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PLEAGUE OF NATIONS OF HOLY ALLIANCE

JX 1938

BEING

THE DRAFT OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS SIGNED by the ALLIED & ASSOCIATED POWERS

TOGETHER WITH

SUGGESTIONS

OFFERED BY

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

(British Section of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace).

PRICE SIXPENCE.

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14 BEDFORD ROW, W.C.1.

FOREWORD.

THE first draft of a League of Nations has emerged from the long Conference of Allied and Associated Powers, and has been given to the world for study and criticism. The idea of a League of Nations is repulsive to many and powerful bodies of people all the world over; to others—and the Women's International League is of these—the idea inspires the one hope of the world. Therefore, it is our aim to keep the idea alive, and to consider these or any other proposals solely from the point of view of those desiring that the idea should become a living force for the constructive co-operation of humanity.

The idea, put forward by many thinkers in many lands, and accepted simply by the great mass of working people, has been adopted and clothed in appropriate language by President Wilson, first among the heads of world States, and by him pressed upon the Allied and Associated Governments. These have, with more or less willingness, declared their adhesion to the principle; but it is clear from the draft now presented that they have forced President Wilson consciously or unconsciously to accept conditions which are entirely at variance with the idea of co-operation between the peoples, and are directed to perpetuating the domination of the weak by the strong. The fact that "the weak" are now our late enemies should not blind us to the fact that the draft League, if it remained substantially unamended, would be an instrument not of justice, but of domination.

We believe, however, that it can be amended, and made the beginning of an instrument for world co-operation. In this belief we have offered the following criticisms to the Conference sitting at Versailles. We do not profess that they are anything but an outline of some of the most important points.

We thought that it was wiser to concentrate on the main issues of democracy and international impartiality, and on making suggestions tending to a more elastic constitution, rather than to attempt to cover all the ground in detail. It must not. either, be supposed that, because we do not point out exactly how unsatisfactory are the articles dealing with restriction and control of the manufacture of arms, we are not acutely aware of the defects of these articles; but we believe that the emphasis we lay upon the equal admission of the Neutrals, the Central Powers, and Russia, is the right emphasis, and that such an equal admission would satisfactorily amend the now manifestly inequitable provisions in Articles 8 and 9, and would prevent a one-sided disarmament, which would prove merely a repetition of old mistakes. The compulsory disarming by the victor of the vanquished is nothing new; universal proportional disarmament is required by a League of Nations.

Lastly, it may well be argued that a totally different scheme would have been preferable. This may be so. There are many and diverse schemes before the world, and each of us prefers his or her own. But this is the scheme put forward by the Conference at Versailles, and we have held it a more fruitful form of criticism to take the scheme offered and endeavour to suggest how it could be turned to good account, rather than to condemn alike what is good and bad in it.

Any scheme which gives scope to the forces of Internationalism and Democracy will be good. Any scheme which thwarts these forces will be bad.

H. M. SWANWICK.

14 Bedford Row, March 1919.

SUGGESTIONS

ON

THE DRAFT AGREEMENT FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

OFFERED BY

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

(British Section of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace.)

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The Women's International League—whose desire, ever since its foundation at The Hague Congress of Women in 1915, has been to see established a League of Nations for the settlement of disputes by means other than war—submits, in response to the invitation to discuss the draft signed by the fourteen Allied and Associated Powers, the following comments:—

A. GENERAL AGREEMENT.

The W.I.L. rejoices that in this draft a number of principles have been broadly laid down:—

- 1. The abandonment of the absolute sovereign rights of States and the recognition that the world is one (Preamble and Article 11).
 - 2. Open discussion of disputes (Article 15).

- 3. The establishment of machinery for Arbitration and Conciliation (Articles 12, 13, 14, 15.)
- 4. The reduction of armaments and the consideration of the restriction of the private manufacture of arms (Articles 8 and 9).
- 5. That Powers which administer countries inhabited by peoples "not yet able to stand by themselves" shall do so as "a sacred trust of civilization," and that "securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League."
 - 6. The establishment of a Permanent Labour Bureau.
- 7. The granting of "freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of all States members of the League."
 - 8. The abolition of Secret Treaties (Article 23).
- 9. The abrogation of obligations inconsistent with the terms of the covenant (Article 25).
- 10. Provision for the revision of "treaties which have become inapplicable and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world" (Article 24).
- 11. The recognition (Article 22) that the League has important functions to perform in the furthering of constructive international co-operation.

The universal recognition and practice of these principles would be the longest step the world has ever made towards international cooperation, but the draft in its present form makes such universal recognition and practice impossible. For this reason, we suggest amendments as follows:—

B. CRITICISMS.

- I. MEMBERSHIP Many points with regard to membership are not clear, but it appears that there are to be recognized three categories of States (Article 7):
 - I. The original signatories, who include all and only the Allied and Associated Powers;
 - 2. States to be named in the Protocol (but not yet named), and therefore, presumably, to be invited to modify this draft before it is ratified and becomes an operative covenant;
 - 3. States to be admitted with the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States in the first two categories. This will be, presumably, after the ratification of the covenant and when amendments will be exceedingly difficult to introduce, since unanimity on the part of the Executive Council and a three-fourths majority of the States belonging to the League are required (Article 26). A heavy handicap against this third category.

The first requirement for a League of Nations which is to establish and administer Courts of Arbitration and Conciliation is that it should be trusted by all the world to be administered impartially for the benefit of all the world. This will not be unless membership of the League is, from its inception, open without distinction to all self-governing States which express (a) their desire to become members, and (b) their willingness to perform the duties of members.

It is to be hoped that when the "invited" States consider the draft, they will recommend and carry an amendment to it making provision for the invitation of all such States as come under conditions (a) and (b), but we must regret that the victorious Allies did not themselves insert such a provision, since this would have helped to create an atmosphere of confidence and conciliation, without which the League will not be an instrument of Peace. The draft as it stands would seem to offer a prospect of the repetition of the historic blunder of the early nineteenth century, which, under the name of an alliance for world peace, witnessed the inauguration of fresh struggles for a Balance of Power.

The animus against the disrupted and conquered Central Powers becomes more striking when we consider how little there is to fear from them. We calculate that the numbers of self-governing States eligible for membership could be roughly divided as follows: Seventeen Allied and Associated States and Dominions; thirty-four European, American, Asiatic, and African Neutrals; Russia (an indeterminate factor at present) and four Central Powers. Taking into account, further, the exhausted and diminished condition of the Central Powers, their omission can be interpreted only as a sign of exaggerated and groundless panic or of a determination to use the League, not as an instrument for the co-operation of the world, but for the continued oppression of our late enemies. (See note.)

Note.—It is obvious that there are many ways of determining what constitutes a "Self-governing State." The above calculation is based on the representation at The Hague Congress, with modifications, as follows:—Seventeen Allied and Associated Powers and Dominions: United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Greece, Portugal, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Serbia (with Montenegro?), Poland, Brazil, China, Canada, South Africa, Australia (with New Zealand?).

Seven European Neutrals: Denmark, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Luxemburg.

Nineteen American Neutrals: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Columbia, Cuba, Dominica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Hayti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Uruguay, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Honduras.

Three African Neutrals: Morocco, Liberia, Abyssinia.
Five Asiatic Neutrals: Persia, Afghanistan, Thibet, Nepaul, Siam.

Russia must obviously be admitted, but it seems impossible at present to say into how many "self-governing States" what was the Russian Empire may be broken, or what the attitude of the Governments of these States will be towards the Allied and Associated Powers and the Central Powers respectively.

Four Central Powers: Germany (possibly strengthened by the addition of German Austria, but more than correspondingly weakened in three or four other directions), Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey (diminished to vanishing point).

Since (Article 21) "freedom of transit and equitable treatment of commerce" and since (Article 19) "equal opportunities for trade and commerce" in countries administered under the mandatory system are to be necessarily granted only to Members of the League, it is obvious that any device for keeping any country out of the League brings with it the possibility of penalizing the trade, the finance, and the industry of the excluded country; e.g. if Germany be excluded, it would be possible for (say) the British to deny all trading facilities and all export of raw materials to Germany from any part of the British Dominions or from any country which they may have a mandate to administer (such as Mesopotamia, Samoa, or the African colonies lately belonging to Germany). Germany would not only have lost her colonies, but might be denied any chance of purchasing supplies from them. The penalty for an infraction of the laws of the League would be imposed upon her, although she might have broken none and had been forcibly prevented from becoming a member of the League. This must lead to the most strenuous efforts on the part of Germany to make alliances outside the League.

It is not clear (Article 3) how long the Executive Council is to remain half-formed, but if the intention is to form it as soon as the States in the second category have joined the League and the covenant has been ratified, it is clear that the penalty of permanent exclusion from the Executive Council is laid upon States in the third category.

Lastly, with regard to the Neutrals, it is a regrettable circumstance that more attention was not given and more respect shown to the needs and contribution peculiar to the Neutral Powers, whose problems and whose power to help or hinder are vitally affected by this neglect. The Neutrals have been treated as if to be neutral was only a degree less criminal than to be a defeated enemy. The draft bears, in nearly every Article, witness to the fact that the Neutrals had not the weight which they should have had, if an impartial document were desired.

II. CONSTITUTION.

(1) Body of Delegates.—The functions of this body (with one exception) are so vague that full criticism must wait. The Body of Delegates (for whom we hope a more inspiring name may be found) is the only body which is in the least likely to be democratically appointed, and we are sorry that it should have no organic relation with the Executive Council and (with the one exception) no function except to talk.

The very important exception occurs when it may be called upon (Article 15) to make a recommendation upon a non-justiciable matter in dispute. Whether this recommendation is to be made by a majority and if so by what majority, is not specified.

(2) EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF NINE.—To this Council, the Allied and Associated Powers have nominated a permanent majority of five of their own number (Article 3). It is probable that these five Powers would have been placed upon the Executive in any event; it would, therefore, have been reasonably safe, and would have created a much better impression, if they had refrained from nominating themselves. But we would go further and say that eleven would have been a better number than nine, because this would not have given the Allied and Associated Powers an assured majority on the Executive at the outset.

It may be hoped that in course of time the balance will readjust itself and the world cease to think in terms of existing alliances. But a good beginning makes an enormous difference in creating that spirit of universal confidence in and loyalty to the League, without which the machinery will remain mere machinery.

Since the Executive Council is to have such important functions as (1) determining of military equipment in the various countries, members of the League, (2) considering the private manufacture of arms, (3) formulating plans for a Court of Arbitration, (4) inquiring into disputes, (5) proposing steps to be taken to give effect to the arbitration awards, it is absolutely essential that the Executive Council should from the beginning bear the highest character for impartiality.

III. GENERAL PROVISIONS.

- (1) Mandatory Powers (Article 19).—If the object of introducing the Mandatory principle is the welfare of the inhabitants of the regions in question, there seems no reason why all regions "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves" should not come under the mandatory system.
- (2) REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS (Article 8).—It is obvious that no reduction of armaments imposed by a majority of the Allied and Associated Powers upon their late enemies will be regarded by the latter as an act of impartial justice, and it is, in fact, in the highest degree improbable that it would be such an act.
- (3) Enforcing Covenants.—Small or poor States and those at a distance from the scene of dispute should (Article 16) have special terms granted them, so that they may not be ruined.
- (4) PERMANENT LABOUR BUREAU (Article 20).—The success of this branch of work will depend entirely upon whether the workers, including women workers, are given their due representation and upon whether those countries which have established Socialism are freely admitted to carry their full weight in council.
- (5) AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT.—The Article relating to amendments to the covenant (Article 26) makes it too difficult for the League to change with a changing world, and this may bring it into disrepute and cause defections. This evil would be greatly enhanced if any countries were excluded until the covenant were ratified. These countries would then be invited to come into a cast-iron scheme partly devised to keep them in an inferior position.

IV. OMISSIONS.

We regret that no mention has been made of:

- (1) The principle of the self-determination of peoples;
- (2) The acceptance of the principle of the open door for trade and industry;
 - (3) The freedom of the seas;
 - (4) The universal abolition of Conscription;
- (5) The duty of Mandatory Powers to encourage the gradual emancipation from sex slavery of women within the countries which they administer by mandate

C. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

- I. Membership of the League of Nations should be open to all self-governing States which express their desire to become members and their willingness to perform the duties of members.
- 2. There should be an organic connexion between the Body of Delegates and the Executive Council, which should be composed of representatives from at least eleven (instead of nine) States. The Body of Delegates should be enlarged and democratically elected, and should nominate the States which appoint the Executive Council. Some provision should be made for the possibility of changing these States from time to time.
- 3. The Executive Council should not be appointed until every self-governing State has had full opportunity to become a member of the League.
- 4. Provision should be made for varying degrees of responsibility for international action involving coercion, to meet the varying capacities of smaller Powers and their nearness to or remoteness from the scene of dispute.
- 5. The mandatory principle should be applied impartially to all regions "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves," and one of the tests of good government should be whether it is preparing the inhabitants to "stand by themselves," with a view to granting them self-government at the earliest possible moment.
- 6. It should be the duty of Mandatory Powers to encourage the gradual emancipation from sex slavery of women within the countries which they administer.
- 7. On the permanent Labour Bureau, the workers—men and women—must have adequate representation, and countries which have established Socialism must be freely admitted.
- 8. Amendments to the covenant should take effect when ratified by no less than three-quarters of the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council, as well as by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the Body of Delegates.
- 9. In making awards on matters of nationality, the first consideration should be the desires of the inhabitants.
- 10. It should be recognized that permanent peace can be established only when all peoples have free access to the raw materials of industry and equal trading opportunities.
- II. The seas should be free to the merchant navies of all countries in war as in peace, except in so far as they might be closed by order of the League of Nations, and any infringement of this law should be treated as an offence against the League.
- 12. Compulsory military service should be abolished by covenant among all nations members of the League.

WOMEN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE tortured world has experienced 222 weeks of the most hideous war in history, followed by over 18 weeks of an Armistice scarcely less hideous in its tale of folly and wrong and suffering. This folly and this wrong, with the suffering they entail, are states of human minds and deeds of human beings. They are preventible, if the will to prevent them can be created. The causes of war are, at bottom, moral causes.

Wars are due to the desire for Domination: the greed to possess more than men can produce themselves or can fairly exchange with others; whether the warfare is one between classes or between nations, this

Wars are due to Fear, the necessary complement of Domination.

Wars are due to Stupidity, the lack of imagination, by which alore men can understand the point of view of others.

Wars are due to Laziness in neglecting to think out and organize the machinery for peace.

Wars are due to the deadening and rotting effects of Hate and Cruelty and Revenge.

The Women's International League recognizes that a well-constructed League of Nations would offer the instrument by which the Co-operative Commonwealth of the world might be established. It recognizes also that the peoples must prepare themselves to use this instrument. In such preparation women must play a part equal to that of men. Women have to train children so that they may neither dominate nor fear domination. Women have to learn to exercise their imagination more widely than they have ever done. Women have to use their social or political power in organizing the will to peace. Women have to understand the sterility of Hate and to break the bad tradition, so persistent among the world's women, of nursing revenge.

At the Women's Peace Conference, to be held in May, the women who met at The Hague in the first year of the War will meet again, with many more who since then have carried on an uphill struggle in their own lands. They will hammer out a consistent programme of Democracy and Internationalism and return strengthened and encouraged, never again, we hope, to have their friendly relations with women of other lands broken.

British women who wish to prepare themselves and their children for the new world-loyalty, which will in no way impair their national loyalty, should join the Women's International League, 14 Bedford Row, London, W.C.I.

There is a new world to build, and women, side by side with men, must build it.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF WOMEN FOR PERMANENT PEACE.

President: JANE ADDAMS, U.S.A. Treasurer: ROSA MANUS, Netherlands.

Hon. Secretary: CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, M.A., B.Sc., Great Britain Central Bureau: Heerengracht 627, Amsterdam,

National Sections in:-

AUSTRALIA FRANCE NETHERLANDS AUSTRIA BELGIUM GREAT BRITAIN POLAND BULGARIA HUNGARY SWITZERLAND CANADA DENMARK IRELAND UNITED STATES

British Section :-

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Chairman: Mrs. Swanwick, M.A. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Hon. Secretaries: Miss I. Cooper Willis and Mrs. Ayrton Gould. Office: 14 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON, W.C. 1.

Full Text of the Draft Constitution

League of Nations

Presented by President Wilson at the Peace Conference on Friday, February 14th.

PREAMBLE.

In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war; by the prescription of open, just, and honourable relations between nations; by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments; and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to this Covenant adopt this Constitution of the League of Nations.

The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of meetings of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an Executive Council, and of a permanent International Secretariat to be established at the reaction of the Lorden Proceedings of the Lorden Procedure.

Merings of the Body of Delegates shall be held at stated intervals figm time to time as occasion may require for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the League. Meetings of the Body of Delegates shall be held at the seat of the League or at such other places as may be found convenient, and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have

ARTICLE 3.

The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other States members of the League. The selection of these four States shall be made by the Body of Delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other States shall mbers of the Executive Council. Meetings of the Council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at whatever place may be decided on, or failing any such decision at the seat of the League, and any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings. Invitations shall be sent to any Power to attend a meeting the Council at which matters directly affecting its interests to be discussed, and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such Power unless so invited.

ARTICLE 4.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Body of Delegates or the Executive Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Body of Delegates or the Executive Council, and may be decided by a majority of the States represented at the meeting. The first meeting of the Body of Delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 5.

The Permanent Secretariat of the League shall be established at _____, which shall constitute the seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required under the general direction and control of a Secretary-General of the Leag chosen by the Executive Council. The secretarie at shall be appointed by the Secretary-General, subject to confirmation by the Executive Council. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Body of Delegates or of the Executive Council. The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the States members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE 6.

Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, and the buildings occupied by the League or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall enjoy the benefits of extra-terri-

ARTICLE 7.

Admission to the League of States not signatories to the Covenant and not named in the protocol hereto as States to be invited to adhere to the Covenant requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States represented in the Body of Delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including Dominions and Colonies. No State shall be admitted

to the League unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its naval and military forces and

The high contracting parties recognise the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction. The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several Governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the programme of disarmament, and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council. The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety. The high contracting parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the conditions of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to war-like purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programmes.

ARTICLE 9.

A Permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the League on the execution of the provisions of Article 8 and on military and naval questions generally.

ARTICLE 10.

The high contracting parties undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be

ARTICLE 11.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the Body of Delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstances affecting international intercourse which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depend

ARTICLE 12.

The high contracting parties agree that, should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary process of diplomacy, they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to enquiry by the Executive Council, and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council, and that they will a recommendation by the Executive Council, and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the Lea which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the rec mendation of the Executive Council. In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission

The high contracting parties agree that, seemed dispute or difficulty shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration. For this purpose the Court of Arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the Court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The high contracting parties agree that they between them. The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE 14. The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the estab-lishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice, and this Court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognise as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

ARTICLE 15.

If there should arise between States members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture which is not sub-mitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council. Either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence

of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary-General as promptly as possible statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof. Where the efforts of the Council lead to the settlement of the of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled a report by the Council shall be published setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendation which the Council think just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the Council other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendation, and that if any party shall refuse so to comply the Council shall propose the measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations. If no such unanimous report can be made, it shall be the duty of the majority, and the privilege of the min to issue statements indicating what they believe to be the facts and containing the recommendations which they consider to be just and proper. The Executive Council may in any case un this Article refer the dispute to the Body of Delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the ite, provided that such request must be made within fourreferred to the Body of Delegates all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Body of Delegates.

Should any of the high contracting parties break or dis-regard its covenants under Article 12 it snall thereby ipso facto deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which hereby undertake im mediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals and the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the ned forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League. The high contracting parties agree further that they will mutua support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the high contract ing parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the

ARTICLE 17.

In the event of disputes between one State member of the League and another State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the high contracting parties agree that the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of a shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of a shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of a shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of a shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of a shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of the league for the purpose of the league for t bership in the League for the purposes of such dispute upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the League. Upon such invitation being given, the Executive Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and reco In the event of a Power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and taking any action against a State ember of the League which in the case of a State membe of the League would constitute a breach of Article 12, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action. If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership League for the purposes of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the

ARTICLE 18.

The high contracting parties agree that the League shall be entrusted with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

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

of the League. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League. The character of the Mandate must differ according to the stage of the develop-ment of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory Power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a orincipal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory Power. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory, subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquo traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the atives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size or their remoteness from res of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the Mandatory State and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory State as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned, is the interests of the indigenous population. In every case of Mandate the Mandatory State shall render to the League an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge. The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory State shall, if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties, in each case be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special Act or The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the sear of the League a Mandatory Commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatory Powers and to assist the League in ensuring the observance of the terms

ARTICLE 20.

The high contracting parties will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and to that end agree to establish as part of the organisation of the League a permanent Bureau of Labour

ARTICLE 21.

The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the League to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all States members of the League, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

ARTICLE 22.

The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the League all international bureaux already established by general Treaties if the parties to such Treaties consent; furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaux constituted in future shall be placed under the control of the

ARTICLE 23.

The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any State member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary-General and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be

ARTICLE 24.

It shall be the right of the Body of Delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by States members of the League of Treaties which have become inapplicable and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 25.

The high contracting parties severally agree that the presen Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements incon-sistent with the terms thereof. In case any of the Powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the League shall, before becoming a party to this Covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the Body of Delegates.

