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The League of Nations

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Thesis

The League of Nations ~~Experiment~~

Submitted by

Mary Jane Frances Roome

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LL. B.	Portia Law School	I920

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I. Introduction.

1. Why this subject?

One can hardly refrain from looking into the value of any new scheme that seems to touch his own and his country's vital interests. Besides in the interests of good citizenship and teaching practices in the school, such a survey as is here undertaken is useful and worthwhile.

Since its inception, the League itself has recognized the need of widely diffusing knowledge of world conditions. This is shown by the establishment of a Committee for Intelligent Co-operation, whose duty is to spread information exchange ideas, and establish mutual confidence and good will among thinkers in the different nations. The wider the vision the safer the judgments to be made. Nations not members of the League are eager to take active part in the work of this committee.

2. It is my purpose here to so outline some of the facts and opinions that come to view in a general survey of the League's activity, that a fair estimate of the value of the League Experiment can be made.

To do this I have read widely and have, too, observed conditions of living and acting through six countries in Europe. Characteristics and customs in trade and transit

differ completely from what we find in an All America tour. The striking characteristics of the European are the economic barriers due to styles of currency, speech, and manners and customs. Anywhere in America a question receives a ready answer immediately on the street, or in the market. A word expresses the package with freedom to your home. Crossing boundaries between nations in Europe hinders trade and slows down traffic. Not all whom one meets can answer the questions that an inquiring visitor in a country of treasures needs to ask.

Neighboring countries seem almost strangers to one another there. No wonder that activities in social, political and industrial life are less co-operative and more fragmentary.

Will the present League of Nations better adjust all these factors?

II. THE CALL FOR THE NEW LEAGUE.

1. Economic and political aspects of European States.

Europe presents many features that mark for its units a place in the list of most favored nations. Its coastline and harbors, its penetrating and navigable streams, its favored climate; all these may well be tabulated with any countries' most valuable assets. The historic background, too, out of which it has evolved shows strength and character and will. Unfortunately these factors alone do not secure for it peaceful prosperity.

The units stand and work in fear apart. The Frenchman exalts Napolean; the German, Bismarck; the Italian, Cavour; and so on through the various political units. A narrow and selfish member of any group may at any moment do such an act as will stir up group antagonisms. This happened.

2. The old way of control through Primacy of Power.

Heretofore, the victory won, treaties of victorious allies laid new plans. Then observance of these was forced upon the weaker nations. This power born in force and preserved by force was always sooner or later opposed by new forces. Now, how to make more fair, more workable, more satisfactory adjustment, was the call.

Here are some illustrations of Primacy of Power:

Russia took Bessarabia from Roumania in 1878. Germany and Great Britain agreed upon a division of Portugal's colonies in 1913. Austria Hungary repeatedly compelled Serbia to do her bidding by advancement of tariff rates. Fear made Denmark anti-German. Fear made Sweden anti-Russian. Poland and Finland awaited opportunity to rebel against oppression. Such was the spirit in Alsace Lorraine and in Roumania.

No wonder, then, when the World War crisis passed that there was a plea for modification of former conditions lest they lead again to war. The answer came when the Allied powers met to make a treaty and a League at Versailles.

* Facts gathered from "The League of Nations", by Stephen Duggan, Atlantic Monthly Press, page 2.

III. THE SETTING FOR THE TREATY AND THE LEAGUE.

1. The problems then at hand.

The war's tragedy left Europe's units no longer separated from one another. No fort now can withstand attack. Far distance on sea or land is not a determiner of a safety zone. New boundaries assigned to various political units by the Treaty are bound to cause friction because the minority or majority groups may have racial ties and sympathies that persist. Manhood's power has been wasted. So have materials. All old plans responsible for such outcomes call for condemnation now. The makers of the Treaty felt this and saw it.

Only a common bond of friendly co-operation and unity of purpose could successfully lift Europe out of chaos. The World saw this and statesmen of Europe tried to design and create a working organization that would more surely guarantee peace.

2. Personel of the Treaty.

Present and acting at the Conference were only those nations that helped to win the war; Great Britain, France, Belgium and the United States. Those statesmen were all participants in the treaty's construction. Germany and her allies were not parties in the making.

THE BIG FOUR

Mr. Asquith favored a "European Partnership". Lord Bryce and Mr. W. H. Taft attempted to write provisions for a new treaty. President Wilson had already set up his "Fourteen Points". One in particular was that "A general association of nations must be formed for affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small nations alike."

Lord Cecil advised the British government to appoint a Special Commission to find a plan for an international league.

All these, then, had a part in the formation of the new league by their activity before the close of the World War. Gen. Smutz's Constitution, Lord Phillmore's draft and President Wilson's Points all together were mainly instrumental in designing the present league. Its first assembly was summoned by the President of the United States.

3. Germany's paths outlined.

The conquered nation, while making promises to evacuate territory, to renounce old treaties, to return prisoners, restore money stolen, repair damages, surrender arms, give up fleet and submarines, signified her willingness to accept the "Fourteen Points" that President Wilson deemed essential to the maintenance of enduring peace. It was finally agreed

that Germany should "reduce her army to 100,000, abolish conscription and demilitarize the right bank of the Rhine to the depth of 50 kilometers".

By one provision of the treaty the union of Austria with Germany was forbidden apart from the approval of the League.

4. America's part in the making.

(1) Happily may it be said that America, with the advantages that have come from long practice in representative democracy, was able to contribute in some degree to the formation of the new League.

Article X was America's contribution and it was precisely that Article that our Senate read and took exceptions to. It ran thus:

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

(2) Article XV. "Should signers of this agreement prefer not to submit a question of arbitral decision or settle the issue by force of arms, the Council is authorized to decide who is the aggressor".

Because of the active participation of American statesmen and jurists in organizing and formulating the League's program, Europe is disappointed when we do not accept membership. Why do we refuse? The aforesaid articles of the Covenant would imply transfer of sovereignty from our Senate, which is distinctly charged by the American Constitution with certain positive duties. Our Senate can not thus transfer its delegated power. President Wilson was greatly disappointed to find this attitude in the American Senate when they voted "No" on entering the great League. That requirement of the Constitution which makes the President's word of no value without "the advice and consent of Senate" was expressly designed and inserted so as to make ours a "government of laws and not of men". Its practical application in nearly all cases proves it to be a great corrective power.

IV. THE GOVERNMENT MACHINERY OF THE LEAGUE.

1. A. The League organization presents these forms:

(1) The delegated form which assumes that representative bodies will be formed whose directions nations will agree to obey.

(2) The automatic form, where if the delegated forms declare war, all members fall under immediate obligation to (1) follow an economic boycott, (2) to provide military force.

B. It also presents these organs of power.

(1) the Judicial organs with

(a) courts for justiciable questions

(b) councils of conciliation for other questions.

(Sometimes the answer here is based on expediency.)

(Note: Europe's general way of distinguishing judiciable questions from others is to have a "Council of Conflicts", a representative body composed of members drawn from both organs.)

(2) The representative bodies:

(a) the larger Assembly

to admit freedom of speech to every element

(b) the smaller Council, able

to have a more comprehensive vision,

to insure more complete co-operation

to establish mutual confidence.

*See Chapter on League Organization by A. Lawrence Lowell in Duggan's "League of Nations".

2. Similarity to America's forms.

The organization shows some resemblance to American form in that due deliberation by representative body precedes adoption of new rules and policies. One element of vast importance, however, is missing. It is the executive sovereign force that compels obedience to pledges and to laws. This the League aims to supplant by a unity of purpose confirmed and stimulated by friendly agreement and the extension of the spirit of good will.

3. How membership is determined.

All signatories of the Covenant became members of the League of Nations by declaration of desire within two months after its formation. Also, "any fully self-governing State or Dominion, or Colony, not named in the Annex may become a member if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly."

(See Art. I of the Covenant.)

The principal states now outside are United States, Russia, Mexico and Turkey. Spain and Brazil have retired because their demand for permanent seats on the Council were refused.

(See Art. I of Covenant, 3rd paragraph for withdrawal.)

4. Powers and Duties Assigned.

The first design of the League was to appoint a commission to oversee the problem of the Saar Frontier. Other boundary disputes came up for consideration and decision. By March, 1925 the League's organization of 55 member states had appointed commissions in almost every branch of international life, all under systematic procedure.

(1) The Assembly

This group is intended as a conference for discussion largely. It included representatives of all the states, members of the League, each member having one vote and the right to send no more than three representatives. Great Britain has six votes because of the greater number of colonies possessed. Some large units are not so "favored". This rule is criticized as not properly proportioned. The advice of a highly successful unit is believed by some to be worth more than one vote.

(2) The Council.

The Council has acted on the decision of immediate questions, and acts as an executive committee to carry out the acts recommended by the Assembly. Here nine states have

seats and five Great Powers are permanently there. Four others are elected from the remaining members of the group. The action of either the Council or the Assembly can only be with unanimous consent.

(3) The Secretariat.

Here many nationalities are represented but sections are divided according to subject, regardless of nationality. National representatives are appointed by the League Assembly and are responsible to it alone. They keep records, carry on correspondence, collect information, publish reports, prepare for conferences, register treaties and interpret documents in the two official languages, French and English. The Secretary General is appointed by the Council and with the approval of the Assembly. Other members number around four hundred sixty and are appointed by the Secretary General.

(4) Courts of Arbitration.

This division refers to groups of three appointed as in all arbitral questions. These groups will take cases submitted to them, get the facts concerned, weigh and evaluate them, publish them, then make and publish decisions.
(See Article XIV.)

(5) Committees.

Besides the above named bodies, multitudinous Committees are appointed to investigate and report upon matters of controversy submitted to the League. (Art. V) An outstanding characteristic of the League's work is its permanence. Expert committees continue to work steadily and thoroughly. Immediate lack of success does not with them mean failure. Some have made possible the raising of reconstruction loans otherwise unattainable.

Very early in its career the League set up the Court of International Justice and afterward appointed an international committee of jurists to study international law with a view to establishing desirable conventions that would be acceptable to all nations.

(6) Procedure of these bodies.

* Meetings of the Assembly are held every September and the Council meets four times a year usually at Geneva. Special meetings of either may be called. Either body may act independently on any matter within the jurisdiction of the League. (Art. III and IV).

* For further reference see "Leaflet of League of Nations Non-partisan Association", entitled "Essentials of the League and the World Court", 6 East 39th Street, New York City.

5. Financial provisions.

The Secretariat is financed by contributions from the member states according to their ability to pay as determined by the "apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of Universal Postal Union". (See Art. VI.)

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any commission placed under the direction of the League. (See Art. XXIV.) Costs have been around $5,000,000. Great Britain is the largest contributor, Albania is one of the smallest.

6. Sanctions and Penalties.

The first usually implies a force that will inflict penalty for violation of pledges made.

Articles XII and XVI carry pledges to settle disputes through arbitration and conciliation and to refrain from war; and they make provisions for dealing with any nation that violates its pledge.

Article X carries pledge to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and existing independence of all members of the League and provides that the Council shall advise in case of aggression.

Article XVIII makes promise that no treaty will be binding until after publication by Secretariat.

Article XIII makes pledge for certain controls of labor conditions; for humane treatment of men, women and children in industrial relations; for just treatment of natives that are under overhead control of mandates; and for the general supervision of trade in ammunitions, etc.

Article XI pledges no interference with the validity of regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine.

Members agree, that "if any state goes to war against its pledges, it shall be subjected to (1) a boycott, (2) a blockade, (3) if all pacific measures fail, the ultimate penalty of military pressure".

Centralized authority with power to enforce performance of pledged promises is absent from the league.

(1) Some opinions refer to this absence of power.

* (a) "The inherent weakness of the Hague Conventions was that they were not supported by an international organization having the power to give them effect."

** (b) "If there be no definite organ or legally constituted authoritative body to promptly and effectively deal with such questions as they arise, there can not be the unanimity of action which forms the very essence of a League of Nations".

* Words quoted from Frederic Austin Ogg in his treatise before noted.

** Words from Francis Bowes Sayre, in International Administration' Chapter VIII of League of Nations, Stephen Duggan, p. 137.

Now no nation can be fairly expected to quickly subscribe to a scheme of arbitration or conciliation where there is no means of making other nations feel the binding force of their treaty obligations. Here lies one reason that America fails to put sole trust in the League's possibilities so far as to pledge complete membership in it.

(2) The Economic Boycott - A Penalty.

An important obligation of members is under Article XVI and consists in an agreement to join the other nations in imposing a world wide economic and social boycott upon any Covenant-breaking member of the League. The present state of dependence of nations one upon another for food, for raw materials used in manufactured products and for sale markets, renders this new substitute for war a powerful one indeed. Imagine the nation so opposed. Fifty-two nations have assumed this obligation. America has not as yet. One reason may be that as before stated, the Council fails to make provision for sudden violation of agreement or the quick stroke of an enemy.

V. THE LEAGUE'S APPROACHES TO WAR.

1. Items.

These contribute to the League's greatest tasks.

Article VIII provides that states shall give full information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs and the conditions of industries adapted to warlike purposes.

By it the Council is to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments "to the lowest point consistent with national safety" and for the enforcement by common action of international obligations. The Council then has the task to discuss for determination just about what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable; and how the evil effects of too much or too many kinds of munitions and implements of war may be prevented.

Article IX establishes a Permanent Commission on Military and Naval affairs. This Commission is granted all diplomatic rights and protection and help in member states

All treaties entered into by the members of the League must be registered and published. This provision is effective.

Article XI says that in emergency, under threat of war, the Secretary-General shall summon a meeting of the Council on request of any member, even one not an immediate party of the concerned. England called the attention of the Council when Sweden and Finland quarrelled.

Article XII requires notice of dispute and "delay of three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council, and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the League which complies with the award or the recommendation". No nation has yet refused to comply.

Article XVI punishes any member that goes to war vs. its pledges. Other members immediately subject the guilty to severance of trade, etc., and the Council shall proceed to recommend what naval or military forces each member shall contribute to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

Article XVII provides that between one State member of the League and another State which is not a member, that invitation to become such shall be given. If refused and that nation resorts to war Article XVI shall apply. Turkey was so invited in the Mosul Controversy

2. Work of committee on Limitation of Armaments.

All observations and investigations of the committee are regarded from the standpoint of what the League items

consider essential and correct.

Their problems resolve themselves into questions like these:

How shall size of armaments be apportioned?

Should conscription be forbidden?

What quantity of equipment should be kept on hand?

What should "equipment" include?

When, if ever, would food, metal and horses be included?

When should these be guaranteed free passage?

Should munitions be confined to manufacture only by the state?

The League Committee looks into all these matters carefully and publishes opinions and decisions. It seeks to know (1) what plans will work to proportionately reduce armaments, (2) what amount is "fair and reasonable" in proportion to each unit's economic needs and (3) how the evil effects of propaganda by capitalists for the use of violence can be controlled, and (4) how full publicity may be demanded and assured in every military and naval program. Invitations to confer have been extended to non member states and these have been accepted by Russia, United States and Turkey at times.

(1) England's stand.

The English theory of disarmament points to a comparison of the peace strength of the nations which, of course, takes into account the nation's natural resources or lack of them, and the resulting economic needs of the country. In spite of this belief and feeling, England stands ready to enter the present proposed parley on the subject now called by President Coolidge. France does not. Italy does not. Balfour heroically proposed that England and America lead in the scrapping of armaments.

(2) France's preference.

She takes issue with the distinction made between land and sea armaments. Hostile neighbors there stand by. She knows it through experience. Her navy is needed also, to support her land forces in Morocco.

Yet, we may well note now France's desire for good will, a strong desire for harmony and peace with Germany. Premier Briand's speech at the Locarno Conference in 1925 was strikingly significant in this regard. (See page 36.)

(3) Attitude of other powers.

Japan, jealous of her naval strength, agrees with France, yet has a feeling for America, a feeling of appreciation for

America, a feeling of appreciation for the ways that America has shown her generosity and expressed her good will, despite the fact that we restrict the Jap's right to become a citizen of America. Japan, like England, stands ready to join the proposed parley and will feel more comfortable with France not a co-member for in the Far East, France has played a part while Japan has hopes to control larger part of Asia. Note the strength of the Jap armament in table on page 25.

United States has entirely different considerations from the other nations. No neighbors are waiting to attack. No past feuds are smothered. We have less need of armament. We also believe strongly in the moral view and in times of stress we try to bring about harmony by remoulding public opinion, so far an effective method here. May it always be. The fact that there are places and policies here calling for improvement proves nothing to the contrary.

"Rivalry in arming often leads to war. The League is not given the power to limit the army or navy of any nation but the Council is only directed to formulate plans for the reduction of the armaments of all nations to the lowest point consistent with national and international safety and to submit such plans for the consideration of the various governments. Thus, the obligation which we should here assume would be only to consider

Quoted from Speech by Chief Justice Clarke, published as leaflet by League of Nations Non-partisan Association, 15 W. 39th Street, New York.

the plans which may be proposed, with unrestricted right to accept or reject them, but to be bound by them for ten years if once accepted".

How much can be expected of this Committee while the League's membership is not all inclusive?

The Washington Conference, in its extended review of world conditions and its appeal, failed to settle the problem of reduction, or to secure uniformity in action or intent, but its good effect on the social behavior of nations remains. So, too, will the League Committee's appeal even if the problem remains insurmountable.

Italy's powerful and efficient dictator has declared himself ready to use force against interference whenever occasion calls for it. *

What of Russia's word?

Just now Russia seems to prefer to work alone and in an entirely new way. Would her co-operation with England on any plan be sometimes difficult to obtain? Could Socialism and Communism and Democracy work efficiently together on the solution of the armament problem?

Has Turkey yet reached in her civilization, that level of ethical standards that merits the risk of co-operation with her

* See Mussolini's Reply to Germany's criticism of his intolerance in the Tyrol.

plans should she join the League and be a partner with equal power in the League's armament commission?

Or, if not in the League, what would Turkey's armaments do to help keep the peace of Europe? She has shown her discomfort in the way the League settled the Mosul Controversy. Not until "1856 was she admitted to the family of nations".

A review of this problem of reduction of armaments shows us, at once, the conflicts that are seemingly incapable of immediate adjustment.

Until nations can be fairly assured of security they will not willingly subscribe to curtailing size of armaments, though this is one important avowed obligation of League members. The danger sighted from the possible aggression of non-members of the League, hinders the quick answer to Europe's call for America's partnership in the League.

(4) How America co-operates.

America can and does offer and give unlimited sympathy and whole-hearted co-operation to all the League's movements. President Coolidge declared in the Senate, in response to a bill calling for money appropriation, "What we need and all that we need, for national protection, is adequate preparedness".

3. Is War to be outlawed?

Must we believe from experience that it is to continue "as a permanent institution"? If yes, then should not all people the world over acknowledge the belief and seek to discover its conditions and to adjust them or control war's performance should it occur? Opinions vary. Who can say?

In a most enlightening chapter on the activity of the new league, Glenn Frank says that "in a world of intemperance, competition between nations that act upon the principle of 'let him keep who has, and let him get who can' the healthy desire of every nation for the basic rights of transit, trade investment, and immigration must ever result in continuous interstate suspicion, military rivalry, and periodic conflict". He adds that "even a League of Nations will not alter this situation unless it is an adequate League, one that must not only devise machinery for preventing war in times when passion runs hot, but must in addition carry on a continuous dealing with the causes of friction and boldly face the problems that arise in the organization of progress". The way out, he says, "lies through internationalizing of economic opportunity the world over". This the League, he believes, will help to do. It does respect and help to make secure the rights of all, members and non-members alike.

* Words quoted from "The League of Nations and Economic Internationalism", by Glenn Frank in "League of Nations" Stephen Duggan, Chap. X, p. 188.

* The following table is of interest here:

1925	Cruisers	Destroyers	Submarines
Great Britain had	8	3	4
United States	9	12	15
Japan	11	23	28
France	9	57	59
Italy	5	26	20

A glance shows some spirit to maintain armaments in spite of long continued controversy.

* Copied from Current History for July 1925. Published first by the British Admiralty.

VI. OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE LEAGUE.

1. Basis for these now.

The League seems to fill an imperative need for mutual self-help in Europe; for the levelling of existing economic barriers and for the increasing policy of self-determination for smaller nations. These duties alone give it amply reason for existence.

"In 1918, Finland objected to a partition of the Aoland Islands which would allow there the largely Swedish portion to go over to Sweden. Because of the strategic position of these, Finland objected. The League's Council decided in favor of Finland and Sweden yielded. A clause was added that the island was to be permanently without military force". England called the attention of the Council to it when the dispute became grave.

A new boundary was set between Germany and Poland in Upper Silesia. Jugoslavia was asked to respect the Albanian boundary. The Corfu affair was discussed for Italy and Greece. New boundaries, after discussion, were set between Poland and Czechoslovakia, between Austria and Hungary, Poland and Lithuania, Russia and Finland and Hungary and Czechoslovakia. All these were determined by the Council within the first two year's existence of the League.

When Greece and Bulgaria crossed borders in conflict the Council directed and both nations drew peaceably back.

Albania accepted boundaries fixed by the Council of the League. In regard to that Lord Balfour, the representative of Great Britain, declared that "no corporate body, no nation, no statesman in the world could have carried out what had been effected, except the League of Nations".

So it is here shown that the interest of one has been made the interest of all through the League Experiment.

2. In the Saar Valley.

* Here is one of the League's tasks that presents difficulties and continued need of careful adjustment. Because of wanton destruction of the coal mines in Northern France, this territory where the Germans predominate, was, under the Treaty of Versailles, assigned to League control and the mines there were turned over to French possession. As a governing commission these were appointed; one Frenchman, one German and three others not German nor French. In 1935 there is to be a plebiscite to decide who shall control the territory.

3. The Reconstruction of Austria.

** On April 18, 1925, Austria requested the Council to appoint experts to make a survey of her economic conditions. This was done and was an outstanding event of the work of the League

* See League of Nations Survey - 1920-5 League of Nations, Non-partisan Association pamphlet.
** See Sixth Yearbook of the League of Nations, published by World Peace Foundation, - p. 317.

for that year.

The chief economic difference between the Austria of 1913 and that of today is that present day Austria is no longer a self-sufficing unit. The pre-war trade with "Austria Hungary" as a unit has become international in nature. Austria's industry must be re-organized for it. Whether or not she finds necessary markets depends upon the removal of tariff barriers. Meantime she should have the necessary capital at her disposal. This the League helped her to get. Similar efforts have since aided other European units in getting back to normal conditions through the granting of loans.

4. The Geneva Protocol.

By the Geneva Protocol, as proposed by the Assembly in 1924, aggresive war was outlawed. Under it each state agreed to submit every dispute to arbitration or to the World Court; to accept the decision, and to apply sanctions or, if necessary, to take up arms against any aggressor state which refused to submit a dispute to peaceful settlement. The Protocol was to take effect only after a disarmament conference had adopted some plan for the general reduction of armaments. This was a difficult undertaking, as I have in this review before noted. The movement failed. As might well be expected; again nations did not desire to risk taking responsibilities that lacked the

backing of ready forces. The next session for this controversy limited the issue to the reduction of armaments.

5. At Locarno.

"The treaties here marked the beginning of a friendly feeling between France and Germany and give praise to the League's activity. The signatory powers of England, Italy, France, Germany and Belgium agreed to submit all disputes relating to the Rhineland pact to the League of Nations and Germany consented to arbitrate her eastern disputes". This was the first time that the Rhine district was free from controversy since the time of Louis XIV.

Separate arbitration treaties were signed by Germany with France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Poland, by which the contracting powers agreed to settle by peaceable means all disputes as to their respective rights that may arise between them".

Some significant occurrences.

* Dr. Luther, the German Chancellor at Locarno, in speech said,

"Even more important than the contents of the Treaty of Locarno which denotes new relationships in the world, must be the unity of purpose to work peacefully together which finds expression in the work of Locarno-.....May the co-operation of all the people here assembled spring from this unity of purpose".

* Quoted from "Literary Digest" for December, 1925. It, in turn, was quoting the "London Post".

* Premier Briand:

"Opposite me sit the German delegates; that does not mean that I do not remain a good Frenchman, as they remain, I am sure, good Germans, but in the light of these treaties we are Europeans only. The particularism of our countries is blotted out by this agreement. If the Locarno agreements do not mean that they do not mean much".

* Voice of Skrzynski, Prime Minister of Poland, quoting one of Poland's great men of letters:

"Love of country must be augmented, amplified and beautified by love of humanity, and love of country must never turn against humanity".

* Italy's delegate, Scialoja, said:

"When Italy saw at Locarno the foundations being laid of a great collective work for the continuity of European civilization, she wished to be among the other powers for the defense of an interest greater than special interests, the interests of the world".

* Czechoslovakia's delegate:

"Treaties when signed will be what the nations and the signatory governments make of them; the texts have no miraculous power in themselves".

* All quoted from "Literary Digest" for December, 1925. It in turn was quoting the "London Post".

The real spirit all through the Locarno pact was that Germany was now to be trusted and that decisions based upon the shifting of power are hereafter to be avoided; and that questions be weighed in the light of both their moral and their legal worth.

Germany expects, and justifiably, that all nations will arrange their program according to the new scheme of limitation of armaments.

6. The Lausanne Treaty.

* It was offered to the League by the new Sultan of Turkey. After adoption there its acceptance was defeated by the American Senate because, according to the words of the Senator from Utah, it lacked (1)provisions for the fulfilment of the Wilson Award to Armenia, (2) it lacked sufficient guarantee of protection for Christians and non-Moslems, and (3) it also lacked recognition by Turkey of American nationality in subjects formerly Turkish. Its acceptance being defeated by our Senate will leave us without formal relations with Turkey after the present "modus vivendi" expires, i. e., after February 20, 1927.

At Lausanne American interests centered around the conflict over the Turkish oil fields. The territory is the key to Egyptian commerce. British policy desires freedom of ** entrance to and exit from it. Two oil groups are there in Mosul.

* Taken from "Literary Digest" for Jan. 29, 1927.
** Gathered from Current History Magazine, for Jan. 1926.

The Turkish Petroleum Company which is less than half British and the Chester interest which is not British at all. The Turkish Company represents an admixture of British, Dutch, French, and American capital, with a 5% beneficiary interest in favor of C. B. Gulbenkian, who originated the corporation. Some question existed as to the legality of the Chester contract. The League's Boundary Commission acknowledged the legal sovereignty of Turkey.

The Chester Concession, formally ratified by the National Assembly on April 11, 1923 affected Mosul, through the contract of a railway from Bulis to Mosul and other parts. The contract gave the concessionaires mineral rights, (including oil) in a belt of twenty kilometers on each side of the right of way. After much discussion and planning among the nations involved as participants in it, England asked the Council to advise.

On December 7, 1925, controversy in the Council began.*

The Treaty of Lausanne, in Article 3, paragraph 2, provided that:

"The frontier between Iraq shall be laid down in friendly arrangement to be concluded between Turkey and Great Britain within nine months".

"In the event of no agreement being reached between the two governments within the time mentioned, the dispute shall be referred to the Council of the League of Nations".

* Facts from Leaflet "The World Court, published by American Foundation, 565 5th Avenue, New York City.

"The Turkish and British governments reciprocally undertake that pending the decision to be reached on the subject, no military or other movement shall take place which might modify in any way the present status of the territories of which the final fate will depend upon that decision".

The two delegates appointed failed to make a decision. The Turkish representative refused to join with the British in referring the dispute to the Council. The British did this alone.

The Turks' contention there was that arbitration by the Council did not carry "authority to give a binding award" but was merely that of mediator. "Finally, Turkey agreed to accept the Council's award". On September, 1925 the opinion of the World Court was asked.

7. The Mosul Controversy.

The Council decided to award Mosul to the Kingdom of Irak under British Mandate. Expelling antagonistic races was Turkey's first step and entailed much cruelty and suffering. Turkey's representatives denied the competency of the League to pass upon the problem.

* As a result of the cession, "England, spending $2,000,000 a year, gets profit in grain and oil and offers the inhabitants

* Reference taken from Literary Digest for December, 1925, as that copied from "New York World".

the great benefits of a judicial system, a land registry system, an education organisation, hospital equipment and the means of checking epidemics, and has built 700 miles of railway".

All this illustrates the working out of that article of the League's covenant which provides for the government of smaller nations, if need be, by a mandatory power. This power when offered to the United States by the League was refused, though her acceptance of the offer to serve as such for Armenia would have given her profits and power in the great oil district of Mesopotamia."

8. The Corfu Incident. - Its Significance.

Here was a demand, a series of demands, by Italy, accompanied by threats, that Greece order her forces to keep out of this island where the population was largely Greek. Like in Japan's notable demands from China, no time was to be given for decision. Mussolini's threats to take the place staggered the poor inhabitants. They called to the League for help. There and then 50 nations' representatives assembled, told the world what course Greece should follow, and Mussolini yielded. No nation is likely to try that method again while the League exists.

9. The Free City of Danzig.

* Like in the Saar Valley, Germans predominate and the Danzig territory has coal mines that are turned over to French possession. The city is self-governed; but Poland is granted such rights as will ensure her free passage through to the sea. All administration there, however, is subject to League control.

The port is administered by the International Harbour Board. A particularly noteworthy fact is that to that port, located as it is between Poland and Prussia, the ship tonnage registered in 1923 was 75% higher than the 1912 figure.

10. War Debts and their payment.

This feature of the League's activity causes much friction. It was because Germany despoiled instruments of industry in Belgium and in France during her onslaught that she is expected now to indemnify those countries to a more considerable degree. This act affected the countries' financial possibilities not only for the time but crippled their plants for years to come.

Germany failed to make promised payments to the Allies, so France and Belgium sent military forces to the valley of the Ruhr in Germany with disturbing results. Finally Great Britain, France and their allies formed a Special Commission with Charles G. Dawes, an American, as chairman.

* See League of Nations, 1920-5 League of Nations Survey Non-partisan Association, pamphlet, p. 85.

United States was not a party, however. The plan made was accepted.* "Germany is to pay out of a revenue received from taxes and the profits from railways and industries". As a result after five years the first withdrawal from the Cologne Bridgeheads took place. Later on fulfilment of promise, a further withdrawal, this time from the Mainz bridgehead.

These questions on all loans arise:

Who can pay? Who should be compelled to pay? Should rules of international law that provide indemnity for damage done be either discarded entirely, or kept, but regarded with discrimination? The movement of goods in trade is one good substitute for money. Would free trade for all the world help? The League may make free trade for Europe if it so desires and wills.

11. Health Organizations of the League.

Studies have been made in the spread of sleeping sickness and tuberculosis. Propositions have been put before the governments to secure co-operation in the prevention of the transmission of disease along international waterways. The Malaria Commission of the Health Committee recently made a prolonged tour through the Balkan States, Russia, and Italy, studying the malaria progress in all its aspects. At the request of the Persian Government an inquiry into the health conditions in Persia was made. Postal information is now

* See Gordy's "History of the United States", Scribners, p. 539.

being received in nearly all countries on the health disturbances existing in parts of Europe and Asia, Africa and America. An interchange of health officers has been productive of important results.

12. Protection for Minorities.

The minorities committee considers all petitions and communications relating to the protection of minorities. The appointment of its members is a question of very considerable importance. With regard to the requirements of the Slav speaking minority in the matter of education and worship in Greek Bulgaria, "A special program is drawn up to facilitate instruction in the language of the minorities where important settlements of these populations exist."

Millions of souls are protected by the League's super imposed power, throughout the world.

13. Work for Intellectual Co-operation.

One of the League Committees includes some of the most intellectual personalities in the world under the presidency of M. Bergson. This Committee has among its members a German representative, Professor Einstein, and an American representative.

See Sixth Yearbook, p. 220
* League of Natinns Non Partisan Assocaition.

One of the first steps was to make a general inquiry into conditions of intellectual life in different countries. Efforts were made to bring assistance to needy nations. The exchange of books and scientific intruments between a large number of institutions was planned. Books were sent from America, England, India, etc., to those in need of them.

* Twenty other general organizations in nations have been promoted to co-operate with the main International Committee. An International University Information Office has been created. And a rapid and regular exchange of abstracts and documents of scientific information has been carried on.

Contrast this with Russia's Soviet Policy when the Intelligentsia are not allowed to take part in government and freedom is restricted.

* Facts from Sixth Year Book, p. 86.

VII. THE WORLD COURT AND THE LEAGUE.

1. Its purpose.

According to Article XVI this is to hear and pass upon "any dispute of an international character which parties thereto agree to submit to it", and to give advice and opinion on any subject submitted to it. Another avowed purpose is to recodify international law to fit needs of new conditions.

2. Personel.

There are eleven judges who are chosen for a term of nine years. These are nominated by the Permanent Court of Arbitration and are selected by a majority vote of the Council and the Assembly, but only one judge can be taken from one State. J. Bassett Moore is the American chosen. Once appointed the judges are absolutely independent of the League. One can be expelled only by a vote of his colleagues. The present rules and assignments in the World Court are binding till 1930.

3. Time and Place for Sessions.

The Court meets annually in regular session at the Hague and on call for speciallsessions, the latter on order from the President.

4. How the court is financed.

Each member nation is proportionately assessed. Since entrance, if we are accepted, we pay a part of the general costs of the League Court. Before we paid only such part of the costs as would be fairly assessed.

5. Compared with the Hague.

The first and second Hague Conferences developed the machinery of arbitration. These were unable to come to positive plan for the election of judges. The League had less difficulty because of the strength of the League Organization.

The Hague still stands for practice in settling any world problem offered through arbitration and conciliation. The very atmosphere of the neutral nation's countryside in which the court functions and the sight of the building in which it acts, serve to signify mutual confidence and co-operation. Different nations are represented by their gifts as contributions to its grandeur.

All this preliminary unity of purpose goes a long way toward cooling the antagonisms of quarrelsome groups. The Hague court still captures the attention of nations in settlement of international affairs. It remains a powerful agent for peace especially where there are disputes as to interpretation of treaty clauses or as to boundary lines of same.

The World Court has more strongly organized force behind its decisions than has the Hague Court.

Like the World Court the Hague provisions lack sanctions or machinery of enforcement. When a nation became criminal then force only seemed to function. Condoning criminal acts of either persons or nations is usually both poor and unsafe policy. Penalties with machinery for enforcing them seem to be still necessary both in community and national life when heinous crime is committed.

5. Some decisions of the World Court.

No state has ever refused to accept its decision. It serves as a ready tribunal on all questions submitted by the League.

One important advisory opinion was "that the conscription by France of English subjects in Morocco and Tunis was not a question for French jurisdiction. Other opinions by the Court refer to the meanings of treaties and the rights of Germans in territory ceded to Poland".

Another was "when Germany in 1923 refused to allow passage of the steamship Wimbleton carrying munitions to Poland through the Kiel Canal, on the ground that such permission would be a breach of neutrality. The court decided that this being an international waterway since the Treaty of Versailles, Germany could not interfere with such passage".

The France-British dispute in Morocco:

Differences regarding nationality decrees arose. Any person born in Tunis or in the French zone, one of whose parents was justiciable as a foreigner by the French Tribunals and born in the protectorate was declared to be French. These views conflicted with British legislation which claims as natural born British subjects the children born of British parents who were themselves born within His Majesty's allegiance and also the grand-children of such parents born before January 1, 1915. When such persons were drafted by the French for military service, the British government protested, and in 1922 brought the question before the League. The Permanent Court of International Justice was asked to determine whether or not the matter was not exclusively a case for domestic jurisdiction. The representative of the French Government asked that the whole question be given to the Court for settlement. A friendly agreement was reached in that year.

Can America afford to take the risk of any foreign decision or direction when the lives of her people and their property are imperiled?

Should America enter the Court?

"Yes, with reservations," decreed the United States Senate.

President Coolidge has not asked the Senate to withdraw the reservations since such have been rejected, but he has * "declared the Permanent Court of International Justice to be the embodiment of the aspiration and effort of our leading statesmen and jurists; that objections to our adherence to it are unimportant compared with the advantages which would accrue to us and the impetus that our action would give to the promotion of international justice and peace."

This is reservation # 4.

"That the United States may withdraw at any time and that the Statute of the Court can not be changed without the consent of the United States".

No other world organization has equalled the extent of the Court's power so far. Eventually America's entrance seems inevitable.

* Quoted from Current History Magazine, July, 1925.

VIII. SUMMARY.

1. How the league has developed.

Thus may we see that after a period of political hostility of four hundred years duration in Europe, there has sprung into being a spirit of good will and friendly co-operation even between enemies; war is to be tabooed and peace is to be sought rather by the method of arbitration. With less success and even some missteps in its early activity the movement has progressed. Each year has seen the power and prestige of the new body grow through the coming together of leaders from all parts of the world for free and unlimited discussion of problems as they arose. Never before in history have so many statesmen met for such long continued periods of time. Work of committees once timidly displayed has come to function automatically through persistent active effort in spite of financial and economic difficulties.

2. What it has accomplished.

The tyranny over small nations has ceased. The League's co-operative system has brought to light and clarified many clouded issues throughout European States. It has granted territorial integrity to small nations not before free. It has parted would be combatants. It has, at lesst, tempered

the desire for more expensive armaments. It has offered a ready ear to the distress calls of members and brought about harmony and a spirit of brotherhood among them.

3. How it has done it.

All this since the war and much more has been accomplished without striking a single blow. On the contrary, European groups are united in friendship as never before, and work together along social, industrial, and political lines more harmoniously. All this, too, regardless of the fact that some States represented in controversies are not members of the League. World policies have been formulated through the agency of well established government machinery of the League.

"For these years the League in the political field and the Court in the judicial field have been rendering the best service in the cause of peace known to the history of civilization, incomparably the best".

Woodrow Wilson.

"These institutions have been teaching the people to think in terms of peace rather than in terms of war".

4. What may be expected of it.

Bound together as they are the League Member States in

Europe can continue to work for the common interests of all states members and non-members alike.

The same principles of justice and equality should lead them onward just as they have led America. With fear and suspicion eliminated, economic barriers may fall.

IX. AMERICA'S PART.

1. Should America be a League member?

Should America be a member there or would America progress faster in an atmosphere undisturbed by units not yet able so well to rule? Isn't the European unit about as large a one as its complexity of nations and customs and languages will allow?

This question is not so easy to answer with certainty.

2. Her own sovereignty or complete internationalism. Which? Why?

I believe to divide the sovereignty in a very large group is to lose it and its vital benefits. My ideas are formed partly by the observation of the daily troubles in individual and community life. What one of us will desire or permit control of his affairs? What pilot in Boston Harbor will seek advice while in action from his brother pilot? Rather will he study the conditions and apply the principles of efficiency to them.

Granted that the League has splendidly functioned so far, then

Why is it that America stays apart from it. Perhaps this is why:

She has practiced the broader representative form of government and progressed under it. She has now one language and no economic barrier in trade and transit within. She acts now through appointed officers with granted power. Her government can inflict penalty on all lawbreakers. It can declare unlawful all acts not in accord with a national constitution. Could America depart from her present system with hope of profit?

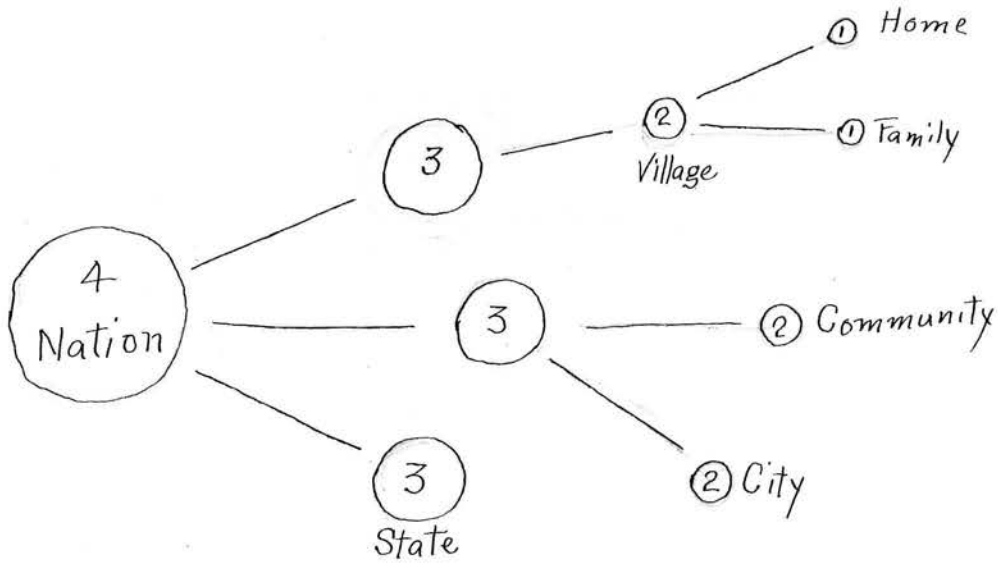
My humble opinion is that the co-operation called for by the larger and more complex group would too far scatter our nation's present power and hinder the efficiency of our national group, which now unhampered, moves as one person with a general will on the tide of public opinion.

I would recommend this book for the basis of clear thought that it can offer; "The Group Mind" by Wm. MacDougall, in a chapter on "Sovereignty".

A member of a great nation is slow to move toward the disadvantage of that group. The above author holds that this national feeling has been the strongest feeling that civilization has ever known. Wouldn't it be lessened by complete nationalism? Who, then, in need would be the sovereign power to enforce execution of laws or commands?

Wouldn't the security of "Good Will" be lessened? What pressure would be exerted to control it?

3. Basis for Belief.



Immediate group sentiment in the family, community and city prepares for wider relationships.

See 1. This means more than the home. It means a place and its interests over time. "Such a group unites in harmony the self-seeking and altruistic tendencies and impulses. These reinforce one another in human relationships". Conflicts up to a nation are softened because of a fraternal spirit. Even opposing groups there are friendly.

All the way through, from family to nation, America has held that "Democracy is indispensable, obedience to law is essential, and that religious ideas are powerful". Shall we tolerate antagonisms to these ideals to the extent of annihilation of them? Would a great union of all nations under

present social and religious conditions scatter our single nation's sovereign power?

Why do I make these statements here in the League's review?

Just to show that the League Experiment may be more successful as it works now than if America was an official partner there at the present time.

3. Then what can America do to stablilize governments and to avert war?

A nation responsible for the government of the Phillipines; the maintenance and protection of the Panama Canal; the safety of many thousand of miles of coastline; the protection of a great commerce on every sea; the policy of the 'open door' in Chine, Asia and Africa does not live in isolation. The accompanying report of trade will show that our nation has not so lived; but goes to prove that she has had a large share in economic burdens.

The United States' consumption of imports in 1925 with her 6 % share of all the world's people shows:

37 % of coal production

48 % of all pig iron

46 % of all copper

75 % of all rubber

51 % of all coffee

75 % of all petroleum

52 % of all tin

77 % of raw silk

48 % nitrate

42,000,000 pounds Shellac, this almost an exclusive product of India.

These figures show, too, in some degree the benefit that accrues from our own prosperity. The purchase of these goods means employment to the rest of the world. Employment is one important means of increasing prosperity.

What can America do?

(1) Be generous in giving time, money and service to problem solution of other nations.

(2) She can furnish fighting material if need be only to protect recognized standards of right living.

(3) She can see to it that America be a land of opportunity for all who practice those standards by continuing to have and to make "just and equal laws" prevail there through the agency of her own power to enforce them.

(4) She can reduce tariff and give to needy neighbors trade advantages.

(5) She can implant in her group as she already has so far, through public education, habits of self-control, obedience to law, a keen sense of responsibility and a spirit of co-operation and service. Is this true patriotism?

(6) She can continue to develop living, active citizens able to help solve world problems; and at the same time hold herself apart to be a refuge for the oppressed.

In that sort of environment has been America's strength. With her co-operative assistance goes a nation's will, which power is immeasurable.

These thoughts detract nothing from the League's value and its noble purposes and the untold progress which it will continue to make. This question only comes: Will both progress faster and easier if units work separately as well as co-operatively? (1) The League of Nations and (2) America with no entangling alliances and as a broadly representative democracy.

5. One humble opinion.

Our heroes, capitalists, philanthropists, and last but not least, our workers, have earned for us, through diligent saving and hardship, the place that we hold as a nation, as an honorable and responsible body. Daily conditions continue to vary but the principles of justice and virtue remain. These do not change.

Until Europe's conflicting nations, with varying ideals, grow to be more harmonious, let us re-establish the rules of international law, a continuous growth through the years. The League can help here. Both can co-operate as during the last eight years.

The answer on scrapping armaments then may soon be more immediate and fear will be absent.

Europe, too, like America, can continue to join her forces as has America, in her co-operative League, and there is bound to come a forward movement of progress from it.

America will continue to give her aid, her sympathy and her influence to every one of the League's movements, wholeheartedly and generously, believing, as its record in this paper shows, the League Experiment to be the greatest power and the best promise for good government that Europe has ever known.

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