countries, and the task of unification is not very easy. The scheme which has been produced by the Organisation has not given satisfaction to two of the most important maritime nations of the world. If Great Britain and the United States, the nations concerned, are not prepared to accept the scheme, we do not think that that scheme could be supported. In fact, under such conditions, international uniformity becomes impossible. India, therefore, does not wish at the present stage to offer any observations.

On the simplification of the calendar there are peculiar difficulties in India. It is quite true that the official calendar used by the Government is the Christian calendar that is used in the greater part of the civilised world, but side by side with it are many ecclesiastical calendars, to say nothing of communal calendars, such as the Jewish, the Parsee and the Muslim calendars. The Hindus themselves have different calendars in different parts of India. In these circumstances it is impossible to form a national committee for the consideration of the reform of the calendar. The Government of India have, however, consulted commercial opinion on the subject, and found it either hostile or indifferent. The holidays and festivals on which banks and offices are closed in India are also determined only partly by the Christian calendar, but in great part also by the calendars of the major communities living in India.

On the question of identity documents for persons without nationality no instructions have been received from India, and I am not in a position to make any statement.

On the collection and exchange of information on communications and transit, the desirability of it in the abstract may be admitted, but in view of the financial conditions this year, and of the fact that the Fourth Committee has asked all the other Committees carefully to examine their demands for credits and see how far they can be reduced, I reserve any further consideration of this question until we know exactly how we stand financially.

ANNEX VI.—*Report of a Speech by Mr. Mallik in the Second Committee on the 17th September 1928.*

I must first express my deep and sincere appreciation of the excellent and valuable report that has been placed before us and which is so full of important materials for coming to an international or world agreement in this very important matter.

The Economic Organisation of the League has considerably changed and its work has received an impetus and has been extended since last year as a result of the Geneva Economic Conference of 1927. Moreover, India has gained a substantial footing in this Organisation during the last 12 months by the appointment of my able and esteemed countryman, Sir Atul Chatterjee, High Commissioner for my country, to the Economic Consultative Committee, and by the appointment of Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, our able and broad-minded Indian Trade Commissioner in London, to the Economic Committee. We greatly appreciate these courtesies, and I, on behalf of my country, beg to convey our most sincere thanks for the same. The appointment again of Sir Atul Chatterjee as one of the three Vice-Presidents of the Committee is a notable recognition of the economic importance of India, both as a consumer of manufactured goods and as a representative of countries which are predominantly agricultural and productive of raw materials. It is not necessary for me to go into details now regarding the work of the Conference in its bearing on India.

The Indian Delegation last year welcomed the Conference as it was expected to contribute to mutual understanding as the result of a full and fresh examination of the very important questions involved from the points of view of different countries with different sets of economic conditions in them. It was also pointed out that India was prepared to incur all legitimate responsibility which others were ready to incur to the same extent and simultaneously, and she felt that, having regard to her position, she must rely on reciprocity.

Since then the Government of India had studied further the Report of the Conference in the light of the Report of the Indian Delegation at the last Assembly, and this strongly confirmed their view that the recommendations of the Conference are in general conformity with the principles and practice already followed by India. The Government of India are therefore prepared to accept, so far as may be possible, any Conventions or other proposals put forward by the Economic Organisation of the League to give effect to the specific recommendations of the Conference. I think I can assure you that the policy of India will continue to be conducted in accordance with principles of which the Conference expressed its approval, and with every desire to co-operate with the Economic Organisation in the solution of particular problems.

I now beg leave to draw attention, like other countries similarly situated, to the interests to be safeguarded from India's point of view. They are practically two-fold :—

Firstly.—Countries which have hitherto been essentially a source of raw materials must not be hindered in their legitimate desire for industrial development. There must be no tendency to stabilise the *status quo* as between manufacture and the production of raw materials. India claims for herself the right to adjust her tariff system so as to maintain the balance between agriculture and industry, and I have no doubt that that claim would be considered just and legitimate.

Secondly.—The formulation of commercial policy must take equal account of industrial and of agricultural or raw material producing interests. It is well known that since 1914 the price of manufactured goods has risen by a greater margin than that of agricultural products and raw materials. This is not only inequitable to the producer of raw materials, but it also reduces the market for the manufactured article. The interests of the two classes are therefore fundamentally similar and the essential problem is to reduce the margin of prices. This can only be done if as much attention is given to agricultural problems and interests as to those of industry.

The solution, in India's view, must follow two lines :—

- (1) The study of agricultural problems must be developed.

This is no doubt mainly a native problem and in India it has recently been investigated by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, which has just made a report and we are studying the same. But international action can surely assist, and here lies the importance of developing the work of the Economic Organisation on the side of agriculture, with which is connected the question of introducing closer relations between the League and the Institute of Agriculture at Rome.

- (2) The primary producer must be made an interested party in all efforts towards the removal of impediments to trade.

This is a matter partly of propaganda for the creation of public opinion and partly of the practical association of the interests of the primary producer with those of the manufacturer and the trader in the formulation of commercial policy, especially in the case of tariffs.

From the above points of view and also to put the proposed resolution in lines of strict conformity to the resolution of the Assembly of the previous year, I beg, without taking up more of your time, to move the following amendment to the draft resolution :—

1st paragraph of draft resolution.—Delete words following “in regard to the undertakings” and substitute “resulting from the resolutions of the World Economic Conference which were recommended to the favourable attention of all Governments by the Eighth Assembly.”

2nd paragraph.—Delete words following “reaching practical results” and add following new paragraphs :—

“Believes also that the successful attainment of the objects contemplated by the World Economic Conference will depend upon the measure in which the legitimate interests of countries which are mainly agricultural or in the early stages of industrial development can be reconciled with those of the more advanced industrial countries ;

“Approves the view expressed by the Economic Consultative Committee that the systematic study of the problems of agriculture will be an important factor in the encouragement of economic co-operation between peoples.”

I may say that so far as the second paragraph is concerned, I am perfectly willing or rather I shall be very happy if any alteration is made with a view to make it fit in more harmoniously with the draft resolution, and I place myself entirely in the hands of the *Rapporteur* and the Committee in this connection so long as the ideas contained in the proposed amendment in para. 2 are not at all lost sight of.

The question of an international or world agreement on these most important matters is a very delicate and many-sided one, and one that requires the most careful handling and anxious consideration. Any undue haste or absence of appreciation of the interests of the various States in different stages of industrial growth may be inimical to that goodwill and spirit of co-operation which alone can lay the foundations of a sound and satisfactory world system.

The interests of all must be considered with proper care and enlightenment, and no State or group of States should be allowed to go under the impression that the material interests of the same have either been ridden over roughshod or neglected in the hurry to bring about a millennium. Vast as the subject is, and vital as is its importance, the consideration of the matter must be done with patience and sympathy and with a thorough knowledge of the doubts and difficulties of all those States which, like India, are still in their infancy as far as their industries are concerned, and which are mainly agricultural or producers of raw materials.

I also greatly agree with the honourable Swiss delegate in his idea of restraint on the part of the Economic Organisation. It will be distinctly unfortunate to overload it or to expect too much from it at once. I fully realise that over and above my position here as an Indian delegate, with the special interest of India to be looked after, I have a higher position as a member of the International League, and it is with full realisation of that higher position that I beg to submit before you as above, and I hope I shall be pardoned for this somewhat lengthy speech.

ANNEX VII.—*Résumé of a Speech by Mr. Yusuf Ali in the Second Committee on the 17th September 1928.*

Mr. A. Yusuf Ali wished first of all to congratulate the Finance Committee on its splendid work during the past year. He saw from the report that the Financial Committee had been chiefly concerned with the financial reconstruction of Austria and Hungary and the settlement of Greek and Bulgarian refugees. The best possible testimony to the League's success in financial reconstruction was the fact that other countries had asked it for similar assistance. Portugal, in particular, had asked that certain measures might be taken to help to restore her financial situation. The League of Nations had replied that it was prepared to give the necessary help, and laid down certain conditions, but for certain internal reasons Portugal had changed her mind. The League might possibly receive a similar request for help from Roumania. In any case, all the nations of the world were now well aware that there was at present a highly efficient central organisation which was willing to undertake any investigations required for the re-establishment of economic order in any country whatever, if that country would subscribe to the required conditions.

The question of double taxation and tax evasion, though of great practical interest for European countries, was relatively unimportant in India. As between India and foreign countries, leaving aside the question of other portions of the British Empire, no question of double taxation or tax

evasion had been raised. The Indian Government had informed the Secretary-General of the League of the interest with which it had studied the experts' report on this subject. Nevertheless, it could hardly concur in the recommendations that had been made, as these amounted to a compromise between the principle of origin and that of residence, while the Indian income tax law went more by the place of receipt of income than by the place of residence. Accordingly, before acceding to a Convention like the one proposed, the Government of India would be obliged to make fundamental changes in its income tax law. So far Mr. Yusuf Ali was not aware that any Government, except some of the British Dominions, had made any approaches to India for reciprocal concessions in the matter. The Government of India had been invited to send an expert to the Conference of Government Experts to be held in October next, but it was not certain that that would be possible.

Another question of the very greatest interest for India was that of the purchasing power of gold. India had adopted the gold standard, but not a gold currency. The reason was obvious. In India a large amount of gold was used for ornaments and social purposes, and if the object was to economise gold for its use in the world as currency, the postponement of a gold currency in India was considered desirable. At the same time, as the currency circulation of India was now based on the gold standard she was in direct monetary connection with the rest of the world, and was, therefore, interested in the stabilisation of the gold prices of commodities.

With regard to the question of a Central Bank in India, the idea had already been thoroughly explored, and it figured largely in the discussions of our Legislative Assembly last year. For internal reasons they had been unable so far to establish a Central Bank, but the matter was still before the public. In the absence of a Central Bank, the Government performed the functions of a Central Bank in India, and the literature which India had collected on the subject was, the Indian delegate believed, of some value in the economic discussions of the world.

ANNEX VIII.—*Report of a Speech by Lord Lytton in the Third Committee on the 13th September 1928.*

If I understood Mr. Guerrero and Mr. Sokal aright, they expressed the opinion that the question of principle which we are discussing had already been decided by the resolution of the Assembly last year. I wish very respectfully to protest against such a suggestion, and I would point out to the members of the Committee that the resolution which Mr. Guerrero just read to us does no more than express the appreciation of the Assembly at the proceedings of the Council in seeking to provide for a possible future emergency, and its desire to see the matter further investigated.

If approval of enquiry into a particular problem is to be taken as approval of the results of that enquiry, I am afraid that delegates will hesitate in future to express their approval of such investigations, however desirable they may consider them to be. This consideration has, in fact, an immediate application to the matter which is before us. I understood Mr. Paul-Boncour to suggest just now that the question of a wireless telegraph station was not yet ripe for a final decision and that in consequence it should be submitted to a Sub-Committee of this Committee for further investigation.

Now, I have no objection to the further investigation of the matter in this way, but if approval of the constitution of such a Committee is to be cited hereafter as equivalent to approval of the report of that Committee, whatever it may be, I for one should have to vote against the appointment of the Committee, because the Government of India is not at present convinced of the urgency of the matter or of the necessity of the proposed wireless station, and, for reasons which I will explain in a moment, they have instructed me to oppose the proposal.

The enquiry which has already taken place has, I think, been of great value, because it has provided us with useful information both upon the technical and financial aspects of the question, as well as upon the course of the alternative schemes. There is, however, one matter which I think has not been made sufficiently clear, and I suggest that if a Sub-Committee is appointed it might be asked to devote its special attention to this matter. I would remind the members of the Committee that the operation of a wireless telegraph station involves the co-operation of two parties, the transmitter and the receiver. The question of the transmission station has been fully examined in all its details, but the point raised just now by Mr. McLachlan has not yet received sufficient examination, namely, the adequacy of means for the reception of the news transmitted. I would ask the Committee to try and ascertain from the various nations that are represented how far their Governments are at present able to deal with the communications from such a station. The Government of India has instructed me to say that they have not at the moment any station capable of reciprocating with the League station at Geneva, and that they were not prepared to undertake the expense of erecting a special station for that purpose. I therefore think it is important to find out how far the various States Members of the League are in a position to take advantage of such a station.

I need not say anything further on the subject at this moment, but I thought it necessary to enter a protest against the view that approval of the examination of any proposal should be held to commit delegates to approval of the ultimate results of such an examination.

ANNEX IX.—*Report of a Speech by Lord Lytton in the Third Committee on the 14th September 1928.*

Arising out of what Dr. Lange has just said on the scheme for financial assistance of States which are the victims of aggression, I should like to put a question to you. I presume that at the conclusion of the discussion in which we are now engaged we shall be asked to indicate our opinion upon the general policy contained in the report of the Joint Committee. On that I would ask leave to say that the Government of India is in full sympathy with this policy and is prepared to take its share in action so obviously calculated to reduce the danger of any war of aggression. It is obvious, however, that the actual details of any Convention in which this policy may ultimately be embodied are of great importance and interest to the States which may be invited to sign such a Convention, and the question I wish to put to you is whether all the States Members of the League will have a

further opportunity in the future of expressing their opinion, not merely upon the general policy, but upon the details and clauses of the draft Convention before it reaches the stage at which this final approval has to be registered.

It is an unfortunate fact that in the last eight years a great many Conventions have been passed and only a few of them have been ratified. This is due, I think, to the fact that our enthusiasm for a particular policy, and our desire to secure unanimity at the outset, has prevented us from paying sufficient attention to the details which subsequently prove to be obstacles to ratification. I am very anxious not to add another Convention of this kind to the list, and it therefore seems to me of the utmost importance that full opportunity should be given to the various Governments to examine the details of this policy before a final Convention is submitted for their approval.

ANNEX X.—*Report of a Speech by His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur in the Fourth Committee on the 11th September 1928.*

I expect those of you who have attended the meetings of this Committee on previous occasions are familiar with the sight of an Indian delegate rising to advocate economy and to propose reductions in the estimates which are presented to this Committee. I am not going to apologise for this fact, partly because if I err it is in good company, and because it is the right, if not the duty, of all of us, in this Committee particularly, to say plainly what we think. I may, however, be allowed to explain the reasons which underlie this persistent attitude on the part of the Indian Delegation, which, since the earliest days of the League, has been associated with the cause of economy. Even when that cause had fewer advocates than I am glad to think that it has now. You will be aware that India ranks sixth in the list of contributing countries, and that she thus contributes more to the expenses of the League than any country which does not occupy permanently a seat on the Council, a fact which is, I think, noteworthy. On the other hand, India is one of those countries which are least directly interested in most of the activities of the League. I do not wish to be understood as complaining of this fact, which is, indeed, largely due to geographical reasons; but the fact remains that there is comparatively little to which those who advocate the cause of the League in India can point as being either directly of advantage or of interest to India. We can, indeed, point to details of the League's work, such as the Bureau at Singapore and other activities of the Health Organisation, but it is hard, by appeal to such secondary aspects of the work of the League, to justify to the people of India the payment of the large contribution which they are called upon to make. I do not pretend that this sum is itself a very heavy burden, but it undoubtedly represents money which could be employed for necessary and even urgent national services, which, in present circumstances, are in great need of financial provision. I am glad to say that there is no doubt that interest in India in the affairs of the League is gradually increasing, a fact which is good for India and, I venture to think, for the League itself, when we realise that the population of India represents one-fifth of the human race. It would, however, be a thousand pities if this growth of interest were counteracted by a growing irritation at the amount of India's financial contribution, and I may assure you, in all earnestness, that this contribution has been the object of marked and persistent criticism by Indian public men.

I welcome strongly the proposal that the estimate should be referred back to the Supervisory Commission for consideration, in the light of the guidance contained in the resolution which is before us. I do this for two reasons: The first is that the Supervisory Commission, both by reason of the fact that it is a small body and on account of its expert knowledge and its long experience of the matters with which we are dealing, is better qualified than a large body like this to undertake the task with reasonable prospects of success. My second reason is that it is my desire and my duty, as a member of the Indian Delegation, which at an earlier Assembly was largely responsible for the creation of the Supervisory Commission, to make full use of the services of that body, and to ensure that it is given the authority, as it already possesses the experience, to advise fully and freely on our subject-matter.

The Supervisory Commission assure us that the estimates for 1929 present features of grave importance. I have not contented myself simply with accepting their statement, but I have satisfied myself by a careful examination of the figures that this is actually so. We are faced with demands which represent an increase of 1½ million francs on 25½ million francs, to which we may have to add supplementary credits, the exact amount of which we cannot at present foresee. I am far from wishing to take an unreasonable view, and I should be prepared to agree that with an organisation so comparatively young as the League, we must be ready to allow, on good cause being shown, for an increase of modest dimensions. But I ask you to consider where we shall be in, let us say, 10 years' time, if the Fourth Committee accepts an increase of 1½ millions or more every year. I do not wish to insist too strongly upon a rigid application of the resolution passed on the motion of the Indian Delegation in 1926, but the figures which I have mentioned are enough to show that there is a great difference between the spirit of that resolution and the present circumstances. For the years 1926, 1927 and 1928 the amount of each unit of contribution was round about 24,500 francs, but I gather that if the present estimates, excluding supplementaries, are passed as they stand, the unit of contribution will be increased by at least 1,000 francs.

I take it that we will leave to the Supervisory Commission to indicate to us at what points it would be most practicable and least disadvantageous to make the economies which are desired, and I think that we none of us desire to enter into discussion on the details of the Estimates at this stage. But my delegation, as no doubt others, have suggestions which we shall be prepared to make at a later stage, if that proves to be necessary.

I desire, however, before sitting down, to make brief remarks on two particular cases. In the first place I wish to express agreement with the delegate for Great Britain in regard to his remarks in connection with the Economic Organisation. India is deeply interested in the work of this Organisation, appreciates its value, expects important results from it, and desires to support the Organisation in every way. The Supervisory Commission itself expresses a doubt whether the Secretariat and the Government Departments concerned will be able to cope with the additional amount of work contemplated in the Estimates. We delegates may perhaps be unable to estimate

the labours which the Economic Section is competent to undertake, but we can at least express an authoritative view as to the capacity of Governments to give the necessary degree of collaboration. I think that it will be in the interests of the work itself and of those concerned with it on both sides that something less than the programme contemplated in the Estimates should be undertaken.

Though the budget of the International Labour Organisation is not before us to-day, I desire to mention that the representative of India on the Governing Body in April last formally recorded his view that by reason of the extraordinary expenditure to be incurred in 1929, on account of the decision to hold a Special Maritime Conference in addition to the usual Annual Conference, the creation of 17 new posts at a cost of over 200,000 francs should be postponed, at least until the following year. I mention this fact because I trust it will be obvious that if reductions of the amounts suggested by the delegate for Great Britain are to be made, attention should not be confined to the Secretariat and special Organisations of the League. I hope, therefore, that the Supervisory Commission will be entrusted with the scrutiny of all the three budgets; viz. of the League, the International Labour Office and of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

ANNEX XI.—*Report of a Speech by Mr. Yusuf Ali in the Fourth Committee on the 15th September 1928.*

India has always taken a lively interest in the work of the International Labour Organisation. This has been recognised by the election of one of our nationals to the Governing Body. We fully appreciate the importance of the work that is being done by that Organisation and the value of the forceful personality at its head, but we are seriously alarmed by the growth of the Budget this year from 7,958,470 francs to 8,487,280 francs. This was nearly one-third of the total budget of the League, including Secretariat and special Organisations, Permanent Court of International Justice and the buildings at Geneva. In view of the general financial condition of the League it is most necessary to examine this very closely, especially where items of new expenditure were concerned. On page 6 of the budget we find proposals for new posts, numbering 17, and costing 219,900 francs. To these new posts Sir Atul Chatterjee has formally lodged his objection, and we cannot insist too strongly on a thorough examination of the question. I understand from the previous discussion that my honourable colleagues from Norway, Colombia, Switzerland, Portugal, Australia and Great Britain, had already expressed a very strong desire for retrenchment, and I hope the Committee will meet this desire in a practicable form. As was stated in a previous debate, there is a certain amount of financial *malaise* in the League, and a suspicion is prevalent that the creation of these new posts may be due to considerations other than the urgent and pressing needs of the work. It may be said that the Supervisory Commission must have examined these proposals in detail and satisfied themselves about their need. I urge that it is not sufficient for the Supervisory Commission to have examined them. The duty is laid upon the Fourth Committee to satisfy itself, not only that the posts are necessary, but that they are so urgent that they cannot be postponed, or that there are no other items of expenditure that are more urgent than the creation of these new posts. While we all sympathise with the development of the work of the International Labour Organisation, we must fully realise the financial limitations of that work. To fail to do so would be to defeat the very object we have at heart. By concentrating on the items that are absolutely necessary, we shall be able gradually to build up a strong financial position which will enable the Organisation to expand gradually. I reserve further remarks until we come to consider the actual items in detail.

ANNEX XII.—*Report of a Speech by Mr. Yusuf Ali in the Fourth Committee on the 17th September 1928.*

As I had the honour to state in the general discussion, my country is deeply interested in the question of economy and alarmed at the great increase which is shown in the International Labour Organisation Budget for this year. On behalf of the Indian Delegation I therefore support the proposal of the Honourable the Delegate for Great Britain, which would effect a saving of 27,000 francs in the budget of the Labour Office. We have even stronger reasons than those urged by the British delegate. Countries like India, which are far from the meeting-place of the conferences, have to find heavy expenses for the delegates which they send to the conferences. If the conferences were held consecutively, one after another, it is possible that at least one or two of the delegates might be the same for both conferences. On the question of passages alone the saving per delegate would be about £200 to £300, including steamer and railway passages. This would represent something like 5,000 or 7,000 Swiss francs saved on each delegate. The same remark would apply to other countries situated at a distance from the centre of the League. If we only assumed that expenses were thus saved for one delegate for six countries alone, that would represent a saving to the countries of something like 30,000 or 42,000 Swiss francs. Thus we should save even a larger amount to the countries concerned than to the League. I do not consider that the League should view this problem from a narrow standpoint. The interests of the League and of the individual nations are not conflicting but complementary. If the League can effect a little saving in its own budget and can also help other countries like mine to effect some saving in their expenditure in connection with delegations, I think it is a very strong reason for making the saving. The holding of the two conferences consecutively would not in any way diminish the usefulness of the conferences or cause any insuperable difficulties. The Director of the Labour Office has spoken of the strain on his Office when the work is carried on at high pressure consecutively. I am sure we have sufficient confidence in the Director and in his able staff to believe that they would undertake this strain temporarily in the cause of the League as they appear to have done on previous occasions. Other difficulties mentioned might also be got over. The Honourable the Representative for Holland has really agreed in principle with the retrenchment, but suggested a compromise, namely, that the present budget should be allowed to remain, with directions that future conferences should be arranged as far as possible consecutively. It seems to me that even though we distinctly say that this is not to form a precedent, it would still create an awkward precedent which it would be

difficult afterwards to ignore. We are faced at the present moment with urgent need for economy and we cannot afford merely to record a pious opinion for the future. We should try and see that economy is enforced in the present budget, and I feel it my duty to support the proposal of the honourable delegate for Great Britain.

ANNEX XIII.—*Report of a Speech by Mr. Yusuf Ali in the Fourth Committee on the 18th September 1928.*

I do not know whether any other delegation will wish to raise on the item for salaries in Chapter II of the International Labour Organisation Budget a discussion such as we had yesterday on the subject of conferences. My delegation, having carefully considered the tenour and nature of yesterday's discussion, is of opinion that a similar discussion to-day on the much more important subject of salaries would serve no useful purpose, and I simply wish on behalf of the Indian Delegation to make the following statement:—

When the question of the creation of new posts came before the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation, the representative of India moved a resolution in the following terms:—

“That in view of the extraordinary expenditure to be incurred in 1929 on account of the special Maritime Conference, the creation of new posts be postponed so far as possible, and that in addition to the reductions made by the Finance Committee in the Office proposals for the Budget of 1929, there should be a further reduction of 150,000 francs under the heading of creation of new posts.”

This resolution, which received 7 votes against 15 with 2 abstentions, was moved with the deliberate intention that the Indian Delegation at the Assembly might be entirely free when the estimates came before the Fourth Committee and the Assembly. This fact relieves the Indian Delegation of any charge of inconsistency if it now votes against these credits, and it demonstrates that in our view, not only here but also on the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation, the authority of the Assembly in these matters is not only theoretical but real.

Whatever may be the attitude of other members of this Committee the Indian Delegation reserves its liberty to raise the question of creating some or all of these 17 new posts later in the Assembly and to adopt any attitude with regard to them that may be considered necessary. I may add that we are not satisfied, and do not think that it is possible to maintain that the creation of all these posts is necessitated purely by the exigencies of the work of the Organisation, which, in our view, is the sole reason to justify the provision of funds. I therefore oppose this credit, and if the matter is put to the vote in this Committee I shall vote against it.

ANNEX XIV.—*Report of a Speech by Mr. Yusuf Ali in the Fourth Committee on the 20th September 1928.*

M. Réveillaud in his lucid statement has explained the circumstances in which the allocation made for the three years 1926–8 was continued for the present and not revised until the national currencies of several important States were properly stabilised, prices reduced to proper levels, and the effect of these stabilisations had made itself felt on the economic life of nations. For these reasons, the present basis of allocation was continued, but it is now being taken up for revision.

The first question is what budget year is to be adopted as the basis for the revised allocation. M. Réveillaud has, I think, given valid reasons why 1930 should be considered as the earliest year in which the adjustment of prices, salaries and wages, and the full effects of currency stabilisation may be expected to operate. On this point I accept the conclusions of the Committee. But like the Indian delegate last year, I should like to make it clear again that we reserve full liberty of action after considering the conclusions reached and the scale adopted when the specific proposals of allocation came up for consideration. Until then we shall not be in a position to know how the revision will affect India, and how our own financial position would be, as interpreted by ourselves.

There is one point on which I should like further information. The Allocation Committee say in their report that the national estimates for 1930 may be expected to reach the Secretariat during that year and the spring or early summer of 1931. Most of the national budgets are presented in February, March or April. It is possible that some are presented later, for example, June or July. But assuming that the latest national budgets are presented as late as October, it is still not clear why the Secretariat should not be in possession of the last of them during the autumn of 1930. In that case the Committee ought to be in a position to study them and prepare their proposals in time to present them before the Assembly in September 1931. If passed by the Assembly then, they could come into force in 1932, instead of in 1933, as proposed by the Committee.

In the interests of India, it is important that we should be in possession of the new proposals as soon as possible. The Committee is aware that we are entirely dissatisfied with the present allocation. India has to pay 55 units, which is the highest contribution paid by any State not a permanent Member of the Council. India pays more than any of the States holding non-permanent seats on the Council. India is a poor country, and we think that we can convince the Fourth Committee of the justice of our claim that we are too highly assessed. I shall be obliged if full information is given as to why it would not be possible to present the proposals to the Assembly of 1931.”

ANNEX XV.—*Report of a Speech by Mr. S. N. Mallik in the Fifth Committee on the 6th September 1928.*

I rise only to express on behalf of the peoples of India and the Government thereof their sincere appreciation of the work and ideals of the League with reference to the question of Child Welfare. I also beg to thank the *Rapporteur* for the excellent report that he has submitted.

I think that there can be no doubt that the best way to appreciate the great ideals of the League in this connection on the part of any country—whether a member of the League or not—is to try to work up to those ideals.

I have great pleasure to bring to your notice that in India, both the Government and the educated section of the people have taken up the question of child welfare in right earnest. It is also a source of great gratification to me to be able to say that the peoples of India receive great assistance in this behalf from many of the Europeans living in our country and particularly from the ladies of that community. There is yet another source from which we receive considerable help in this matter to which I cannot refer without very deep feelings of gratitude—and that source is the Christian Mission in India.

We have started centres for child welfare and maternity work almost at every important station in India, and I am glad to say that the work is being carried on with considerable care and interest. Hearty co-operation exists almost everywhere amongst the various official and non-official bodies working together for the achievement of the same object. This by itself is a very healthy sign and is calculated to inspire us with the hope that, at no very distant future, appreciable results will be obtained which will again be the source of further inspiration for more comprehensive work leading to the amelioration of the conditions of the future citizens of my Motherland.

Though we are quite hopeful of the future, yet I must confess that a great deal yet remains to be done and that we have great difficulties to contend with. Ours is a vast country with an ancient civilisation with traditions of life which are hoary with age. We have, therefore, got to introduce new ideals and methods of child welfare which more often than not are contrary to our old habits and practices. The difficulties which arise from this particular incidence of our social life are also considerably enhanced by the unfortunate climatic conditions of our country as also by the equally unfortunate economic conditions thereof. Though we have realised that the remedy for all those misfortunes largely lies in our making strenuous efforts to improve the future citizens both in body and mind, and are now accepting the new ideas and methods with avidity, yet in view of the great difference both in ideas and methods between the new and the old, it is not possible for us to make rapid progress, nor is a too rapid progress or forced march desirable either. We also think that it is undesirable to copy Western methods in their entirety and without discrimination. We have, therefore, got to proceed with both enthusiasm and caution, and this is exactly what we are doing now.

Coming to the question of the marriageable age, I can assure you that it is steadily rising in India. Notwithstanding serious and deliberate misrepresentations that have been lately made by interested or ignorant persons or writers of sensational literature at a critical time in our national political struggles, obviously with a view to lower us in the estimation of the world, and thereby deprive us of its sympathy and support in our constitutional struggles, there can be no doubt in the minds of the honest and disinterested workers and observers in India that child marriage, as such, is daily diminishing in our country, particularly amongst the educated people and those whom they are directly able to influence through the process of filtration. Mlle. Vacaresco of Roumania has told us that the Government in that country was endeavouring to set up 18 years as the age of marriage for girls, and she has also said that that age ought not to be lowered in the interests of civilisation in spite of the considerations of race or climate. I am sorry I cannot agree with her views. There can be no uniform age laid down for the purpose, and the considerations of race and climate cannot be overlooked without serious mischief. Entirely different physiological and social conditions obtain amongst different peoples in different parts of the world. A girl of 18 in Europe may be physiologically the same as a girl of 14 or 15 in India. We in India are not prepared, at any rate at the present moment, to run too fast as we want to avoid a revolution. I, however, fervently believe that within a few years the marriageable age will be further raised in India, with the help of the Legislature and public opinion, to the desired level. We long ago raised the age of consent by legislation, again we have raised it further in the near past, and we are now expecting to be able to raise it further at no distant future. In this, as well as in some of the other spheres of social life which do not concern us here, we have a complete answer to many of the deliberate libels that have been published by writers, inspired or assisted by the political anti-India "die-hards." I am extremely glad to say that many white persons who have either been in the public service in India or have been there as voluntary social workers and missionaries and as such have spent their lives in my country, have often recorded testimonies about the mothers and children in India—testimonies full of knowledge, justice and helpfulness which go to wash away completely all the dirt and vitriol which some winter tourist or tiger-hunters in India have so often laboured to throw upon that ancient and spiritual civilisation of India, either through ignorance or through purpose or merely out of colour prejudice. I am happy to say that we are expecting very gratifying results from the work of the various lady students of our country, some of whom are, I am glad to say, present here to-day, who are studying all kinds of social welfare work during their stay in Europe for further academical studies and researches. The benefits which are likely to accrue to our country when these young ladies and others to come return to India and take to educating the future mothers of India can very easily be imagined. Already many have returned and taken to the work with extremely gratifying results. It is a most hopeful thing that the rising generation of educated women in India have taken to child welfare and other social work with considerable avidity.

With regard to cinematography I have a few very important words to submit to you. As an instrument of imparting education, the cinema is undoubtedly the most potent one that has yet been invented. But unfortunately it is a very dangerous and double-edged weapon. It is no doubt capable of deeply impressing into the young mind very useful and desirable ideas and information, and the methods to apply them in practical life for progress and betterment; but it is also wonderfully capable, if abused, of exciting the imagination of children and young people and of misleading them to acts, ideas and methods which are dangerous and subversive of discipline and morality in life. I am sorry to say that a dreadful amount of mischief is being committed in my country by the Western people—whether European or American matters little to us—by sending most objectionable films to India only for the sordid purpose of gain. Objectionable scenes of ante-nuptial love (which, by the way, does not exist in our country), of elopement, and of various other escapades in this line as well as in the lines of horrible crimes, &c., are not only doing serious mischief to tender minds in

our country, but they are very successfully lowering the Western civilisation in the estimation of our countrymen. I deeply deplore this unfortunate result, and I am sure so do you all. The time has come when the League of Nations should take up a very strong attitude in the matter and stop this prolific source of serious international mischief.

I therefore strongly support the view that to the Governing Body of the Cinematographic Institute at Rome capable lady social workers should also be appointed, as women being of the race and have always a keen eye for detecting of mothers are the guardians of morality in all races, and everything that is dangerous to the welfare of children. Child welfare is exactly the field for women's work, and I would therefore suggest that not one, but a large number of women be appointed to the Governing Body, and if possible one of them may be a woman of an Eastern nation.

As to the question of Women Police. Thanks to Providence female criminals are practically unknown in India. This may be largely due to the fact that our women are the guardians of the sanctity of the house and have yet got very little to do with outside or public life. Another very potent reason is to be found in the fact that there is no drunkenness among women in India, alcohol being considered by them—both Hindu and Mohamedan women—as absolutely untouchable. But the principal reason is to be found in the fact that they have got a higher spiritual life, the keynote of which is not mere material enjoyment but loving sacrifice for others.

I am thankful to you for the kind patience with which you have heard me and given me an opportunity of telling this Assembly of international peoples of the world something regarding the actual state of things in my much misrepresented Motherland.

ANNEX XVI.—*Résumé of a Speech by Mr. Mallik in the Fifth Committee on the 12th September 1928.*

Mr. Mallik expressed his country's deep appreciation of the excellent work done by the Body of Experts. Whatever the differences in the practices, methods, and social conditions of the various countries, the information contained in their report was sure to be very helpful to any country wishing to make a serious investigation into the matter of commercialised vice with a view to put a stop to it.

Mr. Mallik gave a brief survey of what India was doing in the matter. In 1922 she had ratified the White Slave Traffic Convention and had amended her penal code by several Acts passed in 1923 and 1924, with the object of affording greater protection to girls under 18 years of age as well as to women over that age in cases of compulsion, intimidation, &c. Full 28 years ago an Act had been passed amending the Indian Penal Code in order to make adequate provision against the offence of rape by raising the age of consent, and in 1925 the law has again been amended to raise it further. Furthermore, the Indian Government sent annual reports to the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children, giving particulars of the cases of traffic detected, of the penalties inflicted and of measures taken to prevent the traffic, together with information concerning obscene publications, against which the law is already strict. India had been the object of serious misrepresentations, particularly by anti-Indian political propagandists, and Mr. Mallik took this opportunity of informing the Committee of her views on the question and of what she had done in the past six years.

There still existed, however, to some extent in one Province only, one practice, viz., legalised temple prostitution (the "devadasi"), the continuance of which Mr. Mallik most deeply deplored. This objectionable practice, by which young girls were being dedicated to the temple for an immoral life, had been going on in Madras Presidency for more than two or three centuries. The custom had grown out of an idea similar to that of the vestal virgins, who were in ancient times the teachers of mankind, but had degenerated and become a cause of shameful treatment to the girls so dedicated. It meant, in fact, legalised prostitution for girls who had never been given a chance of a better life. Efforts had been made in India to suppress the practice ever since 1860, but owing to the lack of popular support and policy of non-interference on the part of the Government, had invariably failed. At the present time, however, thanks mainly to English education, the efforts of Social Service Societies and the work of the Christian Missions, there was a body of public opinion which strongly protested against the practice, so much so that when the great Indian leader, Mahatma Gandhi, took up the question a few years ago, many women who had amassed fortunes in the trade pooled their wealth with the object of helping their struggling sisters in pulling themselves out of the mire. Further, it is a matter of great gratification that the Madras Legislative Council had recently passed a resolution recommending the Government to undertake legislation, or if that were found impracticable, to recommend to the Central Government to undertake legislation, at a very early date to put a stop to the practice. Mr. Mallik thought that there was every reason to hope that the practice would be suppressed within a very short time.

With regard to the experts' enquiries, the Government of India had replied to the questionnaire which it had received on the subject. They have said that there was some evidence of an organised traffic within India on the Bombay side, but there was no evidence of international traffic within India. The Government of India are of opinion that they had no objection to the extension of the enquiry to India provided that it related only to the international traffic and not to the national traffic. If the scope of the enquiry were enlarged so as to embrace the internal aspects of the question, it was reasonable to ask that the inquiry should first be continued in those countries where the restricted investigations had already been carried out.

As to the abolition of licensed houses, Mr. Mallik had listened with interest to the speeches of M. Labrousse and Dame Edith Lytton, the first of whom had dealt with the question from the point of view of science and statistics, while the latter had considered it from the point of view of women, that was to say, from the point of view of the heart and the soul. Mr. Mallik was in favour of recommending abolition. He agreed that patience was necessary, but that was no reason for arguing that the time had not yet come for taking definite and effective action. The argument that licensed houses acted as a safety valve had no other merit than that of mere age. M. Labrousse has laid too much stress on statistics regarding diseases arising out of this vice, &c. Statistics no doubt were very useful, but they could be twisted to the requirements of the person using them, and they would never

satisfy the cravings of the human soul. While M. Labrousse was poring over his statistics, were the other members of the Committee to leave their fallen sisters in dismal despair, or would they give them a helping hand to reform themselves and become good citizens? Mr. Mallik believed that this was God's good work, and scientific experts would never teach the world what it should do in the great matters of the soul. Science is certainly most useful as a guide to ordinary human affairs, but it should not be allowed to arrogate to itself the position of the director of the soul of humanity. Prostitution, it has been pointed out, was an old profession, but so was war. If the League was proposing to stop war, why should it still tolerate at any rate commercialised prostitution, which is so very particularly degrading to the human soul? It is pre-eminently a question for the League of Nations with its high ideals for the good of humanity as a whole.

ANNEX XVII.—*Report of a Speech by Sir K. V. Reddi in the Fifth Committee on the 13th September 1928.*

We have all read with great pleasure and interest the excellent report of the representative of Poland, our *rapporteur*. He has spared no pains to make his report as clear and as succinct as possible. Our thanks are due to him, and I tender them on behalf of India. A well-deserved compliment has been paid in the report to the Opium Advisory Committee, and India joins the *rapporteur* in giving expression to her sense of gratitude for the great services which that Committee has been rendering to the world in the course of selfless humanitarian work. Special reference has been made in the report to the memorandum submitted by the representative of Italy, M. Cavazzoni, containing an elaborate scheme for the control of the drug traffic. That memorandum is a valuable document, and M. Cavazzoni deserves to be congratulated on it. Our thanks are also due to the Sub-Committee of the Opium Advisory Committee for preparing a set of regulations or code for the suppression of traffic in narcotics. Having paid our tribute to these three, I must now proceed to pay the traditional tribute to others to whom reference has been made in the report. I should say that India also shares the sense of satisfaction expressed in the report for the steps taken by the Persian Government to limit opium-poppy cultivation in Persia, though the Persian Government could have done more. We are likewise thankful to Great Britain for the decision of her Government to withhold the right to fly the British flag from any vessel proved to have been engaged in smuggling in Chinese waters; for the steps taken, or which are about to be taken, by the Spanish Government to institute a monopoly system for the trade in drugs; and for the American scheme for limiting the manufacture of dangerous drugs. And now, having paid India's share of tribute to those to whom tribute is due, I must crave the indulgence of the Chairman and of the Commission to permit me to say a few words about my own country and the services she rendered to the world in its humanitarian undertaking. The members of this Commission must have noticed that absolutely nothing is said about India in the *rapporteur's* report. The omission, I presume, is not intentional. India, of course, is six or seven thousand miles away from Geneva and from any of the important capitals of European countries, so that it is, perhaps, no wonder that India's work is not easily seen from this distance. Possibly, too, there is not anything about the work done in India in the report to the Council on the work of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs during its tenth and eleventh sessions. There is some information in the minutes of these sessions. Unfortunately, however, even this information is not very exhaustive, and I am thus obliged to make a statement regarding India.

Before I undertake that task, however, I must entirely agree—notwithstanding the views of the Netherlands—with what is said in the report, namely, that the horizon is dark, though there are bright spots here and there. I may go further and say that, not merely the horizon, but the whole sky, is dark with clouds, though, as stated in the report, there are some bright spots, a little moon and a few dim stars—"dim, portentous stars," as Carlyle would say. And, if I may take the flattering unction to my soul, I may compare my country to the moon, though it will presently be seen, and will be readily admitted, that India is the brightest spot in this dark sky of which we are speaking.

Now I should like to place before the Commission some statistical and historical facts, so that they might serve as a background from which you can visualise and assess the value of the work done by India and the tremendous sacrifices she has made in the matter of this opium suppression. The attention of the international world was not directed very long ago to the suppression of opium traffic. The first time when this question was discussed was at the international conference which met at Shanghai in 1909 on the invitation of the United States of America. Thirteen nations attended that conference, and certain decisions were come to. In 1912 the International Opium Convention was entered into at The Hague. All the 13 nations referred to above signed the Convention, including the U.S.A. and China. In the 1914 Hague Conference 11 countries ratified that Convention. Then came the war, and further progress was arrested. In the peace that was concluded after the war provision was made in Article 295 of the Versailles Treaty to the effect that "ratification of the present Treaty should, in the case of the Powers which have not yet ratified the Opium Convention, be deemed in all respects equivalent to the ratification of that Convention." Under Article 23 of the Covenant of the League provision was made to the effect that "subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to . . . the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs."

I will not trouble you with an account of what has happened since 1920, as Honourable Members are aware of the establishment of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs in November 1920, and of the admirable work that was done by that Committee. The Committee again and again called the attention of the Council and of the Assembly to the urgency of securing the ratification of the 1912 Convention, suggested the licensing system which has since been adopted by some 38 States, called for a census of the world's drugs and for annual reports which contained statistical information. It insisted on severity of punishment and several States complied. Questions of transport were also raised and settled. The Committee then wanted to work out a programme for limiting the manufacture of drugs, and suggested the desirability of

convening a special conference for that purpose. Then came the Conferences of 1924 and 1925, and honourable members are aware of the differences between certain Powers and the United States of America, differences which led to the withdrawal of the United States and China from the Second Conference. India could not agree to accept certain American proposals affecting opium eating, nor could the other Powers interested accept the proposal of absolute suppression of opium smoking in the Far East, on account of the enormous growth of the production of opium in vast areas in China, where revolutionary Generals have brought about a recrudescence of the poppy cultivation throughout the whole of China except the Province of Shansi. The Powers concerned offered that, as soon as China had more effectively suppressed opium production, or suppressed it sufficiently to remove the danger of large scale smuggling, they would at once begin to suppress opium smoking, but the United States would not agree to this proposal either. In spite of the withdrawal of the United States and China, the Convention was entered into and was signed on the 11th February 1925. This, as Honourable Members know, is the Geneva Opium Convention of 1925. Article 36 of the Convention provided that "the present Convention shall not come into force until it has been ratified by ten Powers, including seven of the States by which the Central Board is to be appointed in pursuance of Article 19, of which at least two must be permanent Members of the Council of the League." This condition is now fulfilled, and the Convention will come into force within a week or two.

Having stated that much as regards historical facts, I shall now give you a few statistical facts. Honourable members are perhaps aware that China is the greatest user, and India was the greatest producer, of opium. I say India *was* the greatest producer, because to-day Persia and Turkey seem to be producing as much opium as India herself, while China certainly produces much more. I have no statistics with me at present, but I make that statement on the authority of Sir John Campbell, who told the Opium Advisory Committee quite recently that such was the case. Besides India there are four opium-producing countries to our west, Persia, Turkey, Greece, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, not to mention China to our east.

India there are Croats and Slovenes, not to mention China to our east.

Now, as I have told you, obligations were incurred by the countries that signed the Convention of 1912. India, France, Japan, China and Siam signed the Convention at the very beginning. Greece and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes ratified the Peace Treaties, and under Article 295, as I have said, they became bound by the contractual obligations arising out of the Convention of 1912. Persia signed the Convention of 1925, though it did not ratify it yet. Now my submission to the Commission is, that of all these countries indicated, some of them did not do anything in compliance with the obligations arising out of that Convention, others did something, but not enough. But let us see what India has done! To-day we are asked to congratulate Spain because that country has recently passed, or is about to pass, a law making manufacture of drugs a Government monopoly. In my country opium has been a Government monopoly long before the Hague Convention. Indian administration regarding opium was accepted as a model one both by the Shanghai Conference of 1909 and by the Hague Conference of 1912. Long before those dates opium production was a Government monopoly in India—the poppy could be cultivated only under Government supervision. It has all along been grown only by licensed cultivators, and that only in a limited area, and that again in a single province. The whole produce must be delivered to the Government Opium Department. You cannot conceive of a more monopolistic system of opium cultivation. The Government of India did not stop with this much alone. After the Convention of 1912 was entered into, India made rapid strides in reducing the production of raw opium. Year by year reduction was increasing. A few figures might interest you. British India, for instance, was cultivating 614,000 acres in the years 1905-6. In 1925-6 the figure came down to 71,057 acres. If the extent under cultivation presents such a great and rapid reduction, the fall in revenue will be found to be something more striking. The opium revenue of the Government of India in 1910-1 is in English sterling £7,521,962. In 1925-6 it came down to £3,192,275. That works out at an annual loss of four and a half millions of pounds, or say, on the average, my country is therefore £72,000,000, or, put in the currency of the country in which we meet to day, it comes to 1,800,000,000 francs. Now, let me pause here for a moment and ask a question or two which I am sure this Commission will regard as perfectly relevant. Why did India make this stupendous sacrifice? Why should India make such tremendous sacrifices? Should she continue to make these sacrifices further in the future? It is certainly not because that we in India are rolling in dollars as that great country beyond the Atlantic is known to be. We are certainly not as rich as the Rumanians either—India is a poor country. Those days are gone by when India was believed to be a "Pagoda Tree," by the mere shaking of whose branches the gold fruits could be gathered. No, my country is one of the poorest in the world to-day. The standard of living is very low when compared with European countries. Our infant mortality is something appalling, and there are thousands and thousands of men and women in my country who live on one meal a day. We are thousands and thousands of heavy sacrifice in our revenues. But still we did, and why? Not because we can afford to be charitable—for, as you all know, charity begins at home, and my country requires all the money that we can scrape—yet we did make these huge sacrifices in order that international opinion might be satisfied, in order to show our respect to that international public feeling, and in order that we might lend our helping hand in the humanitarian task of suppressing this great vice of opium smoking and opium drugging. And what is the response that we had from other countries, whether they be opium-producing countries or opium-consuming countries? Very little, very little indeed, and when you come to actual results you will find they are absolutely nothing. Eighteen precious years have passed away, and here is a poor country making enormous sacrifices without other countries adequately responding, and without any results being achieved. For, as pointed out by the Leader of our Delegation last year in the Assembly, without concerted action, without all countries co-operating in this huge task of opium suppression, as in many other matters, it would be impossible to achieve any results. Promises were made to the ear, but are unfortunately broken to the heart! There was any amount of speaking, agreements, resolutions, but, as Macaulay somewhere said: "Sweet words do not butter parsnips, and if the question be how best to make these vegetables palatable, a pound of butter or sugar is worth more than a hundred tons of sweet words," and we have not had much beyond sweet words from the nations concerned

has placed before us. He has displayed a great amount of clear thinking and analytical power on a complex subject which does not easily admit of these qualities. Having said that, I should now like to put forward a few suggestions, which I trust will not be mistaken for criticism.

As stated by Professor Gilbert Murray, the activities of the League have been first directed towards intellectual co-operation, with a view to knit together the intellectual ties of Europe or rather Eastern Europe. That perhaps accounts for the fact that those activities are so far confined to Europe. May I respectfully venture to suggest that if these activities are extended to the East, the work in this direction may perhaps be more useful. Not that I complain that we in the East have not been asked to join in this stupendous task, nor that our co-operation would not be welcomed, if offered by us, but that great results may possibly be achieved if Oriental scholars and savants are requested to co-operate, and if Oriental researches are undertaken, and the advantages may be very large. I know Europe to-day can claim to have reached a very high civilisation and can easily count on many savants, scholars and scientists among the many nations included in that Continent. We too in India can to-day mention a few honoured names, such as Sir J. C. Bose, Professor Venkata Raman and Professor Radha Krishna. But it is not so much to these great men of to-day that I am referring, as to our ancient civilisation and literature. A study of that literature and a research into that civilisation may perhaps lead to results of a far-reaching character. Take, for instance, this particular task of outlawing war in which the League of Nations has been engaged during the last 10 years. No doubt a good deal has been achieved so far. But there are many who still believe that neither the Covenants of the League, nor the Geneva Protocol, nor the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, nor the Treaty of Disarmament and Security, nor even the recent (Briand-Kellogg) Paris Pact can be expected to stop the future wars. That is why, I presume, disarmament could not be effected as much as is desired or desirable. The Paris Pact outlaws war. In other words, the nations have declared by legislation, through covenant, that it is illegal to wage any aggressive war. It is good so far as it goes and no one can quarrel with it. But will such a law really outlaw war—will it really stop all future wars? The experience of India does not warrant such a conclusion. Three thousand years ago my countrymen passed such a law. In Sanscrit it reads as "Ahimsa Paramo Dharma." It is that "Non-violence is the Supreme Law." The circumstances that induced my countrymen to pass such a law are believed in my country to be these. We too had our great war—the Mahabharata War. It was even a greater war than the last European War. It was greater for this reason. The last is of course a great war. It destroyed men, women, children, buildings, libraries and committed all the rest of the havoc so painfully known to you. But the Mahabharata War destroyed all these and destroyed something more. It destroyed all our scientists and artists, and with them our sciences and arts. Whether you accept it or not, you will allow me to state that we honestly believe, though at one time we ourselves put it down to the imagination of our poets, that we too had our aeroplanes and gas fights. There are clear descriptions in our great epics and other literature of aeroplanes (Vayu Vimana), of air routes (Vayu Margas), and of something equivalent to gas as an instrument of war (Samamohana Astram). Now I mention these, not out of any pride, but only to show that all these must have been destroyed during the Mahabharata War, without leaving any trace of their existence behind them.

It was on account of the realisation of the stupendous folly of waging war with such results, we believe, that our forebears framed the law "Ahimsa Paramo Dharma"—"Non-violence is the Supreme Law." To this day if you go to South India you will find that the prayers in our temples conclude with the words "Samasthani Lokani Sukhino Bhavantu"—"Lord, let there be peace in all the worlds." It is not the peace of a single place, not even of our country, nor yet even of our world, but the peace of all the worlds—for we believe in more worlds than one—that we pray for. Every prayer too in India closes with the words: "Santih, Santih, Santih"—"Peace, Peace, Peace," just as you in the Christian world use the word "Amen." Now, I mention this in this connection just to show that our law did not prevent further wars. Not only were there wars in India, but also that great country was subjected to constant inroads by conquering hordes from the North-Western frontier. I also mention this with the belief that if a proper, scientific research is made into this question it may perhaps place into your hand the key to the solution of this problem of outlawry of war. This research can be conducted only by the intellectual co-operation of East and West. It is not the great statesmen, politicians and diplomats, nor even the great scientists that invented the numerous engines of destruction and the brave generals that use such instruments, that can solve this problem of preventing future wars. Rather, may I humbly submit, it is the poets, the professors, the savants and the scholars, and the historians, who may successfully do this work, not only by unravelling the past, but also by creating a universal public opinion regarding the devastating evils of war.

Now, having said that much for the co-operation of the East and West, may I proceed to state the views of my Government and of my countrymen on the subjects referred to in the report? I include the views of the people of my country for this reason. Ordinarily, on matters dealt with by the League, only the views of the various Governments are relevant, for the delegations are the representatives of their respective Governments. But in the case of intellectual co-operation the League consults not merely the opinions of Governments, but also those of individuals and of bodies concerned with intellectual affairs.

Now, as regards the protection of scientific property, the view held by my Government is that the scheme disclosed by the draft convention lays emphasis throughout on the private rights of scientific discoverers and inventors, where according to the law of patents and copyrights now prevailing in India, greater importance is attached to public interest than private rights. In the present scheme an attempt seems to have been made to base these private rights on principles of abstract justice, to enable discoverers and inventors to claim a right to levy a toll on the community in respect of their discoveries and inventions. This is believed to give encouragement to these scientists in their endeavours. My Government possibly considers that humanitarian motives and love of science have all along supplied the incentive for scientists to work. However, my Government would be perfectly willing to admit that scientists, inventors and discoverers are duly entitled to their just rewards, but that in assessing such rewards due care must be taken that public interests do not suffer in any way, and that public convenience and public rights are in no way infringed.

Next, the Indian Government has been asked to form a National Committee for Intellectual Co-operation. My Government would be very glad indeed to form such a Committee, but they are in a somewhat delicate position in this matter. The present constitution of the Government in India is somewhat singular, being in a transitional stage. The Central Government, i.e. the Government of India, is not responsible to the people of India, but to the British Parliament. But in the provinces a form of responsible government obtains. Certain subjects are transferred to the Ministers in the provinces, who are responsible to their Legislative Councils. Education is one such subject. The Education Ministers in the various provinces are thus concerned in this question of committees for Intellectual Co-operation. However, my Government were willing to do their best in this matter. They have accordingly intimated to the League in 1925 that the Inter-Universities Board in India might be recognised as the National Committee for India, and that that Board was willing to undertake the responsibility. But nothing seems to have come out of this proposal so far.

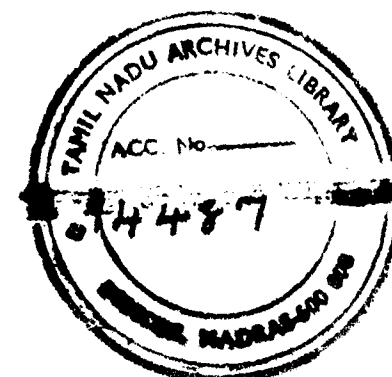
As regards the exchange of teachers between India and European States, the poverty of India is an obstacle. India is more than 6,000 miles from Europe and the cost of sending and receiving teachers to and from this continent is somewhat prohibitive. Further, the teachers in my country are paid low salaries, what in Europe would perhaps be called starvation wages. The same reason applies in the case of sending students from India to Europe. But as regards the education of children and even of adults in the ideals and work of the League, and as regards the value of moral and intellectual co-operation between the peoples of the various nations, something is being done. Associations are formed in important provincial capitals and these are doing propagandist work in this direction. Some books on the subject are published in India in the English language, and I am sure vernacular translations will appear very soon. The Government of India have addressed Local Governments on the subject of education regarding the League and their replies are awaited. In this matter, however, I may say generally that my Government will consider the subject very sympathetically.

Now I have only to add in conclusion that I may be permitted to ask that my remarks in the earlier portion of my speech may not be treated as criticism or complaint. India asks the League and its Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to allow her to lend a helping hand along the path of human progress. However humble her services, she wishes, at least, to co-operate with other nations in this matter.

ANNEX XX.—*Report of a Speech by Sir K. V. Reddi in the Sixth Committee on the 19th September 1928.*

We, in India, have always sympathised with the Armenians in their distress. There are many Armenians in my country, and a whole street is called the Armenian Street in my own city of Madras. In a humanitarian undertaking such as the one under consideration it would be very difficult for anyone, if not ungracious, to doubt the utility or to attempt to measure the extent of possible success. I should, however, like to ask for definite information on one or two points. It is not clear from what has been said up till now whether any refugees who had taken refuge in other countries have already been settled at Erivan. It is now six or seven years since the work of giving relief to the refugees has been undertaken and no one seems to have any definite idea as to when this is to end. Again, Dr. Nansen was speaking of utilising his fund as a revolving fund. I should like to know when the revolution—if I may so say—will be completed. Supposing 10 years were required, will the League of Nations be required to be responsible for the undertaking through the whole of this period? Not that I am in any way opposed to give the necessary relief to the refugees, but that I am anxious that there should be no failure in an undertaking like this. Nor do I doubt the efficiency of the agency of the League employed in the administration of these funds. We all know the work is in the best hands possible. I am, however, very anxious to see that the League's prestige should in no way be lessened, and to prevent that anything undertaken by the League should be said to have ended in a failure. You must not forget that the League has its own enemies. Some at least of the honourable members present here must have gone through a book published in America by Mr. Keller, who, in two volumes, endeavoured to show that the League had already suffered a dozen failures. I myself do not endorse that statement, but it is essential that we should know here, and now, where we are going, and how far this movement of giving relief and of settling the Armenians would prove to be successful.

It is with that object that I have put these questions and I shall be obliged if a satisfactory reply will be forthcoming.



FINAL REPORT

of the

DELEGATES OF INDIA

to the

**TENTH (ORDINARY) SESSION
OF THE ASSEMBLY**

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(1929).

XX-E
201873

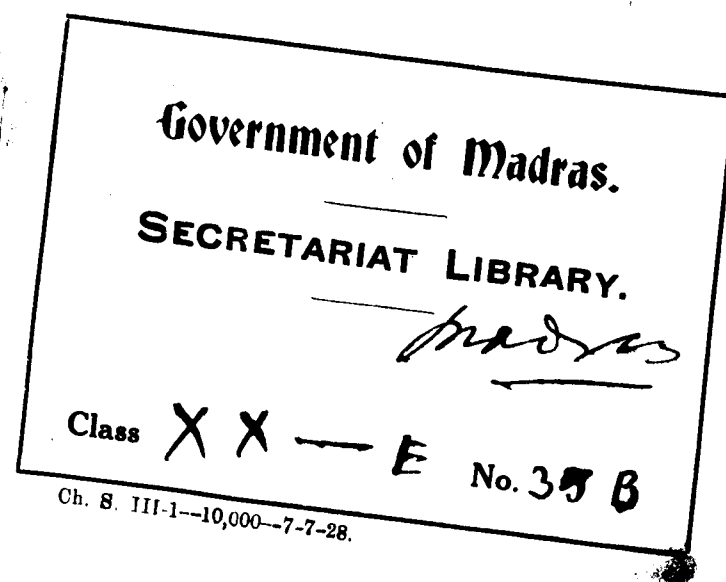


TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Introduction	4
Preliminary Remarks	4
Opening of the Tenth Session	4
The General Debate	5
The Optional Clause	5
Disarmament	6
Amendment of the Covenant	6
Protection of Minorities	7
Economic Questions and the "United States of Europe"	7
Egypt and the East	8
China and Article 19 of the Covenant	8
Sir M. Habibullah's Speech	8
Elections to the Council	9
Elections to the Permanent Court of International Justice	9
Foundation Stone of the New League Buildings	9
Subjects referred to Committees	10
COMMITTEE I.	
Permanent Court of International Justice	10
Amendment of the Covenant	12
Article 19	13
Codification of International Law	13
Ratification of International Conventions	13
COMMITTEE II.	
Work of the Economic Committee	14
Work of the Financial Committee	18
Work of the Health Organisation	19
Intellectual Co-operation	20
Communications and Transit	21
COMMITTEE III.	
Reduction of Armaments	21
Including—	
Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference	21
Manufacture of Arms	22
Financial Assistance to States Victims of Aggression	23
League Wireless Station	24
Model Treaty	25
Communications affecting the working of the League at times of emergency	25
COMMITTEE IV.	
Budget and Financial Questions	25
COMMITTEE V.	
Opium and Drugs	30
Constitution of the Advisory Committee	32
Child Welfare	33
Traffic in Women and Children	34
COMMITTEE VI.	
Mandates	35
Settlement of Armenian Refugees in Erivan	35
Russian and other classes of Refugees	36
Slavery	36
General observations	37
Proposals	38
Conclusion	40
List of Appendices	41

FINAL REPORT OF THE DELEGATES OF INDIA TO THE TENTH (ORDINARY) SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (1929).

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. WEDGWOOD BENN, D.S.O., D.C.F., M.P.,
HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

SIR,

We beg to submit our Report on the Tenth (Ordinary) Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, held at Geneva from the 2nd to 25th September, at which we had the honour to represent India.

2. Following the precedent of previous years we have already submitted our Interim Report, in which we gave a summarised account of matters of general interest and a more detailed description of our own work, and we concluded with some general observations and proposals. This Report reproduces the bulk of the Interim Report, together with the text of the resolutions of the Assembly and certain Reports of Committees and speeches and other matters necessary to complete the record.

Preliminary Remarks.

3. Numerically the Indian Delegation was the same as for some years past, consisting of three full and three substitute delegates. Only one of us, His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, who was making his third appearance at Geneva as a delegate, had had previous experience of the Assembly. We shall offer some observations later as to the need for greater continuity in the representation of India. The leadership of the Delegation was, for the first time, entrusted to an Indian.

4. As soon as those of us who came from India were assembled in London a meeting was held at the India Office, when the position which we were to occupy was explained to us on behalf of the Secretary of State on lines similar to those which have been reported by our predecessors, and we afterwards discussed and settled among ourselves the arrangements for the distribution of work. We met again on the day on which we arrived in Geneva, and later on the same day we attended a meeting of all the Delegations which were representing the British Empire at the Assembly. The Prime Minister of Great Britain, who presided over this meeting, drew no distinction between India and the Dominions in speaking of the importance of voluntary and independent collaboration, and he referred with warm sympathy to the presence of an Indian at the head of the Indian Delegation for the first time. Among other things arrangements were made at this meeting for discussions to take place between representatives of all the Empire States with the object of arriving at the greatest possible degree of uniformity in the declaration which was to accompany the signature of the Optional Clause. Sir Muhammad Habibullah and Sir Ewart Greaves attended these discussions throughout on behalf of India.

Opening of the Tenth Session.

5. The proceedings of the Assembly were opened on 2nd September by His Highness Mirza Mohammed Ali Khan Foroughi (Persian Ambassador to Turkey and representative of Persia on the Council) acting as President of the Council.

6. Fifty-three out of 54 States Members were represented in the Assembly. The Argentine Republic, whose membership is at present only nominal, was the sole absentee. Bolivia, Honduras, and Peru were present after long periods of absence. The Bolivian delegate took occasion to acknowledge publicly his country's gratitude for the action of the League when Bolivia had been involved in December 1928 in a serious frontier dispute which had threatened to lead to war. Six Prime Ministers, some of whom were also Ministers for Foreign Affairs, attended, and the number included the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France. Twenty Foreign Ministers, excluding those who were also Prime Ministers, were present, among them the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and Germany. The number of women who were present as delegates was 12, the highest so far recorded. His Excellency Dr. J. G. Guerrero (Minister of Salvador in France) was elected President of the Assembly, and the election of Vice-Presidents and of members of the General and Agenda Committees proceeded in accordance with the usual routine. We were gratified by the election of our leader to the chairmanship of the Agenda Committee, which happened to be a position of more importance than usual this year. As Chairman of the Agenda Committee Sir Muhammad Habibullah obtained a place on the General Committee of the Assembly, which was a source of advantage in several respects, as well as a much coveted distinction.

The General Debate.

7. It was generally expected that the Tenth Session was going to be of unusual interest and importance. The satisfactory conclusion of the Hague Conference with final arrangements relating to reparations and the Rhineland and the advent of a British Government pledged to a progressive policy in relation to the League were both factors which seemed favourable to important developments. Anticipations were fully realised. The opening debate was distinguished by a number of unusually notable speeches, and these speeches contained, in addition to the habitual declarations of faith, definite proposals and constructive suggestions which set the course of the subsequent discussions in the Committees. The most valuable outcome of the Assembly, namely, the great extension of the acceptance of the principle of compulsory arbitration, was not itself the subject of much public debate. But the initiative taken by various Delegations, and by the British Delegation in particular, in the opening debate led to discussions which dealt with most of the primary aspects of the League's work in a fundamental manner, and resulted in some important modifications of policy and in the institution of some inquiries which are calculated to lead to further notable developments. A convention is growing up as to the proper duration of a session of the Assembly. The length of different sessions may vary within a few days, but does not seem to vary in any precise relation to the requirements of the subject-matter. There is, therefore, a limit to the amount of subject-matter which can be effectively treated. That limit was probably reached, if not exceeded, this year. We should, in fact, be inclined to think that in some matters the concluding stages were subject to undue pressure. It could be reasonably maintained that fuller scope was available for the oratorical than for the deliberative phase of the proceedings. We were glad that it was decided to set up a Committee to consider the means of improving the conduct of the Assembly debates, and we hope that this inquiry will result in some mitigation of the rush, the uncertainty and tension of mind and temper that are apt to characterise the effective stages.

8. It will, perhaps, be the simplest course if we indicate the main features of the general debate under subjects rather than under speakers.

The Optional Clause.

9. As we have already mentioned, the outstanding feature of this Assembly was the acceptance by a number of States, some of first-class importance, of the obligation to submit to the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in all justiciable matters. The provisions of the Statute of the Court which are brought into operation by the signature of the Optional Clause are contained in Article 36 of the Statute, which runs as follows:—

“The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in Treaties and Conventions in force.

“The Members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present Statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare they recognise as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other Member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning—

- (a) the interpretation of a treaty;
- (b) any question of International Law;
- (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

“The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain Members or States, or for a certain time.

“In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.”

10. Of the States which had so far accepted the obligation contained in this article, Germany and Spain were the most important. Speaking at the opening of the general debate in the Assembly the Prime Minister of Great Britain said that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain had decided to sign the Optional Clause and that the form of declaration to accompany signature would be completed during the session; he said further that he believed that each of the Governments of the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations who are also members of the League would instruct its representatives to sign the Optional Clause during the session and would make their own statements on the subject. Correspondence had been taking place before the Assembly between the Governments of Great Britain and those other parts of the Empire with the object of arriving at uniformity in the terms of the declaration to accompany signature, as it was generally recognised that acceptance of the Optional Clause without some degree of qualification was not possible in the complex circumstances of the British Empire and that a common measure of qualification was desirable. The questions raised in this correspondence formed the subject of discussions at Geneva, in which, as already stated, two members of our Delegation took part. Eventually

a formula was drawn up which was acceptable to all parts of the British Empire except the Irish Free State, whose representative signed the Clause subject to ratification with effect for 20 years on the sole condition of reciprocity. This formula as actually adapted to the case of India runs as follows :—

“On behalf of the Government of India and subject to ratification, I accept as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special convention, on condition of reciprocity, the jurisdiction of the Court in conformity with Article 36, para. 2, of the Statute of the Court, for a period of 10 years and thereafter until such time as notice may be given to terminate the acceptance, over all disputes arising after the ratification of the present declaration with regard to situations or facts subsequent to the said ratification, other than—

“disputes in regard to which the parties to the dispute have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other method of peaceful settlement; and

“disputes with the Government of any other Member of the League which is a Member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, all of which disputes shall be settled in such manner as the parties have agreed or shall agree; and

“disputes with regard to questions which by international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of India.

“And subject to the condition that the Government of India reserve the right to require that proceedings in the Court shall be suspended in respect of any dispute which has been submitted to and is under consideration by the Council of the League of Nations, provided that notice to suspend is given after the dispute has been submitted to the Council and is given within 10 days of the notification of the initiation of the proceedings in the Court, and provided also that such suspension shall be limited to a period of 12 months or such longer period as may be agreed by the parties to the dispute or determined by decision of all the Members of the Council other than the parties to the dispute.”

11. With a declaration in these terms Sir Muhammad Habibullah signed the Clause on 19th September in company with the representatives of Great Britain, New Zealand, South Africa, France, Czecho-Slovakia, and Peru. The countries which, in addition to the British Empire States and those other States just mentioned, signed the Optional Clause during the Assembly were Italy, Greece, Latvia, Siam, and Nicaragua. Thus 15 States signed the Clause during the Tenth Session. In all cases, except that of Greece, the signature is subject to ratification. The position in regard to the Optional Clause now appears to be that adherence is effective in the case of 19 States; 18 more have signed subject to ratification, which is pending; and in addition the ratification of Brazil will become effective as soon as the second permanent member of the Council has ratified.

Disarmament.

12. The Preparatory Committee had held in the course of the year a further meeting which had been satisfactory rather from the point of view of clearing the ground for the summoning of the Conference itself than from that of the adoption of conclusions which promised an effective reduction of armaments in the near future. Many delegates spoke of the necessity for an early and radical solution of this problem, but whereas in 1928 strong pressure had been exerted for a date to be fixed for the summoning of the Conference during the following year, there was less evidence of impatience at the present session. The reason for this was clearly to be found in the satisfactory state of the negotiations between Great Britain and the United States of America on the naval question. Mr. MacDonald outlined in the Assembly his policy of proceeding from a provisional agreement between the British and American Governments through an agreement between the five Naval Powers to an agreement of universal scope. M. Briand declared that when the Naval Agreement of which Mr. MacDonald had spoken became an accomplished fact the Preparatory Commission would be able to complete its work and the Council would be able to fix a date for the meeting of the Disarmament Conference. The late Dr. Stresemann, in a speech which was the last but not the least distinguished and courageous of his public utterances, said that after the great disappointment felt at the way in which the question of disarmament had been held up for so many years there was reason to hope that definite progress would now be made; the German representative had had occasion expressly to dissociate himself from the resolutions of the Preparatory Commission at its last meeting because Germany could not agree to share responsibility for a manner of proceeding which was in her opinion not compatible with the provisions of the Covenant; he now hoped that the negotiations between the Naval Powers would shortly help the members of the League out of their dilemma and enable them to make real progress with the disarmament negotiations.

Amendment of the Covenant.

13. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and later Mr. Henderson in greater detail, drew attention to the desirability of amending certain Articles of the Covenant (12 and 15) in the light of the Paris Peace Pact. These Articles, said Mr. Henderson, made possible recourse to war as an instrument of national policy in certain cases where the League under the terms of the

Covenant had not been able to reach a decision in a dispute or where, a decision having been reached, it had not been accepted by the parties to that dispute; thus the right of private war remained legitimate in certain circumstances under the Covenant although it had been abolished by the Pact of Peace. The Pact had thus gone beyond the Covenant, which should therefore be brought up to date. M. Venizelos, the Prime Minister of Greece, who was one of the original framers of the Covenant, but who spoke for the first time in the Assembly, supported the necessity for its revision. Dr. Stresemann thought that it would be necessary also to examine other provisions of the Covenant which were inseparably bound up with the Pact of Paris. The further issue of this proposal will be reported later.

Protection of Minorities.

14. This problem had been examined in its entirety by the Council during the session of last year. Some improvements in the procedure for dealing with minority petitions had been introduced, but there had been no radical modification of the League's treatment of this question. While unanimity had been reached in regard to procedure, the question of substance had been left open. Dr. Stresemann in the Assembly expressed the view that the League ought not merely to give effect to the various petitions submitted to it, but ought under the terms of the minority law in force to keep itself completely and generally informed of the position of minorities under the system set up by the treaties; he expressed a doubt whether the League was absolutely clear and unanimously agreed as to the object to be attained, and he could not regard the present situation concerning this problem as final; he hoped that the League would shortly set up a special Organisation to deal with the minorities question as it had already done in the case of economic questions and mandates; but in view of the discussions which had lately taken place he did not propose this year that the minorities question should be discussed by the Sixth Committee, and he reserved the suggestion of a special organisation for future years. Count Apponyi, speaking for Hungary, associated himself with Dr. Stresemann's remarks, and accordingly the Sixth Committee of the Assembly was not required to discuss the minorities problem.

Economic Questions and the “United States of Europe.”

15. There had been persistent reports before the Assembly opened that M. Briand intended to support the project which is known as the “United States of Europe.” When he spoke in the Assembly he said that he thought that among peoples constituting geographical groups like the peoples of Europe there should be some kind of federal bond; it should be possible for them to get into touch at any time to confer about their interests, to agree on joint resolutions, and to establish among themselves a bond of solidarity which would enable them, if need be, to meet any grave emergency that might arise. Obviously, he said, this association would be primarily economic, for that was the most urgent aspect of the question, and he thought that success might be looked for in that direction; but he was convinced that politically and socially also this federal link might, without affecting the sovereignty of any of the nations belonging to such an association, do useful work. Later he made it known that he intended to circulate to the Governments of European countries a memorandum embodying his views in greater detail and it is intended that the matter should be discussed in a more precise form at the next Assembly. Before M. Briand spoke, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had said, after expressing the hope that M. Briand would elaborate the ideas attributed to him, that the problem of tariffs must be faced at this session of the Assembly; tariff barriers between the producer and the consumer had certainly not in his view been justified by the experience of the world up to the present. He said that every effort to turn political nationality from being the cause of economic obstruction and to make it an instrument in economic co-operation would receive the support of Great Britain. Dr. Stresemann thought that the reorganisation of the relations between the various countries of Europe was not, strictly speaking, one which directly concerned the League, as the League was a world-wide institution and not confined to one continent, but it was a question which indirectly affected the whole conception of world economy; he refused to be sceptical with regard to the idea; he absolutely rejected any political ideas directed against other continents and anything that could be interpreted as an economic autarchy of Europe, but it seemed to him that a great deal had not been done that could still be done; he suggested that the subdivisions born of national prestige were long since out of date and did an immense amount of harm to the continent of Europe, not only in the relations between the different countries of Europe, but in those between Europe and other continents; every step, he said, towards the rationalisation of economic conditions would benefit not only European competitors but also the exporters of other continents. Mr. Graham, the President of the British Board of Trade, thought that at the moment there might be other methods than those implied in the idea of the “United States of Europe” which would lead in the direction of freer trade at an earlier date and with perhaps more practical results. Without wishing to close the door upon any scheme for European federation he hoped that enthusiasm in the study of such a scheme would not lead to discrimination against another continent or against individual countries or among

themselves; if Great Britain or any other country embarked upon a policy of discrimination it would be untrue to all that was best in the economic work of the League, and such a policy might generate that friction which would manufacture war between the nations. Mr. Graham then went on to develop his concrete proposals for an agreement not to increase tariffs for two years and for an effort during that interval to negotiate multilateral agreements for the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers. We shall describe the development of this proposal later. Before the general debate ended Major Marr, the leader of the Australian Delegation, sounded a note of warning as to the position of non-European States. He said that many of these States had radically different economic problems from those of Europe, and that if it were decided that the most appropriate way of dealing with the problem of European tariffs was by means of an international Convention it ought to be recognised by the Assembly that there might be a number of non-European States Members who would at this stage of their development be unable to adhere to such a Convention. The economic interests of industrial Europe and of the younger overseas nations being so different, it was necessary for the League to proceed with caution, for a comprehensive policy in regard to tariffs, while perhaps suitable in Europe, might well be inapplicable in many parts of the world.

Egypt and the East.

16. Speaking with a special reference to the negotiations between Great Britain and Egypt, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald made some observations on the subject of the relations between Europe and the East which we will quote in full:—

"There exists an old world, old in philosophy, old in religion, old in culture, which has hitherto been weak in those material powers that have characterised the Western peoples. But that old world, wrapped in slumber as we thought, has now awakened and, taught and tutored very largely by us, is now beginning to understand what national self-respect is. It is bringing our own ideas home to us borne in its hands, and is asking us to honour the effects of our own action and to grant it, not by charity, but because our own hearts are enlightened, the freedom that we have been nourishing and nurturing for ourselves for so many generations.

"The great danger of war rests then in this, that we may be too long in performing the act of recognition, that we, by our delays, by our half-heartedness, by our lack of courage, may cause forces to accumulate in the political and social life of these nations so that they will present to us not a request but an ultimatum, will make their requests in such a way that, if obstacles can be placed in the way of granting them, those obstacles will so be placed. We say, 'Make peace while there is still time to do it with honour and with self-respect.' In that way peace will come, not as the result of war, not as the result of a challenge, but with all the glowing beneficence of a new day supplanting an old night.

"What we want to do, therefore, in making our contribution in the nature of the agreement with Egypt is this: We want to give those nations full confidence in negotiation and in reason. Never ought we to put the great East into the position of saying, 'Our only chance of becoming free from undertakings that are now too old to be observed is to tear them up in the faces of those with whom we made them.' There rests the danger of war between one side of the world and the other; and by facing the problem in time we shall extend the realm of peaceful negotiation, resulting in the liberties of the peoples of the earth. We shall make allies instead of enemies when the peoples become free."

China and Article 19 of the Covenant.

17. Dr. Chao-Chu Wu, First Delegate of China, referring to the remarks of Mr. MacDonald which we have just quoted, described them as urging the necessity of justice and equality in the relations between peoples whether on the same continent or on different hemispheres, and said that no more inspiring words had been uttered by a responsible statesman since the time, 10 years ago, when President Wilson gave expression to the aspirations of the nations in their dealings one with another. He then called attention to Article 19 of the Covenant, which provides that the Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world. This, he said, was a most essential Article, but the Assembly had not once in the course of 10 years acted upon it. Later he submitted a proposal for the appointment of a Committee to consider and report on the best methods of making effective the above-mentioned Article. The action on this proposal will be described later.

Sir Muhammad Habibullah's Speech.

18. In the course of the general debate Sir Muhammad Habibullah addressed the Assembly. Speaking as the first Indian to lead an Indian Delegation at the Assembly, he acknowledged a debt of gratitude to his predecessors of British race who had served India with single-minded and unswerving loyalty. He described the activities of the Council and of its many organisations designed to promote lasting goodwill and concord among men and to foster

co-operative international endeavour—political, social and economic—as being the most powerful aid to the stability and vitality of the spirit that made for lasting peace. He said that he would take back with him from Geneva the impression of the earnest sincerity and steadfast endeavour of those whom he had met and heard at Geneva, to seek and ensue the ideal enshrined in the Covenant. The records of the Assembly for the last nine years were evidence that India was ardent and firm in her support of the League. The problems of India were in the main different from the problems of economic and political reconstruction which, owing to the nearness of the countries concerned and to their own dangerous implications, the League had had to handle. In spite of India's remoteness and poverty she had been prompt and active in doing her duty by the League, and she was determined to contribute her full quota of energy and effort to the ideals for which the League stood. Sir Muhammad then announced that he had been authorised by his Government to sign the Optional Clause and would do so before the end of the session. India had experienced enough of the effects of the Great War to be able to visualise what havoc a new war could work, and she was as anxious as any other country to see peace perpetuated on a basis of disarmament. A glance at the map of the frontiers of India would show what the difficulties of India were, and so long as they existed India must be prepared to meet them. Subject to this condition, which was really an obligation of national safety, India was always ready to play her part in the preparation of peace. He then proceeded to the work of the technical organisations of the League, and referred to the recent interchange of health officers which had been organised by the League in India, to the visit of the Malaria Commission to India, which was at the moment proceeding, and to the co-operation of India in the work of the Far Eastern Bureau at Singapore; he expressed a hope that the League might later extend to the East its studies in rural hygiene and into the causes of mortality among children. He had singled out the Health Organisation for mention because it was the organisation with which India had been brought most directly into touch, and he pointed out that the strength of a country's interest in the League was substantially dependent upon the interest in its affairs which the League displayed; he observed that there was a feeling in India, as perhaps also in other Eastern countries, that the West claimed most of the attention of the League. It was the aim of the authorities in India to create mass opinion favourable to the League, but before that could be done opinion among the educated classes had to be mobilised. Sir Muhammad mentioned that Associations had been formed in the more important cities to educate public opinion, and it was intended by the Government to hold a conference to consider the methods of inculcating the aims and objects of the League in the rising generation. But practical demonstrations of the League's interest in India, such as he had mentioned, won far more adherents than a multitude of pamphlets and lectures. Questions were being asked in India such as what steps the League had taken to study and understand the needs of India; who there was on the staff of the League to advise with the understanding that came only from affinities born of racial kinship on what was likely to quicken interest in India; and when India might hope to take her place among those who determined the higher policy and discharged the highest responsibilities of the League. Such questions were constantly present in the minds of those who took an interest in public affairs and they pressed for answers.

The text of the speech will be found among the Appendices.

Elections to the Council.

19. The States which retired by rotation after three years' membership of the Council were Chili, Roumania, and Poland. Poland at the time of her election in 1926 had obtained the necessary two-thirds majority in favour of re-eligibility and was therefore free to stand again. There is an understanding that the representation of South America will not be reduced, and it was expected that Roumania would be replaced by another State of the Little Entente. Fifty-three States voted and when the votes were counted it was found that Poland, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (now Yugoslavia), and Peru had been elected by 50, 42, and 36 votes respectively. The only other State to receive any considerable number of votes was Norway with 22.

Elections to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

20. Elections were necessary to fill the vacancies created by the deaths of Lord Finlay and M. Weiss, of British and French nationality respectively. Fifty-two States voted in the Assembly; Sir Cecil Hurst (Great Britain) and M. Fromageot (France) obtained 40 and 37 votes respectively. As these candidates had also obtained a majority in the election held concurrently by the Council they were declared elected.

Foundation Stone of New League Buildings.

21. The afternoon of Saturday, 7th September, was the occasion of an interesting and historic ceremony, when the foundation stone of the new League Buildings, which are to comprise an Assembly Hall, Secretariat Offices, and a Library, was laid in the Ariana Park.

Sir Muhammad Habibullah was present in the special stand reserved for leading representatives of the Assembly and of the League Organisations. Other members of the Delegation also attended. Speeches were delivered by the First Persian Delegate, as President of the Council, by the Secretary-General, by the President of the Swiss Confederation, and by the President of the Assembly, who performed the symbolic act of laying the stone. Some Indian coins and a commemorative inscription on parchment in Sanskrit and Urdu were deposited with the stone, together with similar records of the other States Members of the League.

Work of the Six Committees.

22. We now turn to the work of the six Committees, which were constituted as follows in accordance with precedent:—

COMMITTEE I.

Legal and Constitutional Questions.

Chairman: M. Scialoja (Italy); *Delegate of India:* Sir Ewart Greaves.

COMMITTEE II.

Technical Organisations.

Chairman: M. Motta (Switzerland); *Delegates of India:* Sir Muhammad Habibullah, Sir Chunilal Mehta, Sir Geoffrey Corbett.

COMMITTEE III.

Reduction of Armaments.

Chairman: M. Benes (Czecho Slovakia); *Delegates of India:* Sir Muhammad Habibullah, Sir Ewart Greaves, Syed Raza Ali.

COMMITTEE IV.

Budget and Financial Questions.

Chairman: Count Moltke (Denmark); *Delegates of India:* Sir Chunilal Mehta, Syed Raza Ali.

COMMITTEE V.

Social and Humanitarian Questions.

Chairman: Mr. O'Sullivan (Ireland); *Delegates of India:* His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, Sir Chunilal Mehta, Syed Raza Ali.

COMMITTEE VI.

Political Questions.

Chairman: M. Janson (Poland); *Delegates of India:* His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, Syed Raza Ali.

COMMITTEE I.—Legal and Constitutional Questions.

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

(a) *Revision of Statute.*

23. The Assembly of 1928 had thought it advisable that before the general election of judges which is to take place next year the Statute should be examined with a view to the introduction of any amendments which experience might show to be necessary. Accordingly a Committee of Jurists had been appointed by the Council, and this Committee had produced a series of proposals designed to carry out the wishes of the Assembly, which were not so much that the Statute should be completely recast as that it should be supplemented or improved in the light of experience. The Committee stated that it had in general been actuated by the desire to give the members of the League full assurance that the Permanent Court was a real judicial body which was completely at their disposal and which possessed both juristic competence and experience of international affairs. The Committee's proposals were considered by a Conference which met during the first week of the Assembly and on which India was represented by Sir Ewart Greaves. The conclusions of the Conference were reported to the Assembly through the First Committee. The effective recommendations of the Conference were embodied in textual amendments of the Statute annexed to a Protocol which was opened for signature. The Protocol was signed for India by Sir M. Habibullah.

24. The amendments relate to two main objects: (1) to consolidate the position of the judges, (2) to place the Court itself on a permanent and continuous basis. To meet the first, provisions relating to the functions and occupations incompatible with membership of the Court were introduced, and judges are prohibited from engaging in any other occupation of a professional nature interpreted in the widest sense and covering the activities of a manager

or director of a profit-making company; also a definite salary is substituted for the system in force hitherto of annual indemnities and allowances for each day of service. To meet the second object mentioned above, the system of holding one ordinary annual session, with extraordinary sessions if necessary, is replaced by a provision for the Court to remain constantly in session except during vacations, and the judges must be constantly at the disposal of the Court except in prescribed circumstances; deputy judges are abolished and replaced by ordinary judges, but the total number of 15 remains the same. Among other matters of secondary importance is the transfer to the text of the Statute of provisions hitherto included in the rules of the Court relating to the procedure governing advisory opinions.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly adopts the amendments to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and the draft Protocol (Appendix*) which the Conference convened by the Council of the League of Nations has drawn up after consideration of the report of the Committee of Jurists, which met in March 1929 at Geneva and which included among its members a jurist of the United States of America. The Assembly expresses the hope that the draft Protocol drawn up by the Conference may receive as many signatures as possible before the close of the present session of the Assembly and that all the Governments concerned will use their utmost efforts to secure the entry into force of the amendments to the Statute of the Court before the opening of the next session of the Assembly, in the course of which the Assembly and the Council will be called upon to proceed to a new election of the members of the Court. (*Resolution adopted on 14th September 1929.*)

25. The Assembly also associated itself with a recommendation of the Conference that candidates should possess recognised practical experience in international law and should be at least able to read both the official languages of the Court and to speak one of them, in addition to the qualifications already prescribed in the Statute. The first part of this recommendation, that relating to practical experience, was challenged in the Assembly. The recommendation was therefore put to the vote and adopted by 32 votes to 15, recommendations only requiring a majority vote and not unanimity.

The Assembly associated itself with the following recommendation adopted by the Conference:—

The Conference recommends that, in accordance with the spirit of Articles 2 and 39 of the Statute of the Court, the Candidates nominated by the national groups should possess recognised practical experience in international law and that they should be at least able to read both the official languages of the Court and to speak one of them; it also considers it desirable that to the nominations there should be attached a statement of the careers of the candidates justifying their candidature. (*Recommendation adopted on 14th September 1929.*)

(b) *Adherence of the U.S.A. to the Statute of the Court.*

26. It will be remembered that in 1926 the Senate of the U.S.A. passed a resolution as to the conditions on which the U.S.A. would join the Court. A Conference was held at Geneva immediately before the Assembly of 1926 to consider these conditions, and a Protocol was drawn up with a view to meeting the requirements of the U.S.A. Senate. The Protocol was not, however, accepted by the U.S.A. The Government of the U.S.A. intimated early in 1929 that a further exchange of views might lead to a settlement, and the Committee of Jurists appointed to consider the amendment of the Statute of the Court was accordingly invited to examine, in consultation with Mr. Elihu Root, the question of the conditions on which the U.S.A. would join the Court. The Committee and Mr. Root drew up a new Protocol designed to overcome the objections encountered by the Protocol of 1926. This Protocol was approved by the Conference held to consider the amendment of the Statute and by the Assembly and was opened for signature. It was signed on behalf of India by Sir M. Habibullah.

27. The difficulty to be overcome was connected with references to the Court for advisory opinions. The U.S.A. had stipulated that its consent should be necessary to any reference to the Court in a matter in which the U.S.A. had, or claimed to have, an interest. This point might have been conceded had it been established that reference to the Court for advisory opinions required on the part of the Council of the Assembly a unanimous vote. But it is not in fact certain whether reference to the Court for advisory opinions requires unanimity or whether a majority vote suffices. In the latter alternative, to concede the claim of the U.S.A. would have been to give the U.S.A. a right not possessed by Members of the League. The solution adopted, which is somewhat elaborate, provides for notification to the U.S.A. of requests for advisory opinions, for the exchange of views with the U.S.A. in cases in which the latter claims an interest, and for the withdrawal of the U.S.A. from the Court in the event of the result of this exchange of views proving unsatisfactory. There is every reason for hoping that these arrangements will be found to afford in practice protection to all parties and will succeed in securing the adherence of the U.S.A. to the Court.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly adopts the draft Protocol (Appendix*) relating to the adherence of the United States of America to the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. (*Resolution adopted on 14th September 1929.*)

* Not reprinted.

(c) *Proposal to give the Permanent Court jurisdiction as Court of Review.*

28. The Government of Finland had put forward a proposal for conferring on the Permanent Court jurisdiction as a Court of Review in respect of arbitral tribunals established by States. The proposal had reference more particularly to cases in which it might be claimed that an arbitral tribunal was without jurisdiction or had exceeded its jurisdiction, and the discussion of the proposal in the First Committee was devoted to this aspect of the matter. The proposal found some support, but the balance of opinion was unfavourable to setting up a Committee of Jurists to examine it. Sir Ewart Greaves argued that no difficulty arose if the parties to a dispute which came before a special tribunal had also signed the Optional Clause or if they had agreed in advance that questions relating to the competence of the tribunal might be referred to the Court; but in the absence of these conditions he did not think that there ought to be any attempt to force an appeal to the Court; the parties ought to be trusted to act reasonably, and when they had chosen their own tribunal for a particular case they ought not to be obliged to recognise the superior jurisdiction of an entirely different tribunal in regard to any matter which might arise out of the special tribunal's award; he was therefore against spending money to set up a Committee of Jurists to consider the question. The Assembly eventually resolved to invite the Council to submit to examination the question what would be the most appropriate procedure to be followed by States desiring to enable the Permanent Court to assume the functions of a Tribunal of Appeal from Arbitral Tribunals in cases of difference as to competence, and the results of this examination are to be communicated to States with a view to further discussion.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

The Assembly invites the Council to submit to examination the question: What would be the most appropriate procedure to be followed by States desiring to enable the Permanent Court of International Justice to assume in a general manner, as between them, the functions of a tribunal of appeal from international arbitral tribunals in all cases where it is contended that the arbitral tribunal was without jurisdiction or exceeded its jurisdiction?

The Assembly requests the Secretary-General to communicate the results of the above-mentioned study to the Governments of States which are Members of the League of Nations or signatories of the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, with a view to discussion at a later session of the Assembly. (*Resolutions adopted on 25th September 1929.*)

AMENDMENT OF THE COVENANT.

29. We have already described Mr. Henderson's proposal that the Covenant should be amended so as to bring it into accord with the Pact of Paris. In the First Committee the British delegate submitted textual proposals for amendment, which in fact touched Article 13 as well as Articles 12 and 15. There was no opposition to the view that the Covenant should be brought into line with the Pact of Paris, but opinions were divided whether the amendments could be carried out at this Assembly and whether they should be restricted to the Articles in question. The Assembly eventually adopted on the proposal of the First Committee a resolution which, besides declaring that it is desirable that the Covenant should not any longer accord a right to have recourse to war in cases in which that right had been renounced in the Pact of Paris, contemplates the appointment of a Committee to report as to the necessary amendments of the Covenant with a view to the appropriate action being taken at the Assembly of 1930.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Taking note of the resolution submitted to it on 6th September on behalf of various delegations to the effect that, in view of the large measure of acceptance obtained by the Pact signed at Paris on 27th August 1928, whereby the parties renounced war as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another, it is desirable that Articles 12 and 15 of the Covenant of the League of Nations should be re-examined in order to determine whether it is necessary to make any modifications therein;

Taking note also of the resolution proposed by the Peruvian Delegation on 10th September recommending that a report should be obtained as to the alterations which were necessary in the Covenant of the League in order to give effect to the prohibitions contained in the Pact of Paris;

Declares that it is desirable that the terms of the Covenant of the League should not accord any longer to Members of the League a right to have recourse to war in cases in which that right has been renounced by the provisions of the Pact of Paris referred to above;

Instructs the Secretary-General to communicate to all the Members of the League a copy of the amendments to the Covenant of the League which have been proposed for this purpose by the British Government (Annex*), together with such further papers as may be necessary;

Invites the Council to appoint a Committee of 11 persons to frame a report as to the amendments in the Covenant of the League which are necessary to bring it into harmony with the Pact of Paris. This Committee should meet in the first three months of 1930, and in the course of its work should take into account any replies or observations which have been received from the Members of the League by that date. The report of the Committee will be submitted to the Members of the League in order that such action as may be deemed appropriate may be taken during the meeting of the Eleventh Ordinary Session of the Assembly in 1930. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September 1929.*)

* Not reprinted.

ARTICLE 19.

30. We have already reported the proposal submitted to the Assembly by the Chinese delegate. This was debated at some length in the First Committee and at still greater length in a Sub-Committee. There was general sympathy with the views expressed by the Chinese Delegation, and the moderation of their proposal was appreciated. Among other speakers Sir Ewart Greaves said that though he had no direct instructions from his Government, he felt justified in saying that the Government of India would be very sympathetic to the proposition which had been made on behalf of China, and that they would welcome the appointment of a Committee to consider the provisions of Article 19. Doubts were, however, expressed by other delegates as to the need for elucidating the Article and as to the desirability of any stereotyped procedure for its application. There was great difficulty in satisfying the desires of the Chinese Delegation without arousing apprehensions as to the stability of the treaties of peace. Certain States base great hopes upon Article 19, as, for instance, Hungary, whose spokesman said that Article 19 had afforded Hungary a moral basis for entering the League; other States for obvious reasons approach the Article with the utmost caution. It was eventually agreed not to appoint a Committee to consider and report on the best methods of making the Article effective, and the Assembly adopted a resolution of a declaratory nature as to the right of a Member of the League to place on the agenda of the Assembly questions arising under Article 19, and as to the duty of the Assembly to discuss such an application and if it thought proper to give the advice requested. Although the substance of the Chinese delegate's proposal was not accepted, the preamble of the resolution may be taken as favouring the view that the Chinese treaties are of the kind for which Article 19 was intended to provide.

CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

31. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

I.

The Assembly,

Conscious of the wide scope of the preparatory work undertaken for the First Codification Conference,

Requests the Council to call the attention of all the Governments invited to the Conference to the desirability of appointing without delay their representatives at the Conference, whether plenipotentiary delegates, substitute delegates, or technical delegates, in order that the members of the Conference may be able to make a thorough study of the documentation already assembled;

Recommends that, on the same occasion, the States which have not replied to the Preparatory Committee's questionnaire be invited to be so good as to do so.

II.

The Assembly,

Considering that, for the purpose of carrying on the work already begun for the progressive codification of international law, it is advisable that the Committee of Experts should continue its work, Calls the attention of the Council to the desirability of inviting that Committee to hold further sessions after the First Codification Conference.

III.

The Assembly,

Having examined with the greatest interest the report of the Committee of Three Jurists, Takes note of the Systematic Survey of the Subjects of International Law drawn up by the Jurists with a view to a general codification;

Observes that the report of the Committee upon the publication in the form of a code of the Conventions which are open to States in general shows that such a publication could not at present be achieved in a satisfactory manner;

Is of opinion, in particular, that it would be necessary first to proceed to codify the various successive Conventions which deal with certain particular subjects so as to determine what precisely are the texts in force and the States which are parties thereto;

Requests the Council to call the attention of the technical organisations of the League to the possibility that it might be desirable to make an effort in this direction, with the assistance of the Secretariat and in collaboration, where desirable, with the international bureaux, with a view to having the results of their work eventually brought into force by appropriate international conferences. (*Resolutions adopted on 24th September 1929.*)

RATIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

32. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolution and Recommendation:—

The Assembly,

Recalling the Assembly resolution of 23rd September 1926 regarding undue delay in the ratification of conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations;

Recognising the progress already made by the concerted efforts of the Council and the Secretariat;

Considering that further measures appear desirable;

Requests the Council to set up a Committee to investigate, with the assistance of the Secretariat services, the reasons for the delays which still exist and the means by which the number of signatures, ratifications or accessions given to the conventions referred to above could be increased;

Recommends that this Committee should consist of seven members familiar with the technical aspects of general conventions or with parliamentary and constitutional practice;

Requests the Secretariat to draw up yearly for circulation to the Assembly, double-column tables indicating the position as regards signature and ratification of, or accessions to, the various conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations. (*Resolution and Recommendation adopted on 24th September 1929.*)

COMMITTEE II.—Technical Organisations.

WORK OF THE ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

(a) Problem of Tariffs.

33. Two factors combined to bring the question of tariffs into the limelight this year: first, the realisation that in spite of the weighty conclusions of the World Economic Conference of 1927 in favour of a general lowering of tariffs no decisive movement had yet occurred in this direction, and secondly, the tentative approaches to the idea of a "United States of Europe" of which we have spoken above in our report of the opening debate. Corresponding to these two factors there were two main currents of thought: first, that a solution of the problem must depend rather upon direct dealings between Governments than upon negotiations between technical experts, and moreover that for successful dealings between Governments a fundamental change in the conception of commercial policy in the direction of collective undertakings is needed; and secondly, that the conditions which call for and permit of a solution on these lines in the near future prevail mostly in Europe.

34. We have already described Mr. Graham's proposal in the Assembly for a tariff holiday during which negotiations for a collective reduction of tariffs might proceed. The main problem which the Second Committee had to face was how to give effect to this proposal without giving it an unpractically wide extension and at the same time without limiting it in a way which would be inconsistent with the universality of the League and which would arouse apprehensions in those States which might not feel justified in sacrificing their liberty of action and yet might be affected by the collective action of others.

35. The British Delegation first put Mr. Graham's proposal before the Second Committee in the form of a draft resolution which restricted the scope of the negotiations to protective tariffs and contemplated a Conference to secure by the end of 1931 a general reduction of such protective tariffs as were excessive, this Conference to be attended only by such countries as were ready to agree not to raise the level of their protective measures. The French Delegation also submitted a proposal of a similar nature for a Conference of Government representatives. These drafts were soon replaced by a joint British-French-Belgian draft, which elaborated the idea already described. In the course of the discussion on this resolution the Australian delegate expanded the views expressed on behalf of Australia in the Assembly to which we have already alluded; he thought there was too great a tendency to suggest that the League stood for a definite economic policy of free trade and that tariffs imposed for protective purposes were contrary to international ideals; the conclusions of the Economic Conference of 1927, he pointed out, aimed first at improving the European situation which had been made insecure by the new political frontiers resulting from the war, and secondly, not at the elimination of customs tariffs, but at the substitution of a movement for lowering them in place of one towards their increase; the Committee should realise frankly that the intention of the resolution was primarily European and that the younger overseas countries must retain their freedom of action; if these countries did not find themselves able to be associated with the resolution it should not be regarded as signifying lack of interest in the economic work of the League. The delegate of the Irish Free State regretted that the work of the League offered so little benefit to the agricultural countries and to those whose economic development was in its infancy; the overseas countries appeared to be disposed to accept the resolution on the understanding that it related exclusively to European problems, but he represented a country which was in a similar state of development and yet European; he objected strongly to the idea that only those countries which were able to pledge themselves to a tariff truce should take part in the subsequent developments; if this were the case the resolution would create a barrier between nations according to the state of their economic development and would be a step in the wrong direction. As will be seen later, the resolution was subsequently revised to meet this point.

36. Sir Geoffrey Corbett, speaking for India, said that there was no real parallel between Europe, separated by the tariff walls of 27 separate customs units, and India with its vast population, its single external customs régime and its freedom from internal barriers; he did not wish to criticise or discourage any attempt to solve the economic difficulties in which Europe was involved; he agreed with the view that had been expressed that it was not tariffs so much as discriminating tariffs that were the evil; he associated himself with the protest of the Australian delegate against the suggestion that the Economic Conference of

1927 had condemned tariffs as such, and he quoted the report of the Conference to the effect that steps should be taken to remove or diminish those tariff barriers which gravely hampered trade, starting with those which had been imposed to counteract the effects of disturbances arising out of the war; he appreciated that in some countries the word "tariff" might have become synonymous with "high tariff," but in India it was considered that the existing tariff system already conformed to the principles approved by the World Economic Conference; the Indian tariff was primarily a revenue tariff, a tax on consumption and a method of taxation well suited to the conditions of the country; he described the Indian system of discriminating protection and said that the protective duties were few and granted for a period which was ordinarily limited by statute; he regretted in these circumstances that India was unable to support any resolution or to participate in any Conference which would bind her to refrain from increasing her customs duties for a term of years; he was aware that the resolution limited the undertaking to protective tariffs, but any experienced person would admit that in practice it was not easy to distinguish definitely between a revenue and a protective duty; he would not be willing to put India in a position in which she might be accused of increasing a duty for protective purposes under cover of revenue interests, and apart from that India was not prepared to suspend for a term of years her policy of protection, which she considered to be sane and moderate and necessary for the economic welfare of the country; the resolution spoke of the undertaking as a means of creating an atmosphere of confidence, but there was nothing in the tariff policy of India that need disturb the confidence of anyone; he was glad that the Irish delegate's point as to the impolicy of excluding from further developments those who were not able to agree to a tariff truce had been met; it was too early to consider whether India would accept an invitation to take part in the final Conference, but other countries might find that from their own point of view such a Conference might suffer from the enforced absence of a country like India; as a consumer of goods manufactured in Europe India was an important market, and the economic recovery of Europe depended to a large extent on the prosperity, on the increased purchasing power of the vast populations of countries like India; such countries could not pay for imports of manufactured articles from Europe unless they could find a fair market for their exports of agricultural produce; it was therefore necessary that considerations like these should be carefully weighed and that efforts should be made to check any tendency towards raising tariff barriers against agricultural produce, to stabilise agricultural prices and to rationalise the distribution of agricultural produce. The text of Sir G. Corbett's speech will be found in the Appendices.

37. The Japanese delegate associated himself with Sir Geoffrey Corbett's remarks. He went on to ask some pertinent questions which anticipate the difficulties that may arise. What, he asked, would be the criterion for distinguishing between protective and fiscal tariffs? Would the countries which had completed their readjustment to the effects of the war be placed on the same footing as those in which this process was still incomplete? What would be the position in regard to the tariff truce of the overseas colonies of European Powers? How would the League's principle of universality be reconciled with the continental treatment of the problem which the resolution seemed to involve? If the European nations collaborated in the sense of the "United States of Europe" idea, how would those outside such an arrangement stand with regard to their rights under the most-favoured-nation clause? If the latter nations had to adopt measures of defence, would the result be favourable to economic peace?

38. The conclusions which resulted from these discussions represented a compromise which all could accept, but which few, if any, received with enthusiasm. All States are to be invited to say before the end of 1929 whether they desire or not to take part in a Diplomatic Conference with a view to the conclusion of a tariff truce and, if necessary, to the establishment of a programme of subsequent negotiations with a view to the conclusion of collective agreements; when the replies are received the Council is to decide whether such a Conference should be held, and if it is held the date should be as near as possible to the end of January 1930; if this Conference takes place it is to be followed by negotiations for the conclusion of collective agreements between the States which have concluded the tariff truce, who may by common consent invite any other State to take part in the negotiations; finally, there will be a Conference to take note of the results of these negotiations, to examine them and if necessary to supplement them, and all States without distinction will be invited to this Conference.

39. Many other aspects of the work of the Economic Organisations were touched upon in the course of the debate and are covered by the resolutions adopted. As, however, the tariff question overshadowed all others and has necessitated a somewhat extended treatment, we shall not in this Report do more than allude to three other matters, coal, sugar and the satisfaction of agricultural interests.

(b) Coal.

40. The Economic Committee had studied the various aspects of the present serious position of the coal industry and for that purpose had organised a meeting of experts on the owners' side and had consulted Labour experts. A joint meeting of both parties was to be

held shortly after the Assembly to discuss the ideas of the Economic Committee in regard to the international aspects of the coal problem. Pending the result of these studies the Second Committee considered that the International Labour Office should be invited to continue the inquiry which it had already undertaken into wages, hours, and general working conditions in the industry. The Assembly accordingly invited the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation to consider the inclusion of these problems in the agenda of the Labour Conference of 1930 with a view to the conclusion of one or more Conventions. Further, it is proposed to hold before the Labour Conference of next year a preparatory Technical Conference of representatives of the Governments, employers, and workers of the principal coal-producing countries of Europe, for the purpose of defining the questions which might be included under this heading in the agenda of the next Labour Conference. It is to be noted that although the resolution does not actually restrict the scope of the procedure to European questions, that is in fact the intention, and if that intention is carried out the International Labour Conference of 1930 will be called upon to deal with a European problem. Sir Geoffrey Corbett called attention to the fact that it was proposed to ask a Conference of European experts to define questions which were not explicitly restricted to Europe, and he was assured that the proposed agreement only concerned European countries and that it was not proposed to include India within its scope.

(c) *Sugar.*

41. With the aid of a Committee on which India was represented by Mr. J. N. Gupta, Deputy Trade Commissioner in London, the Economic Organisation has been studying the crisis which has arisen in the sugar industry from over-production. The experts were agreed in recognising that the difficulties had been accentuated by the measures taken in many countries to stimulate the production of sugar without consideration of the effects of their unco-ordinated action on the world situation, but the majority were of opinion that in existing circumstances the conclusion of an international Convention would not be likely to provide a solution. The attention of Governments is being called to the benefits which might result from a lowering of Excise duties. The Economic Committee will continue to follow the subject, and an international Conference will be called if that should appear desirable.

(d) *Agricultural Interests.*

42. The Economic Organisation has so far had little opportunity of studying subjects which primarily affect agricultural interests. Those interests are now calling for more attention. The League is not at present equipped for meeting this demand because of the independent existence of the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. The Economic Consultative Committee had made a proposal in favour of the attachment of agricultural experts to the Economic Organisation, but as this proposal was still under the consideration of the Economic Committee the Assembly was not in a position to take any action. The Economic Consultative Committee had also recommended, with reference to the possibility of collective action for the reduction of tariffs by groups of commodities, that if possible the first commodity group to be selected should be one of substantial importance, not only to industry, but also to agriculture; such, for instance, as agricultural implements and machinery. This suggestion also is under the consideration of the Economic Committee.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions and Recommendations :—

1. The Assembly,

(a) Has taken note of the results obtained during the discussions of the Economic Consultative Committee and expresses its appreciation of the persevering efforts of that Committee and of the Economic Committee;

(b) It is impressed by the importance of taking all possible steps to carry into effect the recommendations of the World Economic Conference of 1927;

(c) It considers that no effective action will be possible in the future unless the Governments are now requested to examine in their turn the questions left in suspense by the Consultative Committee and by the Economic Committee, availing themselves of the work accomplished by those Committees to assist them in their decisions;

(d) The Assembly therefore recommends that concerted action should be taken under the following conditions by such Members of the League of Nations and non-member States as may desire to participate therein :—

(1) In order that this concerted action may be pursued on a firm basis and in an atmosphere of confidence, the Assembly recommends that States which are prepared to participate therein should agree not to increase their protective tariffs above the present level for a period of from two to three years, or to impose new protective duties or create new impediments to trade. It is understood that this undertaking should not lead to any relaxation in the efforts which States are making to reduce their tariffs to the greatest possible extent by autonomous or bilateral action, in conformity with the recommendations of the World Economic Conference.

(2) The Assembly therefore hereby requests Members of the League of Nations and non-member States to intimate to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations before 31st December 1929, with or without the name of their representative, whether they are prepared to take part in a preliminary conference of delegates of Governments with a view to the conclusion of the agreement referred to in para. 1 above, and to the establishment, if necessary, of a programme of subsequent negotiations for facilitating economic relations by all practical means and especially by reducing hindrances to trade;

Requests the Council to instruct the Economic Committee to frame, during its next session, the text of a preliminary draft intended to serve as a basis for discussion.

On the basis of the replies received to the above invitation, the Council of the League of Nations shall decide, taking into account the number and character of States having replied in the affirmative, whether the diplomatic Conference referred to in para. 2 should be held;

Invites the Secretary-General to take all necessary steps to ensure that this preliminary conference should meet at a date as near as possible to the end of January 1930.

(3) The Assembly recommends that, after the conclusion of the truce, the negotiations referred to in the first paragraph of (2) above should be initiated between the States having concluded the truce. The latter may, by common agreement, invite any other State wishing to do so to take part in these negotiations.

(4) A final diplomatic Conference will take note of the results of the negotiations referred to above, will examine them and will supplement them if necessary.

To this Conference all States without distinction will be invited.

2. The Assembly considers in principle that the adoption of the doctrine laid down by the Economic Committee with regard to tariff systems, contractual methods and the application of the most-favoured-nation clause would do much to improve international economic relations and strongly recommends the conclusions of the Committee to the attention of Governments, whom it invites to submit their observations on this matter as soon as possible to the Council.

3. The Assembly notes that only 13 ratifications have so far been secured for the Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, though there is reason to hope that further ratifications may be deposited before the expiry of the time-limit on 30th September. By that date, however, the 18 ratifications required to enable the Convention to come into force will probably not have been obtained. The Assembly once more emphasises the importance of this international instrument and addresses an urgent appeal to all Governments concerned to do all that lies in their power to enable the Convention to come into force on 1st January 1930.

4. The Assembly notes with satisfaction that 17 States have undertaken to put into force on 1st October the two international Arrangements of 11th July 1928 relating to the Export of Hides, Skins and Bones.

5.—(a) The Assembly has been informed that an International Conference is to be summoned for 5th November 1929, the basis of its discussions being the draft Convention prepared by the Economic Committee concerning the Treatment of Foreigners and Foreign Undertakings.

It is convinced that the entry into force of an international convention based on this draft would do much to promote international co-operation by ensuring better and more equitable conditions for the establishment and economic activities of the nationals of one country admitted to the territory of another.

The Assembly therefore recommends the Conference to examine the principles of the draft Convention in the most liberal spirit and with the sincere desire to secure the recognition, as regards such establishment and questions connected therewith, of a regime of equity and freedom, excluding entirely all possibility of discrimination as between the treatment of nationals and foreigners, and by providing the latter with every facility for the conduct of their profession or trade.

(b) The Assembly also expresses the desire that the Economic Committee should obtain information as soon as possible which would enable the Council to decide whether, in what form and to what extent the problem of the admission of foreigners in its economic aspect might usefully be considered.

6. The Assembly,

Notes that the establishment of a simplified and unified Customs nomenclature is necessary for the conclusion of collective tariff agreements;

Considers that the Committee of Customs Experts should have completed the preparatory work entrusted to it before the meeting of the eleventh session of the Assembly, and that no effort should be spared to obtain this result.

7. The Assembly notes that the Convention on the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards, opened for the signature of the several States by the Assembly on 26th September 1927, has up to the present been ratified by only five Governments;

It draws the attention of all States which are contracting parties to the Protocol of 1923 on Arbitration Clauses, to the practical interest which they have in also signing and ratifying the 1927 Convention, as the latter supplies an important deficiency in the 1923 Protocol.

8.—(a) The Assembly expresses its sincere appreciation of the work performed by the Economic Committee in investigating the causes and effects of the present difficulties confronting the coal industry, and congratulates it upon its illuminating Interim Report which it has already issued.

(b) It notes the statement of the Economic Committee in its Interim Report that, "as regards the third of the proposals for international action, that which relates to wages and hours, we will confine ourselves at this stage to saying that action in this field would appear to fall within the competence of the International Labour Office and not that of the Economic Organisation of the League";

It further understands that the International Labour Organisation has been conducting inquiries as to hours, wages, and conditions of work in coal-mines since 1925, and that for several months the Governing Body has had under consideration a request from the Congress of the International Miners' Federation, which met at Nîmes last year, to convene a conference of the principal coal-producing countries with a view to the equalisation and reduction of hours of work;

Owing to the great urgency of the matter, the Assembly is of opinion that the International Labour Organisation should pursue its work without delay, and accordingly invites the Council to request the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to consider the inclusion in the agenda of the International Labour Conference of 1930 of questions relating to hours, wages, and conditions of work in coal-mines with the object of agreeing upon an international convention or conventions thereon, while in the meantime the Economic Committee will prepare its final report, which, together with the Interim Report, will be available for the Conference referred to in this resolution;

The Assembly further suggests that the Governing Body should consider the advisability of convening at an early date a preparatory technical conference consisting of representatives of the Governments, employers, and workers of the principal coal-producing countries of Europe, in order to advise it as to what questions relating to conditions of employment in coal-mines might best be included in the agenda of the International Labour Conference of 1930, with a view to arriving at practical international agreement;

The Assembly invites the Council, on the one hand, to consider the recommendations which the Economic Committee may formulate as a result of the meeting of experts convened for 30th September with regard to the difficulties at present encountered in the coal industry, in particular the fluctuations in price and the existing difference between production and consumers' needs, and, moreover, to consider, taking into account more especially the results of this examination, the expediency of convening a conference of the Governments concerned to study the recommendations in question.

9. The Assembly notes that the Economic Consultative Committee, at its session in May 1928, adopted a proposal for the institution of an inquiry into the sugar industry, and that the Economic Committee made a report to the Council on this subject in July 1929.

It notes also that the Economic Committee, while awaiting the replies of Governments on the question of the possibility of reducing excise duties, is continuing to watch developments in the sugar question so as to be able at any moment to advise the Council whether concerted international action would facilitate the solution of the problems under consideration.

The Assembly accordingly requests the Council to examine such recommendations as the Economic Committee may put forward in regard to the present difficulties in the sugar industry, especially price-fluctuations and the existing disproportion between supply and demand, and to consider, having regard more particularly to the results of the investigation, whether it is desirable or not to summon a meeting of representatives of the Governments concerned to study these recommendations.

10. The Assembly desires to aid as effectively as possible international economic co-operation in so important a sphere as the trade in agricultural products:—

(a) It notes with satisfaction the progress made by the Sub-Committee of Experts with regard to veterinary police measures in investigating the guarantees which the countries interested might grant to international commerce, particularly as a result of the organisation of their veterinary services, and the publication of their health bulletins on the lines proposed by the experts and communicated to the Governments.

It expresses the desire that the Sub-Committee's work should be actively pursued with a view to the framing of definite proposals to facilitate the export of cattle and animal products, regard being had to the interests of both exporting and importing countries.

(b) It draws attention to the recommendation made in the same sense by the World Economic Conference of 1927 as regards diseases in plants and, while welcoming the conclusion of the International Convention signed in April 1929 under the auspices of the International Institute of Agriculture, trusts that inquiries into the commercial aspect of the problem will be actively pursued.

11.—(a) The Assembly notes with satisfaction the conclusion of the Convention of 14th December 1928 on Economic Statistics and hopes that a large number of States will ratify this Convention without delay;

It expresses the hope that effect will be given to recommendation XI adopted by this Conference, and that the list of places of loading and unloading mentioned in this recommendation will be duly prepared and published;

It emphasises the value of the publications of the Economic and Financial Organisations and approves the annual publication of a general survey of the world situation as set out in the "Memorandum on Production and Trade," which is prepared for the Economic Consultative Committee.

(b) The Assembly is impressed by the importance of the work of the League in keeping the world informed of the progress of economic events;

It believes that, as a result of the application of the Convention relating to Economic Statistics and the recommendations of the Statistical Conference and of the Economic Consultative Committee on this subject, the provision of improved economic information and, in particular, of more complete statistics relating to industrial production may confidently be expected.

It therefore requests the Council to consider the possibility of arranging for the preparation in the near future of a comprehensive annual survey of economic developments and for the collection by the Economic Organisation of all the information required for this purpose.

(c) It expresses its warm appreciation of the generous offer of the Rockefeller Foundation to pay for the preparation and publication of a Collection of Monetary and Central Banking Laws of the World and resolves that this collection be subsequently kept up to date by the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League of Nations. (*Resolutions and Recommendations adopted on 23rd September 1929.*)

WORK OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE.

43. The work of the Financial Committee has fallen into two categories: (1) work which is primarily concerned with particular States, and (2) work of a general character not peculiar to any particular country. The first category embraces the schemes of financial reconstruction and refugee settlement, which have been carried out in Greece and Bulgaria, and financial measures for Austria, Hungary, Danzig, Estonia, and the Saar Territory. No new responsibilities have been accepted under this heading during the past year and the Committee has been to a greater extent occupied with general problems. The most important of these, and one with which India is closely concerned, is the question of the purchasing power of gold. It is essentially a problem for a well-organised and methodical international inquiry, and the League of Nations alone is qualified to contribute materially to its solution. The inquiry has been started and has been entrusted in the first instance to a body consisting of certain members of the Financial Committee and certain other experts; among the latter is Sir Reginald Mant.

44. One product of the Financial Committee's activities was the subject of detailed examination during the Assembly, namely, the draft Convention on Financial Assistance for States which are the victims of aggression. We shall deal with this in describing the work of the Third Committee. The other aspects of the Financial Committee's work which fell to be dealt with in the Second Committee did not give rise to much discussion, a fact which may be taken as a tribute to its soundness, and we did not find ourselves called upon to say anything.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Takes note of, and expresses its satisfaction with, the work of the Financial Committee;

Particularly appreciates that the study of the undue fluctuations of the purchasing power of gold has begun, and hopes that this most important work may contribute to the economic well-being of all nations. (*Resolution adopted on 23rd September 1929.*)

WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

45. The work of this Organisation has been consistently distinguished for the facts that it avoids diffusion of effort and concentrates on a limited number of practical problems, and that it is able to achieve a balance between the interests of different parts of the world, between, for example, those of Asia and South America and those of Europe. Its systematic practice is to draw practical conclusions from the comparison of national experiences and to place them at the disposal of Governments. An inquiry into the causes of infant mortality has been carried out in seven countries of Europe and in four of Latin America, and plans are being made for its extension. The Malaria Commission, after inquiries in Europe, North America, and Asia Minor, has formulated a set of principles for directing anti-malarial measures, and it is claimed that these principles have already served as a guide to various Health Administrations. A delegation of this Commission landed in India shortly before the Assembly opened, and it will study the programme and results of the anti-malarial measures adopted in India to the mutual benefit, it is hoped, of India and of many other countries. The accumulation in the Health Organisation of comparative knowledge of the sanitary methods of different countries has led countries which are considering the reorganisation of their health services to apply to the Health Organisation for advice and guidance. Thus the Greek Government invited the Health Committee to submit plans for the establishment of a modern Public Health Service in Greece; the recommendations which resulted have been accepted in their entirety by the Greek Government and legislative sanction has been obtained for the execution of them. Bolivia has now made a similar request, and in response to an invitation of the Chinese Government experts of the Health Organisation are now visiting China to make a survey on port health and maritime quarantine. An inquiry into leprosy is being conducted in Latin America and will be extended to the East later. It is contemplated also that the study of rural hygiene which has been taking place in Europe should be continued in the East.

46. For five years past the Health Organisation has had the assistance of generous financial grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, a large part of the cost of the Epidemiological Bureau at Singapore as well as the cost of other activities having been met from this source. The Second Committee learnt with gratification that an agreement had been concluded for a period of five years from the 1st January 1930 for the payment of an annual subsidy by the Rockefeller Foundation equal to the contributions already drawn from this source.

47. Mr. Bajpai, speaking for Sir M. Habibullah, paid a tribute to the work of the Health Organisation and to the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation, and he said that special gratitude was due to the latter from Asiatic countries because of the growing importance of the Singapore Bureau. He said that the Organisation could not legitimately be expected to work within any rigid financial limits, and if its activities were to grow it seemed impossible that its budget should remain stationary; at the same time, development must not be too rapid, and should be based on proposals which benefited all the States Members and which were important from the humanitarian point of view as well as from that of practical science; India did not grudge the assistance which was being given to countries in Europe and in Latin America, but the East with its huge populations and its deadly epidemics should not be neglected. He proposed that the Health Committee at its next meeting should endeavour to formulate a programme of work for a period of three to five years, together with an estimate of expenditure, and that this programme and estimate should be circulated in time for consideration at the next Assembly; Government should be asked to submit suggestions for consideration by the Health Committee in order that the task of framing a comprehensive and well-thought-out scheme might be facilitated. He thought it would be desirable if the Health Organisation could arrange, by means of the interchange system, for the exchange between sanitary experts of the Near East and of the Middle and Far East of knowledge in regard to health problems in rural and industrial areas under conditions broadly analogous. He also thought that it would be useful if facilities could be provided for health officers from the East to study special problems, such as that of water supply, in the more advanced western countries where these elementary but essential matters have been perfected.

48. The Assembly of 1925 had fixed the amount to be included in the budget of the League for the support of the Health Organisation at one million francs. Since then the work has grown and in particular has extended more and more to the countries outside Europe, an extension which, on account of travelling expenses, is costly.

49. The Second Committee took the view that without some increase of this maximum it would not be possible to continue to satisfy the requests for assistance submitted by non-European Members of the League, and in support of this view a passage included, on the motion of the Indian Delegation, in the Resolution of the Assembly of 1928, which congratulated the Health Organisation on the increasing success of its far-sighted policy of practical collaboration with extra-European countries, was quoted. As we shall have occasion to mention later, the Fourth Committee approved the grant of additional credits for work in Latin America and in the Far East.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Notes with satisfaction the results achieved by the policy which the Health Organisation has persistently followed of concentrating on certain well-defined branches of international public health;

Notes, in particular, that the Health Organisation systematically draws practical conclusions from the comparison of national experiences and places those conclusions at the disposal of Governments;

Desires to express its appreciation to the health administrations of the different countries as well as to the members of the Health Committee and to the experts who have contributed to this work;

Considers that the Health Organisation is pursuing, from an international point of view, a work of great importance, by co-operating and consulting with national health administrations in the different continents;

Approves the work carried out by the Health Organisation since the last Assembly;

Takes note of the work of the Health Organisation in Latin America and in the Far East, which necessitates the provision of supplementary credits;

Approves the budget estimates relating thereto which have been placed before it. (*Resolution adopted on 21st September 1929.*)

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

50. Our predecessors in 1928 reported that there was a feeling that the Institute for Intellectual Co-operation at Paris was in danger of diffusing its energies and that the Committee had decided to take stock of its work and to review the programme of the Institute so that efforts might be concentrated on essential tasks and the administrative or bureaucratic element might be reduced to a minimum. It had only been possible to carry out the preliminary stages of this review during the year preceding the Assembly of 1929. Largely as a result of criticisms expressed at a meeting of representatives of National Committees held this summer shortly before the meeting of the International Committee, the latter body decided to proceed without delay with a general survey of the situation, and for that purpose to constitute a Committee of Inquiry composed principally of its own members, but with the addition of a few other qualified persons. The duty of this Committee of Inquiry will be to examine all the opinions expressed and the suggestions made and to make proposals for improvements in the programme of the work of the Organisation with a view to increasing its positive results. The Report adopted by the Second Committee on this subject said that there was reason to fear that in the zeal aroused by the enormous interest of the subject more work was undertaken than it was possible to carry through, and that a systematic revision of all the work in progress was advisable. The Assembly approved the suggestion for a Committee of Inquiry, and expressed the view that its work might be of great value both to the work of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation (a body directly supported by the League) and to the work of the Institute at Paris (which is supported by the French and certain other contributing Governments).

51. Mr. Bajpai, speaking in the Second Committee for Sir M. Habibullah on this subject, welcomed the proposed Committee of Inquiry for the reason that diffusion of activity was likely to defeat the object for which the movement was started; India was anxious to make the movement a success, and as a country with an ancient literature and a remarkable system of philosophy she naturally welcomed a movement which sought to lay the foundations of a cultural synthesis; he expressed a doubt whether it was proper for the League to meet the entire cost of the Committee of Inquiry seeing that it had been expressly provided that the League should have no financial responsibility for the Institute at Paris, the conduct of which was a considerable part of the subject to be examined, and he suggested that it would be possible and reasonable to suspend some of the less important activities of the Institute so as to provide funds for the inquiry; he also questioned the demand for a supplementary credit for the purpose of translating a pamphlet on the aims and objects of the League into languages other than the two official League languages; he thought that if the principle were adopted it would be difficult to set a limit to its application and that a country which really desired such a translation and intended to use it would be prepared to meet the small cost involved. Finally, Mr. Bajpai stated that the authorities in India were hoping shortly to convene a Conference which might result in the setting up of a National Committee for Intellectual Co-operation in India.

52. Other facts which we would select for mention under this heading are (1) that the Institute for Intellectual Co-operation in Paris, which is mainly supported by the French Government, is now receiving grants from 19 States, whose total contributions amount to 3,260,800 French francs; (2) that the Sub-Committee of experts for the instruction of young people in the aims of the League, which submitted a valuable Report in 1927, will meet again in 1930; and (3) that the Assembly received and approved the First Report of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute established in 1928 at Rome by the generosity of the Italian Government, on the Governing Body and Executive Committee of which India is represented by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

The Assembly has taken note with satisfaction of the reports submitted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and by the Governing Body of the Institute.

It notes with pleasure that a number of new countries, in accordance with the recommendations of former years, have followed the example of Governments which had already granted subsidies towards the budget of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. This brings the number of States making grants to the Institute to 19 and the total annual receipts to 3,260,800 French francs.

The Assembly is gratified at the results obtained by the meeting of the representatives of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation and hopes that those meetings will be held periodically.

The Assembly has learnt with interest of the proposal to institute a Committee of Inquiry, as suggested by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and already agreed to by the Council. The Assembly in turn approves that proposal and thinks that the work of this Committee may be of great value both to the programme work and organisation of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to the work of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

The Assembly is gratified at the great interest shown by States Members of the League of Nations in the question of the instruction of youth in the aims of the League.

It congratulates the Secretary-General on the handbook he has published with the aid of qualified experts on "The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations" and requests him to take all the necessary steps to furnish the Governments interested with as many copies of this pamphlet as they may require, and with the translations necessary to the teaching staff.

The Assembly considers the publication of the "Educational Survey" an essential complement to the work of the Secretariat in making known to the younger generation the aims and work of the League.

It approves the convening in 1930 of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations.

The Assembly, in view of the great importance of the efforts made by young people to establish closer international co-operation, requests the Governments of all the States to give the greatest possible support to these efforts, which encourage friendly relations between peoples.

The Assembly takes note of the report submitted by the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute and expresses its interest in the work done by the Institute in collecting information and placing it at the disposal of all concerned.

It congratulates the Institute on the publication of the "International Review of Educational Cinematography." (*Resolutions adopted on 21st September 1929.*)

COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

53. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

The Assembly has reviewed the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit carried out between the ninth and tenth ordinary sessions of the Assembly.

It is gratified to find that, thanks to the work done during the last years by the Advisory and Technical Committee, a Conference can be summoned in 1930 for the Unification of certain parts of River Law in Europe and also a Conference of Maritime Countries for the Unification of Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts. It trusts that, as a result of these Conferences, navigation facilities will be increased.

The Assembly attaches particular importance to the meeting of the special Committee to inquire into questions of civil air navigation which the Advisory and Technical Committee proposes to hold early in 1930 for the purpose of ensuring the closest co-operation between the civil aviation undertakings of the various countries.

It notes the great interest taken by the economic circles of various countries in the studies undertaken regarding the simplification of the calendar, and also the establishment of national committees to inquire into this question. The Advisory and Technical Committee is requested to place on the agenda of the Fourth General Conference on Communications and Transit the consideration of any recommendations which might be made as a result of these inquiries. (*Resolutions adopted on 21st September 1929.*)

COMMITTEE III.—Reduction of Armaments.

PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

54. The Preparatory Commission had had a meeting in April 1929 and had reviewed certain parts of the text of the draft Convention on Disarmament drawn up in 1927, which in important passages contained two or three alternative proposals and various reservations. This meeting had resulted in a greater measure of agreement but at the cost of the effectiveness of the draft Convention. In two crucial matters, (1) the treatment of trained reserves and (2) the limitation of material, a large majority of the Commission had agreed (1) that trained reserves should be excluded from limitation, and (2) that neither the direct method of limitation of material by categories nor the indirect method of limitation by limitation of expenditure should be adopted, and that it was not possible to do more than seek a partial

measure of supervision over stocks of material by means of publicity in regard to expenditure. But the decisions on these points had not been unanimous, and in particular the representative of Germany had dissociated himself from the conclusions of the majority and had intimated that Germany would seek to reopen these decisions elsewhere and particularly at the Conference itself when it was held.

55. Lord Cecil, on behalf of the British Delegation, submitted to the Third Committee a draft resolution which asked the Preparatory Commission in completing its draft Convention to consider how far the following principles had been or ought to be adopted: (a) the application of the same principles to the reduction and limitation of personnel and material whether in land, sea or air forces; (b) the limitation of the strength of a force either by limiting its numbers or its period of training, or both; (c) the limitation of material, either directly by enumeration, or indirectly by budgetary limitation, or by both methods; (d) the recognition of a competent international authority to watch and report upon the execution of the treaty. The adoption of this resolution would have definitely had the effect of reopening the decision of the Preparatory Commission at its last meeting in regard to the limitation of material. Lord Cecil argued that the limitation of material was of absolute importance to any effective measure of disarmament, and he said that unless material was limited nothing effective would be done in the way of disarmament. There was some doubt as to the extent to which the resolution, if adopted, would have reopened other decisions of the Preparatory Commission. The Chairman of the Preparatory Commission stated that the Commission's existing programme already provided for the further consideration of points (a), (b) and (d), and Lord Cecil himself disclaimed the intentions attributed to him with regard to trained reserves. Lord Cecil's proposal, while receiving a considerable amount of support, was also strongly opposed. It was generally agreed to be undesirable that a vote should be taken and a cleavage of opinion confirmed. The Third Committee eventually adopted a resolution which took note of the statements made in regard to the principles in question, noted further that the solution of the disarmament problem could be attained only through mutual concessions by Governments in regard to the proposals which they preferred, and decided that the minutes of the discussions at this Assembly should be communicated to the Preparatory Commission for any necessary action. This compromise was designed to permit the various views expressed in the Third Committee to be reiterated and expounded before the Preparatory Commission without at the same time committing the parties who supported the conclusions of the Preparatory Commission to any abandonment of their attitude. Lord Cecil declared that the resolution did not preclude him from raising the questions which he wished to raise and that he would raise them if he attended the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Having taken cognisance with interest of the work of the last session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference;

Cordially welcoming the prospect of an early agreement between the naval Powers with a view to the reduction and limitation of naval armaments, which agreement may enable the Preparatory Commission to secure general agreement on the methods to be adopted for the reduction and limitation of naval armaments;

Taking note of the statements made in the Third Committee with regard to the principles on which, in the opinion of various delegations, the final work of the Preparatory Commission should be based;

Noting that the solution of the disarmament problem can be attained only through mutual concessions by Governments in regard to the proposals they prefer;

Urging, in accordance with its resolution of 1928, "the necessity of accomplishing the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments with as little delay as possible";

Confidently hopes that the Preparatory Commission will shortly be able to resume the work interrupted at its last session, with a view to framing a preliminary draft Convention as soon as possible for the reduction and limitation of land, naval and air armaments;

Decides that the Minutes of the plenary meetings of the Assembly and of the Third Committee shall be communicated to the Preparatory Commission for any necessary action. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September 1929.*)

MANUFACTURE OF ARMS.

56. A Special Committee has for some years been trying to draw up a draft Convention for the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and for publicity in regard to State manufacture. It has been found that the supervision of private manufacture, for which provision is made in Article 8 of the Covenant, cannot be dealt with separately from publicity of State manufacture, as otherwise producing and non-producing countries would not be placed upon an equal footing. But certain countries have found themselves unable to come to an agreement as to the means of securing publicity for State manufacture until the Preparatory Disarmament Commission has reached agreement in regard to publicity of war material. In these circumstances the Assembly definitely concluded that it was inevitable to postpone the completion of the Special Committee's work until the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference had reached a conclusion on the relevant part of its subject-matter.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly has taken cognisance of the documents forwarded to it by the Council on the work of the Special Commission responsible for framing a draft Convention on the supervision of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.

It recognises the importance of the task entrusted by the Council to the Special Commission.

The Assembly considers that the organisation of the supervision of private manufacture—the only manufacture referred to in Article 8 of the Covenant—in conjunction with the publicity, to be defined later, of State manufactures, which would place non-producing countries and producing countries on the same footing, would facilitate the entry into force of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War dated 17th June 1925, Geneva.

It notes, however, that certain reservations have been made in respect of the draft Convention and that several Governments have said that they are unable to express a final opinion on the methods of securing publicity for State manufactures until they know the conclusions reached by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission on the question of publicity of war material.

The Assembly therefore requests the Council to consider the desirability, as soon as the Preparatory Commission has concluded its work in connection with the publicity of implements of war, of convening a further meeting of the Special Commission to complete the text of a preliminary draft Convention. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September 1929.*)

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.

57. Our predecessors have described the origin and preparation of the scheme for giving financial assistance to States which may be the victims of aggression. The general idea is that of strengthening the credit of a victim State which finds itself in financial need by the support of other States in the flotation of a loan; the victim State will obtain credits in the money market in the ordinary way, and will contract a loan on the security of its general revenues, but this security will have the support of an international guarantee and the money will therefore be forthcoming more readily and on easier terms; it is believed that the obligations which contracting States may thus incur are likely to prove less onerous than the execution of the obligations which might fall upon them under the general terms of Article 16 of the Covenant. Since the last Assembly the Financial Committee had drawn up the text of a draft Convention which was brought before this Assembly in the hope that after discussion and any necessary modification it might be adopted and opened for signature.

58. However, a number of difficult points arose, some of a political and others of a financial character, and it soon became apparent that it would be impossible for the Assembly this year to adopt a final text. The Assembly therefore decided that the Committee on Arbitration and Security should be asked to revise the text in co-operation with the Financial Committee, and that the revised text, after being communicated to Governments, should be submitted for the approval either of a special Conference or at the latest for that of the next Assembly. It would not be easy to summarise briefly the points of difference which arose and the most serious of which depend upon the difficulty of defining who is the aggressor; we would simply refer to the report of the Third Committee on this subject, which will be reprinted with the final edition of this Report.

59. Acting in accordance with the instructions which we had received, Sir Muhammad Habibullah explained that from her geographical position India had much less interest in the scheme than other countries, but that, being a civilised country, she felt it her duty to accept any general scheme which tended towards the peace of the world, and that it was from that point of view only that his Government might be prepared to accept the draft Convention; the scheme would have to be placed before the Indian Legislature before the Government of India could express its consent, and it would have to be clear that India would not be called upon to act as a special guarantor but only as an ordinary guarantor; in view of the fact that India hoped for a reduction of her quota of contribution to the League, Sir Muhammad observed that it would only be possible for India to enter the scheme on the understanding that any liability she might have to assume would be based, not upon her contribution at the time of entry into force of the Convention, but on her contribution at the time the liability arose. The Government of India would have to justify to the Legislature any proposal to give assent to the Convention, and for this purpose it would be necessary to know what other countries had accepted it; unless and until the Indian Legislature and the Government of India felt convinced that the Convention had been accepted, not merely by a handful of countries or even by the Great Powers, but by countries representative of the world as a whole, whose participation would be a guarantee of its effective use, India would see no object in signing the Convention or in incurring financial liability in connection with it.

60. When the Committee came to discuss Article 6 of the draft Convention, which provides for the manner in which the guarantees are to be distributed among the signatories, Sir Ewart Greaves reminded the Committee of Sir Muhammad Habibullah's statement that India would not be prepared to accept liability on the basis of her present share in the expenses of the League; he said that an amendment had been prepared to provide for the replacement of the future scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League when adopted in place of the present scale in Article 6, but that it would meet India's case if it were generally agreed to provide for her exceptionally on these lines in a Protocol as had been

suggested by Sir Henry Strakosch, a Member of the Financial Committee particularly concerned with the preparation of the draft. It was agreed that this, with other points of a financial character, should be referred to the Financial Committee for further consideration.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Having examined the draft Convention on Financial Assistance drawn up by the Financial Committee:

Noting that the determination of the cases in which this assistance could or should be granted is in close relation with the general problem of the definition of the aggressor, and with that of the means of preventing war, and that the connection between financial assistance and the reduction and limitation of armaments has been recognised and should be thoroughly examined;

Taking into consideration the various amendments which have been submitted, several of which necessitate adjustment in the technical machinery of the plan of assistance, whereas others are of a political character:

Requests the Council to take steps to ensure the early establishment of a complete text capable of being submitted to States for signature at the earliest possible date.

It accordingly suggests that the Council should instruct the Committee on Arbitration and Security to draw up this text in co-operation with the Financial Committee. The text would, after it had been communicated to the Governments, be submitted for the approval either of a special conference or at the latest for that of the next Assembly. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September 1929.*)

LEAGUE WIRELESS STATION.

61. Our predecessors have described the alternative proposals which were being prepared to provide the League with means of communicating as widely as possible by wireless telegraphy. The primary object is to enable the organs of the League to function in time of crisis without risk of its communications being interrupted; but it is also contemplated that the wireless station should have a secondary utility in time of peace. The alternatives were (1) that the League should itself erect, own and work a station, and (2) that the League should make arrangements with the Radio-Suisse Company, which has already erected a medium-wave station near Geneva, for the addition to this station of a short-wave unit for which the League would pay, but which would be operated for the League by the Radio-Suisse Company in time of peace on condition that the whole station would be handed over to the League for operation in time of crisis. There was a further possibility that the League should depend entirely upon the Radio-Suisse station both for normal times and in time of crisis; but though this would have been much the simplest and cheapest plan it was held not to provide the League with the assurance of independent communications in time of crisis and was therefore generally regarded as failing to satisfy the primary requirements of the situation.

62. We were instructed to oppose the first of the two alternatives enumerated above on the grounds that a station owned and operated by the League would be unnecessarily expensive and would be less efficient than a commercially operated station because of the inadequate amount of traffic that would normally be available for it. We were also instructed to raise doubts as to the practical advantages to be secured by the addition of a short-wave station to the Radio-Suisse medium-wave station. The short-wave station is intended chiefly for communication with countries outside Europe, and though it was maintained on authoritative grounds that communication between Geneva and a large number of distant countries would be technically possible it did not appear to have been clearly established that a practical system of direct communication with distant countries would in fact become operative to any large extent. It seemed to us possible that for the present communications with distant countries could be established with more reliability if messages from Geneva were sent to one of the main European countries and relayed by the established wireless channels. When the matter came before the Third Committee, Mr. Raza Ali explained the views which we had been instructed to put forward and urged the Committee not to decide upon a costly project which would involve a considerable addition to the already heavy expenditure borne by India on account of the League without fully measuring the relative value of the results to be secured and the possibility of utilising as far as possible means of communication which already existed. In view of the financial bearings of the scheme the Third Committee decided to refer it to the Fourth Committee, which agreed to set up a Joint Sub-Committee consisting of members of the Third and Fourth Committees; we were represented on this Sub-Committee by Sir Chunilal Mehta. The Sub-Committee, whose conclusions were eventually approved, rejected the alternative of a station owned and operated by the League and decided in favour of the much less costly second alternative, namely, a station to consist of both medium- and short-wave units, the latter being provided by the League, to be operated in normal times by the Radio-Suisse Company and handed over to the League in times of crisis. We failed, however, to secure any direction for the further examination of the short-wave part of the project in its practical aspects, as the general sentiment was strongly in favour of an arrangement which was designed to place the League in direct communication with the distant no less than with the nearer States Members, even though there might still be room for doubt as to its practical effectiveness.

63. The annual cost of the scheme adopted, covering both capital and recurrent expenditure, is estimated at £8,000 a year net; but this estimate is provisional and will receive further attention from the Supervisory Commission. The only sum included in the 1930 Budget for this scheme is 50,000 francs, which will be spent on the drawing up of specifications and the examination of tenders.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Desiring that the League of Nations should have means at its disposal, and under its direct management, at any rate in times of crisis, for independent radio-telegraphic communication with as many Members of the League as possible;

Being desirous of facilitating at all times relations between the League of Nations and its Members,

more particularly those at a distance from the seat of the League:

Instructs the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps for the provision, as early as possible, of a radio-telegraphic station, comprising in any case a post with a world-wide radius so far as this may be technically possible, in conformity with the proposals submitted to the Assembly by the Communications and Transit Committee.

The Swiss Government can be represented at this station, in times of emergency, by an observer, whose duties would be as laid down in the Council's resolution of 9th March 1929.

The Assembly declares that the use of this station by the League of Nations in times of emergency can in no case be invoked against Switzerland as affecting her international responsibility. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September 1929.*)

MODEL TREATY.

64. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Recognising the importance of the model Treaty to strengthen the means of preventing war approved by the Assembly at its ninth session;

Convinced that the maintenance of peace would be facilitated by the acceptance by as many States as possible of obligations of the kind contained in that Treaty;

Invites the Council to request the Committee on Arbitration and Security to consider the possibility of establishing a draft General Convention on the general lines of the Treaty, which could be referred to the Governments in time to enable the latter to indicate, at the eleventh ordinary session of the Assembly, whether they are prepared to accept it. (*Resolution adopted on 24th September 1929.*)

COMMUNICATIONS AFFECTING THE WORKING OF THE LEAGUE AT TIMES OF EMERGENCY.

65. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly has noted the work undertaken by the International Air Navigation Commission with regard to the juridical status of aircraft utilised to ensure air communications of importance to the working of the League of Nations, and the facilities to be granted to these aircraft.

It trusts that this work will be completed as soon as possible, in order that the results may be submitted for the examination of Governments.

The Assembly accordingly requests the Council, as soon as the work of the International Air Navigation Commission is finished, to have a study made, possibly by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, of the requisite measures to ensure that aircraft engaged in transport of importance to the working of the League of Nations may be free in times of emergency to fly in such a way and over such territory as may be necessary for the carrying out of their mission, the Secretariat and the Governments having come to an agreement beforehand as to the rules to be observed and the normal routes to be followed, and as to any departures therefrom. (*Resolution adopted on 23rd September 1929.*)

COMMITTEE IV.—Budget and Financial Questions.

BUDGET FOR 1930.

66. Our predecessors dealt emphatically and at some length with the increase in the expenditure of the League which was approved last year. This increase amounted to 1,692,463 francs above the estimates approved for the year 1928. The estimates for 1930 as originally drawn up showed an increase of 398,680 francs above those sanctioned for 1929. This increase was nearly all accounted for by increments of salary and other requirements of an inevitable nature, and we were instructed that these estimates did not call for any substantial criticism.

67. In accordance with amendments of the Financial Regulations approved in 1928, to which reference is made hereafter, a supplementary budget had been drawn up and circulated before the Assembly opened. This involved a net addition of 420,208 francs to the figure already mentioned. Most of this was also unavoidable, but we had instructions to give close attention to certain items. As a result of subsequent proceedings in connection with this supplementary budget reductions were made to the extent of 158,000 francs. Reductions were also made in the original estimates amounting to 65,000 francs.

68. Up to this point the position could be regarded from our point of view with satisfaction. But the great activity which prevailed generally this year in the Assembly resulted in the presentation of demands for supplementary credits amounting to 782,742 francs. Some of these new credits were, in our opinion, of doubtful necessity.

69. The Assembly of 1928 had approved certain amendments of the Financial Regulations which were designed to introduce more regularity in the financial procedure of the Assembly, and to prevent the adoption of proposals involving expenditure after a hurried and inadequate examination from the financial point of view. These amendments provided that proposals involving new expenditure should be communicated to the Secretary-General at least one month before the opening of the session, in order that he might circulate a supplementary budget, that proposals received later than one month before the opening of the session should be adjourned to the next session unless the Assembly by two-thirds majority decided otherwise, and finally, that all such proposals should be ready for the consideration of the Supervisory Commission within 15 days of the opening of the session. In the mood prevailing this year these rules were found too restrictive, and doubts were suggested as to their meaning and applicability. They were first disregarded by inadvertence, then modified to suit the occasion, and finally suspended in their entirety and referred to the Supervisory Commission for revision. The Fourth Committee stated in its report to the Assembly that the end-of-session difficulties which had arisen annually for some years had been found more serious than ever during the Tenth Assembly.

70. The long and detailed report of the Supervisory Commission on the proposals involving new expenditure which had been submitted during the course of the Assembly and on other matters reached the Delegation only an hour before it was due to be discussed in the Fourth Committee. In this report the Supervisory Commission stated with regret that in many of the questions dealt with it had been unable to formulate or to sift estimates of expenditure with the care which in all ordinary circumstances it endeavoured to devote to its work; the conditions of work had been wholly exceptional; most of the proposals had reached the Commission at the eleventh hour with insufficient material for financial examination in detail; several of them had been communicated to the Commission informally or even orally; much of the estimating had therefore been necessarily superficial, and it had been wholly impossible to form or to submit to the Fourth Committee any general survey of the financial position, or of the effect of the proposals upon the equilibrium of the budget.

71. In these circumstances it appeared necessary to attempt to obtain further time for consideration. Sir Chunilal Mehta, in the course of a speech in which he quoted the concluding passage of the Supervisory Commission's report to which we have referred and dwelt upon the impropriety of an inadequate financial procedure, supported a proposal made by the Norwegian delegate for a postponement of the consideration of the Supervisory Commission's report. Many members of the Committee appeared to be dissatisfied with the procedure, but on the whole the desire not to prolong the session of the Assembly prevailed. These credits were accordingly approved with the addition of one credit which the Supervisory Commission had proposed to reject.

72. The most important of the items which resulted from new proposals submitted during the Assembly were:—

	Francs.
Improvement of conditions for the meetings of the Assembly	50,000
Health work in Latin America	100,000
Health work in the East	150,000
Committee on Organisation of the Secretariat, &c.	50,000
Economic Organisation, mostly for tariff questions	120,000
Social Section for Drug Conference and temporary additional staff	55,000
Conference on Financial Assistance	50,000
Printing and translation of handbook on work of the League	33,000
Meeting of Experts for Codification of International Law	31,900
Work on behalf of refugees	35,800
Committee on amendments to the Covenant	25,000
Committee on Ratification of Conventions	12,000
I.L.O. for coal questions	42,000

73. In all, the financial effect of action taken during the Assembly was a net addition to the estimates for 1930 of 559,742 francs, and the total budget approved for 1930 stands at 28,210,248 francs, as compared with 27,026,280 francs, an increase of 1,183,968 francs. The net contribution of India for 1930 will be approximately £61,300, an increase of almost £4,250.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

(1) The Assembly, in virtue of Article 38 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, finally passes the Audited Accounts of the League of Nations for the tenth financial period, ending on 31st December 1928.

(2) The Assembly, in virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, passes, for the financial period 1930, the general Budget of the League of Nations—of the Secretariat and special organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation, and of the Permanent Court of International Justice—amounting, including supplementary credits, to the total sum of 28,210,248 gold francs;

And decides that the aforesaid budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*.

(3) The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission submitted for its consideration, except in so far as the said conclusions have not been adopted by the Fourth Committee as regards the question of the future organisation of the High Commissariat for Refugees and the expenditure involved in incorporating this department in the Secretariat.

(4) The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of the Fourth Committee.

The Assembly calls the attention of all States Members to the resolution voted by the Assembly at its ninth ordinary session on 25th September 1928, requesting the Council to ask the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses to submit to the Assembly at its ordinary session of 1932 a revised scale of allocation which will be based on the budget estimates of the various States Members for 1930 (1930-1), and urgently requests all States Members to forward regularly to the Secretariat their budget estimates and closed accounts for each financial period as soon as they are published. It draws particular attention to the importance of supplying the budgetary documents for the financial year 1930 (1930-1), without which the Allocation Committee cannot resume its inquiries.

The Assembly requests the Council to authorise the Secretary-General to communicate the reports of Advisory Committees to all the Members of the League at the same time as they are communicated to the Members of the Council, except in cases where the Committee concerned is opposed to such a course. (*Resolutions adopted on 25th September 1929.*)

TRANSFER OF CONFERENCE FROM GENEVA TO PARIS.

74. The Fourth Committee also approved an item of additional expenditure during the current year to which we strongly objected. A Conference was due to be held on the draft Convention for the Treatment of Foreigners in November, and provision had been made in the budget for the current year on the understanding that in accordance with the regular practice it would be held in Geneva. Representatives of the South American States proposed, presumably for reasons of their own convenience, that the venue of the Conference should be transferred to Paris. This involved relatively heavy additional expenditure because of the cost of transferring the League staff to Paris and maintaining it there. Many members of the Committee disliked the proposal, but eventually it was approved by 24 votes to 7, with a large number of abstentions, and the Secretary-General was authorised to transfer to the item in question 70,000 francs from the credit for the Disarmament Conference, which will not be drawn upon during the current year. This is, in our view, a most undesirable precedent, any extension of which should be strongly resisted.

HIGH COMMISSARIAT FOR REFUGEES.

75. Hitherto the High Commissariat for Refugees and its staff have occupied a somewhat indefinite and anomalous position. This Organisation has operated under the auspices of the League but not as an integral part of its machinery. Until last year it had for some time been associated with the International Labour Organisation, but the Assembly of 1928 had decided that it should be linked up with the Secretariat and had created an Advisory Commission in connection with it. The Advisory Commission at its first meeting had projected a term of 10 years' activity for the Organisation and had recommended that the staff should be incorporated in the Secretariat. The Supervisory Commission had recommended that 10 years should be fixed as the limit for the existence of the Organisation and that its liabilities should be gradually liquidated; it had also raised objection to the incorporation of the staff in the Secretariat. Although there was general agreement in the Fourth Committee as to the duration of the work of the High Commissariat, it was found difficult to reconcile the conflicting proposals as to the status of the staff and the responsibility for its operations. It was eventually agreed that the central services of the High Commissariat should for one year and as an experiment be placed under the administrative authority of the Secretary-General, that during this period the financial operations of the Organisation should be supervised by the League in accordance with the Financial Regulations, and that this provisional arrangement should not in any way affect the status of the staff. This solution led to a request for an additional credit of 35,850 francs, which the Supervisory Commission thought should be met out of funds already at the disposal of the High Commissioner whether drawn from the League budget or otherwise available, but the Fourth Committee, by a majority vote, decided to approve an appropriation of the amount mentioned.

TRAVELLING EXPENSES OF ASSEMBLY DELEGATES.

76. As the result of a suggestion made in 1928 the Supervisory Commission had drawn up an estimate to cover the travelling expenses of three delegates of each Member of the League from their country to Geneva and back. This estimate amounted to 430,000 francs. Certain members of the Committee were in favour of including a credit in the budget on this account, but the Committee decided to suspend any decision until a definite proposal had been made by a Government.

ORGANISATION OF THE SECRETARIAT, &c.

77. Questions relating to the status, method of appointment and conditions of service of the League staff had received considerable attention at the Assembly of 1928, and that Assembly had instructed the competent officials of the League Organisations to review the

existing situation and to submit the results, together with any proposals which they might consider desirable for the amendment of the staff regulations, to the Supervisory Commission in order that the subject might be further considered at the Assembly of 1929. The preliminary work had taken longer than was originally expected and the Supervisory Commission had not received the necessary material for its consideration until June; it had found itself unable to deal with the matter adequately in time for the Assembly of this year, and it therefore proposed to continue the examination of the problem with a view to its discussion at the Assembly of 1930.

78. Mr. Henderson in his speech in the Assembly had dealt with the subject at some length, and the British Delegation submitted to the Fourth Committee a draft Resolution on the lines of Mr. Henderson's remarks. The ideas underlying the British proposal were that the subject should be dealt with by a Special Committee rather than by the Supervisory Commission, and that the Assembly should lay down in advance certain principles for the guidance of this Committee. The British delegate proposed that a Committee of five, two of whom should be members of the Supervisory Commission, should be set up, and that in framing its recommendations the Special Committee should have regard to the following principles:—

- (1) That the staff of the League should as far as possible be employed permanently and on contracts of long duration.
- (2) That every post should be open to be filled by promotion.
- (3) That the system of selection and recruitment, while taking full account of an equitable distribution of posts among the different nationalities, should be particularly stringent in order to ensure the possession of the necessary qualifications.
- (4) That there should be a special official to deal with questions relating to personnel.
- (5) That a system of adequate pensions should be introduced.

The Italian Delegation submitted an alternative proposal which agreed with the British proposal as to the constitution of the Committee, but left the Committee full freedom of action as to the nature of its recommendations.

79. In the course of a long and important discussion on this subject Sir Chunilal Mehta made a speech of which the following is a summary. He expressed gratitude to the British delegate for having included in his principles the necessity for a due representation of various nationalities, as to which he had understood him to say that at any rate for the present recruitment from outside the ranks of the existing staff would be necessary in the case of some of the highest posts in order to secure the employment of nationals of the necessary calibre from States other than the Great Powers; it was beyond dispute that anyone in the service of the League should place his loyalty to the League and its ideals first, but at the same time the international character of the League staff depended not only on the spirit of its members but also on their being truly representative, particularly in the case of the holders of the highest appointments, who exercised a considerable degree of initiative; the body that was to be set up should therefore be asked to recommend how the higher appointments could be made effectively representative; he believed that the ideal of a representative staff could not be realised except on some principle of rotation, but he would confine the principle of rotation to the supervisory directing staff and would leave the rest to be organised on a permanent basis with the possibility of suitable prospects being ensured for them by the reservation of a proportion of the higher appointments; the principle of rotation, so far as it was applied, involved contracts of service for limited periods, and it was desirable that the League should be able to obtain the service of persons who had acquired experience of affairs in important positions in their own countries; such a system would enable India to help the League with the service of men trained in the Indian Public Services or outside them, about whom he ventured to claim that they were second to none in efficiency; he quoted with approval the passage in Lord Balfour's report emphasising that the members of the Secretariat once appointed were no longer the servants of their countries but became for the time being the servants only of the League and that their duties were not national but international, and he agreed with the suggestion that this passage might be inserted in the contract of every League official; impartiality was perhaps the most important of the qualifications required, and he suggested that in order to secure complete impartiality it might be desirable in the case of several at least of the higher posts to go further afield than had been possible immediately after the war; the League would never fully assume the character of an international institution unless it paid sufficient regard to the needs and wishes of countries like India: in this connection Sir Chunilal Mehta recalled the statement made last year by Lord Lytton, that an atmosphere unfavourable to the League was arising in India and in the East owing to the lack of sufficient attention to the needs of Asiatic countries; he argued further that the principle of rotation would serve to safeguard the League against the dangers of a rigid bureaucracy which were bound to be harmful in fields of activity where freshness and vigour of ideas were the principal consideration; the absence of India from the Council of the League and from the higher posts held by the League staff lent support to the statement which Lord Lytton had made; Sir Chunilal Mehta asked that adequate room should soon be found for Indians of the required standard in the offices of

responsibility; he hoped that the Secretary-General, to whose impartiality and singleminded devotion he paid a tribute, would strive for the speedy fulfilment of the ideal of giving legitimate representation to States other than the Great Powers; he thought that the Supervisory Commission should be asked to express its views on the proposal for an official to deal specially with questions relating to personnel; the Supervisory Commission could not be charged with having performed its duties inadequately or with having looked at matters merely from the point of view of the financial watchdog; he thought that if it had had the time it would have done justice to the whole question of recruitment, but if there was a general desire to refer it for speedier conclusion to another body he would raise no objection; finally, he declared that in saying what he had said he had in mind not the narrow interests of any single country but the higher interests of the League itself. The text of Sir Chunilal Mehta's speech will be found among the Appendices.

80. The Fourth Committee finally decided to recommend that a Committee of nine, of whom two should be members of the Supervisory Commission, should be appointed by the Assembly with unrestricted terms of reference, namely, to examine what steps could be taken to ensure in the future as in the past the best possible administrative results for the three League organs, and to prepare a report for submission to Governments with a view to consideration at the next Assembly. The Assembly, while accepting the proposed terms of reference, found it necessary to increase the size of the Committee to 13 members. We were fortunate in being able to secure the inclusion of the name of Sir Atul Chatterjee in the list of individuals who were appointed by the Assembly to form this Committee.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

Whereas the British Government has formulated the following draft resolution:—

"The Assembly,

"Recalling the resolution adopted by it on 26th September 1928, directing that an inquiry should be made as to what steps—in particular, amendments to the Staff Regulations—could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results;

"Decides that this inquiry shall be entrusted to a Special Commission of five members, of whom two shall be members of the Supervisory Commission;

"Adopts the following principles and decides that they shall form the basis of the recommendations of the Special Commission:

"(1) The members of the staff of the League should as far as possible have permanent employment and contracts of long duration.

"(2) Throughout the whole of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office every post should be open to be filled by promotion from among the whole body of officials.

"(3) The system of selection and recruitment, while taking full account of an equitable distribution of posts among the different nationalities, should be particularly stringent in order to ensure that the officials who become members of this permanent international civil service should have the character, the abilities and the training which are required.

"(4) All questions relating to the personnel should be the special concern of an administrative official who would assist the Secretary-General or the Director of the International Labour Office in dealing with such matters.

"(5) A system of adequate pensions should be introduced.

"Invites the Council to select and appoint the members of this Commission at the earliest possible date in order that its report may be made in time for consideration by the Assembly at its eleventh session."

And whereas the Italian Government has presented a further draft resolution as follows:—

"The Assembly,

"Referring to the resolution adopted on 26th September 1928, asking that an inquiry should be made into the most suitable steps to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results;

"Decides that a Committee of five members, including two members of the Supervisory Commission, shall be appointed to conduct this inquiry. The Committee will consider the results of the application of the principles adopted by the Second Assembly on the basis of the Noblemaire Committee's report. It will consider all matters connected with the organisation and duties of the Secretariat and the selection and terms of engagement of the staff, and any other material that may help the Assembly to gain a full knowledge of the question before taking a decision. The Committee will be entirely free to obtain such information as it may think useful and to propose such steps as it may consider most appropriate.

"The Assembly requests the Council to select and appoint the members of this Committee, which should be instructed to have its report ready in time for consideration by the next Assembly."

The Assembly, taking note of these two draft resolutions,

Decides that a Committee of Inquiry shall be constituted, consisting of nine members, two of whom shall be members of the Supervisory Commission, to be appointed by the Assembly to examine what steps could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results for the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and to prepare a report thereon in adequate time so that it may be submitted to the Governments for consideration before the next session of the Assembly.

For that purpose, the various draft resolutions proposed on the subject to the Fourth Committee and the Minutes of the said Committee shall be transmitted to the Committee of Inquiry. (*Resolution adopted on 23rd September 1929.*)

The Assembly,

Amends its decision of 23rd September regarding the number of members of the Committee of Inquiry to be appointed to examine what steps could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the

best possible administrative results for the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice;
And decides to increase the number of members of the said Committee of Inquiry from 9 to 13.
(Resolution adopted on 24th September 1929.)

CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS.

81. This matter was, as usual, referred to a Sub-Committee, on which Sir Chunilal Mehta served. The Sub-Committee presented a confidential report, which was discussed at a private session of the Fourth Committee. The position appears to be more satisfactory than for some time past, but at the beginning of September there still remained unpaid arrears of contributions, due before the end of 1928, to the total amount of 10,350,591 francs.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,
Notes with satisfaction the steps taken by the Secretary-General with a view to the recovery of arrears;

Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the Council before the next session of the Assembly a detailed report of the position with regard to contributions in arrears. (Resolution adopted on 23rd September 1929.)

APPOINTMENT OF SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

82. It was decided at the Assembly of 1928 to transfer the authority for the appointment of the Supervisory Commission from the Council to the Assembly. It remained to devise a method by which the Assembly could exercise this function in a way that would not affect unfavourably the character and the efficiency of the Commission. It was finally agreed that the General Committee of the Assembly should act as a Selection Committee and should submit to the Assembly a list of names equal to the number of posts to be filled.

83. In order to give full effect to the change decided upon in 1928, all the members of the Supervisory Commission placed their resignations in the hands of the Assembly. There was some apprehension that the size of the Commission might be increased and that its independent and expert character might be modified in the direction of making its members representatives of particular countries. We were instructed to resist such tendencies and to endeavour to secure the continuance of the Commission in substantially its present form.

84. A proposal made in the Fourth Committee to increase the size of the Commission from five to seven, the adoption of which would have reduced its capacity for effective work and might have introduced a representative element, was defeated by 25 votes to 8. Finally, on the nomination of the General Committee the Assembly re-elected four of the retiring members, including Lord Meston, and in place of the fifth, who did not offer himself for further service, elected Count Moltke of Denmark.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Requests the General Committee to submit to the Assembly, for the election of the members of the Supervisory Commission, a list including a number of names equal to the number of seats to be filled in the Commission,

Adopts the amendments to the Financial Regulations proposed in this report. (Resolution adopted on 14th September 1929.)

COMMITTEE V.—Social and Humanitarian Questions.

OPIMUM AND DRUGS.

85. The discussion this year on the report of the Advisory Committee on this subject was, as the report adopted by the Assembly stated, one of the most important which had ever taken place in the Fifth Committee, if not the most important. The immediate ratification and rigid enforcement of the Geneva Convention of 1925 is, as the Advisory Committee, the Council, and the Assembly have always maintained, the most valuable single step that can at present be taken to combat the illicit traffic. The Convention came into force in the autumn of 1928. Some 30 Governments had ratified it by the date of this Assembly, and it appeared from statements made in the Fifth Committee that a considerable number of others were on the point of doing so or would do so in the near future. The position, therefore, though not yet satisfactory, is promising, and the constant pressure of public opinion, expressed through the League, is having its effect. The Permanent Central Opium Board, which is an essential part of the machinery of the Geneva Convention, has been set up, Sir B. K. Mullick being a member, and is getting to work. Until more ratifications of the Convention have been received, and the Central Board is in full operation, the value of the Convention can only be partially realised.

86. The most remarkable feature of the report of the Advisory Committee at its last session was the revelations as to the illicit traffic contained in a memorandum submitted by the Netherlands Government on the transactions of a Dutch firm which had dealt with

and distributed large quantities of drugs obtained from factories in other European countries; it was estimated that this centre of international traffic, which has now been suppressed, probably dealt with about half the total annual world production of heroin; although its transactions did not infringe the laws then in force in the Netherlands, the drugs which it distributed to many parts of the world were intended for other than legitimate purposes. It is believed that even more notable revelations are imminent. Under the influence no doubt of these revelations the Governments of certain manufacturing States, whose reputations are involved, are beginning to show an entirely new attitude. Early in the debate in the Fifth Committee the representative of France stated that his Government had decided to impose a limitation on its manufacturers, and other declarations with regard to limitation were made by the representatives of other Governments, including in particular that of Japan. These declarations created a general impression that the time had come when an attempt might be made to limit the total amount of drugs manufactured in the world and to allocate quotas of this amount among the various manufacturing countries. This idea had been considered in 1924 in the course of the preparatory work for the Geneva Conference, but it had transpired that the time was not ripe for it. The Geneva Convention of 1925 contains *inter alia* a general obligation on the contracting parties to limit exclusively to medical and scientific purposes the manufacture of the drugs in question; but this obligation as it stands is of little practical value to ensure that drugs are not manufactured greatly in excess of legitimate requirements.

87. Four draft resolutions relating to the limitation of manufacture were submitted to the Committee, the most important being those of the British and Italian representatives. The British resolution asked that the Governments of the countries in which morphine, heroin or cocaine are manufactured should be invited to confer together as to the possibility of arriving at an agreement as to the total amount to be manufactured and as to the quota of that amount to be manufactured in each country. The Italian resolution simply asked that the Advisory Committee should be invited to study the most effective means of carrying out a limitation of manufacture. It became clear, however, that the Italian Delegation contemplated a Conference which should not be limited to manufacturing States, which are at most eight or nine in number, and in some quarters it was desired to hold a Conference to which all States should be invited. It was manifestly desirable that the Advisory Committee should be prominently associated with this new development; it was desirable also that the States which are interested in the problem as consumers rather than as States containing factories should have no reason for supposing that their interests would not be fully safeguarded; but it was undesirable that the participants in the Conference should be unduly numerous, seeing in particular that the obligations in view would fall solely upon the manufacturing States. The reconciliation of the different points of view proved to be very difficult and in the concluding stages took place under undue pressure of time. Sir Chunilal Mehta, who represented India on this question, kept in close touch with the negotiations. The result, which was less unsatisfactory than might have occurred in the circumstances, was a recommendation that the Advisory Committee should prepare plans for the limitation of manufacture, and that thereafter the Council should decide upon the convening of a Conference of representatives of the manufacturing States and of representatives of the principal consuming countries to a number not exceeding that of the manufacturing countries, together with possibly some experts to be proposed by the Opium and Health Committees. The problem bristles with difficulties; but we believe that, given a reasonable amount of goodwill and sincerity, real progress will be made in suppressing a scandalous traffic from which India is one of the principal sufferers.

88. The debate touched upon many other aspects of the question, and resolutions were passed which included reference to measures for dealing with the smuggling of drugs through the post, with the necessity for putting into operation effective national systems of administrative control on the lines of, or equivalent to, the model code which had been elaborated by the Advisory Committee at its eleventh session, and with the desirability of securing the co-operation of the International Criminal Police Commission in the suppression of the illicit traffic. The Committee also approved some important recommendations of the Advisory Committee as to the stringent inquiry which Governments should make before issuing to business firms licences to deal in drugs, and as to the importance of imposing severe penalties and withdrawing licences in the case of manufacturers or traders who have been found to be implicated in the illicit traffic.

89. The Indian Delegation, while fully approving the idea of convening a Conference for the limitation of manufacture, was anxious that certain other essential points should not be overshadowed by the new measures in contemplation; these points were the importance and value of the Geneva Convention of 1925, the need for an intensification of the efforts of Governments in applying this Convention and in acting on the recommendations of the Advisory Committee, and the maintenance of the authority of the Advisory Committee against whom there has been an undercurrent of hostility and criticism. Sir Chunilal Mehta therefore moved a resolution in the following terms: "The Assembly, having noted the report of the Advisory Committee at its twelfth session, expresses its satisfaction with the work which has

been accomplished and particularly with the unremitting efforts of the Committee to secure the acceptance and execution of the Geneva Convention of 1925 and to expose the extent of the methods of the illicit traffic; and desires that these efforts will be continued and will receive the full support of all States Members of the League, without whose determined co-operation the valuable recommendations of the Committee as to the methods of dealing with the illicit traffic must fail to produce their effect." In moving this resolution Sir Chunilal Mehta said that his principal desire was that the Assembly on behalf of all its Members should declare that they were determined to put an end to the illicit traffic and would assist the Advisory Committee by all possible means; he welcomed the resolution which had been submitted by the British Delegation and thought that no step could be more important at the present time than the limitation of manufacture; India had the cleanest possible record, not only in regard to opium, but also in regard to the manufacture and control of drugs; no practical measure could be too progressive for India, and indeed it might in the end be found necessary that the example of India, which had for many years had a Government monopoly, should be followed by all; as evidence that India was one of the consuming countries which suffered most from the illicit traffic, he stated that in the first six months of 1929 no less than 6,668 ounces of illicit cocaine had been seized in India, certain seizures having exceeded 1,000 ounces in quantity; in addition to supporting the principle of the British proposal, he supported a resolution submitted by the Austrian delegate as to the need for the co-operation of the police authorities of all countries; he did not agree with the expressions of pessimism which had come from certain quarters, and he thought that the work of the Advisory Committee in laying bare the activities of those engaged in the illicit traffic had been attended by notable success and would be attended by still greater success if properly supported; in this connection he drew special attention to the latter part of his resolution; it was essential that the measures already agreed upon should be applied as widely as possible; a limited measure of control applied by a large number of countries would be more effective than stringent measures carried out only by a few countries; the traffic could only be dealt with if all Governments put into force, and kept in force, all the provisions of the Geneva Convention and the recommendations of the Advisory Committee; he had great hopes of the Permanent Central Board when its work had been fully developed; the Assembly should support the proposal for the limitation of manufacture, but it would take much time before such a scheme could come into operation and there should be no relaxation of effort to deal with the traffic according to existing provisions in the meantime; the fuller the information which countries supplied as to seizures, as to the punishment of traffickers, as to the quantities of drugs imported, exported and in stock, &c., the more effective would the future work of the League in this field become.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

90. Up to now the Advisory Committee has consisted for the most part of representatives of countries which are concerned with the problem either as producers of raw materials or as users of raw materials for the purpose of manufacture or as consumers of raw opium. It is undoubtedly the case that the scope of the Committee's work has changed somewhat in the course of time, and is now principally concerned with the traffic in manufactured drugs; it is maintained with some reason that the States which are concerned with the problem simply as consumers of manufactured drugs and are suffering from the illicit traffic have not taken an adequate part in the proceedings, and that in order that they may do so they should be better represented on the Advisory Committee. In accordance with our instructions we were sympathetic with this claim, although in view of the fact that the Advisory Committee is already somewhat large for its purpose we hoped that the claim might be met by some redistribution of seats rather than by enlargement. Sir Chunilal Mehta expressed this view. To our regret the resolution which was carried contemplates an enlargement of the Committee, but the report of the Fifth Committee points out the disadvantage of any enlargement to a point at which the work of the Committee would be rendered ineffective.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions and Recommendations:—

1. In view of the extensive use of the post which is made by persons engaged in the illicit traffic in drugs, the Assembly recommends that every State Member of the League should adopt, if it has not already done so, and put into operation as soon as possible, the following measures:—

- (1) Arrangements should be made to subject to the supervision of the Customs, both in the country of consignment and in the country of destination, all postal matter (correspondence, letters, business papers, samples, or packages) which there is reason to suspect may contain dangerous drugs, and either to open any suspected postal matter or to require the sender or the consignee (as the case may be) to open it in the presence of the authorities.
- (2) Strict supervision should be exercised over the renting of post-office boxes, and the name and address of the lessee should in every case be carefully verified.
- (3) Having regard to the prevalence of the illicit traffic in the Far East in particular, correspondence addressed to the Far East should be concentrated for despatch at a certain number of post offices in order to enable the authorities to detect any unusual amount of correspondence or other postal matter addressed to suspected persons or destinations.

The Assembly also recommends that the States Members should be asked to inform the Secretary-General as soon as possible whether they have adopted or are prepared to adopt the foregoing measures.

2. The Assembly recommends that the Council, in view of the gravity of the present situation, should take immediate steps to draw the attention of all Governments to the vital necessity of their putting into operation an effective national system of administrative control in accordance with the provisions of the Hague and the Geneva Conventions, especially those which relate to the limitation of manufacture—recalling to their attention in this connection the model code for the administrative control of the drug traffic elaborated by the Advisory Committee at its eleventh session, and asking them to be good enough to indicate before 31st May 1930 whether they have in operation in their countries the same or equivalent administrative provisions, and to furnish copies of any regulations issued and particulars of arrangements made for the purpose; or, if such provisions have not at present been adopted, to indicate when it may be possible for them to put such provisions into operation.

3. The Assembly.

Impressed by the disclosures made in the Report of the Advisory Committee as to the large quantities of dangerous drugs still passing in the illicit traffic;

Recalling the proposals made in connection with the Geneva Conference of 1924-5 for the direct limitation by agreement between the Governments of the manufacturing countries of the amount of such drugs manufactured;

Taking note of the important declaration made in the course of the present meeting of the Assembly by the representative of France that his Government has decided to impose such limitation on its manufacturers, and of the declarations made by other Governments as to limitation;

Recognising that the Geneva Convention of 1925 provides indispensable machinery for the national and international control of the traffic in drugs, the effective application of which should be secured in all countries at the earliest possible date; but that, owing to the delay in bringing the Convention into force, its full effects cannot be realised in the near future;

Desiring that, if possible, steps supplementing the Convention should be taken without delay to limit the manufacture of dangerous drugs to the amounts required for medical and scientific purposes:—

(I) Regards the principle of the limitation of the manufacture of the drugs mentioned in paras. (b), (c) and (g) of Article 4 of the Convention of Geneva by international agreement as now accepted;

(II) Requests the Advisory Committee to prepare plans for such limitation, regard being had to world requirements for medical and scientific purposes and the means of preventing an increase in price which would lead to the establishment of new factories in countries which are not at present manufacturing countries;

(III) The Committee's Report will be submitted to the Council, which will decide on the convening of a Conference of the Governments in whose countries the above-mentioned drugs are manufactured and the principal consuming countries in a number not exceeding that of the manufacturing countries, and whether certain experts proposed by the Opium and the Health Committees should be included;

(IV) Recommends that the Advisory Committee be enlarged in order to ensure more effective representation on that Committee of the non-manufacturing countries;

(V) Agrees that the sum of 25,000 Swiss francs shall be included in the budget of the League for 1930 in order to meet the expenses of such a Conference.

4. The Assembly decides to ask the Council to consider inviting the International Criminal Police Commission to present, after consulting all the police authorities represented upon it, suggestions as to the ways in which the Commission, and the authorities represented on it, can best assist the League of Nations and the States Members of the League, in the suppression of the illicit traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs and for the protection of women and children. In the light of these suggestions, the appropriate Committees of the League will be able to judge whether it would be advisable to arrange for conferences between those Committees and representatives of the Commission.

5. The Assembly, having noted the Report of the Advisory Committee at its twelfth session, expresses its satisfaction with the work which has been accomplished and particularly with the unremitting efforts of the Committee to secure the acceptance and execution of the Geneva Convention of 1925, and to expose the extent and methods of the illicit traffic. It desires that these efforts shall be continued and receive the full support of all States Members of the League, without whose determined co-operation the valuable recommendations of the Committee as to the methods of dealing with the illicit traffic must fail to produce their effect. (*Resolutions and Recommendations adopted on 24th September 1929.*)

CHILD WELFARE.

91. The Child Welfare Committee was mainly concerned last year with the preparation of two preliminary draft Conventions on the repatriation and assistance of children who happen to be in foreign countries and whose position is insecure. These drafts have been prepared with the object of enabling Governments to conclude bilateral or multilateral agreements. They are principally of interest to countries with land frontiers which are easily traversed. The Committee has also been concerned with other questions, such as the position of illegitimate children, the organisation and working of juvenile courts, and the relations between child welfare and the cinema. The Eighth Assembly passed a resolution advising the Child Welfare Committee not to diffuse its energies and to confine itself to matters of practical international importance. Since then the scope of the Committee's work has been more restricted, with advantage to its value and quality. The Fifth Committee approved the report of the Child Welfare Committee and recommended that it should continue its work on the lines indicated therein. There was no occasion for us to take part in the discussion.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly approves the report of the Child Welfare Committee on the work of its fifth session and recommends that the Committee should continue its work on the lines indicated therein. (*Resolution adopted on 19th September 1929.*)

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

92. The principal matter of interest to India in the recent work of the Advisory Committee for this subject was the proposal to extend the inquiries of the Special Body of Experts which has already reported on the conditions of this traffic in Europe, America, and the Near East. The Assembly of 1928 had expressed the hope that it would be possible to extend the investigations to countries where no investigation had already taken place. The Advisory Committee thought that with the consent and co-operation of the Governments concerned, inquiries should be further diffused in countries not previously visited, especially in the East. The Council of the League in June had adopted this view and had decided that "with the consent and co-operation of the Governments concerned, inquiries into the international traffic should be pursued in other countries not previously visited, especially in the East." The Council also approved the view of the Committee, that "in view of the difference in social customs in Eastern countries, the nature and extent of the inquiries to be made and the methods to be followed will require special consideration, and the composition of the Special Body of Experts will have to be examined in the light of the altered circumstances." On the instructions of the Council the Secretary-General has communicated with the Governments concerned, and has been informed that the Government of India are prepared to consent to the extension of the inquiry and will co-operate on the understanding that the conditions laid down by the Council will be fulfilled. It is understood that if the replies of the other countries concerned are favourable, the necessary funds will be made available from the private source which met the expenses of the previous inquiry.

93. In the course of the discussions His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala took occasion to refer to this subject and to give a brief general account of the important developments which have recently been taking place in India in regard to the welfare of women and children. After expressing appreciation of the reports which were before the Committee, His Highness said that he did not feel called upon to repeat the warnings which he had ventured to offer in a previous year as to the possible consequences of approaching Eastern problems with Western preconceptions, because he recognised that the Advisory Committee had been pursuing its labours with a notable discretion; difference of environment and culture must, to some extent, result in differences of method and procedure, but there was an identity of aim which found a common source of encouragement and inspiration in the proceedings at Geneva; he said that India would welcome the extension of the inquiry on the international traffic, on the understanding that certain changes in the methods of the inquiry, which were necessitated by the different character of the new field of investigation, would be made; he then said that, although it might not be justifiable in the ordinary way for a delegate to take up the Committee's time with a description of the social conditions of his own particular country, he would attempt to describe briefly the significant developments which had taken place in India in regard to the position and welfare of women, because the social conditions of India had recently received a certain amount of lively attention in other countries, and might therefore be presumed to be of some general interest, and because the phase which was opening in India might eventually have reactions far outside it; while not pretending that social evils did not exist in India, nor desiring to minimise their gravity, he said that the nature and degree of those evils needed qualification and must be looked at in their true perspective; he did not wish to exaggerate the progress which had so far been made in India, and he only wished to submit evidence that consciences were being stirred, that a spontaneous movement was in progress, that changes were taking place which would have been regarded as inconceivable quite recently, and that Indian women were themselves taking the matter in hand in spite of the tradition of seclusion; they were doing this by work both inside and outside legislative bodies, which, except in one province, were now open to women; he stated the facts in regard to the age of marriage and the age of consent and referred to the proposals which at that moment were before the Indian Legislature and which if passed into law, as has since happened, would result in changes profoundly affecting the social conditions of India; he referred also to the recent legislation in the United Provinces with the object of terminating the custom whereby minor girls of a certain caste were trained for immoral purposes, and to the legislation in Madras in regard to the abuse associated with the devadasis; he mentioned that the latter measure had been passed on the motion of a woman. Referring to the subjects of health and education, he said that the systems of caste and purdah presented great difficulties in India and that practical reformers must take these systems as they existed, seeking to obtain full advantage from the relaxation of their force which was gradually occurring; provision of medical aid to women and children was undoubtedly one of the great problems of India, and he expressed the belief that it would be of great value if the organisations of the League for health and social questions were to apply the comparative method of studying the best means of rendering the essential modicum of medical knowledge available in conditions such as those which existed in India; in regard to education he thought that progress depended on the ability of women themselves to appreciate their own needs, to formulate their own programme and to work for the realisation of it, and he gave evidence to show that the importance of these conditions was being increasingly realised and that the belief that the education of women was essential to national advancement was becoming

widespread; as the most interesting and encouraging sign of all, he referred to the growth of the organisation originally known as the All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform, which first met in 1927; he spoke of the leading part played in the work of this organisation by Her Highness the Maharanee of Baroda, Her Highness the Begum Mother of Bhopal, and by Her Highness the Dowager Ranee of Mandi; he described the fundamental object of this organisation and stated that, although started with the idea of dealing exclusively with educational matters, it had been obliged to widen its scope so as to deal also with matters of social reform; he claimed that this organisation deserved the warmest sympathy and encouragement; having thus dealt with British India, he said that there was evidence of a similar movement in the Indian States, although it was difficult to describe it in general terms on account of the great variation of conditions in the States; there was no doubt that in the more wealthy and progressive States the advancement of ideas was no less marked than in British India, and indeed some of the States were ahead of British India in certain important respects; on the whole the conservative principle was more strong in the States and the systems of caste and purdah were perhaps even less amenable to change than in British India; welfare work therefore developed more slowly, but there was evidence of the existence and development of many beneficial institutions in the large towns and the interest was even spreading to the villages; it could be observed that the women were now discussing and doing things in a manner which would hardly have been possible 10 years ago; the movement towards better conditions was only in its infancy, but its significance could not be judged except by those with personal knowledge of the recent past, when the things which were now happening would have seemed inconceivable; His Highness concluded by saying that he did not wish to impress the Committee with a sense of reforms already accomplished, but rather with a sense of great changes which were beginning and were bound to proceed, and he maintained that it would be well rather to watch and encourage the forces which were moving towards the development of better conditions than to contemplate morbidly the evils which had to be cured. His Highness's speech is reprinted in the Appendices.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly takes note of the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee on the work of its eighth session, records its appreciation of the work of the Committee and expresses the hope that the work will be continued along the lines indicated in the report. (*Resolution adopted on 19th September 1929.*)

COMMITTEE VI.—Political Questions.

MANDATES.

94. The discussion on this subject centred upon three matters:—(1) the recent events in Palestine; (2) the question whether B and C Mandates are of temporary or permanent duration; (3) the application of the conception of sovereignty in the case of mandated territories.

In regard to (1) the British delegate described the steps that were being taken and said that the Mandatory Power had no intention of proposing changes in the system which the mandate lays down; the Committee expressed its complete confidence in the inquiry which was being instituted. With regard to (2) the discussions did not result in any modification of the *status quo*. The third subject is of great theoretical complexity, but is not regarded as likely to give rise to any difficulties in practice. No point of special interest to India arose. The Committee again repeated its confidence in the Mandatory Powers and the Permanent Mandates Commission.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,
Having noted the work of the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council in execution of Article 22 of the Covenant;

(a) Renews the expression of confidence in them voted by previous Assemblies;

(b) (i) Expresses its profound regret at the recent incidents in Palestine involving the loss of human lives;

(ii) Expresses its complete confidence in the inquiry which the mandatory Power is instituting;

(iii) Trusts that the latter will speedily succeed in completely restoring order and in taking measures to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents;

(c) Trusts that, thanks to the united efforts of the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council, the institution of mandates will continue to pursue the ideal of civilisation which is set before it. (*Resolution adopted on 19th September 1929.*)

SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN ERIVAN.

95. Last year the Assembly voted a sum of money to enable Dr. Nansen, the High Commissioner for Refugees, to carry on his plans for the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan. But in the meantime he had only been able to collect half the sum of money regarded by the Erivan Government as the minimum required for settlement operations. In these circumstances Dr. Nansen proposed, at any rate for the present, to

abandon his efforts and the Committee with regret approved this course. In consequence a credit for 50,000 francs was omitted from the Budget.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Having considered carefully Dr. Nansen's report concerning the result of his negotiations for the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan ;

Notes that, although he does not consider the moment opportune for the prosecution of those negotiations, he is willing to keep in touch with the movement for the return of Armenian refugees to the Republic of Erivan in order that he may be in a position to judge whether, at a later date, the co-operation of the High Commission for Refugees might be effective ;

Decides to discontinue for the moment its connection with this scheme, but to invite the High Commissioner to keep in touch with the movement for the return of the Armenian refugees to the Republic of Erivan and to acquaint the Council if and when the High Commission's co-operation might appear to be opportune. (*Resolution adopted on 21st September 1929.*)

RUSSIAN AND OTHER CLASSES OF REFUGEES.

96. We have already in our Report of the work of the Fourth Committee alluded to the administrative side of this question. The receipt of the report of the first meeting of the Advisory Commission led to a review of the League's general policy in regard to refugees. Briefly, the work falls into two parts: (1) the finding of employment for refugees who are still without work ; valuable services have been and are being performed in this connection by means of emigration schemes and otherwise, and the end of this part of the work should be reached in a reasonably short time ; (2) the legal problem of the personal status of refugees ; unless and until they either return to the countries of their origin and assume their old nationality or are allowed to acquire the nationality of the countries in which they have found refuge, they would, without the assistance of the High Commissioner, be in a position of anomaly and difficulty which would expose them to much personal risk and hardship ; the High Commissioner has, however, by means of inter-Governmental arrangements, been able to provide them in most cases with a provisional legal status ; this régime cannot, however, continue indefinitely. The Committee decided that the Refugees' Organisation should be wound up within a maximum period of 10 years and recommended that the work of winding up should be methodically pursued in order that it may be possible subsequently to reduce this period of 10 years.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions and Recommendations :—

The Assembly,

(1) Has examined the reports submitted by the High Commissioner, the Advisory Commission and the Supervisory Commission on the question of Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish refugees ;

(2) Thanks the High Commissioner and the Advisory Commission for the work accomplished and asks them to continue their work on the basis of the programme outlined in the Advisory Commission's report, under the direction of the Council of the League of Nations ;

(3) Decides that the refugees' organisation should be wound up within a maximum period of 10 years ;

(4) Recommends that the work of winding-up should be methodically pursued in order that it may be possible subsequently to reduce this period of 10 years ;

(5) Decides that the High Commissioner's central service be placed for a period of one year, and as an experiment, under the administrative authority of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, subject to the conditions indicated by the Fourth Committee ;

(6) Requests the Secretary-General to report to the next Assembly on the experience thus acquired and to make proposals for the administration of the refugees' organisation during the whole period in which it is being wound up ;

(7) Requests the Governments to adopt and apply the inter-governmental Arrangements of 5th July 1922, 31st May 1924, 12th May 1926, and 30th June 1928, and expresses the wish that the use of the Nansen stamp should be further extended ;

(8) Sees no objection to part of the funds derived from the sale of the Nansen stamps being utilised to add to the funds created for the benefit of deserving refugees ;

(9) Authorises the High Commissioner to make a fresh appeal to the International Organisations of the Red Cross and to various private associations and individuals to continue and develop their efforts in order to obtain the largest possible sums for the continuation of the work undertaken by the High Commissioner ;

(10) Asks the Council to take such steps as the execution of these resolutions may render necessary until the next session of the Assembly. (*Resolutions and Recommendations adopted on 23rd September 1929.*)

SLAVERY.

97. The Slavery Convention adopted by the Assembly of 1926 has so far been ratified or acceded to by 28 States. Many of the countries which have not so far adhered to it have admittedly no direct concern with the question, but there are still some countries whose adherence is most desirable. The Convention contains no obligation on the High Contracting Parties to communicate any laws and regulations which they may enact in fulfilment of the Convention ; States were at the same time also recommended to submit spontaneously other information bearing on the subject. The States from which information has been received

are so far comparatively few, India being one of them ; there is some risk of a false impression being created that these States are the only States in which slavery survives.

98. On behalf of the British Delegation Lord Cecil, to whom the Slavery Convention of 1926 was largely due, proposed in the Sixth Committee that the Temporary Slavery Commission, which had been responsible for the preparation of the Convention, should be revived. His desire was that the Temporary Slavery Commission when resuscitated should be asked to report generally on the execution of the Convention, and particularly on the question why so many ratifications were still outstanding, and that it should ascertain why so few countries had been able to give information, and whether there was any reason to suppose that a considerable amount of slavery and slave trading still existed, and, if so, what remedies were possible. There were, he stated, certainly two States in regard to which information existed which might have, but had not, been communicated to the League, and the British Government had information of the survival of slave trading in certain areas—for instance, the Red Sea.

99. In the course of the discussion Mr. Raza Ali supported Lord Cecil's proposal. Not only, he said, was it necessary that the survivals of slavery as such should be abolished, but the League should make a serious effort to strike at the root of the system which sanctioned any form of compulsory labour because the difference between the two systems, in his opinion, was very small ; the Committee should not make any difference between the question of native labour and that of non-native labour ; the conditions of labour in general might vary from country to country, but such differences should not be based upon the fact that certain labour was drawn from a particular class, nor should any distinction be made regarding the colour of the labourers ; generally speaking, what applied to labour conditions in certain European countries applied also to similar conditions in Asia and Africa. It had been suggested in the Committee that the evil of slavery was not so great as many people believed, and, if so, there could be no objection to the investigations proposed ; on the other hand, there were people who believed that systems of slavery, which amounted to a most objectionable abuse, did still survive in certain regions, and those people ought to have an opportunity to prove their contention ; it would be unfortunate if the impression were created that there was any desire to delay the solution of the problem or that it was being shelved in certain countries, particularly in Asia and Africa ; he, therefore, was in favour of an early and thorough investigation, and declared that, so far as India was concerned, he did not wish the question to be prejudged, and thought that the examination of the conditions existing in India would not be found to be to the detriment of that country.

100. Lord Cecil's proposal was eventually referred to a Sub-Committee. It found much support, but at the same time the Sub-Committee noted certain reasons which appeared to indicate that the reappointment of the temporary Slavery Commission in the immediate future would not serve a useful purpose. In the first place any conclusions which might be arrived at could only relate to the slave trade and slavery itself, and must exclude forced labour, which is at present being dealt with by the International Labour Organisation ; secondly, it was considered that it would be premature after only three years to decide whether or not the Convention of 1926 was producing the results that had been anticipated ; and thirdly, the Sub-Committee was of opinion that an inquiry should be undertaken as to the results so far obtained from the Convention before the proposal to revive the temporary Commission was decided upon. The Sixth Committee accordingly decided that an appeal should be made to the States which had not already adhered to the Convention to do so, and that the Secretary-General should collect all possible information on the present position before the next Assembly, until which time the further consideration of the British Government's proposal was postponed.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Being extremely anxious to achieve the complete and final abolition of slavery and of the slave trade ; Considering the importance, in order to attain these results, of the general ratification of the

Convention on Slavery ;

Having considered the British Government's proposal for the creation of a new Temporary Commission on Slavery ;

Being of opinion that an urgent appeal should first be addressed to the States which have not already done so to ratify or accede to the Convention on Slavery, and that it is necessary above all to collect information on the present position of the question ;

Postpones, therefore, further consideration of the British Government's proposal ; Urgently requests the States which have not already done so to ratify or accede to the Convention of 25th September 1926, relative to slavery ;

Instructs the Secretary-General to collect from the States Members of the League, and from those non-Member States which are parties to the Convention, all possible information on the present position of slavery, and to report to the next Assembly. (*Resolution adopted on 21st September 1929.*)

General Observations.

101. Having thus described the proceedings of the Assembly, and the part played in them by the Indian Delegation, we feel it our duty to offer some general observations and some suggestions, which, if adopted, would, in our opinion, strengthen the position of India in the

League, and help to bring about a clearer appreciation of that position both in India and abroad. No one will, we presume, dispute the view that, India having been admitted as an independent Member of the League under the Treaty of Versailles, it is both her right and her duty to make that membership as effective as possible. The attainment of this object depends in our view upon four factors, which we place in what appears to us to be the order of their importance: first, that the activities of India's representatives should be sustained by an enlightened and interested public opinion in India; secondly, that the machinery of Government itself should be adapted to meet the requirements of increasing activity in the field of operation of the League and to satisfy the demands which an expansion of public interest in India would naturally entail; thirdly, that in the selection of delegates for the Assembly and other League Conferences it is of predominant importance that they should possess the experience necessary to enable them to discharge their duties as delegates actively and efficiently; and fourthly, that the policy of India in relation to the League should be conducted in such a way that foreign countries will appreciate the reality of India's intention to play in the League a part which is consistent with her relative importance among the nations of the world. Largely, these ideas can only be realised by the spirit in which international problems are approached and undertaken. But the attainment of them would, in our view, be greatly assisted by the adoption of certain practical measures which we shall proceed to detail.

Proposals.

(1) In the first place we consider that some means should be found for increasing the interest of the Indian Legislature in the work of the League, and for associating it with the work of the representatives of India. The Indian Legislature is the constitutional embodiment of Indian public opinion on all matters which concern India as a whole, and it seems only natural that it should, as one of its functions, sustain and stimulate consistently with its powers India's participation in international affairs. So far the Indian Legislature has not displayed much interest in the League. It is not for us to suggest why this has been so. We would rather confine ourselves to suggesting how a broader, a more active, and a better informed interest could be generated. Accordingly we recommend that a standing Advisory Committee of the Legislature, analogous to similar bodies which already exist, should be created for the purpose of considering and advising upon all important matters arising out of India's membership of the League. It would examine the reports of delegates of India, with the collaboration, as far as possible, of the delegates themselves, who might be invited to Delhi or Simla for the purpose. It would consider and advise to what extent the attitude taken up by these delegates should be maintained or developed. It would receive information as to matters which are expected in the near future to be considered by the Assembly and other League Conferences, including as far as possible the actual agenda of such meetings, and it would submit to Government its advice, in as precise a form as circumstances may render desirable and possible, as to the instructions which should be given to the representatives of India. Circumstances may render it necessary for Government to instruct delegates without consultation with the Committee in all questions which arise at short notice; but consistently with this, the fullest possible use should be made of the Committee to ensure that the instructions to delegates are in accordance with public opinion. Joint sessions might be arranged for the consideration of matters which are the concern of some other Standing Committee as well as of the League Standing Committee. The Committee will be free to make recommendations on matters in which they consider that representatives of India might take the initiative at international meetings organised by or held under the auspices of the League.

(2) It would be a necessary complement to our first proposal, as well as desirable on other grounds, that the administration itself should be provided with suitable machinery for a more intensive and adequate treatment of League questions. This should be done by attaching a whole-time officer to the appropriate Department. This officer's function would be generally to study and digest the League's voluminous literature, to facilitate co-ordination of work among the various Departments of the Government of India which may be specially concerned with particular aspects of the activities of the League, to prepare documentary material necessary for members of delegations, and finally, but not least, to perform those secretarial and administrative services which the creation of the Standing Committee would involve.

(3) Some machinery should also be created which would enable the Government of India to be better informed as to affairs at Geneva. There are a number of countries, some remote from Geneva and others comparatively near, which have found it desirable to supplement, by the appointment of permanent representatives at the headquarters of the League or by other means, the information on League matters which is derivable from official documents studied in their Ministries at home, and we believe that India is in need of similar facilities.

(4) The number of Indians employed in the Secretariat of the League, and the positions which they have so far occupied, are conspicuously inferior, in our opinion, to the relative importance of India as a country, and to the place which India should rightly occupy among

the States Members of the League. Appointments are exclusively within the discretion of the Secretary-General. With this we have neither the desire nor the right to interfere. We are conscious of his goodwill, and we appreciate his difficulties. The representation of different countries is not, and should not be, a predominant factor in building up an international Civil Service. But countries are not, and cannot be, completely indifferent to the extent to which their importance is reflected in the constitution of the Secretariat. The marked under-representation of an important country will have an unfavourable influence on the spirit in which that country contributes to the work of the League, and will affect the qualifications of the Secretariat itself for discharging its duties with a full realisation of the interests and influences involved. The point has often been made before, and we ourselves repeated it at this Assembly. It is particularly important that whenever an opportunity occurs no effort should be spared to find and put forward candidates of the highest possible qualifications. Lest our remarks on this subject should be misinterpreted on account of their juxtaposition to proposals which are designed to increase the practical effectiveness of India's participation in the work of the League, we wish to make it perfectly plain that the more adequate representation of India in the Secretariat is not to be sought as a means of serving the interests of India by influence exercised internally in the Secretariat, nor, in fact, as a means of obtaining direct advantages of any sort. We wholly agree with the view that nationals employed in the Secretariat should not in any way directly or indirectly act as the servants or agents of the Governments of the country to which they belong. The considerations supporting the view which we represent are of a different and higher order. They flow primarily from a conviction that the League can fulfil its high moral mission most effectively only if its staff is not only international in its outlook but also in its personnel.

(5) Our predecessors have often urged the necessity for a strong element of continuity in the composition of the delegation to the Assembly. Yet on this occasion His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, alone of a delegation of six, had had previous experience. We can only emphasise the view which has been expressed before. There are, as we are aware, obvious difficulties in securing continuity, especially in the case of a distant country, where service as a delegate involves long absence. There are even, as we know, some considerations in favour of variation. Yet the experience of other countries has almost universally resulted in continuous representation, except so far as variation is necessitated by radical changes of national policy. Many of the delegates attend the Assembly year after year, and some have been present at every Assembly. The conditions, the methods of procedure and the subject-matter are so peculiar that experience is important to an exceptional degree, and in the midst of delegates possessing that experience those who do not possess it cannot hope or be expected to do full justice to themselves and the interests which they represent. We know of no delegation which attempts to play an important part in the work of the Assembly with so many changes in its personnel as the Indian Delegation, and the discontinuity in the representation of India is a subject of widespread comment. Year after year the positions of influence are inevitably assigned to delegates who know the Assembly and are known to it; the leading part in the debates is occupied by them, and the proposals which are destined to bear fruit proceed from them. If India is to be adequately and worthily represented at Geneva, if she is to rank with the countries whose spokesmen are not limited to the representation and defence of particular national interests, but are in a position to contribute to the general development of ideas, some means must be found of constituting the delegations with as little variation as possible. We suggest as a practical measure that no delegate should in future be appointed unless he is prepared, if called upon, to serve on at least two or three consecutive occasions.

(6) If we may offer further suggestion as to the composition of the delegation, we would propose that the full delegates should ordinarily be Indians, and that one or more of the full or substitute delegates should be chosen from the Indian Legislature.

(7) Finally, we consider that an active policy should be pursued with regard to the possibility of India being elected to membership of the Council of the League. Election to the Council is the aspiration of all States Members who are not entitled to permanent seats, and who take their League membership seriously. So far as the relative importance of States Members may be gauged by the proportion of their contribution to the expenses of the League, India stands above all those States which are not entitled to permanent representation on the Council. India cannot be expected to deny herself the aspiration of being elected to the Council. She was admitted to the League on equal terms with all other States Members, and it hardly seems too much to claim that her colleagues should freely recognise this fact. The facts that the Indian Delegation has been led by an Indian and that the Optional Clause has been signed on her behalf by an Indian are recent testimony to the reality of her independence as a member of the League. We hope that this testimony will be supplemented and reinforced in any way that may be required to make it clear that if India were elected to the Council the attitude of her representative would be the attitude of the country which he represents no more and no less than in the case of other countries. There is no formal candidature, but there are means of indicating and of ascertaining whether a country is hoping to receive votes. We trust that steps will be taken on the first suitable occasion to make it known that India is to be

regarded as a candidate. It is not, in our opinion, necessary to wait until there is a good chance of actual success. It would be worth while to cultivate the idea that India is an effective candidate by collecting and registering a moderate number of votes on the first available opportunity.

102. For much that we have said in the preceding paragraphs we claim no originality. Some of our proposals involve a considerable increase of effort and some small amount of additional expenditure. The effort and expenditure which membership of the League throws upon India is already somewhat heavy, and we are aware that there is a tendency to regard them as excessive. It is, however, our considered view that full value is not at present being obtained, and that if such is to be obtained some further expenditure of effort and money is unavoidable. The reduction of existing commitments would be neither practical nor advantageous to India, and we believe that the statesmanlike course is to accept the relatively unimportant additional burdens necessary to get the full benefit of the effort and money which are already being expended. We feel no doubt whatever as to the substantial character of the benefits to be derived from a full and active participation in the work of the League. Our recommendations have the full support of our colleagues Sir Chunilal Mehta, Sir Geoffrey Corbett and Syed Raza Ali, the substitute members of this delegation, whose collaboration we warmly acknowledge.

Conclusion.

103. We have already permitted ourselves a more extended measure of general observations than is usual, and we will not further lengthen our Report except to express the hope that our experiences and the lessons which we have drawn from them may be of some benefit to our successors, and to record our appreciation of the privilege with which we have been honoured of representing India at the Assembly of the League of Nations.

(Signed) MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH,
JAGATJIT SINGH,
Maharajah of Kapurthala.
EWART GREAVES.

W. D. CROFT, *Secretary*,
January 1930.

LIST OF APPENDICES.

	PAGE
Appendix I. List of States represented and their Delegations - - - - -	42
Appendix II. Reports of Committees to the Assembly :-	
ANNEX I. Report of the Second Committee on the question of Intellectual Co-operation -	47
ANNEX II. Report of the Second Committee on the work of the Health Organisation -	48
ANNEX III. Report of the Second Committee on the work of the Financial Committee -	52
ANNEX IV. Report of the Second Committee on the Economic work of the League -	54
ANNEX V. Report of the Third Committee on the Draft Convention on Financial Assistance -	59
ANNEX VI. Report of the Third Committee on the progress of the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference - - - - -	60
ANNEX VII. Report of the Third Committee on the Model Treaty to strengthen the means for preventing war - - - - -	61
ANNEX VIII. Report by the Third Committee on the Supervision of the Private Manufacture and Publicity of the Manufacture of Arms, Ammunition, and of the Implements of War - - - - -	61
ANNEX IX. Report of the Fourth Committee on the Procedure for the Election of Members, and Amendments to Article I of the Financial Regulations - - - - -	62
ANNEX X. Report by the Fourth Committee on the Organisation of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office, and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice - - - - -	62
ANNEX XI. Report of the Fourth Committee on Financial Questions - - - - -	63
ANNEX XII. Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children - - - - -	67
ANNEX XIII. Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs -	68
ANNEX XIV. Report by the Sixth Committee on the Annual Report of the Council on the Slavery Convention - - - - -	73
ANNEX XV. Report by the General Committee on the Organisation of the Secretariat, &c. -	74
Appendix III. Certain Speeches delivered by Members of the Indian Delegation at the Tenth Assembly :-	
ANNEX I. Sir M. Habibullah, in the Assembly, 7th September 1929 - - - - -	75
ANNEX II. Sir Ewart Greaves, in the First Committee, 16th September 1929 - - - - -	76
ANNEX III. Mr. Bajpai, in the Second Committee, 16th September 1929 - - - - -	77
ANNEX IV. Mr. Bajpai, in the Second Committee, 17th September 1929 - - - - -	77
ANNEX V. Sir G. Corbett, in the Second Committee, 18th September 1929 - - - - -	78
ANNEX VI. Mr. Raza Ali, in the Third Committee, 11th September 1929 - - - - -	79
ANNEX VII. Sir M. Habibullah, in the Third Committee, 12th September 1929 - - - - -	79
ANNEX VIII. Sir Ewart Greaves, in the Third Committee, 16th September 1929 - - - - -	80
ANNEX IX. Sir C. V. Mehta, in the Fourth Committee, 21st September 1929 - - - - -	80
ANNEX X. His Highness the Maharajah of Kapurthala, in the Fifth Committee, 12th September 1929 - - - - -	82
ANNEX XI. Sir C. V. Mehta, in the Fifth Committee, 18th September 1929 - - - - -	83
ANNEX XII. Mr. Raza Ali, in the Sixth Committee, 5th September 1929 - - - - -	

APPENDIX I.

List of States represented and their Delegates. (Many Delegations were also accompanied by Expert Advisers.)

- ABYSSINIA.**—His Excellency Count Lagarde, Duc d'Entotto (Minister Plenipotentiary, Diplomatic Representative of the Abyssinian Empire accredited to the League of Nations, High Counsellor).
Special Delegation.—His Excellency le Bettoaddé Guetatchéou Abate (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). Lidj Andargué Massai. Ato Efreml Twolde Medhen.
- ALBANIA.**—M. Raouf Fitso (Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Mehdi Frasheri (former Minister, President of the Council of State). M. Demètre Poppa (Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).
- AUSTRALIA.**—Major the Hon. Charles William Clanan Marr, D.S.O., M.C. (Honorary Minister). Major-Gen. the Hon. Sir Granville de Laune Rylie, K.C.M.G., C.B., V.D. (High Commissioner in London). Sir William Harrison Moore, K.B.E., C.M.G., B.A., LL.D.
Substitutes.—Mrs. Roberta Jull, M.B., C.M. Mr. Frank Lidgett McDougall, C.M.G.
- AUSTRIA.**—His Excellency M. Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein (former Ambassador). His Excellency M. Emerich Pflügl (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Austrian Representative accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Max Hoffinger (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the Swiss Confederation).
Substitutes.—Dr. Richard Schüller (Head of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Professor at the University of Vienna, Member of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations). Dr. Markus Leitmaier (Ministerial Counsellor).
- BELGIUM.**—His Excellency M. Paul Hymans (Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. P. E. Janson (Minister for Justice). Viscount P. Poulet (Minister of State, former President of the House of Representatives, former Prime Minister). Count H. Carton de Wiart (Minister of State, former Prime Minister, former Minister for Justice). (During M. Hymans' stay at Geneva, Count Carton de Wiart acted as substitute delegate.)
Substitutes.—Baron Moncheur (Honorary Ambassador). Baron Edouard Rolin-Jaequemyns (Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, former Minister for the Interior). M. Fernand van Langenhove (Chef du Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. J. Mélot (Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Henri Rolin (Barrister at the Brussels Court of Appeal, Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. O. Louwers (Colonial Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).
- BOLIVIA.**—M. Adolfe Costa du Rels (former Finance Minister, former Bolivian Delegate at the Havana Pan-American Conference). His Excellency M. Alberto Cortadellas (former Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).
- BRITISH EMPIRE.**—The Right Hon. James Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. (Prime Minister). The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P. (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). The Right Hon. William Graham, M.P. (President of the Board of Trade).
Substitutes.—The Right Hon. the Viscount Cecil of Chelwood. Sir Cecil James Barrington Hurst, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C. (Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office). Mr. Hugh Dalton, M.P. (Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, M.A. Mrs. Mary Hamilton, M.P. Professor P. J. Noel Baker, M.P. (In the absence of either the Prime Minister or the President of the Board of Trade, Lord Cecil will act as delegate. In the absence of both the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade, Sir Cecil Hurst will act as delegate.)
- BULGARIA.**—His Excellency M. Athanase Bouroff (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Vladimir Molloff (Minister for Finance).
Substitute.—M. Dimitri Mikoff (Chargé d'Affaires in Switzerland, Permanent Bulgarian Representative accredited to the League of Nations).
- CANADA.**—The Hon. Raoul Dandurand, C.B., C.P., LL.D. (Senator, Member of the Privy Council of Canada, Minister of State, Representative of the Government in the Senate). The Hon. John Campbell Elliott, B.C.L., D.C.L., K.C., P.C. (Minister for Public Works). The Hon. William D. Euler, P.C. (Minister of National Revenue).
Substitutes.—The Right Hon. Sir George Eulas Foster, G.C.M.G., B.A., D.C.L., LL.D. (Senator). The Hon. Philippe Roy, C.P., M.D. (former Senator, Minister in France). Miss Agnes C. Macphail, M.P. Mr. Malcolm McLean, M.P. Mr. Walter A. Riddell, M.A., Ph.D. (Dominion of Canada Advisory Officer accredited to the League of Nations).
- CHILE.**—His Excellency M. Enrique Villegas (Ambassador at Rome, former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chilean Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Luis de Porto-Seguro (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin). His Excellency M. Jorge Valdés-Mendeville (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Brussels and Berne).

CHINA.—His Excellency Dr. Chao-Chu Wu (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Member of the Government Council, former Chairman of the Judicial Council, former Mayor of Canton). His Excellency Général Tsiang Tso-ping (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin and Vienna, former Member of the Government Council, former Vice-Minister for War, former President of the Anhui Provincial Government). His Excellency M. Kao-Lou (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, Member of the Council of Education, former Member of the Kiangsu Provincial Government).

Substitute and Secretary-General.—Dr. Woo Kaiseng (Director of the Permanent Office of the Chinese Delegation to the League of Nations, former Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—M. Lone Liang (Counsellor at the Legation in Berne). Dr. Scié Ton-Fa (Secretary of the Legation in Paris).

COLOMBIA.—His Excellency Dr. Francisco José Urrutia (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former President of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). His Excellency M. Luis Samper Sordo (Permanent Colombian Delegate accredited to the League of Nations, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).
Substitute.—M. Rafael Bernal Jimenez (First Secretary of the Legation at Berne).

CUBA.—His Excellency M. Rafael Martínez Ortiz (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Orestes Ferrara (former President of the Chamber of Deputies, Ambassador at Washington). His Excellency M. Aristides de Agüero y Bethancourt (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin). (In the absence of M. Ortiz, M. Ferrara will be President of the Delegation, M. de Agüero y Bethancourt will become second delegate and M. de Blanck third delegate.)

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Guillermo de Blanck (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Carlos Armenteros (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). M. Ramiro Hernández Portela (Counsellor of Legation).

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—His Excellency Dr. Eduard Benes (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Stephen Osusky (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). His Excellency M. Zdeněk Fierlinger (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).
Substitute.—Dr. Vladimír Slavík (Counsellor at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

DENMARK.—His Excellency M. Th. Stauning (Prime Minister). His Excellency Dr. Peter Munch (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Count Carl Moltke (Chamberlain, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Iaustr Moltesen (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. F. J. Borgbjerg (Minister for Public Education, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). (During M. Stauning's stay at Geneva, Dr. Moltesen acted as substitute delegate. During Dr. Munch's stay at Geneva, M. Borgbjerg acted as substitute delegate.)

Substitutes.—Le Pasteur Th. Povlsen (former Minister for Religion). M. Holger Andersen (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Count E. Reventlow (Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Georg Cohn (Head of Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). Mlle. Henni M. W. Borberg (Permanent Danish Representative accredited to the League of Nations). M. Otto Wadsted (Envoy Extraordinary Administration of the International Council of Women). M. Otto Wadsted (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.—His Excellency M. Maximo Vasquez (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris).

ESTONIA.—His Excellency M. Jaan Lattik (Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). General Johan Laidoner (former Commander-in-Chief of the Estonian Army). M. Jaan Tõnisson (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs, former Prime Minister). (In the event of M. Lattik's absence from Geneva, General Laidoner will act as President of the delegation.)
Substitute.—M. Auguste Schmidt (Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs).

FINLAND.—His Excellency M. Hjalmar J. Procopé (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Rafael Erich (former Prime Minister, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). His Excellency M. Rudolf Holsti (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Finnish Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).
Substitutes.—M. J. V. Keto (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Mme. Tilma Hainari. M. Georg Schauman (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Baron Aarno Yrjö-Koskinen (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Aarne Vuorimaa (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Evald Gyllenbög (First Secretary of Legation).

FRANCE.—His Excellency M. Aristide Briand (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Louis Loucheur (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister for Labour, Health, Public Relief and Social Insurance). M. Lucien Hubert (Senator, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee).
Substitutes.—M. François Labrousse (Senator). M. Robert Sérot (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Fromageot (Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

GERMANY.—The late Dr. Gustav Stresemann (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Carl von Schubert (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Friedrich Gaus (Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—Count Johann-Heinrich Bernstorff (former Ambassador). Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid (Member of the Reichstag). Dr. Ludwig Kaas (Member of the Reichstag, Canon and Domestic Prelate to His Holiness the Pope). Dr. Koch-Weser (former Minister for Justice and the Interior, Member of the Reichstag). Baron Rheinbaben (Member of the Reichstag, former Secretary of State).

GREECE.—His Excellency M. A. Michalakopoulos (Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Nicolas Politis (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). M. A. Papadatos (Under Secretary of State in the Prime Minister's Department). M. A. Andréadès (Member of the Academy of Athens). (During the stay of M. Michalakopoulos at Geneva, M. Andréadès acted as substitute delegate.)

Substitutes.—M. Jean Politis (Resident Minister, Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. R. Raphaël (Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

GUATEMALA.—His Excellency Dr. Carlos F. Mora (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin).

HAITI.—His Excellency M. Luc Dominique (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin).

HONDURAS.—M. Froylan Turcios (Consul-General in Paris).

HUNGARY.—His Excellency Count Albert Apponyi (former Minister). His Excellency General Gabriel Tanczos (former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Baron Joseph Sztérényi (former Minister for Commerce).

Substitutes.—Mme la Comtesse Apponyi. His Excellency M. L. Gajzágó (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Alexius de Nagy (former Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Paul de Hevesy (Resident Minister, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). M. Joseph Vészi (Member of the Upper Chamber). M. A. de Egry (Member of the Upper Chamber). M. Etienne de Görgey (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. J. Lakatos (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Count François Hunyadi (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

INDIA.—Sir Muhammad Habibullah, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Kt. (Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council). Colonel His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E. Sir W. Ewart Greaves (late Judge of the High Court, Calcutta).

Substitutes.—Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, K.C.S.I. (former Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay). Sir Geoffrey L. Corbett, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S. (former Secretary in the Department of Commerce). Syed Raza Ali, C.B.E. (Member of the Public Service Commission).

IRISH FREE STATE.—Mr. Patrick McGilligan (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Mr. John M. O'Sullivan (Minister for Public Education). Mr. John A. Costello (Attorney-General).

Substitutes.—Mr. Sean Lester (Representative of the Irish Free State accredited to the League of Nations). Mr. Sean Murphy (Assistant Secretary of the Department for External Affairs).

ITALY.—His Excellency Professor Vittorio Scialoja (Minister of State, Senator, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Count Lelio Bonin-Langare (Minister of State, Ambassador, Vice-President of the Senate). His Excellency M. Edmondo Rossoni (Minister of State, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Substitutes.—His Excellency General Alberto de Marinis Stendardo di Ricigliano (Senator). M. Stefano Cavazzoni (Senator). M. Alessandro Sardi, Baron di Revisondoli (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Fulvio Suvich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Cesare Tumedei (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Dino Alfieri (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Augusto Rosso (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Massimo Pilotti (Counsellor at the Court of Cassation). M. Giuseppe Gallavresi.

JAPAN.—His Excellency M. Mineitcird Adatci (Ambassador to France, Permanent Japanese Representative on the Council of the League of Nations, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, Vice-President of the Institute of International Law, Member of the Imperial Academy of Japan). His Excellency M. Tsuneo Matsudaira (Ambassador to Great Britain). His Excellency M. Matsuzo Nagai (Ambassador to Belgium).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Isaburo Yoshida (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). His Excellency M. Naotake Sato (Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office). His Excellency M. Koki Hirota (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in the Netherlands). His Excellency Viscount Kintomo Mushakoji (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Sweden). M. Nobumi Ito (Counsellor of Embassy, Assistant Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office).

LATVIA.—His Excellency M. Antons Balodis (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Vilis Schumans (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, Madrid and Lisbon). His Excellency M. Charles Duzmans (Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Belgrade).

Substitutes.—Dr. Paul Schiemans (Member of the Saeima). M. Jules Feldmans (Head of the Western Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Counsellor of Legation).

LIBERIA.—Dr. Antoine Sottile (Doctor of Law, Chargé d'Affaires, Permanent Delegate of Liberia accredited to the League of Nations).

LITHUANIA.—His Excellency Professor A. Voldemaras (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. V. Sidzikanskas (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin) Mme. S. Ciurlionis.

Substitute and Secretary-General.—M. L. Dyma (Chief of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

LUXEMBURG.—His Excellency M. Joseph Bech (Minister of State, Prime Minister). His Excellency M. Emile Reuter (Honorary Minister of State, President of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Gaston Diderich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Burgomaster of the city of Luxemburg).

Substitutes.—M. Charles Vermaire (Consul at Geneva). M. Albert Wehrer (Doctor of Law, Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

NETHERLANDS.—His Excellency le Jonkheer F. Beelaerts van Blokland (Doctor of Law, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency le Jonkheer J. London (Doctor of Political Science, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Hendrik Colijn (Minister of State, former Minister, Member of the First Chamber of the States-General). Le Jonkheer W. J. M. van Eysinga (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Professor at the University of Leyden). (During Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland's stay at Geneva, Jonkheer van Eysinga acted as substitute delegate.)

Substitutes.—M. Joseph Limburg (Doctor of Law, Member of the Council of State, former Member of the Second Chamber of the States-General). M. E. Heldring (President of the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce). M. J. P. A. François (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Head of the League of Nations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Extraordinary Professor at the School for Higher Commercial Studies at Rotterdam). Raden Adipati Ario Achmad (former Regent of Batavia, Member of the Committee of Deputies of the "Volksraad" of the Netherlands Indies). M. W. G. van Wettum (Government Adviser for International Opium Question).

Secretary and Substitute.—Mme. C. A. Kluyver (Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

NEW ZEALAND.—The Hon. Sir James Parr, K.C.M.G. (High Commissioner in London, former Minister for Education and Justice, former Postmaster-General).

Substitutes.—Mr. C. Knowles. Mr. C. B. Burdekin.

NICARAGUA.—Dr. Francisco Torres Fuentes (Member of the Nicaraguan Supreme Court of Justice). His Excellency M. Tomas Francisco Medina (Minister in Paris, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

NORWAY.—His Excellency M. Joh. Ludwig Mowinckel (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Fridtjof Nansen (Professor at the University of Oslo). M. Carl Joachim Hambro (President of the Storting, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Storting).

Substitutes.—Dr. Christian L. Lange (Secretary-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union). (After M. Mowinckel's departure from Geneva, Dr. Lange acted as delegate.) M. P. L. Kolstad (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Deputies). Mme. Ingeborg Aas (Doctor of Medicine). Dr. Arnold C. Raestad (Lawyer, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

PANAMA.—His Excellency M. J. D. Arosemena (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

PARAGUAY.—His Excellency Dr. Ramon V. Caballero de Bedoya (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France).

PERSIA.—His Highness Mirza Mohammed Ali Khan Foroughi (Ambassador to Turkey, former Prime Minister). His Excellency Mirza Hussein Khan Alâ (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister). His Excellency Anouchirevan Khan Sépahbody (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—His Excellency Seyed Hassan Tagizadeh (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Colonel Ali Khan Riazi (Military Attaché in Paris). Dr. Parwiz Khan Kitalgi (Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

PERU.—His Excellency M. Mariano H. Cornejo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). M. Augusto Leguia Swayne (Chargé d'Affaires in Lisbon).

POLAND.—His Excellency M. Auguste Zaleski (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. François Sokal (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Hipolit Gliwic (Vice-President of the Senate, former Minister for Commerce and Industry).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Jean de Modzelewski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). His Excellency M. Witold Chodzko (Director of the State School of Hygiene at Warsaw, former Minister for Health). Professor Michel Rostworowski (former Chancellor of the University of Cracow, Member of the Court of Arbitration at the Hague). His Excellency Mirosław Arciszewski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Riga). His Excellency M. Marjan Szumlakowski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). His Excellency M. Adam Tarnowski (Head of Division at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

PORTUGAL.—His Excellency Dr. Augusto de Vasconcellos (former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Director-General of the Portuguese League of Nations Service). (In the event of the presence of His Excellency General A. Ivens Ferraz, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs *ad interim*, at Geneva during the Assembly, he will act as President of the Delegation.) His Excellency M. J. C. Franco Frazao, Count de Penha Garcia (former Minister for Finance, former President of the Chamber of Deputies, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration). His Excellency Dr. Vasco de Quevedo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne and accredited to the League of Nations).

- ROUMANIA.—His Excellency M. Georges Mironesco (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Nicolas Titulesco (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Constantin Antoniadu (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the League of Nations).
Substitutes.—M. J. Lugosiann (Under Secretary of State in the Prime Minister's Department). Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco (Member of the Roumanian Academy). M. George Crisan (Doctor of Law, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Victor Marc (Doctor of Law, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).
- SALVADOR.—His Excellency Dr. J. Gustavo Guerrero (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France). His Excellency M. Francisco A. Lima (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington).
- SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES, KINGDOM OF THE.—His Excellency M. Voislav Marinkovitch (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Jelko Majouranitch (Minister Unattached). His Excellency M. Ilija Choumenkovitch (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).
Substitutes.—M. André Gosar (former Minister for Social Insurance, Professor at the University of Ljubljana). M. Constantin Fotitch (Director-General of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). Général Michel Nenadovitch.
- SIAM.—His Highness Prince Varnvaidya (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency Phya Vajitavongs Vudhikrai (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris).
- SOUTH AFRICA.—Mr. Eric Hendrik Louw (High Commissioner in London, Minister Plenipotentiary Designate to the United States of America). Mr. Daniel Johannes de Villiers (Trade Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in Europe, Minister Plenipotentiary Designate to the Netherlands).
- SPAIN.—His Excellency M. José Quiñones de León (Spanish Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Eduardo Cobián (former Under Secretary at the Ministry for Finance, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies).
Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Cristóbal Botella (Doctor of Law, Legal Adviser to the Embassy in Paris, President of the Franco-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal in Paris, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies). His Excellency M. Leopoldo Palacios-Morini (former Under Secretary at the Ministry for Finance, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Professor at the University of Madrid, Director of the Social School). His Excellency M. Julio Casares (Member of the Royal Spanish Academy).
- SWEDEN.—His Excellency M. E. Trygger (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Baron E. Marks de Württemberg (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, President of the Svea Court of Appeal). M. R. J. Sandler (former President of the Council of Ministers, Senator, Director-in-Chief of the Central Statistical Office).
Substitutes.—M. A. F. Enström (Director of the Royal Swedish Academy of Scientific Industrial Research). Dr. T. M. Höjer (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Oslo). M. K. I. Westman (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).
- SWITZERLAND.—His Excellency M. Giuseppe Motta (Federal Councillor, Head of the Political Department). M. Gottfried Keller (Member of the Council of States). M. Hermann Schüpbach (Member of the National Council).
Substitutes.—M. William Rappard (Professor at the University of Geneva). M. Roger Dollfus (Member of the National Council).
Substitute and Expert.—M. Walter Stucki (Director of the Commercial Division in the Department of Public Economy).
- URUGUAY.—His Excellency Dr. Alberto Guani (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France). Dr. Eduardo Rodríguez Larreta (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. José G. Antuna (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former President of the Foreign Affairs Committee).
Substitute.—His Excellency Dr. Alfredo de Castro (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).
Secretary-General.—M. Adolfo Sienra.
- VENEZUELA.—His Excellency Dr. José Gil-Fortoul (former President of the Republic). His Excellency Dr. Diógenes Escalante (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London). His Excellency Dr. C. Parra-Pérez (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome).
Substitutes.—M. J. M. Hurtado-Machado (Counsellor of Legation, Chargé d'Affaires in Berne). M. Enrique Gil-Fortoul (former Attaché at the Legation in Paris).

APPENDIX II.

Reports of Committees to the Assembly, &c.

ANNEX I.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Question of Intellectual Co-operation.*

I.—WORK OF THE COMMITTEE AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

The Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation has arrived this year at a turning-point in its brief history. Following the normal course of every enterprise, its first years were devoted, on the one hand, to exploring this vast field of co-operation in science, letters, art, education and intellectual rights, and, on the other, to endeavouring to obtain in these various directions certain partial results, some of which have been achieved, whilst others have met with obstacles. There may be some reason to fear that, in the zeal aroused by the enormous interest of the subject, more work was undertaken than it was possible to carry through. A systematic revision of all the work in progress, therefore, seemed advisable. The object of this revision is to improve the working and organisation of both the Committee and the executive organs dealing with intellectual co-operation in order to satisfy the aspirations which are becoming universal; for, as the Chairman and the *Rapporteur* of the Committee observed in 1929, "intellectual co-operation has made constant progress in the world during the last two or three years." On all sides one sees this co-operation appear as one of the most characteristic needs of our time." This idea of revising the work which was put forward by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation last year, when it instructed the Institute and the Secretariat to draw up a complete table of the resolutions adopted since the beginning, has taken definite form this year.

It is advisable, however, before examining the resolution adopted by the Committee on this subject, to review briefly the normal work of the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation since the last Assembly.

The plenary Committee examined with its usual care the resolutions of its four Sub-Committees, which had discussed the work of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and prepared its programme for the following year. These resolutions, sometimes a trifle extravagant, are in any case too numerous to be mentioned individually here; the following may be cited as of particular interest.

A.—*University Relations.*

- (1) Periodical meetings, such as those of the representatives of University Information Offices, of representatives of Institutes for the Scientific Study of International Relations, &c.
- (2) The important scheme for a meeting of the directors of higher education in various countries.
- (3) The encouragement given to the plan for an international congress of professors of modern languages and modern civilisation, which the Hungarian Government proposes should be held at Budapest.

B.—*Science and Bibliography.*

The development of international co-ordination of libraries; the co-ordination of the bibliography of the various sciences.

C.—*Letters.*

The publication of translations of the Latin-American classics, with the help of subsidies provided by the States concerned—an undertaking which will be of the greatest value in making other continents better acquainted with the increasingly important contributions of this part of the world to modern culture.

D.—*Art.*

The development of the work of the International Museums Office, both in the field of museography and in that of the co-ordination of museums. We may here recall the success of the International Congress of Popular Arts held at Prague in October 1928 and of the International Exhibition of Casts, organised recently by this Office, thanks to the hospitality of the City of Cologne.

E.—*Intellectual rights.*

The decision taken by the International Committee—which deserves the particular attention of the Assembly—to ask the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, in conjunction with the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law at Rome and of the International Bureau of Intellectual Property at Berne, to study the expediency of reaching a general understanding for unifying the rules relating to the rights of authorship as determined by the Conventions of Berne and of Havana relating to these questions.

The plenary Committee further approved the publication begun this year of the review entitled *La Coopération intellectuelle*, which records, in addition to the work of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, all matters of importance concerning the movement for intellectual co-operation in different countries. It approved the proposal of the Institute on the subject of intellectual statistics.

The representatives of most of the National Committees met before the session of the plenary Committee. This meeting—the second of its kind—must be considered a very useful means of contact and co-operation between the intellectual circles of various countries and the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Both the representatives of the National Committees themselves and the International Committee would like to see these meetings become of regular occurrence, and the International Committee will do its best to bring this about.

The National Committees held a very useful discussion on their methods and constitution and on the means of rendering effective their co-operation with the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation. They also made various criticisms both of the programme and of the organisation of the Committee, as well as of the work of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

These objections, the criticisms made in various quarters, and the suggestions contained in a memorandum by the Chairman of the International Committee confirmed the Committee in its resolve to proceed without delay to the general survey of the situation mentioned at the beginning of this report. In view of the impossibility of dealing with the matter itself during the course of the session, the Committee resolved to constitute a Committee of Enquiry, composed principally of its own members, but with the addition of a few other qualified persons. The Committee, whose duties it will be to examine all the opinions expressed and suggestions made, will present to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation a report containing proposals for improvements in the programme and work of the Committee and the organisations connected with it, with a view to increasing the positive results of their work.

The proposal for this Committee of Enquiry was approved by the Council on 31st August 1929, but was not provided for in the budget communicated to Members of the Assembly at the beginning of June. In order that this proposal may be carried out, the Fourth Committee has approved the credit of 40,000 francs entered for this purpose in the supplementary budget.

One of the special branches of the Committee's work which has from the outset aroused great interest is that of instructing young people in the aims of the League. The Sub-Committee of Experts established for this purpose has not met since 1927; in view of the progress achieved in this matter and the replies to the Secretary-General's circular letters, the Committee feels that this Sub-Committee should be convened in 1930 to prepare a fresh plan of campaign in the light of the important results already obtained.

Attention should be drawn to the following:—

- (1) The reports received from the Governments of States Members setting out all that has been done to acquaint the younger generation with the aims and organisation of the Geneva institutions and accustom this generation to regard international co-operation as the best method of solving the world's difficulties.
- (2) The expansion of the Educational Information Centre set up at Geneva and in Paris.
- (3) The publication of the handbook which the Secretary-General has been instructed to prepare in order, with the help of the Governments, to place at the disposal of teachers an adequate description of the aims and organisation of the League of Nations. This handbook has everywhere been very well received. The Second Committee unanimously congratulated the Secretary-General on this result, and requested that this publication be given the widest possible circulation. To meet the wishes of many Governments which have asked for a translation to be made under the supervision of the Secretariat, the Fourth Committee has decided to increase by 33,000 francs the credit entered under Article 25 of the budget for printing in this section.
- (4) The publication of the *Educational Survey*, as a sort of supplement to the above, the first number of which has just been published.

The Second Committee agreed unanimously that the *Educational Survey* will be extremely useful to teachers, and it approved the decision of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to publish this *Educational Survey* twice, instead of once, annually. The Fourth Committee agreed to grant a supplementary credit of 5,000 francs for this publication.

II.—INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE.

The International Educational Cinematographic Institute established by the League of Nations as a result of the Italian Government's generous offer was inaugurated in the presence of His Majesty the King of Italy on 5th November 1928. The Governing Body, which consists at present of 15 persons chosen from among all the nations of the world, including nationals of States non-Members as well as of States Members of the League, held its first session at Rome under the presidency of M. Alfredo Rocco, immediately after the inauguration of the Institute. The Governing Body drew up the General and Administrative Regulations for the Institute on the basis of the Organic Statute approved by the Council of the League and by the Italian Government, and also the Financial Regulations. The main object of the first of these documents is to define the aims, spirit and methods of the new institution, and to encourage the production and distribution of educational films, bearing in mind the necessity of working, in the spirit of the League, to promote mutual understanding among the nations.

The methods employed are those already approved by other organs of the League: co-ordination of efforts, international co-operation on the basis of the work accomplished in each country. The Governing Body has refrained from building up the International Cinematographic Institute on any rigid lines, as it intends first to explore the ground and collect the necessary information. Consequently, after preparing the two documents mentioned above, it instructed the Director of the Institute to establish relations with official bodies and private organisations whose aims concord with those of the Institute.

The Governing Body also appointed the members of the Permanent Executive Committee and the Budget Committee, as well as the Director of the Institute.

The Permanent Executive Committee has met twice in conformity with the Statutes and has made those appointments which are essential for carrying on the ordinary work of the Institute. At each of its two sessions it has listened to a detailed report by the Director on the progress of the work. A circumstantial report on the work of the Permanent Executive Committee will be submitted to the next meeting of the Governing Body in October.

ANNEX II.—Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Health Organisation.

The reports on the work of the Health Organisation which have been submitted this year to the Assembly prove that this Organisation has faithfully adhered to the policy which it had adopted to avoid dispersal of effort and concentrate its attention on certain problems of international hygiene. It has refrained from repeatedly launching out into new inquiries, but during the past years has gone very thoroughly into the questions already before it, so that the various health administrations might benefit thereby.

Before entering into details, I must inform you that the Rockefeller Foundation is prepared to continue its generous assistance to the Health Organisation and has concluded a new agreement with the Council by which it undertakes to place at the disposal of the Health Committee for a period of five years from 1st January 1930 an annual subsidy equal to the total grant which the Health Organisation was already receiving this year for certain phases of its work, and for the extension of the work it does through the Singapore Bureau.

The Assembly will doubtless wish to direct attention to this generous assistance, which is not only a recognition of the value of the League's health work, but also secures effective co-operation with a great American institution.

I do not propose to recapitulate the data contained in the annual reports; I will merely quote a few examples in order to illustrate the Health Organisation's methods of work.

1. Let us take, for instance, the problem of syphilis. In 1924 the Health Committee, by means of preliminary inquiries, ascertained that the diagnosis of syphilis by blood-tests was not, owing to the different methods employed, of equal value in different countries, and that consequently it was more likely to mislead a practitioner than to give him a reliable guide. The matter was therefore submitted to a group of experts of acknowledged authority, who, after minute laboratory research, met at Copenhagen to study in detail the characteristics of the various methods of diagnosis. Further progress was achieved: last year another meeting of the same experts reached conclusions which will enable laboratory workers and practitioners to employ these various methods with full knowledge of the facts. The work of the Health Organisation on syphilis accordingly began with a study of diagnosis.

Having compared the various methods of diagnosis, the Health Committee were led to compare the value of a group of remedies generally known under the name of Salvarsan and its derivatives.

The use of these preparations inaugurated the modern methods of treatment of a disease the effects of which upon the well-being of humanity are known to all. They can, however, only be employed in doses and under conditions determined by experimental study. Here, again, thanks to very minute laboratory work, followed by meetings and conferences of specialists, the Health Committee has secured agreement among the experts. At present, the International Standard is kept in the official institutes at Frankfurt, London, and Washington; these institutes, on behalf of the Health Committee, place the standard preparation at the disposal of any administration which so requests, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the efficacy and safety of the preparations manufactured in its own country are equivalent to those of the international standard.

It may therefore be said that the Health Organisation has done much to bring into use effective non-toxic remedies in the campaign against syphilis throughout the leading countries of the world.

Last year, on the basis of new methods of diagnosis and with the assistance of remedies of known value, the Health Organisation began to consider what methods of treatment since the war had given the best results. In recent years, there has been much discussion concerning the results obtained in the treatment of this disease. It had been hoped that the great efforts made with new remedies would bring about a very appreciable decrease in the number of cases. This was actually so for a few years, but latterly doubts have been expressed as to the value of the treatment and the decrease in incidence.

After the last session of the Assembly the Health Committee set on foot inquiries into this subject in university clinics and dispensaries in Germany, Denmark, the United States of America, France, and Great Britain. The results of the analysis of about 50,000 cases will be known towards the end of this year. The results of this inquiry should prove of great value in the fight against this terrible disease.

Had I to summarise this chapter in one sentence, I should say that, having compared national experiments on the diagnosis of syphilis and the value of remedies, the Health Committee hopes to reach certain practical conclusions concerning methods of treatment which may be placed at the disposal of the health services of all countries.

2. The same method has been followed in connection with the inquiry into infant mortality. This inquiry, first suggested by the Netherlands Delegation, was entrusted to experts drawn from seven European countries. After preliminary investigations, these experts have, during the last few years, studied in 27 districts the medical and social causes of 7,053 deaths among children under 12 months, and 2,356 deadbirths which occurred within a period of 12 months.

This inquiry is now finished. Conclusions have been drawn which will form the basis for fresh efforts to reduce infant mortality. The inquiry also showed the points which are still obscure and which will have to be made the subject of special investigations: for example, the fact that, out of every 100 deaths among children under one year, 18 to 34 occurred during the first eight days of life.

These inquiries have largely contributed to stimulate interest in the districts studied.

Similar investigations instituted in four countries of Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay) have also been completed and a general report will be submitted early next year.

The inquiry has also aroused keen interest in Denmark, and investigations on the same lines are being carried out. The Spanish and Roumanian Health Services have applied for the assistance of the Health Organisation for the same purpose. The Roumanian delegate has suggested that a Committee of Investigation should consider the creation of an International Child Welfare Institute, for the purpose of studying the physiological, moral and intellectual development of the child in all countries. The Second Committee believes that, if the Roumanian Government should make a concrete proposal in this direction, it would desire first to submit it for the consideration of the Council, which would doubtless refer it to its advisory committees. Certain South American countries and Japan have done likewise.

The Indian Delegation has expressed the hope that the Health Committee would draw up, with the assistance of its member from India, a programme of investigation regarding this problem, which presents a very great importance for his country. I would therefore propose that the Health Committee should be asked to consider the possibility of complying with this desire.

May I congratulate the Netherlands Delegation who has enabled the Health Committee to reach a proposal? As in the case of syphilis, the proposal has enabled the Health Committee to reach a number of valuable conclusions by comparing the data collected in various countries.

3. The same method has been applied with the same results by the Malaria Commission. This Commission, which was set up in 1923 and consists of the most distinguished malaria specialists, has conducted inquiries in the malarial districts of Europe, North America, and Asia Minor, and, in a series of reports, has formulated a set of principles for directing anti-malaria measures. These principles, which were adopted by a Conference in June 1928, have already served as a guide to various health administrations that have applied to the Commission for assistance.

A few weeks ago a delegation of this Commission landed at Bombay at the invitation of the Indian Government. In conjunction with the health authorities of the various provinces, this delegation will study the programme and results of the anti-malaria measures adopted in India.

These distinguished German, American, Spanish, French, and Dutch scientists will endeavour to establish with the Indian health services and Indian medical associations close and continuous co-operation which will benefit the Malaria Commission and, through it, the services of many other countries. The experience thus gained will be placed at the disposal of all those who are engaged in malaria work throughout the vast territory of India.

4. I would like here to mention the gratification of my Government at noting that its proposal to invite the Health Committee to consider how contact could be established between the various health services and sickness insurance organisations has been fully carried out. The work of the Joint Commission of Inquiry, set up by the Health Organisation in conjunction with the International Labour Office, has been the starting-point for a close comparison of national experiences and has already led to the preparation of reports of undoubted value and to attempts in various countries to apply the conclusions reached. In my country, for instance, a special mixed committee has been set up to apply a general programme of co-operation between the various services, as suggested by the Joint Commission of the League of Nations Health Organisation and the International Labour Office.

A report of the Health Committee shows that we shall have at our disposal the results of systematic inquiries instituted in the United States of America regarding the important question of the cost of medical care. The Joint Commission is also to give advice in the reorganisation of the health services of Greece.

5. It is a matter for congratulation that the Health Committee has sought the assistance of the International Labour Office, of the International Institute of Agriculture and of the International Institute of Statistics whenever its work so required.

6. These examples will suffice to show how the results of the Health Committee's various inquiries are applied in the different branches of public health work.

7. The States Members of the League appreciate the opportunity afforded them of availing themselves of the experience acquired by the comparison of different national methods. Thus, in October 1928 the Greek Government sought the Health Committee's assistance in the reorganisation of its health service. This Government, which is undertaking an extensive programme of internal reforms, was confronted with the problem of public health, which is a fundamental factor in the economic restoration of the country.

After examining the programme of health improvement outlined by the Greek Government and after a careful survey of typical areas in Greece which lasted several months, the Health Committee submitted to the Government a series of recommendations on the matters referred to it.

These recommendations relate principally to the establishment and work of a modern Public Health Service, to the training of the personnel of that service, to health instruction, to the campaign against malaria, and to other related questions.

The plan was accepted by the Greek Government, which obtained from the Chambers the legislative sanction required for putting it into force, and for the adoption of all the measures to carry out all the recommendations.

A separate service, bearing the name of "Permanent Hellenic Health Service," will begin work in 1932 or 1933. A new health organisation of the Prefectures will be introduced in the districts selected for the application of the plan, which will extend to six districts during the first year and by about 1934 or 1935 will cover the whole country.

A School of Hygiene and new technical services will be set up at Athens under the name of the "Athens Centre." The duties of this centre will be to train all classes of health personnel, to direct and administer the work carried on in the districts chosen for the application of the plan, and to advise the Government on public health questions.

The Greek Government, in appointing those in charge of the centre, had recourse to foreign experts for three of the professors' posts, one of them as Director of the centre. The new services will therefore be able to give health experts both theoretical and practical training.

The anti-malarial dispensaries established in Macedonia by the Refugees Settlement Commission will also be transferred to the new organisation and converted into modern health centres.

Realising that the carrying out of this plan would necessitate methodical work demanding a great deal of technical preparation, the Greek Government asked that the Health Organisation's Commissions and technical services be placed at its disposal to the fullest possible extent in the subsequent development of the scheme.

The Assembly will, I am sure, desire to pay a tribute to the wisdom and foresight of the Head of the Greek Government, who is prepared to make the necessary financial sacrifices for the complete execution of the plan for the health reorganisation of his country.

The Assembly will appreciate the value of this example of international work. A second example is provided by the Health Organisation's activities in South America. A few weeks ago the President of Bolivia submitted a similar request to the Council of the League, and the latter asked the Health Committee to comply with that request, which involves the sending of an expert of the Health Section to co-operate with the Bolivian Health Administration in studying the reorganisation of its services. Upon the completion of this preliminary work, which will last from six to eight months, the Health Committee will study the position with the Bolivian Administration and will select the expert who is to act as the Administration's adviser for two years.

We shall no doubt be informed of the results at the next Assembly.

8. Lastly, in the course of the year, the Health Ministry of the Chinese National Government invited the Medical Director of the League of Nations to become a member of an International Committee of Technical Advisers.

This appointment opened the way for official co-operation between the Chinese Ministry of Health and the League Health Organisation. The Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs sent to the Secretary-General on 14th September a telegram stating that the Chinese Government "would welcome a commission of experts from the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to come to China as soon as possible to make a survey on port health and maritime quarantine."

The Secretary-General replied that the Chinese Government's proposal would be transmitted to the Competent League authorities with a view to taking the necessary steps for its execution, and that Dr. Rajchman would reach Nanking early in November with one or two of the Secretariat experts, for the purpose of drawing up a detailed project to be submitted to the Health Committee.

When the Second Committee had terminated its discussions, the Council of the League of Nations considered the telegrams exchanged between the Chinese Foreign Minister and the Secretary-General; in order to complete my report, I quote the following passages from the report presented to the Council by His Excellency M. Quiñones de León:—

"The Medical Director will probably be consulted in his capacity as a member of the International Advisory Council on the question which the Nanking Ministry of Health may desire to submit to that body; but the main object of his mission will be to consider on the spot, with the competent authorities, a scheme for co-operation with the Health Organisation, and to examine, in the first place, the Chinese Government's proposal regarding port health and maritime quarantine."

"The plan for co-operation, prepared with the competent Chinese authorities, will be considered by the Health Committee on the return of this mission to Europe, and will then at once be submitted to the Council."

The Council was unanimous in expressing its satisfaction to the Chinese representative upon learning of China's application to the League for the co-operation of the latter's technical organisations. The Council will be happy to furnish all the assistance necessary to carry out the great task which China is undertaking in order to secure its own development.

The Assembly will certainly wish to express its own appreciation of the co-operation thus effected, and will doubtless desire that this co-operation shall begin to take effect before its next session. The Assembly will then be interested to learn of the progress made in this work of international understanding and mutual assistance.

9. The Bolivian Government's request concerns all the health problems of that country, but in the study of leprosy the Health Committee will be able to assist many countries of Latin America next year.

At its last session, the Assembly considered the proposal that the Secretary of this Commission should go to South America. During his journey, which has now been concluded, he ascertained the wishes of the health administrations, and has suggested methods of applying them. It also provided an opportunity for discussing with the Governments, the experts and the health departments of all the countries of South America the details of inquiries into leprosy, infant mortality and syphilis, and of other methods of co-operation considered by the Eighth Assembly. The welcome given to the representative of the League is an indication of the interest taken by these countries in the work of the League.

It has thus been possible to arrange for continuous co-operation with the technical departments of the countries visited; the value of the international studies of the Health Organisation will thereby be enhanced and the experience thus acquired will be utilised in the spirit which inspires all the League's work.

This work, which will be done in 1930, will fulfil the programme of co-operation with Latin America contained in a report adopted by the Eighth Assembly. The execution of the first stages of this programme was approved by the last Assembly.

10. The Malaria Commission's journey to India and that of the Medical Director and his experts to China are not the only examples of the Committee's work in the Far East.

The Leprosy Commission's studies must necessarily relate to the two or three main foci of this disease which exist in the world. Once the investigations in Latin America have been organised, the Commission will go on to the countries of the Far East, as decided by the Health Committee at its session in May 1928. The Assembly will learn with interest that the Japanese Government has invited the Leprosy Commission to meet next spring at Tokio. The Secretary of this Commission will continue in certain Far-Eastern countries the studies begun in Latin America and report thereon.

Furthermore the Advisory Council of the Singapore Bureau has accepted the very generous invitation of the Government of the Netherlands Indies to hold its session of February 1930 as the Government's guest at Batavia.

Apart from its duties as Epidemiological Intelligence Centre, the Singapore Bureau acts more and more as the Health Organisation's general agency for the Far East; the Batavia meeting is therefore of particular interest.

I have no doubt that the Assembly desires the Organisation's work in the Far East to be pursued. I need only remind it of the co-operation arranged with the Chinese Government.

The Japanese Delegation has suggested that the Health Committee might include in its programme of work for next year the organisation of an interchange for port health officers of the Far East.

Further, the Indian delegate emphasised the interest which his country felt in the Health Committee's study of rural hygiene, and the value which would attach to a study by health experts of Far-Eastern countries together with experts of Near-Eastern and European countries (where similar sanitary and climatic conditions prevail) of the practical application of a modern health policy.

The Health Committee will doubtless desire to include the study of these questions in its programme of work for 1930.

11. The Committee, at the request of the International Pacific Conference held at Melbourne in December 1926, was instructed to make a preliminary inquiry into health conditions in New Guinea, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, the Solomon Islands and Fiji. It has completed its work, and its report, containing specific recommendations for a health policy for preserving the races on these islands, will be published shortly.

12. The Annual Report gives details of the action taken as a result of the Second International Conference on Sleeping Sickness, convened by the Council and held in Paris in November 1928. On this occasion, also, a number of technical recommendations and specific tasks were entrusted to the Health Organisation. Laboratory and experimental work in Equatorial Africa carried out by Belgian, British, French, German, Italian and Portuguese experts have yielded important technical results.

The Governmental Conference in Paris further proposed a serious study of the documents in the possession of colonial administrations with a view to drawing up a health programme, more particularly from the demographic point of view. We await with interest the development of those important inquiries.

13. I must not omit to mention the regular work of the Health Organisation concerning the Epidemiological Intelligence Service and the studies on health instruction which have continued successfully.

The French Delegation desires that a study of influenza should be undertaken by the Health Committee, and also that the Health Organisation should carry out a codification of the results obtained in health instruction, in order to promote thereby the training of a body of specialists. I am sure that the Health Committee will desire to study these points next year.

I would also like to emphasise particularly the great interest attached to the interchanges in Italy during the autumn of 1928, in Denmark and in Holland during the present year, the latter being specially devoted to problems of rural hygiene. It is also observed that an important tour is being arranged in France next year.

14. I must remind you that the Council of the League has referred to the Committee a resolution by the Health Committee with regard to the budget proposals of the Health Organisation for the year 1930. This resolution is as follows:—

“The Health Committee,

“Having taken note of the budget proposals of the Health Organisation for the year 1930:

“Submits to the Council the desirability of drawing the attention of the Assembly to the fact that normal increases in the salaries of the staff should be taken into consideration in determining the total of the budget, as was the case in the 1929 budget;

“In this connection desires to point out that the stabilisation of the budget of the Health Organisation would otherwise involve a progressive diminution in the credits available for technical studies; thus, in the budget proposals for 1930, these credits do not amount to more than 62.8 per cent. of the total, whereas for the year 1927 they amounted to 67.5 per cent. though there has been no increase in the personnel employed.”

The Health Committee's observations were found by the Second Committee to be very sound. With regard to the general question, I may be allowed to put before you the facts of the situation.

The Sixth Assembly (1925) fixed the budget of the Health Organisation at a million francs. The Health Committee had examined the situation and declared at the time that this stabilisation could only apply as long as the general budget of the League remained within the 1926 limits and as long as no new work was entrusted to the Committee.

During the past four years, the work of the Health Organisation, approved at each stage by the Council, has rapidly grown. Not only has the Committee undertaken inquiries and examinations—asked for in the Assembly by 13 delegations* and several States Members of the League, but it has, in consequence, had to extend its work more and more to extra-European countries, which, on the score of travel alone, involves very heavy expense.

Subsequent Assemblies have recognised the necessity of this extension of the Committee's work. I would remind you that, on the proposal of the Second Committee, the last Assembly congratulated the Health Organisation “on the increasing success of its far-sighted policy of practical collaboration with extra-European countries”; but the Second Committee thought that the time had come for the Assembly to decide whether it wishes this work to continue or whether it should be reduced to proportions which would no longer satisfy in the same degree the requests for assistance submitted by non-European Members of the League.

During the present Assembly we have had fresh proofs of the attachment of those States to the League, both from the political point of view and from the point of view of their material contribution. I am sure that you share my opinion on the general question, and the Second Committee considered that the arguments in regard to the special questions were so strong that the Organisation in Latin America and the Far East. The Fourth Committee did actually grant these requests, recognising that, should the Assembly not vote the supplementary credits needed for the proposed programme of work, the result would be a delay of at least 12 months, which would be very regrettable, not only for the work itself but on general grounds. It is strongly in the interests of the League to show that its help is equally at the disposal of all its Members. It should also give proof of its desire to see the execution of work approved by the Council.

ANNEX III.—Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Financial Committee.

The work done during the year in the financial field, either by the Financial Committee itself or under its direction, falls into two categories: one dealing with subjects of a general character, i.e. those which are not peculiar to any particular country; the other with work done for special States.

* 1925: Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Paraguay, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Venezuela; 1926: Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Uruguay; 1928: Finland, Poland, Sweden.

The questions of a general character dealt with this year are: the purchasing power of gold; counterfeiting of currency and of other bills and securities; double taxation; the scheme for financial assistance in case of war or threat of war; the publication of monetary and banking laws, &c.

Work for particular countries was done in connection with Greece, Bulgaria, the Saar Territory, Estonia, Danzig, Austria, and Hungary.

I will not try to give in this report a complete review of all this work. Such a review is given in the general report on the work of the League since the last Assembly. Let me merely make some comments upon a few points of special interest.

I would like in the first place to make one general remark upon the change which is taking place in the character of the Committee's work. During the last year, no new responsibility has been accepted for any work either of financial reconstruction or the establishment of refugees (the two categories of problems which for the six years following the Austrian reconstruction scheme constituted almost the whole work of the Committee). There has, of course, been a good deal of work in connection with tasks of this kind begun in earlier years. But the main interest of the year consists in the assumption of work of quite a different kind.

The fact is (and we may congratulate ourselves that it is so) the stage of financial reconstruction of the kind needed in 1922 and the following years is passing or past. New developments take place; new needs arise; new institutions are planned or established in the financial as well as in every other sphere of the world's activity. And amid this rapid change we must expect that the work most appropriate for the Financial Committee will change also, adjusting itself to the needs of the time, supplementing and co-operating with other institutions, adapting its own methods as the new work requires. A good illustration is the question of the purchasing power of gold.

Purchasing power of gold.—This question of the purchasing power of gold is without any doubt a problem of the greatest importance. The fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold react on the level of prices and thus on the economic well-being of all countries of the world.

In certain circumstances, they may bring the most serious economic disturbances in their train. It is therefore fortunate that the League of Nations is examining the problem. It is indeed so vast, so complex and so fraught with difficulties that no nation alone could tackle it; only an international inquiry well prepared and methodically carried out, such as the League of Nations is able to arrange, could contribute materially to the solution of the problem.

During the year under review, the inquiry has been started. In agreement with the Council, the Financial Committee has appointed a delegation from amongst its own members, to which certain other experts of international authority have been added. The delegation is partly composed of persons who are, or recently have been, at the head of Central Banks, persons connected with other branches of finance, and certain economists known all over the world. Its terms of reference are: “to examine and report upon the causes of fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold and their effect on the economic life of the nations.” The delegation held its first preliminary meeting at Geneva during the last month, and on that occasion drew up a programme of work.

Fiscal Committee.—Upon the recommendation of the general meeting of Government Experts on Double Taxation and Tax Evasion, at which 27 Governments were represented, the Council decided in December last to create a Fiscal Committee, whose special task it will be to study taxation questions and advise the Council in regard to them; in particular, all questions connected with double taxation and tax evasion. This Fiscal Committee forms a new technical organ of the League. I would like to draw your attention to some special features of its organisation, which may be a useful precedent in other cases.

Two conflicting interests had to be met: on the one hand, the membership of the Committee had to be kept relatively small so as to make it an efficient and workable instrument. On the other hand, it is essential for the success of the Committee's work that it should be in contact with the taxation administrations of as many countries as possible. The following solution has been adopted: The Committee consists of 12 regular members, appointed by the Council for a period of three years, and representing as far as possible the various fiscal systems of the world. The Council may further appoint corresponding members—who will be kept informed of all the Committee's work—in all countries from which it has not appointed regular members. The Council has already, at its sessions of June and September, appointed some 20 corresponding members, all high officials in the various Departments of Finance.

I may add that close contact has been arranged with the Financial Committee. The latter will appoint two members on the Fiscal Committee, and reports of the Fiscal Committee to the Council will pass through the Financial Committee, which is entitled to add its observations.

During the year under review, the Financial Committee has done a great deal of detailed work, which I can merely enumerate here, with regard to the settlement of refugees in Greece and Bulgaria and the monetary and budgetary situation of those two countries, as well as several others, such as Estonia and the Saar Territory. Work with regard to the problem of refugees in Bulgaria is progressing favourably. The few small difficulties which were bound to arise in connection with work of such scope have fortunately been overcome. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate M. Charron and his colleagues on the work which is now being brought to a successful conclusion.

Liquidation of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission.—There is one other point I would like to mention in this connection, namely, the proposal to wind up the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission. The work for the refugees in Greece was begun in 1923 and is now drawing to a close. It has been agreed with the Greek Government that detailed proposals for the termination of the work will be submitted to the Council at its next session.

In this connection, I would draw attention to the fact that on each occasion the League is withdrawing its financial control as soon as it can possibly be done with prudence. You will remember that when, some years ago, the financial supervisory organs in Austria and in Hungary were wound up, many people feared this was premature. The experience of the last few years has shown the groundlessness of those fears, and how correct was the diagnosis of the Financial Committee when, in 1926, it advised the Council that financial control could be abolished.

The question of financial assistance is now being discussed by the Third Committee. Certain objections to the scheme have been put forward, but this is not surprising, since the conception of a war of aggression has not yet been definitely established and a new factor has been introduced by the conclusion of the Paris Pact, condemning war of every description.

In conclusion, I should like to say that the work of the Financial Committee during this year has shown those same qualities of soundness, thoroughness and conscientiousness of detail which have already been commended on several occasions by the Assembly, and I desire to express once again our appreciation of the work done by the Financial Committee and the Financial and Economic Section of the League.

ANNEX IV.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Economic Work of the League of Nations.*

Two years have passed since we, in this same Committee, noted with enthusiastic approval the resolutions of the World Economic Conference.

This expression of the Assembly's opinion was followed by statements on the part of a great number of Governments.

The fundamental idea which emerged from all the reports of the Conference was the desirability of closer co-operation between the various countries in their economic life. The Conference marked a reaction against the exaggerated economic nationalism which arose after the war—on quite comprehensive grounds—and which has unfortunately exercised a detrimental influence on world economy, more particularly on the economic situation of Europe.

The Conference, however, did not recommend, as a remedy, a mere reversion to the situation in 1913 and nothing more. On the contrary, it desired to lead the various nations towards a closer co-operation than that which existed before the war and indicated, as one of the means for attaining that end, the gradual reduction of barriers of every kind, and, in the first place, of excessive Customs barriers.

We are now nearing the end of 1929, and are obliged to admit that, in spite of a few sporadic efforts, no decisive movement has occurred in this direction.

While not wishing to belittle these endeavours, we can hardly regard as a change of policy the adjustments that have been made in treaties of commerce. In the fundamental conception of the commercial policy of States there has up to the present been no change.

In these circumstances, many are wondering with increasing anxiety whether the methods hitherto followed will ever lead us out of the present state of disorder, or whether it would not be preferable to seek new methods.

When, therefore, certain distinguished persons referred recently to Europe's need of economic reorganisation, these allusions found an immediate echo among the most diverse sections of public opinion.

It was natural that this apprehension, arising out of an obscure but powerful impulse, should find expression from the platform of this Assembly. And, while the Prime Minister of Great Britain emphasised the necessity of concluding agreements to increase economic freedom, the speech of the Prime Minister of France clearly brought out the most striking aspects of the European problem.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and first delegate of Germany, dealing more particularly with the technical and economic organisation of the European continent, pointed out the risks due to its subdivision into a very large number of economic units, separated by numerous barriers. He showed how this state of affairs is incompatible with the development of communications and the fundamental needs of a sound organisation of production.

From a similar point of view, but one not limited to the purely European sphere, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and first delegate of Belgium reminded the Assembly of the very important resolution passed by the World Economic Conference, namely, that "the time has come to put an end to the increase of tariffs and to move in the opposite direction"; and it was with the object of carrying out the first part of that resolution that he suggested to the Assembly the idea of a Customs truce which was at once taken up and treated in greater detail by the President of the British Board of Trade.

These various suggestions have been thoroughly discussed in the Second Committee and have ultimately been condensed into a single resolution, which was moved jointly by the delegations of France, Great Britain, and Belgium and adopted by the Second Committee.

It will be observed that this resolution makes no mention of the special difficulties which Europe has to face. It was thought better not to refer to them, so as not to restrict the universal bearing of the resolution. Nevertheless, the anxiety due to these difficulties has on several occasions found expression during the Second Committee's discussions.

On the other hand, the delegations of certain overseas countries and those of certain European countries in whose economic structure agriculture plays a preponderant part and whose industries are not yet adequately developed, laid stress on the fact that, in any attempt to study Customs tariffs, it was necessary, in order to keep in close touch with realities, to bear in mind the differences, sometimes very great, in the stage of economic development reached by different countries.

Each Government will of course consider the circumstances and special conditions of its own country and will exercise its free discretion as to whether it desires to associate itself with an arrangement for a Customs truce, and during the period of that truce to enter into negotiations with a view to establishing a first collective agreement designed to strengthen and facilitate economic relations by any means that may seem practicable, and more particularly by the lowering of Customs barriers and the reduction of impediments to trade.

If results of practical value are to be attained, it seems desirable that only those States should take part in the contemplated negotiations which, having regard to their special economic position, think that the suggested measures may allow of a fair balance between the sacrifices they would be prepared to make and the advantages they might secure.

We shall thus have the following stages:—

- (a) Invitation to all States Members of the League and non-Member States to intimate, before 31st December 1929, whether they desire or not to take part in a Diplomatic Conference with a view to the conclusion of a tariff truce and, if necessary, to the establishment of a programme of subsequent negotiations with a view to the conclusion of collective agreements for facilitating economic relations by all practicable means and especially by reducing hindrances to trade.
- (b) On the basis of the replies received to the above invitation, the Council of the League of Nations shall decide, taking into account the number and character of the States having replied in the affirmative, whether the Diplomatic Conference referred to in para. (a) should be held. This Conference should then be held at a date as near as possible to the end of January 1930.
- (c) Diplomatic Conference of representatives of States which have replied in the affirmative to the invitation referred to in para. (a).
- (d) Negotiations referred to in para. (a) extending over a fairly long period between the States which have concluded a tariff truce. The latter may by common agreement invite any other State wishing to do so to take part in these negotiations.
- (e) Final Diplomatic Conference to take note of the results of the negotiations referred to above, to examine them and, if necessary, to supplement them. To this Conference all States without distinction will be invited.

It is necessary to mention that a number of States made it clear that they could not take part in negotiations for a Customs truce.

The reasons which dictated this attitude were in some cases the special economic circumstances imposed by the geographical position of the respective countries and in other cases the fact that their industrial development had not yet reached an advanced stage.

Furthermore, the Committee wishes forthwith to draw the attention of the final Diplomatic Conference provided for above to the following passage of the report of the Economic Consultative Committee of May 1929:—

"... account should always be taken of the provisos and reservations necessary to meet the just demands of States which are still at an early stage of their industrial evolution and do not wish their free development to be hampered."

We may mention that the discussion brought into strong relief the conviction that negotiations for an economic rapprochement must not be left entirely in the hands of technical experts, but that, on the contrary, it is essential for Governments to participate more directly than they have hitherto done.

The work of the Economic Organisation during the past years represents a most valuable attempt to accomplish by new methods some progress in the realisation of the principles laid down by the Economic Conference of 1927. These principles concern the following questions:—

A. — COMMERCE.

1. In a concise but substantial document, the Economic Committee has stated certain fundamental principles of present commercial policy. Called upon to choose between the two systems of the non-reducible tariff and the tariff reducible by negotiation, the Economic Committee wisely replied that the question of method is a secondary one, and that the important point is the level of the duties and the readiness of all parties to adapt themselves to the requirements of others.

The field of application, the scope of the most-favoured-nation clause, and the exceptions allowable under this clause, have often been interpreted in widely different ways. The Economic Committee has proposed a coherent doctrine which should certainly help to eliminate the causes of disputes.

The Committee has also agreed on a model formula for the clause which it recommends all countries to adopt. Two points, however, call for special mention: (1) The Committee's inquiry has been limited to Customs matters, and has not covered the application of the clause to other commercial conditions, as recommended by the World Economic Conference. (2) The problem of the interdependence of collective conventions and bilateral treaties has not yet been solved.

This problem arises in the following form: Can third States claim, as an indisputable right on the basis of the most-favoured-nation clause, benefits arising under an agreement concluded under the auspices of the League between a considerable number of nations in the interests of world economic progress?

The Economic Committee has expressed the opinion that States would not be acting in a manner contrary to the recommendations of the World Economic Conference if they agreed to insert in their bilateral treaties, founded on the most-favoured-nation clause a reservation to the effect that the clause inserted in those bilateral conventions would not apply to collective conventions such as those referred to above.

But what would happen if a State refused to conclude a bilateral treaty including such a reservation? Are the reduced duties mutually granted by parties to a multi-lateral agreement applicable only to these parties, or may a third State claim the benefits on the basis of the most-favoured-nation clause? That is a question for international law.

The doctrines laid down in this report of the Economic Committee have been communicated by the Council to the various States. It is to be hoped the latter will give the Council their opinion on the solutions proposed by the Committee.

2. The International Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, which the last Assembly noted has up to the present been signed by 29 countries, including the United States of America.

In order to come into force, the Convention must be ratified before the end of September 1929 by at least 18 States. Every State is entitled to make the application of the Convention in its own case conditional upon ratification by one or more of the 14 countries specified in Article C of the Supplementary Agreement.

Up to the present, only 12 States have deposited the instruments of ratification. Although other ratifications may be hoped for before the expiry of the time-limit on 30th September 1929, it is still improbable that the figure of 18 will be reached by then; the Second Committee, therefore, thinks it desirable that the Assembly should address an urgent appeal to all the Governments concerned to do all that lies in their power to ensure that the Convention may nevertheless enter into force before 1st January 1930, the date specified in the Convention.

It would be extremely regrettable for the economic work of the League if this important collective agreement were not to come into force owing to lack of ratifications, seeing that its object is to restore to international trade—particularly as regards the circulation of raw materials—that freedom and security which it enjoyed before the war.

3. With regard to the export regime for raw hides, skins and bones, the agreements signed in July 1928 will come into force on 1st October next, following the agreement concluded on 11th September 1929, between 17 signatory States.

This satisfactory result is due to the undertaking given by eight of those States not to avail themselves of the maximum export duty on bones which had been allowed to them.

These Agreements put an end to import and export prohibitions in respect of hides, skins and bones, abolish export duties on hides and skins, and fix maximum rates for export duties on bones. They thus constitute the first collective agreement on Customs matters since the war, and their importance far exceeds that of the commodities to which they refer, since they may be regarded as a small first step towards the realisation of one of the principal aims of the International Economic Conference of 1927, namely, the gradual lowering of Customs barriers by collective action.

4. The Economic Committee is also continuing its work in this direction by means of inquiries into the Customs regime for certain groups of goods.

In this field the Economic Committee has encountered serious difficulties. The weak points in the method, which consists in examining one after the other the duties applying to a given group of articles, were frankly stated in the Consultative Committee's last report, which recommended "that business conferences representative directly of the producers, traders and consumers of somewhat more comprehensive groups of articles should be arranged," and suggested that, if possible, the first commodity group to be selected should be "one of substantial importance not only to industry, but also to agriculture, such, for instance, as agricultural implements and machinery." In view of this suggestion, the Economic Committee proposes to study the question.

5. International co-operation in the economic sphere would be useless if, while facilitating the exchange of goods, it did not, at the same time, consider the question of ensuring for foreigners and foreign undertakings the freedom and security necessary for exercise of every form of economic activity. We shall therefore follow with close interest the discussions of the Diplomatic Conference which is to meet at Geneva on 5th November next, to consider the draft Convention on the treatment of persons and companies permitted to establish themselves in foreign territory.

This draft, to the preparation of which the Economic Committee had devoted years of toil, tends, as a whole, to grant to foreigners and foreign undertakings a treatment as far as possible equal to that enjoyed by nationals. Its adoption would certainly constitute considerable progress in international economic relations and would at the same time mark the application by international agreement of the Council's recommendations to the various countries in 1923 and 1925.

6. The business world is keenly interested in all steps tending to facilitate the circulation of instruments of credit. It will doubtless be glad to learn that an international conference has been convened for 17th February 1930, on the basis of the drafts prepared by the Economic Committee. The main objects of this conference are to harmonise the various laws of what is known as the "continental" type relating to bills of exchange and cheques, and to settle the conflict of laws to which the disparity of national laws might give rise. Even the partial unification of the rules of law on this subject would be an obvious gain to the business world.

7. The Sub-Committee of Experts entrusted with preparing a unified Customs nomenclature deserves to be congratulated on the work it has already accomplished. It has proved that the work can be carried out, but experience has already demonstrated how difficult is the task.

Nevertheless, this unified nomenclature would constitute a valuable basis for the success of the negotiations about to be opened as a result of the Franco-British proposal; the Second Committee insists very strongly that the work of the experts should be pushed on with all possible speed in order that the complete draft may be terminated before the next session of the Assembly.

The Committee desires to point out that this will not be possible unless the Committee of Experts spends more time on its work than hitherto; it will probably have to sit almost continuously.

8. The Second Committee has noted, not without surprise, that the 1927 Convention for the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards has been ratified at the present time by only five Governments. It desires to draw the attention of the States which are parties to the Protocol of 1923—guaranteeing the validity of agreements to submit future differences to arbitration—to the unsatisfactory position in which their nationals may be placed until such time as they also have acceded to the Convention of 1927, which is desired to secure the execution of arbitral awards.

9. This rapid survey of the work accomplished by the Economic Organisation in the sphere of trade would be incomplete if all reference to its important inquiries into the question of indirect protectionism—a roundabout means of raising in the way of international trade barriers as difficult to overcome as excessive Customs duties—were omitted. Mention should likewise be made of the inquiry into the protection of the riches of the sea, research work in connection with the suppression of smuggling and alcohol smuggling in particular, and other work of an essentially technical character.

B.—INDUSTRY.

1. International industrial agreements continue to increase in number and importance. The part they play in economic development, their connection with commercial policy, and the influence they may exercise in international relations deserve our closest attention.

The work of the experts who were instructed to inquire into the legal framework within which these agreements are evolved, and the various forms they may take, are proceeding satisfactorily with the assistance of highly qualified specialists. The experts are not merely collecting the texts of laws, but are endeavouring to determine and define the fundamental principles on which the various types of law are based. The case law which is slowly growing up on the basis of specific decisions, and administrative measures adopted by the various Governments in this domain, also come within their inquiry.

The Economic Committee will shortly be in possession of a documented report on this subject. The report's main value will lie in the light it will throw on the relations between the State and the industrial organisations or, in other terms, the economic policy followed by Governments in the industrial combinations. This study must, however, in conformity with the recommendations of the World Economic Conference, be accompanied by parallel research work concerning mainly the economic effects of international industrial combinations.

It is indeed important that the part which international industrial agreements play, or will be called upon to play, either in the economic life of the various countries or as a factor likely to influence international relations, should be clearly defined by impartial and objective studies.

In this connection, it should be observed that the Economic Consultative Committee has stated in its latest report that "cartels have tended to stabilise rather than to modify the tariff position."

It would be desirable that the progress achieved in this work, either in the collection of information on existing international industrial agreements, or more detailed inquiries regarding certain particularly important industrial combinations, should be speeded up, and, with the assistance of experts, completed as soon as possible.

2. The serious problems raised by the present position of the coal industry have been studied in their various aspects by the Economic Committee, which has endeavoured to take into account all the interests concerned.

The Economic Committee organised a meeting of experts on the owners' side belonging both to consuming and producing countries, and continued its inquiry by having recourse to labour experts. The Committee has organised for 30th September a joint meeting of experts acquainted with the views both of producers' and workers' organisations. The main object of the meeting, which will also include experts from consuming countries, will be to discuss the principal ideas in the interim report prepared by the Economic Committee, dealing with the international aspects of the coal problem.

Pending the result of these studies to be carried out by the Economic Committee, the Second Committee, agreeing to the proposal submitted by the French and British Delegations, is of opinion that it would be desirable to invite the International Labour Office to continue without delay the inquiry it has already undertaken into wages, hours and general working conditions in the coal mines.

It consequently proposes to the Assembly that the Assembly should invite the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to consider including in the agenda of the 1930 Labour Conference the problems referred to above with a view to the conclusion of one or several international conventions on these points.

Moreover, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office is invited to consider the desirability of convening at an early date a preparatory technical conference of representatives of the Governments, employers and workers of the principal coal-producing countries of Europe for the purpose of indicating to the Governing Body the questions connected with working conditions in coal mines which it would, in the Conference's opinion, be most desirable to include in the Agenda of the 1930 International Labour Conference with the object of arriving at a practical international agreement.

In addition, the Second Committee recommends that the Assembly should invite the Council to examine any recommendations which the Economic Committee may put forward as a result of the meeting of experts convened for 30th September, particularly with regard to fluctuations in price and the present difference between production and the consumers' needs and, moreover, to consider, taking into account more especially the results of the above examination, the expediency of convening a conference of the Governments concerned to study these recommendations.

3. After consulting experts of the sugar industry and experts in the production of beet, the Economic Committee submitted to the Council a detailed report on the sugar question as a whole. It is true that the majority of the experts—representatives both of industry and of agriculture—were of opinion that, in existing circumstances, the conclusion of a Convention between States, based on the principles of the Brussels Convention, would not be likely to provide a solution for the crisis. Nevertheless, all were agreed in recognising that the difficulties have been accentuated by the measures taken in many countries to stimulate the production of sugar, without consideration of the effects of their unco-ordinated action on the world situation. The Economic Committee's report states that the difficulties with which the industry is at present beset are such as can to a large extent remedy themselves, but suggests to the Council that the attention of Governments should be drawn to the desirability of ascertaining whether there is any possibility of lowering their excise duties on sugar without adversely affecting their fiscal position.

While awaiting the observations of Governments on this subject, the Economic Committee proposes to continue to observe with attention developments of the sugar question, so as to be able to furnish the Council at any moment with information from which it can "judge whether concerted international action would facilitate the solution of the problems to be dealt with."

The Council will therefore probably have to revert to this question, and in that case it might bear in mind a suggestion by the Second Committee (which appears below) regarding the possible holding of a conference.

C.—AGRICULTURE.

1. The difficulties which agriculturists have to contend with entitle them to special consideration from the League's Economic Organisation.

With a view to ensuring for agricultural interests a more prominent share in this Organisation, the Consultative Committee has proposed the appointment of a certain number of qualified agricultural experts to be associated with the Economic Organisation who could give the Economic Committee technical assistance in studying all general economic problems in which the agricultural factor plays a considerable part.

The Economic Committee, which has received instructions on this matter from the Council, will examine at its next session the most suitable methods of giving effect as rapidly as possible to the Consultative Committee's recommendation.

The relations of the Economic Organisation with the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome have developed normally during the past year and these relations are producing satisfactory results.

2. The work which is being done by the Committee of Experts under the direction of the Economic Committee, with regard to the campaign against the diseases of animals and the application of veterinary regulations, is of equal interest to all countries exporting or importing live stock and animal products. But it is nevertheless necessary that the protection of the health of animals should not constitute an instrument of economic protection.

There is every reason to believe that the conclusions formulated by the experts as regards the organisation of veterinary services and the publication and circulation of health bulletins will receive the unanimous approval of the States concerned.

An agreement on these fundamental questions will constitute a preliminary condition, which will probably make it possible to grant more ample facilities to the international trade in live stock and animal products. This trade can only develop satisfactorily on the basis of reciprocal confidence and closer technical co-operation, with the two-fold object of successfully overcoming the risks connected with this trade and preventing the imposition of restrictions or barriers beyond the limits of the measures regarded by the experts as indispensable and adequate.

3. With regard to the campaign against diseases in plants, the Economic Committee has noted the importance from the point of view of international trade of certain provisions contained in the international Convention concluded in April 1929 at Rome under the auspices of the International Institute of Agriculture.

Before undertaking a more detailed study of the question, the Committee prefers to await an opportunity of considering jointly with the International Institute of Agriculture whether any extension of international action in this matter is desirable and opportune, and in what manner the two organisations might, as may be necessary, allocate the various items of work to be undertaken and carried through.

In view, however, of the desirability of speeding up such work, the Second Committee is proposing to the Assembly a resolution on this subject.

D.—STATISTICS AND PUBLICATIONS.

1. Last year, a hope was expressed that the proposed Statistical Conference would produce important results. The Second Committee is happy to state that this hope has been entirely fulfilled. The Conference was held in November and December last and was attended by the representatives of 42 countries. The International Convention drawn up by the Conference, which has so far been signed by 27 countries, involves definite obligations as regards the scope of economic statistics and the methods to be employed in compiling international trade statistics. The Convention also provides for the adoption of certain guiding principles for the compilation of mineral and metallurgical statistics and fisheries. Lastly, it lays down certain rules concerning the indices of industrial activity and censuses of industrial and agricultural production. It was also decided that a Committee of Experts should be set up to continue the work begun by the Conference.

In recommendation XI of the Final Act of the Conference, the Secretary-General was requested to draw up a list of ports of loading and unloading open to international trade, and to revise this list from time to time. The Second Committee would ask you to adopt a resolution authorising the publication of this list as soon as it has been completed.

It is highly desirable that the Committee of Experts should be put in a position to begin its work, and that all the necessary steps should be taken as soon as possible to give effect to the Convention. It is therefore to be hoped that ratification will be rapidly effected.

2. Lastly, mention should be made of the publications of the Economic Intelligence Service. Since the last session of the Assembly, this Service has issued new editions of the *Memorandum on International Trade and the Balance of Payments* (2 volumes), the *International Statistical Year Book* and the *Memorandum on Production and Trade*; the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* is also published regularly by this Service, which hopes to be in a position to issue very shortly a *Memorandum on Commercial Banks* and a new edition of the *Memorandum on Public Finance*.

The Second Committee would be glad if you would expressly approve the annual publication of the *Memorandum on Production and Trade*, prepared for the first time for the information of the World Economic Conference and which has since become an annual publication for the use of the Economic Consultative Committee. In addition to chapters on production, trade and the movements of populations, this publication now includes an analysis of the relative movements of the prices of raw materials and manufactured commodities. It is thus of particular interest in view of the work upon which the Economic Organisation is at present engaged.

No special mention shall be made of the other publications referred to above. They are becoming more and more comprehensive and complete each year, and now constitute works of reference that are in general use.

The Second Committee hopes that, as a result of the Statistical Conference, the information furnished by national administrations may be so perfected as to enable the League, as proposed by the Australian Delegation, before very long to prepare an annual survey of economic development in which the large number of documents at its disposal are summarised. It accordingly adopted unanimously the resolution on this subject submitted by the Australian Delegation.

A striking tribute to the work of this branch of the Economic and Financial Organisation has been paid by the Rockefeller Foundation through its generous offer, which has already been accepted

by the Council, to place at the disposal of the Organisation a sum of 200,000 Swiss francs for the publication of a collection of the monetary laws and laws on central banks of all countries.

The publication of a collection of this kind has long been contemplated and ample data have already been collected on the subject. The Committee thinks that it is eminently desirable that this important publication should be kept up to date once the original volumes have been issued.

E.—ECONOMIC TENDENCIES CAPABLE OF AFFECTING THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

Another question to which the Economic Committee has devoted its attention is the inquiry recommended by the World Economic Conference into economic tendencies capable of affecting the peace of the world. The Committee has made certain preliminary consultations with a view to submitting a preparatory report to the Council, on the basis of which an appeal may be made to university institutions throughout the world.

In the course of the discussions at this Assembly, great stress has been laid upon the close relation between the political and economic factors which affect the peace of the world. The Committee confirms the opinion it has expressed in previous years, that this is a question of the highest importance, and hopes that, when the Economic Committee has concluded its preliminary inquiries, the Council will be in a position, during the coming year, to issue an appeal which will have the effect of stimulating general discussions and research.

ANNEX V.—Report of the Third Committee on the Draft Convention on Financial Assistance.

At its last session the Assembly requested the Financial Committee to frame in all its details a complete draft Convention on financial assistance to be submitted to it at its present session. This recommendation by the Assembly has been fully complied with. I am sure I shall be interpreting the wishes of all the delegations here represented if I first cordially thank the Financial Committee for the exceedingly valuable work it has done.

There is no need for me again to give a survey of the general framework of the Convention. The system of financial assistance proposed is already sufficiently known. It consists, in a word, in the guaranteeing by the other States of a loan to be issued on behalf of a country which is attacked or which is threatened with war. All that is needed at the moment is to bring the work of the present session to a satisfactory conclusion and to give a general survey of the discussions which have taken place.

The questions raised in the Third Committee during the examination of the draft Convention may almost all be classified under two distinct heads: those questions which are clearly financial and technical and those the solution of which depends upon political considerations. These two kinds of questions call for a different procedure.

Let us begin with the financial questions. In the course of discussion, a whole series of suggestions were made, some of them most useful, on clearly technical points; for example, the exclusion from the guarantee, in the interest of the loan, of a State situated in special circumstances, or, again, the establishment of international control over the service of the loan. These suggestions, which are recorded in the Minutes of the Third Committee and which I will refrain from enumerating here, will have to be thoroughly examined from the financial point of view before any final decision can be taken. The Third Committee proposes that they should all be referred to the Financial Committee for examination and report.

The second category of questions comprises problems of a political nature. I will venture to deal briefly with the four questions which I consider the most important.

1. The question which has dominated the whole discussion is that of the cases in which financial assistance may or should be given. This point is dealt with in Article 1 of the draft Convention. The Third Committee was unanimous in declaring that the Council should be able to accord such assistance to a party to the Convention against which another State had, in violation of its international obligations, resorted to war. Many delegations would like to go further and stipulate that in such cases it would be the duty of the Council to accord assistance.

Secondly, many delegations think—contrary to the opinion expressed by others—that the Council should be enabled to render financial assistance in case of a threat of war. These delegations, however, differ widely in their views as to the conditions under which financial assistance should be given. Some delegations, being of opinion that the rendering of financial assistance before war has broken out is closely connected with the measures which the Council can take to safeguard peace, would like a decision on this question to be reserved until the fate of the Convention on the means of preventing war has been determined; others consider that the two questions can be settled separately.

Owing to the differences of opinion which I have just mentioned, it has not yet been possible to agree on the text of Article 1 of the draft Convention. Annexed to this report will be found the results of the work of a Sub-Committee which had been instructed to propose a new text. The proposals of the various delegations are set forth in this Annex.*

2. The second question is that of the possible connection between the Convention of Financial Assistance and the Disarmament Convention. In order to clarify ideas, most of the delegations admitted the necessity for such a connection. The exact way in which this article will have to be combined with the other articles of the Convention still remains to be considered. The text is as follows:—

"The present Convention shall not come into force until a general Disarmament Convention in accordance with Article 8 of the League Covenant has been brought into operation. The present Convention shall cease to have effect as soon as the general Disarmament Convention ceases to be operative.

* Not printed.

"It is also to be a condition that no country which is not a party to such Disarmament Convention, or which shall fail to carry out its obligations under such a Convention, shall be entitled to the benefits of the present Convention."

This last paragraph was referred for examination to the Financial Committee.

3. The third question concerns the stipulations with regard to the vote of the Council, the cases in which unanimity will be required, those in which a simple majority will suffice and, finally, the determination of those States which will not take part in the vote. The majority of the Third Committee held that, in framing these stipulations, it was desirable to follow as closely as possible the exact terms of the Covenant. Accordingly, the following text was adopted on the first reading for the first two paragraphs of Article 26:—

- "(1) Decisions of the Council under Article 1 shall require the agreement of all the members represented at the meeting, other than the representatives of the parties to the dispute.
- "(2) All other decisions taken by the Council in virtue of the present Convention shall be taken by a simple majority of the members represented at the meeting other than the representatives of the parties to the dispute."

4. The fourth question relates to the authority which will have to settle disputes concerning the interpretation or application of the Convention. The draft proposes that the questions regarding the execution of the guarantees shall be settled by trustees with a non-suspensive right of appeal to the Council, and that it shall be the Council which in general decides on any question of interpretation or application.

Several delegations proposed the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The suggestion which seemed to gain the approval of the majority of the Committee consists in providing a non-suspensive right of appeal to the Court for all questions of interpretation, the Council deciding upon questions of application. Nevertheless, the Third Committee was of opinion that the financial consequences of this solution should be examined by the Financial Committee.

With regard to the first question, namely, the determination of cases in which financial assistance may or should be given, the differences of opinion are for the moment so wide that it was impossible to reach even a provisional agreement within the very limited time which the Assembly has at its disposal for the discussion of a question of this kind. This does not at all mean that an agreement is impossible; on the contrary, all the delegations which took part in the debate showed the strongest desire to find a solution and to reach a practical result. The questions at issue, however, are so far-reaching and so complicated that time is required in order to reflect upon them and to examine with the necessary care the pros and cons of the various solutions proposed. Several quite new aspects arose for the first time during the discussions of the last few days. It is impossible to dispose of these difficulties off-hand.

In these circumstances, it soon became apparent that there could be no question of finally adopting the Convention during the present session of the Assembly. On the other hand, to postpone the matter until next year can hardly be considered a satisfactory procedure. Accordingly, the Third Committee proposes that the Committee on Arbitration and Security should be asked to examine the draft Convention and to establish its text in collaboration with the Financial Committee. This text would then be submitted either to a special diplomatic conference or, at the latest, to the next Assembly. This procedure seems to furnish the best guarantees that the details will be well considered, which is an indispensable condition if we are to reach a final agreement.

ANNEX VI.—*Report of the Third Committee on the Progress of the Work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.*

During the general discussion in the present Assembly on the work done by the League since its ninth session, a large number of speakers laid particular stress on the importance of the disarmament problem. At the request of the Netherlands representative (Chairman of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference), the part of the General Report and Supplementary Report dealing with this grave problem was submitted by the Assembly to the Third Committee. The Third Committee devoted several meetings to examining the state of the work of the Preparatory Commission. At the opening of the discussion, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, representative of the British Empire, submitted the following draft resolution:—

- "The Assembly:
- "Being convinced that a progressive and general reduction of armaments is urgently needed throughout the world:
- "Expresses the hope that the Preparatory Commission will finish its labours at the earliest possible moment;
- "And considers that, in completing the Draft Disarmament Convention, it should consider how far the following principles have been or ought to be adopted:—
- "(a) The application of the same principles to the reduction and limitation of personnel and material whether in land, sea or air forces;
- "(b) The limitation of the strength of a force either by limiting its numbers or its period of training or both;
- "(c) The limitation of material either directly by enumeration or indirectly by budgetary limitation or by both methods;
- "(d) The recognition of a competent international authority to watch and report upon the execution of the treaty."

In explaining the nature of his draft resolution, Viscount Cecil emphasised the fact that it was not the object of this draft to give instructions to the Preparatory Commission, but only to draw its attention to certain points. Of the four suggestions which the British delegate proposed that the Assembly should submit to the Preparatory Commission, the third, which referred to the limitation of war material, was, in his opinion, the most important. The Preparatory Commission had dealt

with this question, but had been unable to agree on the method of effecting a direct or indirect reduction and limitation of the war material of land forces, and it had merely provided for the guarantee of publicity in regard to expenditure.

M. Loudon (Chairman of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference) paid a tribute to the British representative. The Commission's work was held up pending the conclusion of a naval agreement; negotiations were progressing favourably, and the Commission was impatiently awaiting their result so that it might be discussed by a larger body on which the other Powers concerned in the question would also be represented. As regarded the suggestions submitted by the British representative, M. Loudon explained that, according to the Preparatory Commission's programme of work, that Commission was to deal with the problems raised in (a), (b), and (d).

The British draft resolution received in some cases a complete, and in others the partial support of a large number of delegations. A large number of other delegations, however, made every reservation regarding the substance of the questions raised by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, and objected to his proposals on the grounds of procedure and of advisability.

The discussion, in which 18 delegates took part, showed that the Third Committee unanimously agreed that the work of the League should be hastened so as to enable a first step to be taken as soon as possible towards carrying out the programme for the reduction of armaments stipulated in Article 8 of the Covenant. Moreover, the Commission unanimously recognised the importance, for the progress of the Preparatory Commission's work, of negotiations between the principal naval Powers with a view to the reduction and limitation of naval armaments.

The Third Committee thought that it should take note of, but should not vote on, the different opinions expressed at the Committee concerning the principles on which the final work of the Preparatory Commission should be based.

To split the Committee into majorities and minorities would only make the task of the Preparatory Commission and the first General Disarmament Conference more difficult. The only way of solving the disarmament problem would be through mutual concessions by Governments in regard to the proposals they preferred, provided, of course, that solutions thus reached were not exclusively negative in effect and that they would result in securing a first application of Article 8 of the Covenant.

Summing up the debate, M. Politis, the Greek delegate, thought that it was only right and proper that the authors of the various declarations made at the Third Committee should be permitted to reiterate them and expound them before the Preparatory Commission. For that reason, in the last paragraph of the draft resolution submitted by M. Politis the Assembly is asked to decide that the Minutes of the plenary meetings of the Assembly and of the Third Committee regarding disarmament should be communicated to the Preparatory Commission for any necessary action.

At the request of the Danish delegate, certain resolutions adopted by the twenty-fourth Inter-Parliamentary Conference concerning a technical scheme for the reduction of armaments will be annexed to these Minutes.

At the close of the discussion, the Greek delegate submitted a draft resolution based on the general trend of opinion expressed by different speakers, which was unanimously adopted by the Third Committee.

ANNEX VII.—*Report of the Third Committee on the Model Treaty to strengthen the Means for preventing War.*

The Supplementary Report to the Assembly on the work of the League since the last Assembly deals, among other things, with the model Treaty to strengthen the Means for preventing War. The Ninth Assembly noted this model Treaty and appreciated its importance and declared that its adoption by a large number of States would serve to increase the guarantees of security. That Assembly recommended it for consideration by States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations, and hoped that it might serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude a treaty of this kind. The Secretary-General forwarded this resolution to States Members of the League and to the non-Member States to which had been communicated the General Act and the other model Treaties prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

On 15th July 1929 the Netherlands Government informed the Secretary-General that it had pleasure in declaring itself fully in agreement with the principles of this model Treaty, at the same time making certain observations with regard to the form and substance of the text.

The British representative submitted to the Third Committee a draft resolution inviting the Council to request the Committee on Arbitration and Security to consider the possibility of establishing a draft General Convention on the general lines of the model Treaty, which could be referred to Governments in time to enable them to indicate, at the eleventh ordinary session of the Assembly, whether they were prepared to accept it.

In the course of a brief discussion on the British draft, it was pointed out that the Committee on Arbitration and Security, when examining the model Treaty in question, would be able to make the alterations necessitated by the conversion into a general Treaty of a text intended to apply to regional multilateral agreements.

On the other hand certain delegations were of the opinion that the discussion of the draft Convention concerning Financial Assistance had shown that the establishment of a final text on this subject would be greatly facilitated by the preliminary discussion of the methods of application of Article 11 of the Covenant and of a Draft Convention on the means of preventing war.

ANNEX VIII.—*Report by the Third Committee on the Supervision of the Private Manufacture and Publicity of the Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of Implements of War.*

The Assembly referred to the Third Committee the documents communicated to it by the Secretary-General concerning the work of the Special Commission appointed to prepare a draft

Convention with regard to the supervision of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war. In the report submitted on 31st August 1929 to the Council by the Roumanian representative, the latter drew the Council's attention to the fact that the Special Commission, after endeavouring once more to reconcile the different points of view, had not been able to eliminate certain fundamental differences of opinion. The Council merely noted the report of the Special Commission, with the request that the Secretary-General should communicate it to the Assembly.

The Roumanian delegate proposed to the Third Committee a draft resolution as a result of which, after discussion, the Roumanian, German, French, Japanese, and Netherlands Delegations submitted a joint draft resolution which was adopted unanimously by the Third Committee.

This draft again emphasises the importance of the task entrusted by the Council to the Special Commission, and the connection, which had already been noted by the Ninth Assembly, between the organisation of the supervision of private manufacture and the publicity, to be defined later, for State manufactures, as well as the connection between the question of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war and that of the international trade in arms. The Persian Delegation made a statement* on this subject, to which the Chairman of the Special Commission replied that the draft resolution was not in any way intended to forestall the various opinions of the Governments. Moreover, the draft resolution takes note of the fact that several Governments have said that they are unable to express a final opinion on the methods of securing publicity for State manufactures until they know the conclusions reached by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission on the question of publicity in respect of war material. In these circumstances, it is proposed that the Assembly should request the Council to consider the desirability, as soon as the Preparatory Commission has concluded its work on the publicity of implements of war, of convening a further meeting of the Special Commission to complete the text of a preliminary draft Convention.

ANNEX IX.—*Report of the Fourth Committee on the Procedure for the Election of Members and Amendment to Article 1 of the Financial Regulations.*

The Ninth Assembly, in deciding that the members of the Supervisory Commission should in future be appointed by the Assembly, instructed the Council to study "a method of nomination which would give the necessary guarantees."

The Council, in the report which was communicated to the Assembly on 1st May, proposed that the Assembly should ask its General Committee to submit to it a list of names equal in number to that of the posts to be filled.

In adopting this proposal of the Council, the Fourth Committee wishes to remind the Assembly of the importance which attaches to the question. The Assembly being the budgetary authority of the League of Nations, the Supervisory Commission should be appointed by it under the best possible conditions. It is essential that the members of the latter should be chosen for their personal abilities and qualifications and should be enabled to exercise their important and delicate task in full independence, for the exclusive benefit of the League as a whole.

In the course of the discussion on the Council's report, two proposals for fresh amendments in the Financial Regulations were made.

The representatives of a certain number of States asked that the number of members of the Commission should be raised from five to seven.

On being put to the vote, this proposal was rejected by 25 votes to 8.

The Committee was also called upon to examine a suggestion tending to limit the re-eligibility of the members of the Supervisory Commission. It decided to postpone any decision on this subject until next year, when the question will probably be reconsidered on the basis of a definite proposal.

So as to permit of the necessary rotation, it maintained the principle of renewal previously in force and consequently modified Article 1, para. 3 (a) of the Financial Regulations immediately, which it proposes should henceforward read as follows:—

"The whole Commission shall not be renewed simultaneously; and, in order to establish a system of partial annual renewal, the members appointed by the Tenth Assembly shall retire as follows:—At the end of each of the years 1930 and 1931, two members, and at the end of 1932 the remaining member, the order of retirement being determined by lot."

It would seem to be well to take this opportunity of deleting the first two paragraphs of the Preamble of the Financial Regulations, which, never having been brought up to date, no longer answer to the present situation.

ANNEX X.—*Report by the Fourth Committee on the Organisation of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

On 26th September 1928 the Assembly adopted the following resolution:—

"The Assembly:

"Whereas the Staff Regulations were drawn up shortly after the organisation of the Secretariat and whereas it would be advisable for the League to avail itself of the experience acquired since 1922;

"Considering that, although the Regulations have, on the whole, proved satisfactory, certain modifications would appear desirable to remedy certain disadvantages to which attention had been drawn;

"Instructs the competent officials of the autonomous organisations, after examining the present situation and the improvements which might be made, to consider what steps—in

* See Minutes of the eleventh meeting of the Third Committee.

particular, amendments to the Staff Regulations—could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results, and to submit the results of this inquiry to the Supervisory Commission, in order that a report on the question may be communicated to the Assembly at its next ordinary session."

In order to furnish the Supervisory Commission with all the necessary information, the Secretary-General set up a committee of five officials immediately after the last Assembly. This Committee held 60 meetings, and it was at once evident that the amount of work before it was very large. All the members of the Secretariat had the right to communicate their views, and the staff set up a Committee of its own, the conclusions of which were examined by the Committee appointed by the Secretary-General.

On the basis of the material collected by these various bodies, the Secretary-General prepared a report which he communicated to the Supervisory Commission on 4th June. Moreover, on examining the Secretary-General's report, the Director of the International Labour Office, while endorsing the greater number of the Secretary-General's conclusions, made certain proposals to the Supervisory Commission. The Registrar of the Court forwarded his observations to the Secretary-General before the latter put his report into final form.

The Supervisory Commission, which held an extraordinary session at the end of June to consider these reports, was at once impressed by the complicated character of the problem submitted to it and the important financial consequences it entailed; it was forced to recognise that there would be many disadvantages in submitting to the Assembly conclusions which had not been adequately examined. It had therefore to confine its action for the time being to preliminary discussions between its members and with the competent officials. It undertook to continue the examination of the problem and to submit its conclusions to the eleventh session of the Assembly.

Following on two speeches made at a plenary meeting of the Assembly, draft resolutions submitted by the delegations of the United Kingdom and Italy were laid before the Committee. These two resolutions led to a long and important discussion, which is recorded in the Committee's Minutes. It would be difficult, in a short report like the present, to summarise the arguments produced in support of the various competing views. It will probably be enough to state here that some delegates thought it desirable that the Fourth Committee should immediately adopt a number of guiding principles, whereas other speakers held that the Commission of Enquiry, which the Fourth Committee apparently desired to set up, should be left the fullest possible freedom of action.

After deciding that the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry should be entrusted to the Assembly, the Fourth Committee instructed a Sub-Committee to submit to it a draft resolution, which it adopted at its meeting on 19th September, after a further discussion.

ANNEX XI.—*Report of the Fourth Committee on Financial Questions.*

This year the Fourth Committee has adopted a method of work differing considerably from that hitherto followed.

Several important questions have been referred to Sub-Committees or entrusted to special *rapporteurs*; consequently, the general report is appreciably shorter than usual and, in order to obtain a complete picture of the work that has been done, reference must be made to the following reports which have been submitted to the Assembly separately:—

Procedure for the election of members of the Supervisory Commission;

Salaries, pensions and travelling expenses of Judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice;

Organisation of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office, and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice;

Contributions in arrear; and

Erection of an Assembly Hall, a new building for the Secretariat, and a Library.

I.—AUDITED ACCOUNTS FOR 1928.

The Committee unanimously recommends the Assembly to adopt the accounts of the Secretariat and autonomous organisations of the League in the form in which they are submitted.

It also associates itself with the various recommendations made by the Auditor so far as these have been endorsed by the Supervisory Commission, and it approves the new form proposed by the Supervisory Commission for the accounts for the financial year 1929 and subsequent years.

II.—BUDGET FOR 1930.

(a) *General Discussion.*

Owing to the very small increase represented by the original budget as compared with that of the current year (204,018 francs—approximately the amount required for the statutory increments of salary), only a few observations on points of detail were made regarding the estimates as communicated to the States Members last June. On the other hand, an extended discussion took place on the supplementary credits.

It was stated in the Supervisory Commission's report that, in regard to several of the questions dealt with, the Commission had not been able to formulate or sift estimates of expenditure with the care which, in all ordinary circumstances, it endeavours to devote to its work, as the conditions of working have this year been wholly exceptional.

Several Committees had not adhered to the time-limit laid down in Article 16 (c) of the Financial Regulations, or even to the time-limit as extended by the special Assembly resolution of 10th September, for sending in their requests for supplementary credits to the Supervisory Commission. Also, most of the applications for supplementary credits had not reached the Secretary-General a month before the opening of the Assembly, as Article 16 (a) of the Financial Regulations requires.

The text of Article 16 itself seemed capable of diverse possible interpretations, and the Supervisory Commission stated in conclusion that it was prepared to examine all the difficulties in regard to the interpretation and application of the new clauses in the Regulations and to submit recommendations before next year.

Several suggestions were made to remedy the difficulties in which the Supervisory Commission and the Fourth Committee are involved at the end of every Assembly. Without going into the details of the discussion—these will be found in the Minutes, to which reference will have to be made when the question is thoroughly examined—it seems worth while to point out here that, while the new clauses in the Regulations have not disposed of the end-of-session difficulties that have arisen annually for some years, the procedure adopted last year has already proved its worth to a certain extent, and, if it is adhered to in a slightly more flexible form, it will undoubtedly help to solve the problem, which has been found more serious than ever during the Tenth Assembly.

With regard to the more practical steps that have been suggested, the simplest solution would obviously be to consider the possibility of lengthening the Assembly session, but this would cause extra expense and inconvenience to many delegates. It would certainly help matters that the debate on the Secretary-General's Report on the Work of the Council and the Secretariat since the last Assembly should be pursued without any interruption or delay, so as to make it possible to close this discussion at the end of the first week of the session. It seems also desirable to remind all delegations of the importance of close co-ordination between the proceedings of the Fourth Committee and those of the other Assembly Committees; the very delegations which press for caution and economy in the Fourth Committee move or support in the other Committees resolutions involving increased expenditure.

As regards the more general question of the League's fresh expenditure, certain speakers drew attention to the continual growth of the budget, which was fixed a few years ago at a maximum of 25,000,000 francs unless exceptional circumstances should arise. They held that in many cases the new credits were for conferences the value of which was questionable in view of the number of conventions that were not ratified by Governments, and that many appropriations seemed to be voted by the Committees without sufficient distinction being drawn between important and minor questions. There was no need to oppose any development in the League's work, but at the same time it was desirable that such development should be on rational lines.

Other speakers called attention to the considerable expansion in the League's work during the last 10 years and drew the necessary conclusions. The credits should be proportionate to the League's increased programme, and that programme should prevail over any desire for economy. Accordingly, the Fourth Congress should be held in 1935.

Accordingly, the Fourth Committee agreed to the Supervisory Commission's proposal to submit to the next Assembly a report on possible improvements in the existing procedure with regard to supplementary credits.

(b) *Budget of the Secretariat and Special Organisations.*

In the course of the short general discussion which preceded the examination of the separate items in the Budget, a suggestion was made that the Secretary-General should improve the form of the Budget by making the explanatory notes more explicit. A good presentation is essential if an accurate idea of the development of the League's activities from year to year is to be obtained. A note in the Budget states that a supplementary summary of the activities of the League for the year 1931 is to be obtained.

A note in the Budget states that a supplementary appropriation of 430,000 francs would have to be made to cover the travelling expenses of three Assembly delegates of each Member of the League from their country to Geneva. Certain members pronounced in favour of including a credit in the Budget to make this innovation possible; the Committee decided, however, to suspend any decision until a definite proposal was made by a Government.

The Supervisory Commission decided to examine the Swiss delegate's proposal that the appropriations-in-aid shown at the end of Chapter II of the Budget should in future appear in the General Summary of the Budget under the head of "Receipts"; it also agreed to examine, in connection with the Budget for 1931, the Health Committee's resolution regarding the influence of annual increments of salary on the Budget of the Health Organisation, whose ordinary expenditure had been fixed at a maximum of one million gold francs.

In connection with the voting of credits for League publications, several delegates called the Secretary-General's attention to the serious delays in the printing and distribution of important League documents—delays which, in the case of Minutes of Conferences, had a prejudicial effect on the ratification of the Conventions. It was explained that, to a large extent, these delays are attributable to the fact that delegates do not promptly return the provisional Minutes with their corrections. Moreover, for reasons of economy, non-urgent documents are, as far as possible, printed done so quickly as at Geneva. The wishes of certain delegates could therefore be very largely met by an increase of 75,000 francs in the credit for printing and 40,000 francs in the item of the Budget concerned with staff.

The Norwegian delegate observed that, in his opinion, the Minutes of the various Committees and Sub-Committees were the poorest point in the League's work. In certain cases, reports had been "doctored," and the present tendency was to reproduce all the complimentary expressions in the Minutes and to leave out the criticisms; he thought that the Minute writers should be instructed to produce reports reflecting the various views and opinions expressed during the discussions. Other methods of drawing up Minutes should be found, and the technical improvements made in recent years should be studied. Members of Committees should be given a time-limit in which to send their corrections, and any corrections received after its expiry should be ignored. If a member attempted to change the sense of his remarks, the question should be referred to a specialised official, and the decision should rest with the President of the Assembly or of the Council if that official thought that certain alterations were calculated to give a false impression in the Minutes.

In the course of the discussion which followed the Norwegian delegate's speech, several speakers expressed appreciation of the manner in which the Minutes had so far been produced, though they emphasised the danger of extensively abridging the discussions and shared the Norwegian delegate's apprehensions as to the possible distortion of the report of a discussion by alterations made by

certain delegates in the text of their speeches. The Secretary-General explained the system at present in use in the Secretariat, and proposed that a small Committee should be appointed, consisting partly of persons having a wide experience of parliamentary procedure, to consider the best methods of improving the reports. The Committee agreed to this proposal.

Regarding the more general question of the distribution of the reports of Advisory Committees to the States Members at the same time as they were distributed to members of the Council, the Committee adopted the following resolution :—

"The Assembly requests the Council to authorise the Secretariat to communicate the reports of Advisory Committees to all the Members of the League at the same time as they are communicated to the Members of the Council, except in cases where the Committee concerned is opposed to such a course."

Future Organisation of the High Commissariat for Refugees.

On considering the question of the future organisation of the High Commissariat for Refugees, the Committee noted that, although the Advisory Committee for Refugees, the Supervisory Commission and the High Commissioner himself proposed different solutions, they all had the same aim in view; to organise the work with a view to winding up the High Commissariat as soon, and in as satisfactory a manner, as possible. In view, however, of the wide divergence between the solution proposed by the Advisory Committee (incorporation in the Secretariat) and that proposed by the Supervisory Commission (creation of an independent and autonomous organ), the question was referred to a Sub-Committee, which discussed it at considerable length. Both solutions raised numerous questions of an administrative and financial nature, most of which called for detailed study which it was not possible to undertake and to complete during the present Assembly.

For these reasons, the Sub-Committee proposed that the central services of the High Commissariat should, for one year and as an experiment, be placed under the administrative authority of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. During this period, all the financial commitments of the High Commissariat, including funds derived from external sources, will be administered and supervised by the competent organs of the League in conformity with the Financial Regulations and the decisions of the Assembly, under conditions to be submitted to the Supervisory Commission for consideration and approval. It is, moreover, understood that such provisional administration will not in any way affect the status of the High Commissioner's staff.

The Secretary-General will thus be able to study all the questions connected with the problem to report to the next Assembly on the results of this experiment, and to submit proposals for the relief work until it is finally wound up.

The Secretary-General saw no objection to this arrangement, but pointed out that the staff thus incorporated in the Secretariat must not be taken into account in calculating the number of the 400 nationalities represented on the Secretariat.

The Sub-Committee agreed with the Secretary-General's views on this point, and the Fourth

This principle having been agreed upon, the Supervisory Commission received a request for additional credits to meet the new expenditure involved by the incorporation of the High Commissariat Department in the Secretariat. Considering that these expenses might be met by means of savings effected on existing budgetary credits or by means of any other resources at the disposal of the Government, the Supervisory Commission rejected this proposal.

Certain speakers having pointed out in the Fourth Committee that Dr. Nansen could not meet this expenditure out of the funds which had been entrusted to him, the Commission decided by thirteen votes to four to include for this purpose a special appropriation of 35,850 francs in the budget. It struck out, however, the appropriation of 50,000 francs included in the budget for administrative expenses in connection with the settlement of Armenian refugees in Erivan, on the ground that this work could not be continued in the present circumstances.

Apart from two other requests for additional credits (Conference on Financial Assistance for States Victims of Aggression, and the Committee to study the means of Speeding-up the Ratification of Conventions concluded under the Auspices of the League of Nations) which, at the request of certain delegates, were put to the vote, the other items of the budget and the additional credits were adopted.

(c) *Budget of the International Labour Organisation.*

Before examining in detail the credits included in the budget of the International Labour Organisation, the Committee noted the following declarations which were read to it by the Secretary-General and the Director of the International Labour Office.

Statement made by the Secretary-General.

" Although the budget of the International Labour Office does not fall within the province of the Secretary-General, there is one question which is raised in it on which I feel bound to make a short declaration to the Fourth Committee, in view of the fact that the International Labour Organisation is, according to Article 392 of the Peace Treaty, part of the organisation of the League.

"In the receipts as appropriations-in-aid set out in the budget of the International Labour Organisation there will be found a sum of 124,662 gold francs, which was declared to be the contribution of Brazil to the Organisation. I trust that, when the Fourth Committee gratefully accepts, as I feel sure it will, that contribution, it will be on the understanding that its action in so doing in no way prejudices any constitutional questions arising under the Treaty provisions establishing the Labour Organisation. In the present circumstances, the question of the precise legal situation as regards the continuance of Brazil's membership of the International Labour Organisation can be considered as being of such a theoretical character that there seems no need to endeavour to solve it. But circumstances might arise, when a solution of the constitutional point which is involved became highly desirable, and it would, to my mind, be unfortunate if, from the action of the Fourth Committee and of the Assembly in the present case, arguments could be drawn in favour of any particular thesis."

Statement made by M. Albert Thomas.

"I quite understand the reasons why the Secretary-General has wished to make this statement, which was based upon Article 392 of the Peace Treaty. The Committee will doubtless understand the reservation which I wish to make in my turn, in order to safeguard the constitutional rules which have been laid down for the International Labour Organisation in Part XIII of the Peace Treaty, and for the observance of which the Governing Body and the Director of the Office are responsible.

"The Secretary-General has stated that, in his opinion, acceptance by the Fourth Committee and by the Assembly of the contribution of 124,662 gold francs which Brazil has offered to the budget of the Labour Organisation should not prejudice the solution of any constitutional problem which might be raised in this connection.

"I agree that it would be incorrect to attribute any theoretical or absolute value to the incorporation of the Brazilian contribution in the budget of the International Labour Organisation. The Secretary-General's reservation cannot, however, constitute at some future date an argument against the legal consequences of the positive fact that this contribution has been paid. In any case, it cannot affect the rights of Brazil and the obligations that it has assumed in virtue of its participation in the International Labour Organisation."

After a short discussion on the attitude to be adopted by international organisations, with regard to the political activities of their officials in the countries of which those officials are members, and an exchange of views on the conferences which the Labour Organisation proposes to convene, including the questions which may be discussed at those conferences, the Committee adopted the budget of the International Labour Organisation as submitted.

(d) Budget of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Committee approved the budget of the Permanent Court of International Justice without alteration.

The Registrar of the Court pointed out that the Court's budget had developed on perfectly normal lines, the increase in expenditure corresponding to the increase in salaries according to regulations. It should be borne in mind, however, that the modifications in the Statute of the Court will probably affect the 1931 budget.

III.—REPORTS OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

Apart from certain recommendations concerning the refugee question, the Fourth Committee has approved the conclusions of the three important reports submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission.

As regards the administration of the income from the Rockefeller grant for the League of Nations Library, the Fourth Committee proposes that the Assembly should adopt the following draft resolution, submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission:—

"Whereas the sum of five hundred thousand U.S. dollars, forming part of the gift of two million U.S. dollars for the purpose of the Library of the League of Nations offered by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to the League of Nations and accepted by it, has been paid to the Secretary-General in order to constitute, together with such further part of Mr. Rockefeller's gift as may be allocated to the same purpose, a permanent endowment for the said Library;

"And whereas it is desirable to determine the method of administering the said endowment:

"The Assembly decides as follows:—

"(1) There is created a fund, to be known as the 'Library Endowment Fund,' the capital of which shall be constituted by the amount already received from Mr. Rockefeller and any further part of his gift which may be allocated for this purpose. The capital and income of the fund shall be maintained separate from the other assets of the League of Nations.

"(2) The capital of the Fund shall be invested by the Secretary-General in such manner as may be approved by a Committee of three members, appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, two on the proposal of the Financial Committee and the third on the proposal of Mr. Rockefeller or, if he does not desire to propose a candidate, on the proposal of the Financial Committee.

"Any gain from appreciation of investments shall be added to the capital of the fund and any loss from depreciation shall be borne by the said capital.

"(3) The income of the Fund shall be applicable only for the purpose of the Library. It shall be received by the Secretary-General, who may invest any part not required for use in the manner authorised by Article 34 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, or in other investments with the approval of the Committee provided for in para. 1 above. It shall be expended only as authorised by the Committee and in accordance with the following rules:—

"(a) The Budget estimates annually submitted to the Assembly shall show in sufficient detail all expenditure which it is proposed to meet from the income of the Fund in the year in question, and a proposed appropriation in aid from the said income equal to the total amount of such proposed expenditure.

"(b) The expenditure which it authorises to be met from the income of the Fund shall be voted by the Assembly in the Budget and the appropriation in aid authorised to be taken from the said income shall be equal to the sum of such authorised expenditure.

"(c) No sums shall be drawn from the income of the Fund except to meet an expenditure actually incurred. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Financial Regulations as at present in force or subsequently amended, if the whole of the authorised appropriation in aid from the income of the Fund is not utilised for the authorised purposes, the balance shall be retained in the Fund as unexpended income.

The annual accounts shall show the expenditure actually met out of the income of the Fund balanced by an appropriation in aid of equal amount.

"(d) The whole accumulated income of the Fund, i.e., the income accruing in each year and unexpended income remaining over from previous years, shall be available in each year for expenditure in connection with the Library authorised by the budget vote by the Assembly.

"(4) A statement as to the investment of the capital of the Fund and a statement showing the employment of the income of the Fund shall be presented annually to the League Auditor and be annexed with the Auditor's comments, if any, to the annual accounts."

IV.—ALLOCATION OF EXPENSES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Chairman of the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses reminded the Committee of the decision reached by the Ninth Assembly concerning the establishment in 1932 of a final scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League of Nations. At his suggestion, the Fourth Committee proposes that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution:—

"The Assembly calls the attention of all States Members to the resolution voted by the Assembly at its ninth ordinary session on 25th September 1928, requesting the Council to ask the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses to submit to the Assembly at its ordinary session of 1932 a revised scale of allocation which will be based on the budget estimates of the various States Members for 1930 (1930-1) and urgently requests all States Members to forward to the Secretariat their budget estimates and closed accounts for each financial period regularly as soon as they are published. It draws particular attention to the importance of supplying the budgetary documents for the financial year 1930 (1930-1), without which the Allocation Committee cannot resume its enquiries."

V.—MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS AND DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

(a) Certain delegates thought that the Governments concerned might reasonably be requested to grant the League of Nations special facilities for its telegraphic communications, particularly as the League has succeeded in obtaining similar facilities for the Press representatives of the various countries. The Committee feels that, although many practical difficulties may have to be overcome, an important step towards the solution of these difficulties would have been taken if the question were submitted to a conference of the International Telegraphic Union.

(b) In order to allow the convening in Paris of the Conference on the Treatment of Foreigners, the Fourth Committee decided, by 21 votes to 7, to free the Secretary-General from his pledge not to draw on the credits voted for the Disarmament Conference for any other purpose; it therefore raises no objection to a sum of 70,000 francs being transferred from that item in the 1929 budget.

(c) The Committee, having considered the report of the Sub-Committee appointed for that purpose and that of the Supervisory Commission, decided, by 18 votes to 1 to purchase forthwith the land and premises adjacent to the part of the Ariana Park where the new League buildings are to be erected.

This transaction is of importance in two respects: it will safeguard the League against the danger of building operations unconnected with its purpose, and it will keep the land free for any future object that may be thought desirable. Moreover, the existing house and grounds seem a highly suitable residence for the Secretary-General, and should therefore remain available for that purpose as long as they may be required.

As regards the method of purchase, the Committee, being informed by the Supervisory Commission that there seems to be no possibility at present of redeeming the existing mortgage of 200,000 francs on the property, recommends to the Assembly that the balance of the purchase price (575,000 francs) should be paid at once and that the Secretariat should be asked to arrange for the redemption of the mortgage next year. The Committee further proposes that the sum of 575,000 francs in question should be taken from the 1928 surplus, thus reducing the amount divisible among the Members to 413,659.64 gold francs; no fresh addition to the budget will then be required.

ANNEX XII.—Report of the Fifth Committee on Traffic in Women and Children.

The Fifth Committee has considered the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee on the work of its eighth session. It notes that the Council, at its June session, approved the resolutions contained in the report, and gave the Secretary-General the necessary instructions.

In order to be able to deal with the various subjects thoroughly, the Committee had to postpone to its next session the consideration of a number of questions, two of which the Fifth Committee attaches particular importance, namely, (1) the Protection of Young Female Artistes touring Abroad in Music Halls and Similar Places of Amusement, and (2) the Employment of Women Police.

The Committee devoted special attention to the examination of the annual reports from the Governments relating to the traffic in women and children. It noted that the majority of the States Members of the League of Nations which had not sent in their reports for the previous session had habitually failed to carry out the recommendations contained in the Final Act of the 1921 Convention. In order to avoid omissions in the future and to increase the number of replies, the Secretariat, in accordance with the Council's decision, sent the Governments a letter containing the necessary explanations. The Fifth Committee trusts that, as a result of these explanations, an increasing number of reports in the prescribed form will be sent in by the Governments. It further expresses the hope that those Governments which have not yet ratified the 1921 Convention will hasten to do so.

The Assembly at its ninth ordinary session adopted a resolution expressing the hope that it would be possible to extend the investigations of the Special Body of Experts to countries where no investigation had taken place before. The Committee considered this possibility, and thought that with the consent and co-operation of the Governments concerned, inquiries into the international

traffic should be pursued in countries not previously visited, especially in the East. The Fifth Committee is in agreement with this view, and further endorses the opinion of the Advisory Committee that, in view of the difference in habits, customs and conditions in many Eastern countries, the nature and extent of the inquiries to be made and the methods to be followed should receive special consideration; also, that the composition of the Special Body of Experts should be adapted to the altered circumstances. The Fifth Committee notes that the Council instructed the Secretary-General to inquire from the Governments concerned whether they would be prepared to give their consent and co-operation to the action suggested, and also to prepare and submit, if possible, for the January session, a report dealing with the replies received from the various Governments and containing suggestions as to the composition of the Special Body of Experts and the scope of the inquiry. The Fifth Committee is of opinion that, for the purpose of this inquiry, the Body of Experts should include persons who are well acquainted with the special conditions in the East and that women should be among these persons. From the declarations made by the delegates of various countries concerned, the Fifth Committee is hopeful that the extension of the inquiry may be decided upon within the coming year. In case of a favourable decision, it notes with cordial appreciation that the necessary funds would be made available from the source which met the expenses of the previous inquiry, and it wishes to record its thanks for the generous offer which will make the extension of the inquiry possible.

The Committee is continuing its study of laws and regulations devised to protect public order and health against the dangers arising out of prostitution in countries where the licensed house system has been abolished. The Fifth Committee thinks that this information should serve to further the abolition of the system. It takes note of the evidence furnished to the Committee as to the growing change in public opinion in favour of abolition, and it stresses the importance of public opinion, international as well as national, in such matters. It notes with satisfaction the positive advance made in this direction, and it places on record the fact that the general experience of the various countries points to the advisability of abolition.

On the recommendation of the Committee, the Council requested the Secretary-General to draw the attention of Governments to a useful report prepared by the Secretariat on certain legislation dealing with the *souteneur*, and to the importance of ensuring that legislation and its application should be effective in bringing the *souteneur* to justice. As a means to this end, the Fifth Committee considers it desirable that severe penalties should be inflicted on the *souteneur*; but, in order to obtain more definite and comprehensive suggestions, it recommends that a Sub-Committee of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee be set up to study the question.

The Committee has come to the conclusion that the age limit (21) fixed by the International Convention of 1921 causes administrative difficulties in detecting cases of international traffic as, through false documents or false statements, the victims of the traffic are often stated to have passed the age of 21 laid down in the Convention. On the Committee's proposal, the Council has empowered the Secretary-General to ascertain the views of all Governments on the desirability of omitting the age limit of 21. Some members of the Fifth Committee declared that their countries were prepared to do so.

The Fifth Committee notes that the Advisory Committee had informed the Council that, in its opinion, no further conference to deal with the matter of obscene publications was at present required, but that further information should be requested from the Governments. The Traffic in Women and Children Committee therefore decided to put this question on the agenda for its next session.

At a joint meeting of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and the Child Welfare Committee, the Council resolution of 13th December 1928, on the adoption of a new procedure regarding the participation of the assessors in the Committee's work, was examined. The Fifth Committee shares the Advisory Committee's opinion that the number of assessors should be kept within such limits as are reasonable, having regard to the nature of the work of the Committee, and they should, except in special cases, be selected as representing international organisations whose work is recognised as coming more particularly within the scope of the Committee; and that all assessors appointed in the future should be appointed for a period of five years.

In the course of the discussion, the Fifth Committee was impressed with the complexity of the problem of the struggle against the traffic in women and children. Although essentially a social problem, it has its political and economic difficulties. It is a problem necessitating a close study, based on full and accurate information; and it has been the general feeling of the Fifth Committee that, unless the Minutes of the Advisory Committee are available for consultation in conjunction with the report, the work of the Committee cannot be appreciated at its true value. The Fifth Committee, therefore, recommends that the Minutes of the Advisory Committee be distributed in time for the session of the Assembly.

ANNEX XIII.—Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.

The Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs held its twelfth session at Geneva from 17th January to 2nd February this year.

The Advisory Committee, in accordance with its previous practice, examined carefully the position as regards the ratification of the Geneva Convention. It is hardly necessary for the Fifth Committee to remind the Assembly that the Advisory Committee has consistently taken the view that the immediate ratification and rigid enforcement of the Geneva Convention is the most valuable single step that can at present be taken to combat the illicit traffic, and that in this view it has always been supported by the Council and the Assembly. The Committee noted with great satisfaction that the Convention had come into force on 25th September 1928. It regretted, however, that, despite the encouraging progress, there still remain more than half the number of States Members of the League which have not yet ratified the Convention. The Convention has been ratified by some 30 Govern-

The Fifth Committee was glad to note that the number of Members of the Council which have not yet ratified the Convention has been reduced to four, as a result of the ratification by Germany, Venezuela and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In addition, the ratification of Switzerland has been deposited. The Secretariat has also been informed of the passage by Greece of a law ratifying the Convention, although the actual instrument of ratification has not yet been deposited in the Secretariat. A communication has also been received by the Secretariat announcing that the Hungarian Government has decided to ratify the Convention without reserve. Other Governments have announced the taking of steps leading towards ratification, including Chile, Columbia, Cuba, Denmark, Estonia, Panama, and Uruguay. Declarations by the representatives of the Irish Free State, Italy, and Norway of the intention of their Governments to ratify were made in the Fifth Committee, and the representative of Siam said his Government had ratified the Convention and that the instrument of ratification was on its way.

In the event of any Government finding difficulties which prevent it ratifying the Convention, the Government would indicate in detail what these difficulties were.

The Advisory Committee indicated in its report the desirability that the Secretariat should bring to the notice of States which had not yet ratified the Geneva Opium Convention all recommendations adopted by the Health Committee under Article 10 of the Convention which aim at bringing under the scope of the Convention additional dangerous narcotic drugs which have been found to be liable to similar abuse as those to which Chapter III of the Convention applies. The Convention provides that the Council of the League shall communicate these recommendations to the parties to the Convention. But it is obviously of great importance that these recommendations—which form the most authoritative judgments available to the world with regard to the results of scientific research in these matters—should be brought to the knowledge of all Governments, and particularly those which are parties to the Hague Convention and have therefore undertaken by Article 14 (d) of that Convention “to apply the laws and regulations respecting the manufacture, import, sale or export of morphine, cocaine and their respective salts . . . to all new derivatives of morphine, of cocaine or of their respective salts, and to every other alkaloid of opium which may be shown by scientific research, generally recognised, to be liable to similar abuse and productive of like effects.”

The Advisory Committee devoted a considerable part of its session to the examination of the annual reports from Governments, which it regards as one of its most important duties. It drew special attention to two outstanding difficulties which had confronted it in connection with this part of its work, namely, the failure of a number of important Governments to despatch their annual reports on the due date, and the fact that the system of annual reports was still far from being universal.

It drew the attention of the Council to the fact that a number of important Governments had failed to send in their reports until many months after the date laid down by the Council, and that the work of the Committee had thereby been seriously hampered. The Advisory Committee therefore asked the Council to impress in the strongest possible manner on the States Members of the League that the annual reports should be despatched not later than the due date for despatch, which is 1st October in the case of the Far-Eastern States and 1st July in the case of other States. In examining the list of Governments which had forwarded annual reports, the Advisory Committee noted that a number of States, including Members of the Council, had never furnished reports, despite the repeated requests of the Council, which had been supplemented on a number of occasions by the Assembly.

As an illustration of the difficulties in which it found itself through the absence of reports from important States, the Advisory Committee drew attention to the absence of reports from Persia and Turkey, whose production of opium, so far as the Committee has been able to ascertain, amounts to over 1,000,000 kilos of opium per annum. In the absence of direct sources of information concerning this huge quantity, the Committee stated that it was unable to follow in a satisfactory manner the distribution of the drug. During the discussion on the report which took place in the Council at its fifty-fourth session, the representative of Persia made a statement indicating the measures which were being taken by his Government to deal with the opium problem in his country, and in a subsequent communication circulated to States Members he expressed the willingness of his Government to supply to the League full information regarding the opium traffic in Persia.

The Persian representative on the Fifth Committee explained, and the Fifth Committee recognised, the difficulties which prevented the ratification of the Geneva Convention by his country. He added that, on the recent establishment of an Opium Monopoly, his Government would be able shortly to communicate its first annual report containing all the information it was possible to obtain for the moment. The Fifth Committee was glad to take note of this declaration.

The Advisory Committee stated also that it had received very little information from South and Central American States.

The Committee directed the Council's attention to the gravity of this situation, and asked it to use its influence with the States Members of the League and to urge them to forward their reports regularly in the form laid down by the League and in the fullest possible detail, in order that the Committee might duly proceed with its work.

The discussion which took place in the Fifth Committee on the question of the annual reports indicated the great importance which the Committee attached to the sending in by all Governments of annual reports in proper form and by the due date. The Committee therefore trusts that each of the delegations represented at this meeting of the Assembly will urge its Government to give special attention to this matter.

The Fifth Committee felt that the general circulation to all Governments of the annual reports sent to the League, instead of confining this circulation as in the past to the Advisory Committee and supplying the Governments with only a summary of the reports received, would be of assistance to every Government in keeping them more fully informed of the action taken by other Governments. It therefore invited the Secretariat to adopt this practice in the future.

The Advisory Committee devoted, as usual, considerable attention to the large number of seizures which had been reported to the League since the last session, which showed that the situation in

regard to the illicit traffic is still serious. It also considered carefully the general situation as regards the illicit traffic. It devoted particular attention to a memorandum submitted by the Netherlands Government on the transactions of a Dutch firm. This document was regarded by the Advisory Committee as certainly the most important and most detailed document regarding the ways in which drugs were supplied to the international illicit traffic which had ever come before it. It showed that, although this firm's transactions did not infringe the laws then in force in the Netherlands, the narcotics despatched by the firm were intended for other than legitimate purposes.

The Advisory Committee estimated that this centre of international traffic, which has now been suppressed, probably dealt with about half the total annual world production of heroin, as far as is known. In that section of the report which deals with seizures effected by the Netherlands Government and the Government of the United States of America, the Advisory Committee makes mention of the names of four firms whose products, in very large quantities, have been discovered in the illicit traffic.

As a result of its examination of the cases of illicit traffic before it, the Fifth Committee supported the Advisory Committee in its insistence once more upon the point frequently referred to by it in the past, namely, the necessity of Governments making special inquiries before granting licences to applicant firms, in order to satisfy themselves that those firms enjoy a good reputation. It urged that the Governments should immediately withdraw licences which had already been granted for manufacturing or dealing in drugs where it was amply shown that the firm which had obtained the licence was engaged in the illicit traffic or was supplying drugs for such traffic. The Committee also desired to draw the attention of Governments to other means which experience has proved to be of value in combating the illicit traffic.

The Fifth Committee was in complete agreement with the Advisory Committee as to the importance of the provision in the laws of all countries of adequate penalties in connection with the illicit traffic. In this connection, it noted with satisfaction the exemplary sentences imposed upon traffickers in the United States of America. A further point to which the Committee attached considerable importance was the desirability of all Governments mentioning in their annual reports all seizures, on however small a scale, which might throw light on the methods employed by traffickers.

The Fifth Committee regards as of special importance the recommendations of the Advisory Committee regarding the imposition of severe penalties and the withdrawal of licences of manufacturers or traders who have been found to be implicated in the illicit traffic. It is convinced that, if drastic action were taken in these directions in all countries, a heavy blow would be dealt to the illicit traffic.

The Council, acting on the advice of the Advisory Committee, instructed the Secretariat to submit to Governments a list prepared by the Secretariat of factories authorised to manufacture drugs falling under the Geneva Convention, requesting them to be so good as to verify and complete it. In view of the important bearing of this list on the holding of a conference of the manufacturing and the chief consuming countries, the Fifth Committee trusts that all Governments will comply with the wishes of the Advisory Committee in verifying and completing this list as soon as possible.

With regard to the smuggling of drugs through the post, which experience has proved to be a method frequently employed on a large scale by traffickers, the Advisory Committee decided to request the London Congress of the Universal Postal Union, which was held in May 1929, to examine the possibility of introducing into the Postal Convention a provision authorising the administrations, both in the countries of consignment and in the countries of destination, to subject to Customs supervision correspondence, letters, business papers and samples which they had reason to suspect contained drugs. The Advisory Committee asked the Council to invite the British Government to lay the detailed recommendations of the Committee on this matter before the Postal Congress. The British Government has, however, taken the view that the detailed proposals of the Committee on this point were based on the incorrect assumption that the Postal Union Convention made express provision for the inviolability of correspondence in the post. This assumption not being correct, the British Government felt that the end which the Committee had in view would be obtained in a much more efficient and satisfactory fashion by agreement between the countries concerned to carry into effect the measures suggested.

The British Government felt itself able to place before the Postal Congress the proposal to amend Article 41 of the Postal Convention in respect of the treatment by the office of destination of narcotics discovered in the post. This amendment will require the administrations not to return to the office of origin narcotics seized in the post. This proposal was accepted by the Postal Congress.

A long discussion took place in the Advisory Committee with regard to a scheme for limiting the output of manufactured drugs which had been placed before it. The scheme had been submitted to the Government of the United States of America, which transmitted it to the Netherlands Government. In accordance with the suggestion of the Government of the United States in its letter of 24th March 1928 to the Government of the Netherlands, in which it stated that this matter was of possible interest to the other Powers parties to the Hague Convention of 1912, the Secretary-General communicated this scheme to those States as well as to all other States Members of the League of Nations. The more outstanding features of the scheme, as noted by the Advisory Committee in its report to the Council, are the following:—

Each Government shall notify in advance for a determined period its requirements of each of those substances derived from opium and the coca leaf that now are, or in the future may be, covered by either the Hague Convention or the Geneva Convention.

Each Government shall state from which country it will purchase its requirements in narcotic drugs for medical and scientific purposes.

During the meeting of the Fifth Committee, an interesting communication was received from the Republic of Costa Rica, drawing attention to its acceptance of the fundamental principles of this scheme.

Some members of the Advisory Committee who were in favour of the general ideas embodied in this scheme asked that it should be taken as a starting-point for a general discussion at the next session on the limitation of manufacture and possibly the establishment of a Government monopoly.

The majority of the Advisory Committee, however, while agreeing that the idea of a limitation of the manufacture of narcotic drugs by the means set forth in the scheme was ingenious, did not think that it could be realised in the manner proposed. The Advisory Committee did not think it advisable to take any action in regard to the scheme submitted to it. It is waiting to see the results of the application of the Geneva Convention, which has only just come into force and provides a strict system of control.

The question of the relations between the Advisory Committee and the Permanent Central Opium Board, which has been discussed at previous sessions, was further examined by the Committee at its twelfth session. The Board was set up by the Council in December 1928, in accordance with the provisions of the Convention. It held its first session at Geneva in January and its second session in May, and reported to the Council at the fifty-fifth session in June of this year.

As the session of the Advisory Committee and the Board took place simultaneously in Geneva, the Committee thought it desirable to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded it of studying, in conjunction with a delegation from the Central Board, the future relationship of the two bodies. Before this discussion, an exchange of views had taken place in the Advisory Committee with regard to the question as to whether the work and powers of the Advisory Committee would be affected in any way by the creation of the Permanent Central Opium Board. After giving full consideration to the matter, the Advisory Committee noted that its rights and duties would not be restricted by the creation of the Central Board, although it took the view that the Board would ultimately relieve it of a considerable part of its technical work, more particularly in connection with the detailed examination of statistics. The Advisory Committee decided that it must continue to examine these statistics, although their preparation and full technical analysis could be left to the Board. The statistics, although their preparation and full technical analysis could be left to the Board, the Advisory Committee's examination of the statistics would be restricted to what it considered necessary for the purposes of its work. It was felt that there would thus be no difficulty in future in avoiding any overlapping between the work of the two bodies. With a view to ensuring friendly and useful co-operation between the two bodies, the Committee requested its Chairman to keep in close touch with the Chairman of the Central Board. The simultaneous meeting of the two bodies gave the Committee an opportunity which it was glad to welcome of co-operating at once with the members of the Board by inviting them to attend the discussions on the annual reports of the Governments and on cases of illicit traffic.

The Fifth Committee had the opportunity of listening to an interesting statement made by Professor Gallavresi, Vice Chairman of the Permanent Central Opium Board, with regard to the setting up of the Board, the work which it had accomplished and its plans for future developments.

In conclusion, it may be noted that the report of the Advisory Committee on the work of its twelfth session was examined by the Council at its fifty-fourth session, in March 1929. The Council took note of the report and resolutions of the Advisory Committee and instructed the Secretary-General to take the necessary action to give effect to them.

The discussion which took place in the Fifth Committee on the report of the Advisory Committee can be described without hesitation as one of the most important which has ever taken place in the Fifth Committee, if not the most important. The discussion showed a deep sense of the seriousness of the position, the bringing to light of which it was generally agreed was one of the most important of the contributions made by the Advisory Committee, and a general determination to put an end to the illicit traffic as soon as possible. The discussions in the Fifth Committee concentrated upon the three main points: (1) The vital necessity of the universal ratification and strict application of the Geneva Convention; (2) the necessity of securing an international agreement by which each of the manufacturing countries would consent to limit its manufacture to a definite quota of the world's scientific and medical requirements as regards morphine, heroin and cocaine and similar drugs; (3) the future constitution of the Advisory Committee in such a manner as to allow of a more effective representation of non-manufacturing countries.

The Fifth Committee noted with great appreciation the large number of promises of ratification of the Geneva Convention which had been received in the last couple of months. It could not, however, shut its eyes to the fact that, at the present time, only 26 out of the 53 Members of the League present at this Assembly had ratified the Convention. It decided, therefore, that a further appeal should be addressed immediately to all States Members which have not yet ratified the Convention to do so at the earliest possible moment and thus make their effective contribution to the work which the League has undertaken in this matter.

The Fifth Committee addressed an urgent appeal to all the delegations present at this Assembly to bring to bear their personal influence to expedite the ratification by their respective countries.

In order to secure the effective operation of the Geneva Convention, the Fifth Committee decided that it was essential that the attention of Governments should be drawn once more to the model administrative code elaborated by the Advisory Committee at its eleventh session, which contains the provisions which the League's expert body regards as essential to the proper application by each country in its internal legislation and administration of the Geneva Convention.

The greater part of the debate in the Fifth Committee was concentrated upon the question of the limitation of manufacture. The result of this discussion was the emergence for the first time in the history of the League of an agreement amongst the manufacturing countries as to the desirability of the limitation of manufacture, to be secured by means of an international Conference which would determine the total amount of narcotic drugs required to meet the legitimate medical and scientific needs of the world as well as the quota to be allocated amongst the various manufacturing countries.

Resolutions relating to the limitation of manufacture were proposed by the Venezuelan Delegation, Venezuela, Italy, Uruguay and Great Britain. The resolution submitted by the Venezuelan Delegation, which follows upon an intervention by the Venezuelan delegate in the June meeting of the Council, provided that a special Committee of five members should be set up by the Council.

This Committee, under the presidency of the Chairman of the Permanent Central Board, should study the principal and subsidiary causes which have prevented the execution of the provisions of the Opium Conventions with regard to the limitation of manufacture, and should submit a report to the Advisory Commission in time for its next session.

A resolution by the Italian Delegation requested the Council to ask the Advisory Committee to study the most effective means of effecting the limitation of the manufacture of drugs.

The resolution moved by the Uruguayan Delegation requested the Council to set up a special Committee of five members, similar in constitution to that proposed by the Venezuelan Delegation, to frame a plan with a view to giving effect to the provisions contained in the Opium Conventions, especially with regard to the limitation of manufacture, the Committee's report to be submitted to the Advisory Committee either at its 1930 session or at an extraordinary session before the month of May, so that the Council might be in the position to submit this plan to the Assembly at its next session.

The resolution proposed by the British Delegation asked the Council to invite the Governments of the countries in which morphine, heroin or cocaine are manufactured to confer together as to the possibility of arriving at an agreement as to the total amount of each of those drugs to be manufactured annually and as to the quota of that amount to be manufactured by each of those countries, and that the Secretary-General should be authorised, in the event of the acceptance of that invitation, to give such assistance to the Governments as they may desire.

It further recommended that the Advisory Committee should continue its studies of the question, more particularly with reference to the steps that would be necessary in the event of factories being established in countries not at present manufacturing the drugs.

The British resolution containing a definite proposal for a Conference on the limitation of manufacture followed upon a declaration made by the representative of France that his Government had decided to impose a limitation on its manufacturers and other declarations with regard to limitation made by representatives of other Governments.

The Fifth Committee did not, for various reasons, find it possible to support the resolutions proposed by the representatives of Venezuela and Uruguay.

After further discussion, the representative of Great Britain, in deference to suggestions made by other delegations, agreed to a modified resolution providing for the extension of the scope of the Conference to include representatives of the chief consuming countries. It agreed also, in order to meet the views put forward by the Italian Delegation, that the Advisory Committee should be called upon to prepare plans for the proposed limitation.

The third point on which the attention of the Fifth Committee had concentrated is contained in the fourth recommendation of this resolution. Whilst there was a strong feeling in the Fifth Committee in favour of a more effective representation of the non-manufacturing countries on the Advisory Committee, there was also a general feeling against the undue enlargement of the Advisory Committee to a point where its work would be rendered ineffective. The British Delegation was of the opinion that different countries might, at different times, owing to the shifting nature of the illicit traffic, find themselves the centre of such traffic, and suggested that the Council might ask the Advisory Committee at its next meeting to consider and report in what manner the assistance in the work of the Committee of countries which are in a special sense victims of the illicit traffic, or which are important centres of distribution, or are countries of transit, could from time to time be most effectively secured.

On the proposal of the Austrian Delegation, which drew attention to the great importance of securing the effective co-operation of the police authorities in the various countries in connection with the League's work as regards traffic in opium and the protection of women and children, the Fifth Committee carried a resolution.

The Fifth Committee, anxious to secure the fullest possible results from the spirit of co-operation revealed in its discussions, decided to request the Secretariat to take certain steps which it feels convinced will put the opium work of the League upon a sounder footing and will result in the more effective application of the Opium Conventions. It requested the Secretariat (1) to study and prepare a report for submission to the Advisory Committee on the data in its possession regarding the legitimate consumption of dangerous drugs; and (2) to take into consideration (a) the possibility of preparing a list of all the laws now in operation in the various countries regarding traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, and the possibility of preparing a digest or survey of this legislation with a view to facilitating the more effective operation of the Geneva and Hague Conventions; (b) the desirability of making a careful comparative study of all the seizure reports in the possession of the League with a view to bringing out the chief administrative weaknesses which they reveal.

In view of the considerable amount of additional work extending over a lengthy period which these proposals involve and of the large amount of preparatory work required in connection with the proposed Conference of Governments on limitation of manufacture, the Fifth Committee decided to ask the Fourth Committee to make provision for additional staff for the Opium Traffic and Social Questions Section of the Secretariat. In making this request, the Fifth Committee has taken into full consideration the heavy pressure which is already being placed upon the Opium Traffic and Social Questions Section of the Secretariat as a result of the constantly widening field of application with the Commission of Enquiry into the control of opium-smoking in the Far East and the Conference of the parties to the Geneva Opium Agreement of 11th February 1925, which is likely to follow upon the presentation of the report of the Commission. The Fifth Committee trusts, therefore, that the Fourth Committee will agree to its request, which it regards as essential to the effective carrying out of the League's responsibilities in connection with the opportunities now presenting themselves as regards the successful handling of the problem of the drug traffic.

Finally, the Fifth Committee passed a resolution expressing its high appreciation of the work of the Advisory Committee, and, in doing so, tendered its thanks to those members of the Committee who had worked ceaselessly in their own countries to bring about a realisation of the aims of the League and had done so much to reveal the extent of the illicit traffic and to provide the League of Nations with the opportunity now opening out before it of taking a decisive step forward in the direction of securing a limitation of the manufacture of narcotic drugs.

In presenting this report, the Fifth Committee feels that, whilst the situation still continues to be grave, the step taken at this meeting of the Assembly to secure a Conference on the limitation of manufacture, made possible for the first time by the acceptance by the manufacturing countries of the principle of direct limitation of manufacture by means of an international agreement, justifies

hopes of the ultimate success of the League's effort. It cannot be too strongly urged, as pointed out in the last part of the above-mentioned resolution, which was unanimously accepted, that this success must depend on the fullest possible co-operation of all Governments.

ANNEX XIV.—Report by the Sixth Committee on the Annual Report of the Council on the Slavery Convention.

The Sixth Committee has noted the information communicated to the League by a number of Governments in connection with the gradual abolition of slavery and similar conditions. This information has been sent in in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Seventh Assembly on 25th September 1926. It is furnished by the Governments of Great Britain, India, Portugal, Spain and the Sudan. The delegate of the Republic of Liberia has also announced that his Government will shortly send a memorandum containing the information required by Article 7 of the Convention of 25th September 1926.

The Committee highly appreciates the readiness of these States to send information, the value of which needs no emphasising. It is particularly grateful to the British Government for furnishing the detailed information as to the social and economic results of the abolition of domestic slavery in the Sierra Leone Protectorate. The Committee, which had this problem under consideration last year, is happy to learn that the introduction in Sierra Leone of the "Legal Status of Slavery (Abolition) Ordinance, 1927" has given rise to no social or economic disturbances in the Protectorate.

Since the Sixth Committee of the Ninth Assembly considered the question of slavery in 1928, the number of ratifications or final accessions to the Slavery Convention of 1926 has increased from 24 to 28. The countries which have ratified the Convention or acceded to it during the past year are Germany, the United States of America, Estonia and Iraq. The Liberian Delegation has also informed the Committee that its Government's ratification will not be long delayed.

The Committee greatly appreciated the Swiss Delegation's declaration that, if it appeared that its country's accession might be of assistance with a view to the execution of the Convention, the Swiss Government would have little hesitation in contemplating accession. The Committee expressed the opinion that the accession of a country like Switzerland, although it was not directly concerned in the question, would constitute a genuine moral asset towards ensuring the general application of the Convention. It therefore considered under these circumstances that any decision of this kind taken by Switzerland or any other country in a similar situation should be welcomed.

The Committee had before it a proposal by the British delegate to revive the Temporary Commission on Slavery. This proposal took the form of a draft resolution in the following terms:—

- "Considering the importance of the general ratification of the Slavery Convention ;
- "And the desirability of the fullest information on the subject of Slavery and Forced Labour being placed at the disposal of the League ;
- "Anxious to complete the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in all its forms ;
- "The Committee,
- "Recommends to the Council the reappointment of the Commission on Slavery to report on all the above matters."

This proposal, which had been supported by the delegates of India, Norway and Spain, was referred to a Sub-Committee consisting of the delegates of Abyssinia, Belgium, British Empire, France, Italy, Liberia, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Siam and Spain, which met under the chairmanship of Count de Penha-Garcia (Portugal), Vice-Chairman of the Sixth Committee.

The British representative emphatically stated in the Sub-Committee that the work of the Commission, as he understood it, ought not in any way to assume the form of control or of a direct investigation in the various territories, except by the express consent of the Government concerned.

Further, the Sub-Committee noted that any conclusions at which it might arrive could only relate to the slave trade and slavery in all its forms, and must exclude forced labour, the investigation of which is being pursued by the International Labour Organisation, as indicated in the Assembly resolution of 25th September 1926.

Certain objections were expressed in the Sub-Committee, more particularly in regard to the following two points:—

- (1) The present legal situation as regards slavery is, from the point of view of the League of Nations, and therefore of the Assembly, very different from what it was in 1925. Since that date, a convention has been framed. Following on negotiations in which the plenipotentiary delegates of the States Members of the League took part, the Convention was approved by the Seventh Assembly. This approval was accompanied by a recommendation that the communication of the laws and regulations enacted to put an end to slavery should be supplemented by information furnished spontaneously by the Members of the League with regard to the measures undertaken by them.
- (2) The report submitted in 1925 by the Temporary Commission on Slavery was said to have exhausted the investigations of the problem of slavery, but the Sub-Committee considered that, having regard to the information which the League had received since the Convention on Slavery was approved, there might be some reason to believe that the Convention is not producing the results that were anticipated when the resolution of the Seventh Assembly was adopted in 1926. But, in view of the comparatively short period which has elapsed since the signature of the Convention, it would, in the opinion of the Sub-Committee, be premature to give any definite opinion on this matter.

The Sub-Committee was unanimous in thinking that the first step should be to try to obtain further ratifications and accessions to the Convention by renewing the efforts which had previously been made in this direction. It also believed that a general outline should be given of the results

as regards slavery so far obtained in consequence of the application of the Convention, and that the present state of the problem, with all possible details, should be ascertained so as to allow of a comparison of the means now available and the present needs of the situation. The Sub-Committee was therefore of opinion that an investigation in this direction should precede consideration of the other means which might be contemplated to deal with the situation, and therefore should also precede any decision on the British Delegation's proposal to revive the Commission on Slavery.

The Sub-Committee thinks that, in the meantime, the Secretary-General should be requested to obtain from States Members of the League, and from non-Member States which are parties to the Convention, all information on the existing position of slavery in all its forms and to report to the next Assembly.

The Committee accepted the Sub-Committee's arguments and conclusions.

ANNEX XV.—Report by the General Committee on the Organisation of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office, and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

NOMINATION OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.

On 23rd September 1929 the Assembly decided, on the report of the Fourth Committee, to constitute a Committee of Inquiry "consisting of nine members, two of whom shall be members of the Supervisory Commission, to be appointed by the Assembly to examine what steps could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results for the Secretariat, the International Labour Office, and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice."

The Assembly also decided to ask the General Committee to submit a list of nine persons who might become members of the Committee of Inquiry.

On 24th September 1929 the Assembly adopted a supplementary report of the Fourth Committee recommending that the number of members of the Committee of Inquiry should be raised from 9 to 13.

The General Committee, having considered these resolutions of the Assembly, together with various suggestions made in the course of the Assembly discussion, has the honour to submit the following 13 names:—

M. Adatei.	M. Osusky, Member of the Supervisory Commission.
Count Bernstorff.	M. Quinones de Leon.
Viscount Cecil of Chelwood.	M. Parra-Pérez, Member of the Supervisory Commission.
Sir Atul Chatterjee.	M. Scialoja.
M. Hambro.	M. Sokal.
Mme. Kluyver.	M. Urrutia.
M. Loucheur.	

The General Committee also recommends to the Assembly that each member of the Committee of Inquiry should be entitled, should he find it impossible to attend the meeting, to appoint a substitute. It is understood that members of the Committee and their substitutes will serve in their personal capacity and not as representatives of the States of which they are nationals.

APPENDIX III.

Certain Speeches delivered by Members of the Indian Delegation at the Tenth Assembly.

ANNEX I.—Report of a Speech by Sir M. Habibullah in the Assembly on the 7th September 1929.

As the first Indian to lead the delegation of my country to a session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, I have a debt to discharge and a favour to seek. The debt is one of gratitude to my predecessors of British race who served India with single-minded and unswerving loyalty; the favour that I crave is one of indulgence for one who is new to this great gathering and ill-equipped by linguistic proficiency or oratorical skill to attain to the high standards established by those who in the past had the honour of being India's first delegate. May your kindness and forbearance enable me to be not altogether unworthy of them.

I have listened with the utmost interest to the speeches of those who have preceded me in this general debate. Some of them bear great names—names pre-eminent in the history of our times. I have heard discussed great issues—Disarmament, Security, Peace; accounts of the strivings and activities of the Council of the League and of its many organisations designed to promote lasting goodwill and concord among men, and to foster co-operative endeavour among nations in pursuit of common aims, political, social, and economic—endeavour that is the most powerful aid to the stability and vitality of the spirit that makes for lasting peace. I have acquired, in such measure as it is possible for one coming from so remote a land as India to imbibe an atmosphere so complex as the atmosphere of the western world, a sense of the practical difficulties that beset those engaged in the task of making the intractable legacy of centuries of militant rivalry amenable to the forces of peace. And the one lasting impression that I shall take back with me is the impression of the earnest sincerity and steadfast effort of those whom it has been my privilege to meet and hear in Geneva, to seek and ensue the ideal enshrined in our Covenant. Perhaps achievement will be a tardy process. What ideal worthy of sustained effort ever dropped with swift ease into the seeker's lap? But to those who still aim the darts of cynical contempt at our ideals and our work, I would utter a confident warning not to empty their quivers at us, but to seek a more vulnerable target. And to those whose vision is not irredeemably clouded by deliberate cynicism and scepticism, I would appeal to abandon their aloofness and to aid us in our task. The noble discourse of my Right Honourable friend Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, initiating this debate, should be a trumpet call to everyone to rally to the League.

And what of India? It may be asked whether the country for whom I have the honour to speak to-day is ardent and firm in her support of the League. Let the records of this Assembly for the last nine years provide the answer. We have not the might or the political experience of the Great Powers. Our problems are, in the main, different from the problems of political and economic reconstruction which, owing to the nearness of the countries concerned and to their dangerous implications, the League has had to handle. Our limited resources—it is often forgotten that the care of over 300,000,000 people is liable to absorb the resources which in smaller countries would leave an abundant surplus for the pursuit of altruism—are practically pledged in full to meet our domestic obligations. But in spite of our remoteness and our poverty, we have been prompt and active in doing our duty by the League. If at times we have been critical, or slow to respond, it has been because in our judgment a proposal needed closer scrutiny to establish its title to the League's support. But our loyalty to the ideals for which the League stands has never grown dim, and to their realisation we are determined to contribute our full quota of energy and effort. As fresh testimony of our inherent devotion to these ideals, I am authorised by my Government to announce that India, like Great Britain and Canada, has decided to sign the Optional Clause and I shall do so before the end of the present session of the Assembly.

One of the most important questions facing us to-day is the question of disarmament. A war-weary world is naturally anxious to render the recurrence of war impossible. We in India fortunately escaped much of the suffering that overtook the regions situate in the zone where the conflict waged fierce and long. But we have felt the economic repercussions—as, indeed, we bore our share of the burden of the fray—and we know enough of the destructive potency of modern weapons of warfare to be able to visualise what havoc a new war could work. We are, therefore, as anxious as any other country, inside or outside the League, to see peace perpetuated on a basis of disarmament. But it must be evident to all that for this object to be fully achieved, disarmament must be general. So long as a single country stands out of a scheme for the limitation of armaments to the minimum compatible with the requirements of national security, the country which is most exposed to danger from the immunity claimed by others must adjust the strength of its forces to its needs. A glance at the map of our frontiers will show what our difficulties are. So long as those difficulties exist, so long must we be prepared to meet them. Subject to this one condition, which is really an obligation of national safety, we are ready always to play our part in the preparation of peace.

I do not propose to touch on any other political issue to-day. I should, however, like to comment upon one or two aspects of the work accomplished by the technical organisation of the League, such as the one which concerns itself with Public Health, because it is these activities which have brought India into direct touch with the League. Over a year ago it was my privilege, as member of the Government of India responsible for Public Health, to inaugurate at Delhi an interchange of Health Officers organised by the League. I had the opportunity, then, of indicating to those present our attitude towards assistance that might be offered to us for dealing with our own problems. I affirmed then that while the responsibility for administering such services must rest with the Government of the country and could not be shared with any other authority, we would welcome, without qualification or reserve, assistance and advice from all quarters that were able and willing to help. The visit to India of Dr. Madsen and others who took part in the interchange proved most valuable to the members of our sanitary services, and I have reason to believe that the tour was not without benefit to our visitors. Before I left India to attend the present session of the Assembly, I had the satisfaction of learning that members of the League's Malaria Commission

were expected to arrive in India at the end of August and to make an extensive tour through the main provinces in order to study local malarial conditions and the steps taken by the local authorities to combat the disease. We hope that this visit will be of mutual benefit to the experts of the League and to our own. We are also co-operating to the best of our ability in the intelligence work which the Far Eastern Bureau at Singapore is now doing with conspicuous benefit to sanitary authorities in 150 ports in the Far East. Equally we are assisting in the co-ordination of researches into some of the principal epidemics of the Orient which the Bureau has undertaken. As we possess a highly organised corps of medical research workers, with a distinguished record of original and beneficent activity, I am confident that the Bureau will find their help of great value. Should the League decide to extend to the East the studies in rural hygiene and into the causes of mortality among children which it has undertaken in some countries in Europe and South America, we shall be glad to give all the assistance that may be in our power. Indeed, the subject of infant mortality is of great importance to us, and I have no doubt that India would welcome a decision on the part of the League to assist her in finding means of investigating the causes of and the remedies for the present high percentage of deaths among small children.

If I have singled out the Health Organisation for mention, it is because we have been brought most directly into touch with it. Nothing is further from my intention than to institute invidious comparisons or to insinuate disparagement of the work of the other technical organisations. In fact, the perusal of the Report of the Council which we are now discussing has filled me with admiration and amazement at the variety and range of subjects which have been or are being studied by these various bodies. But I also have a practical purpose in dwelling, at some length, on the co-operation between India and the League's Health Organisation. It is to point the moral, which, in spite of its obviousness, is apt to be lost sight of, that the strength of a country's interest in the League is substantially dependent upon the interest in its affairs which the League displays. And I shall be failing in my duty both to India and to the League if I did not take advantage of the occasion to point out that in India, as also, perhaps, in other Eastern countries, there is a feeling that the West claims most of the attention of the League. As I have already said, this is intelligible since the problems that knock constantly at the door, as it were, of the League are the problems of countries which are geographically the nearest to its seat, and which, because of their immediate bearing on the political and economic situation of Europe, press themselves most readily on its attention. Nor can we ignore the fact that organised publicity gives an advantage in the race to those who have command of it. We in India have not, perhaps, tried to be too clamant. But the League, which was established to work for co-operation, goodwill and amity among the peoples of the earth, must seek to transcend even continental boundaries, and to broad base itself on the informed and active affection of all the peoples. This can only be achieved with the aid of world-wide vision, world-wide understanding and world-wide sympathy. I am not suggesting that the will to such vision, such sympathy and such understanding does not exist. I only plead for a new orientation of vision, and of endeavour. In India our aim is to create mass opinion favourable to the League. Before that aim can be realised, opinion among the educated classes, who constitute a fraction of the mass, has to be mobilised in support of the League. We have formed associations in all the important cities to educate public opinion. We are contemplating a conference of provincial representatives to consider how best the aims and objects of the League can be inculcated on the generation that is now passing through our schools and colleges. But practical demonstrations of the League's interest in India, such as was afforded by the interchange of Health Officers or the visit of the Malaria Commission, win far more adherents to the League than a multitude of lectures and pamphlets. People in my country also ask, what steps has the League taken to study and understand our needs? Who is there on its large staff of administrators and experts to advise, with sympathetic understanding that comes only of affinities born of racial kinship, of what is likely to quicken interest in India? When highest responsibilities of the League? Questions like these are not improvised and asked at the occasional public meetings, but questions constantly present in the minds of those who take interest in public affairs. They press for answer. I shall not presume to suggest the answers. I shall end these remarks with an expression of the faith within me that by the light of the wisdom of those who guide the policy of the League, answers, and satisfactory answers, will be found.

ANNEX II.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir Ewart Greaves in the First Committee on the 16th September 1929.*

Sir Ewart Greaves (India) said he did not suppose that it was the intention of the Government of Finland to open the way in arbitration matters to a general right of appeal to the Court. Any such right of appeal would clearly be a mistake. The proposal, as he understood it, had in view cases where an award given by arbitral tribunals was alleged by one of the parties to the reference to be vitiated through the Court exceeding its powers or failing to exercise those powers or where the award contained an error of law on the face of the record. He thought it necessary to examine the definite cases in which this hypothesis might occur.

First of all they might take the case of two States who had signed the optional clause deciding to submit a particular dispute to a tribunal agreed upon by themselves. The submission contained no provision for referring to any dispute arising from the award of the nature he had indicated. Nevertheless it was open to the parties to make a reference to the Court of Justice under Article 36 in the event of any difference arising such as he had indicated and this whether they had or had not signed the optional clause.

Secondly, there was the case where the parties agreed in the submission to arbitration that questions of the nature he had indicated should, if they arose, be submitted to the Court. In that case no difficulty would arise.

A third case arose where the submission did not arise for any appeal in matters of the nature he had indicated, and one of the parties desired to submit such matters to the Court while the other refused. He did not think that in that case, which was the only case in which any difficulty arose, they ought to try and force an appeal to the Court. The parties should be trusted to act reasonably,

and it was to him unthinkable that where the parties had chosen their own tribunal to decide a dispute they should be forced to allow an entirely different tribunal to decide any dispute which arose out of the award of the tribunal which they had chosen themselves. He was opposed to spending 40,000 francs on setting up a Committee of Jurists to study the question.

In conclusion, the speaker stated that Article 61 of the Statute of the Court, which refers to the revision, had in his view been wrongly brought into the argument. In a case under Article 61 the Court itself which has dealt with the dispute revises its own judgment. This was a well-recognised procedure and apart from any special provision probably inherent in the jurisdiction of any Court which still had seisin of the matter. But it was not a procedure which could be applied to the decisions of an entirely different tribunal.

ANNEX III.—*Résumé of a Speech by Mr. Bajpai in the Second Committee on the 16th September 1929.*

Mr. Bajpai congratulated the *Rapporteur* on his clear and succinct résumé of the work of last year, and of the activities proposed for the approaching year. The most important of these was the proposed inquiry into the activities of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation with a view to the definition of scope so as to ensure practical achievement. He felt sure that all well-wishers of the movement for Intellectual Co-operation would welcome this step. As the Belgian representative had pointed out in a remarkable speech, diffusion of activity was likely to defeat the object for which the movement was started. In a world of realities, even the fiery steeds of idealism had to be harnessed to the rumbling pantechicon of facts. India was anxious to make the movement a success. As a country with an ancient literature and a remarkable system of philosophy, she naturally welcomed a movement which sought to lay the foundations of a cultural synthesis. But the very vastness of the ideal afforded justification for well-thought-out and stable activity.

As regards the three proposals for additional credit included in the *Rapporteur's* report, the Indian Delegation wished to make certain general observations.

In the first place it seemed doubtful whether, consistently with the principle that the League has no financial responsibility towards the Institute at Paris, it would be wise to create a precedent now in favour of rendering financial assistance to it.

Secondly, as regards the credit for the proposed inquiry, it was for consideration whether the cost of such investigation should not form a charge on the budget of the Institute itself. The inquiry was suggested so as to secure restriction of its activity to practical ends. This would seem to imply that no harm would be done if some of the less important activities were temporarily stopped or even dropped so as to provide funds for the inquiry.

Thirdly, as regards the proposal to ask for a credit to facilitate translation of the pamphlet on the aims and objects of the League, the Indian Delegation thought that the Secretariat ought not to be saddled with this duty. It was not a bureau of multilingual translators and could not meet demands for translations from all the States Members of the League. To cite one example: if India, where there were over a hundred dialects spoken, asked the League to provide it with translations for the various linguistic groups that constitute its population, both financially and linguistically the Secretariat would be overwhelmed. It would be safer to assume that a country which was really interested in instructing its population in the aims and objects of the League would undertake to carry out and defray the cost of translations necessary for the purpose.

In conclusion, Mr. Bajpai added that while India had not so far been able to set up a national Committee, the authorities that could help in bringing such a committee into being had been sounded, and it was hoped that before long it would be possible to convene them in conference so as to obtain the desired result.

ANNEX IV.—*Résumé of a Speech by Mr. Bajpai in the Second Committee on the 17th September 1929.*

Mr. Bajpai expressed high appreciation of the clarity and conciseness of M. Fierlinger's report, which was literally a survey of activities from China to Peru, and, for a survey so vast, extraordinarily lucid and inspiring. He used the word "inspiring" deliberately, because nothing was calculated to touch emotion and kindle enthusiasm more surely or intensely than an account of beneficent endeavour, dedicated to the alleviation of human suffering. The credit for this was due, no doubt, to the Governments of the countries which had co-operated with the League. But it was due also to the Health Committee of the League, which has played an important part in the preparation of a considerable programme of work, and to the Director of the Health Section.

Mr. Bajpai associated himself with the delegate of the British Empire in expressing thanks to the Rockefeller Foundation for its generous decision to continue for a further quinquennium its subvention in aid of the activities of the Health Organisation. By Asiatic countries this news would be received with special gratitude because of the immense and growing importance to them of the work of the Singapore Bureau.

As regards the general budgetary position, he observed that no one who had carefully read the documents which had been supplied to the delegations could have failed to be struck by the technical as well as the territorial range of the activities of the Health Organisation. This was, perhaps, inevitable in a domain so vast as the domain of medical science, and especially the domain of preventive medicine. The old adage that prevention is better than cure was now sought to be applied on a large scale in the interest of public health. Each country was seeking to create, to readjust or to reform its sanitary services. If the Health Organisation was to play its role of helper and co-ordinator, so as to prevent error, to provide the lessons of tested experience as the basis of readjustment or reform, and to avoid duplication of effort, it could not legitimately be expected to work within any rigid financial limits. If its activities were to grow it seemed impossible that its budget should remain stationary. A statement of this character from a representative of India which had always been a vigilant champion of economy, would, he hoped, be well received. At the same time, it would be unwise to ignore the prudent and patent canon of sound administration that

the growth of expenditure must be justified by reasons which commanded general acceptance, that it must not be too rapid, and that it must be based on proposals which benefited all the States Members of the League whose problems were pressing and of general humanitarian as well as of practical scientific importance. The East was receiving more and more attention from the Health Organisation, and India did not grudge the assistance which that body has given to countries in Europe or in Latin America. All that he urged is that if there was to be extension of the activities of the Health Organisation, the East, with its teeming humanity and multitudinous and deadly epidemics, should not be neglected. To this end, he made two suggestions. First, that the Health Committee, at its next meeting, should endeavour to formulate a programme of work for a reasonably long period, say three or five years, and append to it an estimate of expenditure. The programme and the estimate of cost should be circulated in time for the various States Members to be able to instruct their delegates to the next Assembly of the League to deal with it. This would enable the League to take a definite step on the path of systematic advance in 1931. If the Secretariat could, in the near future, ask the States Members to submit suggestions for consideration by the Health Committee, say in May or June, the task of framing a comprehensive and well-thought-out scheme of activity would be greatly facilitated.

Mr. Bajpai threw out two other suggestions for consideration by the Health Committee. The first related to the interchange of Health Officers. He asked the Health Committee to consider whether, with a view to enabling exchange of experience in regard to problems such as anti-malarial work, in rural and industrial areas, an interchange would not be useful between countries in Eastern Europe and in Asia, where conditions might be analogous.

His second suggestion was that the Health Organisation might arrange to provide facilities for the study of special problems of sanitary administration, such as a scientific system of water supply by Health Officers from the East in the more advanced Western countries where these elementary but essential measures have been perfected.

ANNEX V.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir G. Corbett in the Second Committee on the 18th September 1929.*

Sir G. L. Corbett said that the report of Dr. Breitscheid covered a very wide field and raised a large number of questions of particular interest to India. He would refer only to the two most important resolutions submitted to the Committee. The resolution concerning coal contemplated the convening of a preparatory technical Conference to which the representatives of the mining countries of Europe would be invited. India was also a country which produced coal. If the object of the Conference was merely to suggest to the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation what questions relating to conditions of employment in coal mines in Europe should be included in the agenda, its constitution would be appropriate; but a body so constituted would not be competent to advise on questions relating to conditions of employment in coal mines outside Europe. This was a point which would have to be made clear in the Resolution.

The question of customs tariffs appeared to him to be a primarily European one, and he pointed out the contrast between Europe, divided as it was by a great many customs barriers, and India, which with its enormous population constituted a single customs territory. Undoubtedly tariff discrimination and tariff bargaining were the economic evil with which any Conference would primarily have to deal. Agreeing with the delegate of Australia, he pointed out that the Economic Conference of 1927 had not condemned tariffs as such, nor had proposed a general lowering of all tariffs of every kind, and he quoted the exact text of the recommendation of the Conference on this subject. He added that it was to this declaration that the delegation of India had adhered, and he was sure that Dr. Breitscheid had had no intention in his report of going beyond this recommendation. The new drafting of the report was satisfactory, but he considered that it was important that there should be no misunderstanding on this point. The word "tariff" had become in many countries a synonym of excessive tariff, of tariff hampering trade, but India considered that the customs tariff which she imposed was moderate and in conformity with the principles approved by the Economic Conference. It was primarily a revenue tariff. It was a tax on consumption, and was well suited to a country where direct taxation was unpopular and individual incomes were small. This tariff always took into account the effect on the consumer and on international trade.

In addition, from time to time protection was given to industries which, after a full and public inquiry by a Tariff Board, were considered to have natural advantages which would enable them, within a calculable time, to stand up to world competition without protection. These protective tariffs were few and the period for which they were accorded was ordinarily limited by statute. High protective tariffs were, as far as possible, avoided even for a limited period; for example, two years ago, when the great cotton textile industry had been threatened by what the Tariff Board considered unfair competition, help had been granted, not by an increase in import duties on cotton piece-goods, but by removing the revenue duties on machinery and certain chemicals, dyes and other materials employed in this industry.

The representative of India regretted, therefore, that he would be unable to undertake on behalf of his country to support any resolution or to participate in any conference which would bind India to refrain from increasing its customs duties for a term of years, for the tariff in his country was primarily a revenue tariff and it was impossible to foresee what would be the future revenue needs of India. He admitted that the text of the resolution only referred to protective tariffs, but he emphasised the difficulty of distinguishing between protective tariffs and revenue tariffs, but drawing a line of demarcation between them. A revenue duty often had, as a kind of by-product, some protective effect, and when a revenue was being framed it might be right and proper to consider its effect on the producer as well as on the consumer. India, therefore, would undertake nothing which she might be unable to carry out.

Moreover, India was not prepared to suspend for a term of years her protective policy. She considered that it was sane, moderate and necessary for the economic welfare of the country. India had not abused her fiscal freedom in the past, and there was no reason why she should be

expected to fetter her freedom now. He appreciated that such an undertaking might be necessary in some cases in order to create "an atmosphere of confidence," but there was nothing in the tariff policy of India, past or present, that need disturb the confidence of anyone. Many speakers had alluded to the tariff war in Europe, and had described this undertaking as a "tariff truce" or a "tariff armistice." Such an armistice should be for the belligerents, and India, which was neutral in this war, need not be expected to be a party to it.

He had understood the terms of the Resolution to mean that this undertaking was to be a condition precedent to participation in the final Conference "to frame a first collective agreement for diminishing hindrances to trade and developing and facilitating economic relations by all practicable means"; and he was glad to see that the procedure now outlined in the draft report provided that all States without distinction would be invited to participate in the final Conference. It was too early yet to consider whether India would accept such an invitation; but other countries might find that, from their own point of view, the Conference might suffer from the enforced absence of such an important consumer of goods manufactured in Europe. The economic recovery of Europe depended to a considerable extent on the prosperity and increased purchasing power of the vast populations of countries like India. India was primarily an agricultural country, and could not purchase manufactured articles from Europe unless she could find a fair market for her exports of agricultural produce. He hoped that efforts would be made, firstly, to check any tendency towards raising tariff barriers against agricultural produce; secondly, to stabilise agricultural prices; and thirdly, to rationalise the distribution of agricultural produce.

ANNEX VI.—*Résumé of a Speech by Mr. Raza Ali in the Third Committee on the League Wireless Station, on the 11th September 1929.*

Syed Raza Ali raised the point as to whether the large sum of money which it would be necessary to find in order to build a radio-telegraphic station and to maintain it, would give results proportionate to the outlay. He asked whether the League would be justified in spending such large sums as would be involved in view of the already heavy burdens placed upon it. Would it not be wiser to see whether present requirements could not be met by the stations already functioning in various countries, and thus for the time being save the money in question? If necessary, the scheme could be reconsidered at a later stage.

In any event, he wished to make it clear that unless the station to be set up at Geneva was equipped with a short-wave apparatus, it would not be possible to communicate with India and other distant countries, and it was precisely those words (short-wave) which it was proposed to delete from the resolution submitted by the British Delegation. He quite understood the reasons adduced in favour of not committing themselves to the building of a short-wave station, but nevertheless, if far-distant countries were to benefit by the scheme, the station would need to be equipped with a short-wave apparatus, and that would be a very costly undertaking. India's annual contribution amounted to a large sum, and she has been paying this regularly. She could not be expected to participate in this costly scheme.

In conclusion, he emphasised the view that the Committee should consider carefully before committing itself to the adoption of a scheme the expense of which might not give results proportionate to the outlay.

ANNEX VII.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir M. Habibullah in the Third Committee on Financial Assistance, on the 12th September 1929.*

Sir Muhammad Habibullah asked leave to outline the attitude of his Government in regard to the Draft Convention.

From her geographical position, India had much less interest in the scheme than other countries, but India, being a civilised country, felt it her duty to accept any general scheme which tended towards the peace of the world. It was from that point of view only that his Government was prepared to accept the Draft Agreement.

It would be necessary to place the scheme before the Legislatures of his country before the Government of India could express its assent. India would probably not assent to the scheme unless and until it was made clear to her that she would never be called upon to place herself in the list of special guarantors.

India considered that her contribution towards the expenses of the League was large, and hoped for the day when it might be reduced. He wished to make it plain that if India assented to the Draft Convention, it would be on the distinct understanding that any contribution India might be asked to pay should not be based upon her contribution at the time of entry into force of the Convention, but on the actual contribution she might be paying at the time the liability arose. It would be necessary for his Government, before giving assent to the Convention, to justify its position before its own Legislatures. It might be expected that when the proposal was put before the Legislatures they would be anxious to know which other countries had accepted the Convention, and therefore, unless and until the Legislatures and the Government of India together felt convinced that the Convention had been accepted, not merely by a handful of countries or even by the Great Powers, but had been accepted by Powers throughout the world, whose participation would be a guarantee that it would be used effectively. India would see no object in signing it, or in incurring financial liability as a result of it.

ANNEX VIII.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir Ewart Greaves in the Third Committee on Financial Assistance, on the 16th September 1929.*

Sir Ewart Greaves reminded the Committee of the terms upon which India was prepared to adhere to the Convention. An amendment had been prepared to Article 6 in order to carry out these terms, whereby it was proposed to substitute in the last line but one of this Article the date of the flotation of the loan for the date of the entry into force of the Convention. This had been

discussed with Sir Henry Strakosch, who had thought that as drafted it might affect loans already issued. That was not the intention of the Government of India. Sir Henry Strakosch suggested that it would probably be better not to amend the Article, but that India should sign with a reservation to be contained in a Protocol, which, of course, would have to obtain the assent of the other members of the League who had signed the Convention. India was prepared to accept this suggestion.

ANNEX IX.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir C. V. Mehta in the Fourth Committee on Supplementary Estimates, on the 21st September 1929.*

Sir Chunilal Mehta thought that no parliament would agree to examine requests for supplementary credits in so short a time.

The views of the Supervisory Commission carried great weight and, as he had stated on a previous occasion, that Commission did not approach its work in the narrow spirit of purely financial controllers, but bore in mind the fact that the League was a growing body, and that corresponding financial provision should be made for it. The last paragraph of the Commission's report was therefore all the more important. This paragraph reads as follows :—

"The Supervisory Commission regrets that in many of the foregoing questions it has been unable to formulate or to sift estimates of expenditure with the care which in all ordinary circumstances it endeavours to devote to its work. The conditions of working have this year been wholly exceptional. As noted already, most of the proposals have reached the Commission at the eleventh hour; no sufficient facts or material have in some cases been available for examining their financial consequences in detail. In several instances the proposals have been communicated to the Commission informally, sometimes even verbally. The result is that much of the estimating has been necessarily superficial, and it has been wholly impossible to form or to submit to the Fourth Committee any general survey of the financial position or of the effect of these proposals upon the equilibrium of the budget."

Sir Chunilal felt that the Commission would not have made statements of this kind unless it were thoroughly convinced that the present system was unsatisfactory. He agreed with the Norwegian delegate that the Committee should be given full time to consider the requests for supplementary credits before it.

ANNEX X.—*Report of a Speech by His Highness the Maharajah of Kapurthala in the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children, on 12th September 1929.*

This is not the first time that I have had the honour of attending the meetings of this Committee and of offering some comments on the work of the Advisory Commission. Now, as before, I desire to express appreciation of the Reports which we have before us, and if I do not feel called upon to repeat the warnings which I previously ventured to offer as to the possible consequences of approaching Eastern problems with Western preconceptions, it is because I recognise that the Advisory Commission has been pursuing its labours with a notable discretion. I can assure you that the social and humanitarian work which the League is doing in this field is being followed with marked interest in India. There are forces at work in the East as well as in the West for the improvement of the social conditions of life, and even if differences of environment and culture must to some extent result in differences of method and procedure, there is an identity of aim which finds a common source of encouragement and inspiration in the proceedings which have their centre here in Geneva.

The part of the report of the Advisory Commission in which we in India are most interested at the moment is, naturally, that which deals with the extension to the East of the investigations of the special body of experts on the traffic in women and children. We welcome the extensions of the inquiry under the conditions laid down in the resolution of the Council. I understand that certain changes in the methods of the inquiry which are necessitated by the different character of the new field of investigation are being actively considered and will be finally settled by the Council in December. I hope that these changes will be carried out to the satisfaction of all of the East, including India, where, I am sure, they or their representatives will receive a warm welcome and all possible assistance. We all recognise with gratitude the private munificence which makes this work possible.

I now propose, with your indulgence, to travel somewhat outside the strict limits of our discussion, and to attempt very briefly to give you some idea of what I am sure all experienced observers must recognise as the truly remarkable and significant developments which are taking place in India at the present time in regard to the position and welfare of women. It would not, perhaps, be justifiable in the ordinary way for a delegate to take up any of your time with a description of the social conditions of his own particular country. But the conditions under which women and children live in India have received a certain amount of lively attention in other countries in recent years, and may, therefore, be presumed to be of some general interest. Moreover, it is almost impossible not to believe that we are witnessing the beginning of a very interesting and important phase which may eventually have reactions far outside India.

I have no desire to pretend that evils do not exist or to minimise their gravity. I do wish to suggest, however, that those evils must be looked at in their true perspective. In one of the works of Balzac the following passage occurs :—

"Ce que l'Europe admire l'Asie le punit. Ce qui est un vice à Paris est une nécessité quant on a passé les Açores. Rien n'est fixe ici bas : il n'y existe que des conventions qui se modifient suivant les climats."

That puts in its extreme form the notion which I have in mind, though I do not myself at all wish to imply by quoting those words that the social evils of India are virtues in disguise; they are evils, however much the nature and degree of them may need qualification. Nor, on the other

hand, do I wish to exaggerate the progress which has so far been made in India in dealing with them. I only wish to place before you the evidence that consciences are being stirred, that a spontaneous movement of progress and reform is already under weigh, that changes are taking place which would have been regarded as inconceivable only a short time ago, and finally, that in India, the country of caste and purdah, where within living memory all women of station and reputation lived a life of complete seclusion—the women are themselves taking the matter in hand. Educated women, whose interests were at first confined to the arts, have thrown themselves with zest into activities aiming at the uplift and enlightenment of their own kind. This they are attempting to achieve by work both inside and outside legislative bodies, which, except in one province, are now open to women in India. It would be impossible to give anything like a complete survey, and I only select a few important and significant topics.

First, as to the age of marriage and the age of consent, a subject to which the Advisory Commission has devoted much attention. In British India marriage may be contracted at present at any age, but this must be qualified by the fact that marriage cannot be legally consummated until the girl is 13. Outside the marital relation the age of consent is 14. These ages have been raised to their present level progressively during the last 100 years. Bills are before the Indian Legislature for fixing, for the first time, the age of marriage and for raising the age of consent. Both questions have lately been considered by a Committee appointed by the Government, and the Legislature, which is now actually in session, is engaged in considering legislation in the light of the report of this Commission. If, as the Committee has recommended, an age of marriage is fixed, a change will have taken place which will profoundly affect the social conditions of India.

Secondly, legislation has been passed during the present year in two of the provinces of India with the object of suppressing abuses such as those in which our Advisory Commission is interested. With the object of terminating the custom whereby minor girls of a certain caste were trained for immoral purposes, a law has been passed in the United Provinces empowering magistrates to restrict or regulate the movements of such girls and to arrange for their proper custody. The second and more important instance of legislation during the present year is an enactment of the Madras Legislature to stop the abuses which have grown up in connection with the devadasis or unmarried girls, who have been dedicated to temples for the performance of certain temple services, and who receive certain endowments for their maintenance. Originally, the practice was of a pious and harmless nature, the position of the girls being similar to that of the Vestal Virgins at Rome, but it had degenerated into abuse. The girls have now been relieved of all obligation to perform any services in consideration of the revenues which they receive, and the practice, with its immoral incidents, should die a natural death. I would call your special attention to the fact that this important and difficult piece of legislation was passed on the motion of a woman who is the Vice-President of the Madras Legislative Council.

The two widest fields of social work are, of course, health and education. In both cases the systems of caste and purdah present great difficulties in India. These institutions will not be swept away all at once, even if it were desirable that they should be. In fact, it is obvious that education must, to some extent, precede their removal. Practical reformers must take them as they exist, seeking to take full advantage of the relaxation of their force, which is gradually occurring. The provision of medical aid of the modern sort to women and children is undoubtedly one of the great problems of India. Such aid is often not within easy reach, and, when it is, many women will not seek medical advice from men in the case of child-birth and of the diseases peculiar to their sex. I will not, however, say more on the subject, except that I believe that it would be of great value if the organisations of the League for health and social questions, acting in co-operation, were to apply the comparative method of study to the best means of rendering the essential modicum of medical knowledge available to such people.

Education is the key to all these problems. I am sure you will all agree with me if I say that progress depends on the ability of women themselves to appreciate their own needs, to formulate their own programme and to work for the realisation of it. Any sign, therefore, that the education of girls is beginning to be regarded as desirable is of importance, and such signs are becoming markedly manifest in India. The increase in the number of girls under instruction during the last five years in British India was over 400,000, or more than twice that of the preceding five years. The percentage of girls under instruction compared with the total female population, though still small, has increased. The number of women under instruction in training colleges, and this is a vital point, has increased in five years by almost 100 per cent., and is 12 times as large as that of 25 years ago. The recent Royal Commission on Agriculture in India recorded the opinion that the value to the community of the education of its women lies particularly in its effect upon the spread of literacy among the young. The same authoritative body observed that there were indications that a change in the general attitude towards female education had set in, and that a valuable stimulus was coming from the women themselves. Indeed, both the authorities and the people are becoming more and more conscious of the fact that education begins in the home, and that unless the mothers of families possess some idea of the meaning and value of education, the basis of real social progress will be lacking. In fact, the belief that the education of women is essential to national advancement is now widespread.

The most interesting and encouraging sign of all is the birth of an organisation originally known as the All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform, which first met in 1927. It now has held three annual meetings, and its organisation, which is based upon local conferences, has expanded in a notable fashion. It has 11 constituencies in the Indian States and 21 in British India. Through its constituencies it stimulates interest and activity in many different places, and by means of its annual gathering it concentrates the local forces. Funds are being collected which will enable it to apply its influence throughout the year wherever its intervention may be desirable. I am proud to say that women of my own Order have played a leading part in its work. The first chairman was Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda, who has laboured strenuously in the cause of women for many years. The second chairman was Her Highness the Begum Mother of Bhopal, herself until lately the ruler of an important State; and the proceedings of the present year were presided over by Her Highness the Dowager Rani of Mandi, who is a notable example of self-deliverance from the bondage of tradition. This conference has formulated the view that while women are grateful for the

immense service already rendered by the educational authorities, the present system in India was thought out primarily in the interests of boys, and was formulated by men, and that the time has come for women to review and reform this system. Upon this basis their activities rest. Although the organisation started with the idea of dealing exclusively with educational matters, it has found that it could not confine its activities in this way. It has now decided, in view of the widespread awakening of interest amongst the women of India in all questions affecting their welfare, to widen its scope and to have in future two sections, one dealing exclusively with educational matters and the other with matters of social reform. I have ventured to invite special attention to this particular movement because of its intrinsic importance, though I do not suppose that you who do not know the East personally will appreciate to the full its phenomenal character. You will, however, all agree with me that it deserves our warmest sympathy and encouragement.

What I have said so far has been mainly concerned with British India. I naturally cannot omit to deal briefly with the Indian States, although it is extraordinarily difficult to do so in a general way. It is by no means easy to generalise about British India, but it is almost impossible to do so about the States. In size, wealth, development, culture and administration they vary very greatly. Many are still in what you in Europe would call a mediæval condition, and have not reached the stage at which the emancipation of women and the importance of their social conditions is a live issue. But in the more wealthy and progressive States the advancement of ideas is no less marked than in British India, and, indeed, some of the States are ahead of British India in certain important respects. On the whole, the conservative principle is more strong in the States and the systems of caste and purdah are perhaps even more rigidly observed and less amenable to change than in British India. Wellare work, therefore, develops very slowly. But the evidence of progress is striking in such States as, for example, Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior and Travancore. The women of Travancore are more advanced educationally than those of any other part of India, and the proportion of girls to boys attending schools and colleges is 10 to 17 in that States. Examples of maternity centres, baby weeks, social clubs for women, girls' schools, girl guides, institutes for training midwives, &c., are becoming fairly common. Such efforts are generally confined to the large towns, but there is evidence to show that the interest is spreading to the villages. As a rule these clubs and institutions have been organised and financed and run solely on the initiative of educated and well-to-do women, though with financial support and encouragement from Government. I wish I had time to lay before you the evidence which shows that in some of these States the last few years have undoubtedly witnessed the beginning of a real awakening among women. It can be observed that they discuss and do things in a manner which would hardly have been possible 10 years ago. The movement towards better conditions may be, and indeed is, only in its infancy. Its value cannot be judged except by those with personal knowledge of the recent past, when the things which are now happening would have seemed inconceivable. I am not trying to impress you with a sense of reforms already accomplished. I would only leave you with the impression that even in the East, which is popularly supposed to be unchanging, the seeds of great changes have been sown and are beginning to germinate, and even in some places to blossom and fructify. It would be well if we occupied ourselves rather with watching and encouraging the forces which are moving towards the development of better conditions than with morbidly contemplating the evils which have to be cured.

ANNEX XI.—*Résumé of a Speech by Sir C. V. Mehta in the Fifth Committee on Dangerous Drugs, on the 18th September 1929.*

Sir Chunilal Mehta regretted that it had not been possible to submit copies of his resolution to the Committee earlier, and would therefore read it. The resolution was put forward not so much in support of the Advisory Committee and its Chairman, who were well able to look after themselves, but because it was necessary for the Assembly, as a whole, speaking authoritatively on behalf of all State Members, to declare that those States were determined to put an end to the evil of the illicit traffic, and that they would assist the Advisory Committee by all possible means in tracking down the traffickers.

His resolution was as follows :—

“The Assembly,

"Having noted the Report of the Advisory Committee at its 12th Session, expressed its satisfaction with the work which has been accomplished, and particularly with the unremitting efforts of the Committee to secure the acceptance and execution of the Geneva Convention of 1925 and to expose the extent and methods of the illicit traffic, and desires that these efforts will be continued and will receive the full support of all States Members of the League, without whose determined co-operation the valuable recommendations of the Committee as to the methods of dealing with the illicit traffic must fail to produce their effect."

India had the cleanest possible record, not only in regard to opium, but also in regard to the manufacture and control of drugs. He welcomed the resolution of the British Delegation. No step could be more important at the present moment than the limitation of manufacture. No step would achieve some of the effect sought by the Assembly. He believed that that measure might be necessary to go further and follow the example of India, which had for many years had a Government monopoly of the manufacture of narcotic drugs. He congratulated the Spanish Government upon having set up a similar monopoly in its country.

India was one of the consuming countries, one of the unfortunate victims. In the first six months of 1929 no less than 4,668 ounces had been seized by the police in India. The drugs came from various sources and bore different labels, and they were distributed almost regularly over the six months in question. Certain seizures had exceeded 1,000 ounces in amount. It was therefore necessary for India that drastic steps should be taken, and no step could be too progressive for India. He therefore gave the fullest support to the principle of the British proposal and likewise to the Austrian resolution, which he believed was a substantial contribution to the debate. The unanimous efforts of the police of all countries would ensure a large measure of control.

Grave as the situation might be, there was perhaps no necessity for the pessimism expressed by certain members. The work of the Advisory Committee and the action taken by several countries had only laid bare the activities of those engaged in this nefarious traffic, and although the seizures showed no signs of diminution in quantity, there was no reason to believe that the efforts made so far had not met with the success they deserved. To bring greater success to those efforts the Advisory Committee must be supported in every possible way. With this end in view, he called special attention to the last part of his resolution and expressed the hope that the countries would stand by the declaration contained therein, that they would do everything in their power to track down and punish the traffickers and co-operate with one another. The Indian Delegation believed that a small measure of control agreed to by a large number of countries would be more effective than stringent measures carried out only by a few countries. They therefore pressed for the ratification and rigorous application of the Geneva Convention. It was because of the enormous profits involved in the illicit traffic that it was necessary to make constant efforts to track down those engaged in it. That could only be done by all Governments constantly putting into force every detail of the Geneva Convention and the recommendations of the Advisory Committee. The Permanent Central Board had been in existence for only a short time, but much would be expected of it. If, as he hoped, the Assembly gave its support to a scheme for the limitation of manufacture by rationing, it was to be feared that it would take some time for such a scheme to come into operation. There should be no relaxation of the fight in the meantime. The Assembly should be asked to emphasise the fact that the League was not going to accept defeat and that it trusted its technical bodies. It was gratifying to note that various countries were taking action. He could not help thinking that if they gave full details of the seizures made, of the punishment awarded, of the import, export and stock of drugs, of the measures taken and proposed to be taken in their periodical reports to the Committees, which should be circulated to the States Members, the Fifth Commission would be in a position next year to take a general review and marshal its plan of campaign against this scourge of humanity.

ANNEX XII.—*Résumé of a Speech by Mr. Raza Ali in the Sixth Committee on Slavery, on the 5th September 1929.*

Syed Raza Ali said that as the representative of a country that was deeply interested in the abolition of slavery and forced labour and all forms of compulsory labour, he could not be a party to recording a silent vote. He thought that in the draft which Viscount Cecil had read to the Commission, he had made his point quite clear. The important and essential point so far as slavery was concerned was not only that it should be abolished in those areas where it still existed, but that a very serious effort should be made by the League to strike at the root of the system which sanctioned any form of compulsory labour, because, so far as he had been able to study the matter, the system that sanctioned slavery on the one hand and the system that sanctioned forced labour on the other differed only to a very small extent. He therefore wholeheartedly supported the proposal of the British delegate that the League of Nations should undertake an examination of the whole question.

He wished to make a few observations on the remarks made by the delegate of Portugal. He begged the Committee not to make any difference between the question of native labour and that of non-native labour. While the conditions of labour in general varied considerably from country to country, and while what was true of one country was not true of another, yet these differences should not be based upon the fact that certain labour was drawn from a particular class, nor should any distinction be made regarding the colour of the labourers. He believed that, generally speaking, what applied to labour conditions in certain European countries also applied to similar conditions in Asia and Africa.

Referring to the remark of the Portuguese delegate to the effect that the evil of slavery was not so great as was feared by many people, the speaker thought that this was a matter for congratulation but in that case the proposal made by Viscount Cecil was quite harmless. If the evil was not so great as had been feared, there could be no harm in an inquiry being made into its magnitude, as there would be no need for any very drastic action. On the other hand, there were a number of people keenly interested in the question who believed that the system of slavery did exist in certain countries, and amounted to a most objectionable abuse, and there could be no reason why an opportunity should not be given to those people to prove their contention.

He personally was of opinion that it would be advisable to appoint a Commission to deal with the whole question and submit a report to the League of Nations, which in its turn would be analysed and examined. Such a system would avoid delay, for although the League of Nations, having regard to its composition, was a most unique body, it was slow to move, and if a sub-committee were appointed it might give rise to the objection in certain countries, particularly in Asia and Africa, that the question was being shelved. While, therefore, he was willing to support either suggestion, he believed that the fairest way of dealing with the question would be to appoint a Commission straight away with power to conduct an exhaustive inquiry into the question and if necessary to visit certain countries on the invitation either of the people of those countries or of powerful and influential organisations.

The British Empire had nothing to fear from such an inquiry, as was shown from the fact that the proposal had been made by the British delegate. So far as India was concerned, he did not wish the question to be prejudged. Let the Commission be appointed, let it go into the matter in India, as in other countries, and he thought that examination of the conditions existing in India would not be found to be to the detriment of that country.

In conclusion, the speaker heartily supported the proposal made by Viscount Cecil for the appointment of a Commission.

proposal made by Viscount Cecil