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Foster, George E. (George Eulas),
Sir, 1847-1931

Report of the Canadian delegates to
the League of Nations. --

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REPORT OF THE DELEGATES APPOINTED TO REPRESENT CANADA
AT THE FIRST ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, HELD AT
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, NOVEMBER 15th to DECEMBER 18th, 1920.

(NOTE: The numbers in brackets refer to the pages of the Journal of the First Assembly).

1. This Report does not purport to give anything like an exhaustive resume of the proceedings of the First Assembly of the League of Nations; rather it is its aim to indicate broadly the scheme of organization and the method of work adopted by the Assembly and to summarize the main conclusions reached. Anyone concerned to gain a complete survey of the proceedings must be referred to the official records. These consist of the Journal of the Assembly, Verbatim Record of the Assembly, and the Procès-Verbaux of the Committees of the Assembly. They are complete and well arranged, and it would be inappropriate to attempt a record with the idea of taking their place.

2. Composition of the First Assembly (1, 5-6, 20). The First Assembly convened at Geneva, Switzerland, at 11 o'clock a.m. on Monday, November 15th, 1920, in response to the summons of the President of the United States issued on July 17th, 1920, under the terms of Article 5 of the Covenant of the League. The following 41 states, Members of the League, were represented: South Africa, Argentine, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Great Britain, Canada, Chili, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Spain, France, Greece, Guatamala, Haiti, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Norway, New Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, Netherlands, Peru, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Serb-Croat Slovent State, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Czecho-Slovakia, Uruguay, Venezuela. Some of the Members sent only one or two Representatives..

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Representatives, but the majority sent the full number of three to which they were entitled under Article 3 of the Covenant. Many of the Delegations were accompanied by technical advisers to assist them in dealing with the various technical questions upon the Agenda. It may be noted here that the largest delegation of all was that from Japan. An analysis of the character of the Assembly made according to the official position occupied by the chief Representative of each country may be of interest; it shows the following result:

9	Chief Representatives were	Ministers or members of Government (5 of these - from small Powers - being Foreign Ministers).
9	" " " "	Ex-Ministers.
23	" " " "	Diplomats or Government Officials.

3. Election of President (5 - 7). The proceedings opened under the provisional Chairmanship of M. Paul Hymans of Belgium, as President of the Council of the League for the time being. The credentials of the delegates having been verified, the first business was the election of the President of the First Assembly, and after a secret ballot M. Paul Hymans was declared elected.

4. Provisional Rules of Procedure (8). Rules of procedure had been drafted by the Secretariat of the League for the consideration of the Assembly. It was decided at the outset that this draft should be adopted provisionally until permanent rules could be agreed upon. For the latter purpose the draft rules were referred to a Committee of the Assembly.

5. Election of Vice-Presidents (12, 18-19, 25). It was decided that there should be twelve vice-Presidents of the Assembly, chosen in the following manner: each of the six Committees of the Assembly should elect its own President and thereupon these Presidents of Committee should become Vice-

Presidents.....

Presidents of the Assembly; while the Assembly itself should elect six other Vice-Presidents by secret ballot. As a result of this method the following Representatives became the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly:

The Right Honourable A. J. Balfour (United Kingdom).
 His Excellency M. Tommaso Tittoni (Italy).
 His Excellency M. Leon Bourgeois (France).
 His Excellency M. Quinones de Leon (Spain).
 Senor Don Antonio Huneeus (Chili).
 His Excellency M. Branting (Sweden).
 Vicount Ishii (Japan).
 M. Jonkheer Van Karnebeek (Netherlands).
 His Excellency Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon (Argentine).
 His Excellency Dr. Edouard Benes (Czecho-Slovakia).
 The Right Honourable Sir George Foster (Canada)
 His Excellency Dr. Rodrigo Octavio (Brazil).

6. General Committee of the Assembly (13). It was agreed that the twelve Vice Presidents should act as the General Committee of the Assembly to determine, in conjunction with the President, questions relating to the order of business and generally to act as a steering committee.

7. Organization of the Work of the Assembly and the Committee. (15-19). The work of the Assembly was carried on in Plenary Meetings composed of the full number of Representatives and in Committees composed of smaller numbers. Six Committees of the Assembly were set up upon which each Member of the League was represented by one Representative; so that each of the main Committees was composed of forty-one Representatives. In order to expedite the work many of the Committee appointed Sub-Committees of a much smaller number to deal with specific subjects. The Committees were set up in accordance with a broad classification of the subjects included in the Agenda (a copy of which is....

is appended hereto). The Plenary Meetings of the Assembly were invariably held in public. The Committee meetings were for the most part held in private, although the Sixth Committee held some public meetings; but in each case the Committee kept a record of its deliberations, which was published as soon as possible, and which was always accessible to the members of the Assembly.

The six Committees, together with the subjects on the Agenda referred to them, were as follows:-

SCHEDULE OF COMMITTEES.

1st Committee.

COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

This Committee will deal with questions 7 to 10 inclusive of the Agenda:

7. Rules of Procedure.
8. Amendments to the Covenant. Proposals by the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish Governments. (Additional chapter to the Covenant proposed by the Norwegian Government. Proposals put forward by the Swedish Government.
9. The relations between the respective competence of the Council and the Assembly of the League.
10. The method of selection and the appointment of the four permanent non-Members of the Council. (This item included the actual appointment of the four non-permanent Members of the Council).

2nd Committee.

COMMITTEE ON TECHNICAL ORGANIZATIONS.

This Committee will deal with questions 11 to 20 inclusive of the Agenda:

11. Relations between the technical organisations and the Council and the Assembly of the League.
12. The establishment of a Permanent Health Organization.
13. Typhus.
14. Supervision over the execution of Agreements with regard to the traffic in Women and Children.
15. General supervision over the execution of Agreements with regard to traffic in Opium in accordance with Article 23 of the Covenant. (At the request of the Government of the Netherlands.)
16. The establishment of a Permanent Organisation to deal with communications and transit questions

falling...

falling within the sphere of the League under the Treaty of Versailles.

17. Tribunal for the settlement of differences referred to in Article 336, 337, 376 and 285 of the Treaty of Versailles and in corresponding Articles of other Treaties.
18. Passports for Members of the Secretariat.
19. Economic and Financial Organisation.
20. Claim of India to be represented on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

3rd Committee.

COMMITTEE ON THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

This Committee will deal with question 21 of the Agenda:

21. Plans for the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

4th Committee.

COMMITTEE ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE SECRETARIAT AND THE FINANCES OF THE LEAGUE.

This Committee will deal with questions 22 to 25 inclusive of the Agenda:

22. Report by the Secretary General on the organisation of the Secretariat.
23. The 1st and 2nd Budgets of the League, covering the period to December 31, 1920.
24. Provisional estimates for the 1921 Budget.
25. The future method of apportionment of the expenses of the League.

5th Committee.

COMMITTEE ON ADMISSIONS INTO THE LEAGUE.

This Committee will deal with question 26 of the Agenda: Admission of States not named in the Annex to the Covenant. (The following is a list of States whose application for admission to the League was received on or before October 15, 1920, the date fixed by the provisional Rules of Procedure as the date on which questions should be forwarded for consideration at the present meetings:

Armenia	Latvia.
Costa Rica	Liechtenstein
Estonia	Lithuania
Finland	Luxembourg
Georgia	Ukraine.

6th...

6th Committee.

COMMITTEE ON THE MANDATES QUESTION, ARMAMENTS
AND THE ECONOMIC WEAPON.

This Committee will deal with questions 27, 28 and 29 of the Agenda.

27. Reduction of armaments. - Resolution adopted by the Ministers of State and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Norway and Sweden.
28. Preparations required to enable the economic weapon of the League to be used in case of necessity.
29. Mandates - Responsibilities of the League arising from Article 22 of the Covenant.

8. Representation of Canada on the Committees (20, 62, 80, 88, 102, 129). Canada was represented upon the Committee as follows:-

Committee No. 1	- Honourable N. W. Rowell.
" No. 2	- Right Honourable Sir George Foster.
" No. 3	- Right Honourable C. J. Doherty.
" No. 4	- Right Honourable Sir George Foster.
" No. 5	- Honourable N. W. Rowell
" No. 6	- Hon. C. J. Doherty.

It may be added that Sir George Foster acted as Rapporteur for Committee No. 4 on the Budget of the League, and for Committee No. 2 on the question of typhus in Poland; that Mr. Doherty was a member of the Sub-Committee No. 3, which drafted the scheme of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and of the Sub-Committee of Committee No. 6, which dealt with Mandates; that Mr. Rowell was a member of the Sub-Committee of Committee No. 5, which dealt with the admission into the League of Austria, Bulgaria, Albania and Lichtenstein; and that he acted as joint Rapporteur for Committee No. 1 on the question of the relations between the Council and the Assembly.

9. PLENARY MEETINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY. During the first eight days daily Plenary Meetings of the Assembly were held, and on some occasions it met twice a day. Thereafter for a week or more no Plenary Meetings were held, as it was necessary to give time to the Committees to complete their work and report to the Assembly. As soon as the Committee reports

began....

began to come in regularly the daily Plenary Meetings were resumed, and during the last week or ten days two meetings were held each day. In all thirty one Plenary Meetings were held. The work of the full Assembly and its conclusions may be conveniently sketched according to the subjects taken up and disposed of.

10. Debate on the Report on the Work of the Council of the League. (15-17, 24-25, 29-31, 41-44, 72). The Secretary General of the League had prepared a report describing the work of the Council of the League since its inception in January, 1920, and this report, having been presented to the Assembly, gave rise to a three days' debate. Resolutions were adopted in the course of this debate that the Council should be requested to take into consideration the means for securing greater publicity for their discussions and decisions; that any statement of their case made by Poland and Lithuania in connection with their dispute of last year, together with all the relevant facts and papers, should be published forthwith; and that the Council should be asked to appoint a Sub-Commission to examine the scope of Article 18 of the Covenant with regard to the legal effect of the registration of the treaties.

11. Armenia. (54-7, 134-5, 264-6, 295). The Assembly devoted much time and discussion to the critical position of Armenia.

At the Ninth Plenary Meeting, held on November 22nd, a resolution was adopted to the effect that a Committee of six members should be nominated to consider and report to the Assembly during the Session what steps, if any, should be taken to put an end to the hostilities between Armenia and the Kemalists, and that the Council should be requested to arrive at an understanding with the Governments with a view to entrusting a Power with the task of mediating between the Armenians and the Kemalists. The Council communicated this resolution to all the Governments of

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the League. On December 1st the President of the United States replied that he was unable to provide any military forces and that any material contributions must come from Congress, but that he was willing to use his good offices and to proffer his personal mediation through a representative to end the hostilities now being waged against the Armenian people. It also appeared that the Spanish Government were willing to co-operate in any steps of a moral or diplomatic nature that might be taken for this purpose, and that the Government of Brazil were prepared to assist, either alone or in conjunction with other Powers, in putting an end to Armenia's desperate position. Toward the end of the Assembly two other resolutions were adopted expressing sympathy with the plight of Armenia. On December 16th a resolution was passed on the motion of Canada expressing the hope that the efforts of the President of the United States, supported by Spain and Brazil and by the Council of the League, would result in the preservation of the Armenian race, and in securing for Armenia a stable Government, so that the Assembly might be able to admit Armenia to full membership of the League at its next session. On December 18th a further resolution was adopted to the effect that the Assembly, recalling its decision on November 22nd, would continue to co-operate with the Council which had been entrusted with the duty of safeguarding the future of Armenia, referring for advice, if necessary, to the Members of the League, and that the Assembly noted that in response to the initiative taken by the League universal sympathy had already been shown for Armenia, and that Armenia had received offers of mediation on her behalf from President Wilson, Spain and Brazil.

12. The Rules of Procedure of the Assembly. (112-115).

The draft rules of procedure, as submitted by the Secretariat, were considered at length by Committee No. 1. In view of the many Parliamentary systems represented by the members, and of their....

their varying notions about procedure, it was a matter of some difficulty to arrive at an agreed set of rules to govern the deliberations of the Assembly. However, a report was presented which after discussion and amendment was finally adopted by the Assembly. One of the controversial points arose from a proposal of the Spanish speaking countries that the Spanish language should be recognized as an additional official language of the League. As the proposal involved great practical difficulties these countries finally agreed to withhold their claim for the present, and the result was that a decision upon this question is postponed to a future Assembly. (43,114).

13. Amendments to the Covenant. (136-37,163.) Proposals to amend the Covenant were presented by the delegations of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Canada, and were referred to Committee No. 1. In the end the Assembly, taking the view that it would be wiser to await the results of greater experience in the operation of the League, decided that no amendments should be taken into consideration by the First Assembly, but that the Council should be invited to appoint a Committee to study the proposed amendments already put forward, together with any others that might be submitted by any of the Members of the League. The Canadian amendment to strike out Article 10 of the Covenant will therefore be considered this year by this Committee.

14. The Relations Between Poland and Soviet Russia (152-5). A motion was proposed by Mr. Barnes of the British Delegation to the effect that the Council should furnish the Assembly with full information concerning the reasons which induced the Council to refrain from interfering to prevent hostilities between Poland and Soviet Russia last spring, and that careful attention should be given to the possibility of the renewal of hostilities between those countries in the coming year. After explanations the debate was closed without the adoption of any resolution.

15. Relations Between the Council and the Assembly. (144-145, 163-166, 170). The problem of the relations between the Council and the Assembly of the League, and of the scope of the jurisdiction of these two bodies respectively, was naturally the subject of much consideration. In many respects the Covenant, apparently with deliberate intention, is indefinite and inconclusive upon this question; while little guidance can be obtained by analogy to the functions of national public bodies, since the latter are really not analogous either in their basis or composition or in their purpose. After the question had been considered by Committee No. 1, for which Mr. Powell of Canada acted as joint Rapporteur, a number of resolutions were adopted by the Assembly. It was laid down that neither body has jurisdiction to render a decision in a matter which has been expressly committed to the outer organ of the League; that under the Covenant Representatives sitting on the Council and the Assembly render their decisions as the representatives of their respective States, and in rendering such decisions they have no standing except as such representatives; that the Council will present each year to the Assembly a report upon the work performed by it; and that either body may discuss or examine any matter which is within the competence of the League. In general it was concluded that it was inadvisable to attempt to formulate in explicit language the precise duties of the two bodies, and that each case involving the question of their respective powers should be decided on its merits as it came up.

16. Typhus in Poland (170-172, 177-178, 298). Upon a report presented by Sir George Foster as Rapporteur on behalf of Committee No. 2, describing the serious conditions in Poland and Eastern Europe which had arisen as the result of the typhus epidemic, the Assembly resolved that an urgent and immediate appeal should be made by the Assembly to all the countries of the world for an adequate fund to prosecute an effective campaign
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against epidemic disease in Poland and Eastern Europe, and that the existing national health and Red Cross organisations should be asked to co-operate. A further resolution was adopted empowering the President to nominate a Committee of three to examine the question of the funds necessary for the campaign, and to take any steps possible before the end of the Assembly to secure these funds. The President nominated to this Committee, Sir George Foster (Canada), M. Le Jonkheer Loudon (Netherlands), and M. Restrepo (Colombia). The Committee decided that an effort should be made to raise £2,000,000 for this campaign in addition to what other sums might be collected by the League of Red Cross Societies, and that the organization of the work should be left to the Council. Telegrams appealing for funds had been addressed to all the Governments of the world, and the head of each delegation would be requested to urge his Government to make a favourable reply. The Assembly agreed to these proposals of the Committee. The representatives of various countries made announcements concerning the contributions already made for the purpose by their governments.

17. Technical Organisations of the League and Their Relations to the Council and the Assembly of the League. (178-82, 186-91, 194). Elaborate proposals looking to the establishment of (a) a permanent organisation to deal with communications and transit questions; (b) a permanent organisation to deal with economic and financial questions; and (c) a permanent organisation to deal with health questions, were submitted to the Assembly at the outset, and were referred for consideration to Committee No.2. In each case the scheme, as proposed, involved the holding of an Annual Conference, the setting up of a Permanent Executive Committee, and the establishment of a Permanent Secretariat. The Canadian Delegation, feeling that such an elaboration of international bodies might impose too great a strain upon the resources ...

resources and sympathies of the countries of the world, urged the Assembly not to attempt too much in this direction at the outset, and in the end the proposals were considerably modified. As finally agreed upon these organisations are to be set up only provisionally and the whole question will therefore be reviewed at the next Assembly. In the case of communications and transit question a General Conference is to be held this year at Barcelona to consider the adoption of international conventions on (a) freedom of transit conditions; (b) the regime of international waterways; (c) railways; and (d) ports. In the case of economic and financial questions there is to be no general conference this year, but a small committee has been constituted to explore further the conclusions of the Brussels Financial Conference. In the case of health questions there is to be no general conference, but the Assembly decided that the Office International d'Hygiene Publique should be placed under the direction of the League of Nations, and that an International Health Organisation, consisting of this Office, of a Standing Committee, and of an International Health Bureau, should be set up to carry out the provisions of the International Convention signed at Rome, December 9th, 1907, and to advise the League of Nations on all questions arising out of Articles 23 (f) and 25 of the Covenant.

18. The Economic Weapon of the League (198-202). Article 16 of the Covenant provides that in the event of a breach of the Covenant by any state, the other Members of the League shall subject it to economic penalties and pressure. The Assembly referred to Committee No. 6 the consideration of the necessary measures to insure the application of Article 16. Upon the report of this Committee the Assembly decided upon the appointment of an International Blockade Commission to explore this

problem...

problem thoroughly, and that the recommendations of this Commission should be presented to the Council and then to the Assembly at its next Session. In addition certain concrete recommendations as to the action to be taken by each state in the event of a breach of the Covenant were adopted provisionally subject to review at the next Assembly on the report of the International Blockade Commission.

19. Election of Non-Permanent Members of the Council of the League (210-14, 250-253). Article 4 of the Covenant provides that the Council of the League shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. The First Assembly charged Committee No. 1 with the task of recommending a method by which these four Members might be selected. The Committee considered the question at considerable length and finally submitted a set of proposals upon which the Committee, however, was not unanimous. After debating the Committee's report the Assembly concluded that it was impossible at this time to adopt permanent rules upon the subject, and it contented itself with laying down a course of action to be followed for the first election and referring the various proposals considered by Committee No. 1 to the Commission which is to be constituted by the Council for studying amendments to the Covenant. The recommendations of this Commission will be considered at the next Assembly. For the purpose of the First Assembly it was decided that the mandates of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece, as Members of the Council under Article 4 of the Covenant, should expire on December 31st, 1920, and that for the present their successors should be selected one at a time..

a time and by secret ballot for a period of one year, an absolute majority of the votes being necessary for election. A recommendation was adopted that of the four Members three should be selected from among the Members of the League in Europe and the two American continents, and one from among those in Asia and the remaining parts of the world. At the actual election held on December 16th the following countries were selected as the four non-permanent Members to be represented on the Council, Spain, Brazil, Belgium and China. The composition of the Council accordingly remains the same as during the first year, except that China is substituted for Greece.

20. Permanent Court of International Justice. (220-22, 225-29, 296-9) Article 14 of the Covenant provides that the Council of the League shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. In pursuance of this Article the Council of the League in February, 1920, appointed a Committee of Jurists which met at the Hague and drafted a unanimous report. The Council, having considered this report, made certain modifications and submitted the scheme as drafted by the jurists, together with its own modifications, to the Assembly for consideration. The Assembly referred the scheme to Committee No. 3 where it was subjected to long and careful consideration, especially by a Sub-Committee of Jurists, of which Mr. Doherty of Canada was a member. Many amendments on points of detail were made, but none of the fundamental principles of the draft scheme as submitted by the Council. The chief point of difference arose upon the question whether the jurisdiction of the Court should be compulsory - that is to say, upon the question whether a state should be entitled to hail before the Court another state without the latter's consent. Upon this question the Assembly finally adopted the view of the Council that the

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time was not yet ripe for such an advance. It may be added that the original draft was so amended that the position of Canada and the other Dominions in relation to the Court is now the same as that of all other Members of the League - this applying to the nomination and election of judges and to all other rights and privileges under the scheme. The adoption of the scheme for a Permanent Court of International Justice may be regarded as the most important achievement of the First Assembly of the League.

21. Armaments. (232-4, 241-4) Article 8 of the Covenant recognises the desirability of bringing about the reduction of armaments by the various countries of the world. The question of carrying out this Article was accordingly referred for consideration to Committee No. 6. The Assembly, after debating the report of the Committee during two days, adopted resolutions to the effect that the Council should urge upon all Governments the speedy ratification of or adhesion to the Convention for the control of the trade in arms and munitions signed at St. Germain on September 10th, 1919; that the Council should invite the Permanent Advisory Commission for military, naval and air questions to investigate the problem of the private manufacture of munitions and war material; that the Permanent Advisory Commission should complete its technical examination into the present condition of armaments; and that in addition a temporary commission composed of persons competent in matters of a political, social, and economic nature should prepare for submission to the Council proposals for the reduction of armaments, as contemplated by Article 8 of the Covenant. A further proposal to the effect that the Members of the League should consider

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the acceptance of an undertaking not to exceed during the next two financial years the present year's expenditure on armaments, was adopted by thirty votes to seven.

22. The Control of the Traffic in Opium. (245-80). The question of the control of the traffic in opium was considered by Committee No. 2, and after debate a resolution was adopted which, recognizing the duty placed on the League by Article 23 of the Covenant, provided that the Secretariat of the League should collect information concerning the operation of the Opium Convention; that an Advisory Committee should be appointed by the Council to secure the fullest international co-operation in the matter; that states which have ratified the Opium Convention, but which are not yet Members of the League, should be invited to co-operate in the matter; and that the action of the Netherlands Government, in endeavouring to secure the signature and ratifications of the Opium Convention by countries which have not yet done so, should be welcomed.

23. The Control of the Traffic in Women and Children. (260-61) The duty of controlling the traffic in women and children, having been entrusted to the League under Article 23 (a) of the Covenant, Committee No. 2 of the Assembly was charged with the examination of the question. After consideration of the Committee's report resolutions were adopted by the Assembly providing that the Secretariat of the League should issue a questionnaire asking the various Governments what measure had been taken or were proposed to combat the traffic; that the Governments signatory to the 1904 and 1910 Conventions should be urged to put such conventions into operation; that these Governments should be requested to send representatives to an International Conference to be held before....

before the next Assembly for the purpose of securing a common understanding and united action; and that the Council should constitute a Commission of Enquiry with a view to informing the Council as to the present situation in Armenia, in Asia Minor, in Turkey, and in the territories adjoining these countries, regarding deported women and children.

24. Admission of New Members to the League. (235-3, 254-6, 263-6, 271-4, 276-3, 283-4, 297) Article 1 of the Covenant provides that a state may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments. Applications for admission to the League were received from a number of states and were referred by the Assembly to Committee No. 5 for preliminary consideration. The Committee examined each case separately and in most instances granted hearings to representatives of the applicant states. Each application was examined in relation to the following questions: (a) whether the application for admission was in order; (b) whether the Government had been recognized de jure or de facto, and by what states; (c) whether the country possessed a stable government and settled frontiers, and what were its size and population; (d) whether the country was fully self-governing and (e) what has been its conduct with regard to its international obligations and to the prescriptions of the League as to armaments. Voting upon the admission of new Members was held during December 15th, 16th and 17th.

The following new Members were admitted to the League- Austria, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Finland, Luxembourg and Albania.

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The following countries which had applied for admission were not admitted: Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Ukraina, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Lichtenstein. While, however, the application of Lichtenstein was denied it was decided that Switzerland should be entitled to represent her interests before the League; and in the case of the Baltic States (Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania) and Georgia, it was decided that pending a further decision of the Assembly these states should, on presenting a request to that effect, be treated on the same footing as Members of the League as regards their participation in the work of the technical organizations of the League.

26. Staff and Organisation of the Secretariat of the League. (274-81) Questions relating to the staff and organisation of the Secretariat of the League were referred to Committee No. 4, and, after considering the Committee's report, the Assembly passed certain resolutions providing for the publication of yearly lists of the staff showing nationalities and salaries, and providing that information regarding vacancies on the staff of the League should be made as public as possible, and that in filling the various posts consideration should be given to the international character of the League.

27. The Budget of the League. (286-8) One of the important developments of the First Assembly was the assertion by the Assembly of the control of the finances of the League. The statements submitted by the Council of the expenditures already incurred, and of the estimates for the ensuing year, were referred by the Assembly to Committee No. 4 and were there subjected to a searching scrutiny. The report of the Committee presented by Sir George Foster was considered on

December...

December 17th. The total estimates voted by the Assembly amounted to 21,000,000 gold francs, of which 7,000,000 were allocated for the purposes of the International Labour Organisation, which, under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, are met out of the general funds of the League. In this latter connection the Assembly established the principle that financially the International Labour Organization is subject to the control of the Assembly. Regulations were adopted to control the Secretariat in making expenditures from the funds of the League. It was decided that the Special Committee to be appointed to consider modifications in the Covenant should also consider what steps should be taken with reference to States which have not paid their quotas within a specified period. It was also decided that a small Committee of experts should be appointed to make a thorough examination into the organization, methods of work, the efficiency, the number, salaries, allowances, and general expenses of the Secretariat and of the Labour Organization and to report on the subject to the Council - the Assembly reserving the right at its next meeting to make such changes as might be deemed necessary after the reception of the report. It was recognized that the system of apportioning the expenses among the Members of the League according to the existing apportionment of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union was unreasonable and unfair. In order to amend this system of assessment it would be necessary to amend the Covenant unless the Universal Postal Union could be induced to change their own system of assessment. Accordingly it was decided that a Special Committee should be appointed to negotiate with the Universal Postal Union and prepare a schedule of assessment

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for the Council to be submitted to the Universal Postal Union for approval. Thus if this schedule is prepared by July 1st, 1921, it may become the basis of assessment for next year. In the alternative the matter may be placed upon the Agenda of the 1921 Assembly and authoritatively settled.

28. Mandates (291-5) The Assembly referred to Committee No. 6 the examination of the question of Mandates under Article 22 of the Covenant, and on the last day of the Assembly the subject was debated at some length. A question arose as to the competence of the Assembly to deal with this matter and it was asserted on behalf of the Council that under the Covenant the matter had been assigned to the jurisdiction of the Council. In the end the proposals made by the Committee with regard to the manner in which mandates should be assigned and exercised were adopted by the Assembly simply as recommendations to the Council, on the understanding that the Council would reserve to itself full liberty in dealing with them.

29. Proposals for an International Language. (300) Committee No. 2 having presented a recommendation that the Secretariat should conduct an enquiry into the results so far achieved in countries where an international language is already officially taught, the Assembly upon the motion of the French Delegation decided that the question should be adjourned.

30. The Organization of the Intellectual Work of the World. (300-301) Committee No. 2 presented a resolution to the effect that the Council should continue certain efforts already made toward bringing about the international organization of intellectual work, should associate itself as closely as possible with all such measures, and should present to the
Assembly ..

Assembly during its next Session a detailed report upon these efforts and upon the advisability of giving them shape in a technical organism attached to the League of Nations. The resolution was adopted by a small majority.

(Sgd) George E. Foster,
Chairman of Canadian Delegation.

Ottawa.

February 1, 1921.

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*Loring Christie Papers (M.G. 30, E 15,
Volume 23)*

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R E P O R T

on the

SECOND ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,

September 5, to October 5, 1921.

by

RIGHT HON. C. J. DOBNEY, and the HONOURABLE
SIR GEORGE H. PIERLET, REPRESENTATIVES OF
CANADA.

Copy.

19 Victoria Street,
London, S.W.I.
19th October, 1921.

Sir,

I am enclosing herewith our report regarding the proceedings at the Assembly of the League of Nations. Mr. Doherty saw this before he sailed and approved of it. I am also sending you by this same mail copies of all the printed papers circulated except the last day's Journal which had not yet come to hand.

Respectfully,

George H. Perley.

The Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, K.C., M.P.,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

To The Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, K.C., M.P.,
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Sir,

In accordance with the terms of Order in Council No. 3018 of the 19th of August 1921 we attended the second Assembly of the League of Nations held at Geneva. The sittings of the Assembly began on Monday 5th September 1921, and were continued until Wednesday 5th October 1921.

At the beginning of the second Assembly the League consisted of forty eight States of which forty two sent delegations to the second Assembly. Last year the League consisted of only forty one States.

Election of a President.

In pursuance of Rule 7 of the Assembly procedure the Acting President of Council, Mr. Wellington Koo, occupied the chair at the first session. After he had delivered an address in which he welcomed the delegates and called attention to some of the more important subjects on the agenda, the Assembly proceeded to the election of a President. The choice fell upon H. Van Karnebeek the Netherlands Foreign Minister who from that moment presided over the Assembly with great tact and ability. Indeed he was one of the most conspicuous successes of the second Assembly. His knowledge of both English and French enabled him to deal rapidly with all questions which arose. His influence over the Assembly was remarkable and it was due largely to his skilful direction that the debates proceeded smoothly and that business was conducted in a satisfactory and expeditious manner.

AGENDA AND COMMITTEES.

(Documents 2 (d) (e) (f) (g) (h))

The Assembly then considered the Agenda which had been prepared by the Secretariat of the League. The items specified in the Agenda were so varied and complex that it was apparent at the outset that with the exception of the election of Judges for the new Permanent Court of International Justice they could only be dealt with in an expeditious and satisfactory manner by the Assembly itself after they had been carefully examined and considered by Committees. The Assembly accordingly appointed six committees to deal with these subjects, each committee consisting of one representative from each of the states who had sent a delegation to the Assembly. This procedure necessitated the election of six chairmen of Committees and you will be happy to know that Mr. Doherty was elected Chairman of Committee No. 5. This in itself was not only a compliment to Canada but a fitting appreciation of the part played by the Canadian delegation at the first Assembly. The general nature of the subjects to be dealt with by each Committee was as follows:-

Committee No. 1.

Constitutional and Legal Questions.

Committee No. 2.

Questions regarding the Technical Organisation of the League (The Transit, the Health and the Economic and Financial Organisations).

Committee No. 3.

Armaments and Blockade

Committee No. 4.

Finance and the Internal Organisation of the League.

Committee No. 5.

Humanitarian questions (Typhus, the Traffic in Women and Children, etc.,)

Committee No. 6.

Political questions (The admission of New States, etc.)

In dealing with this question of service upon Committees we would like to lay emphasis on the fact that it is not possible for two delegates to give proper attention to all the Committees and at the same time to do justice to the other matters making calls upon their time. We would therefore recommend that any Canadian Delegation taking part in any future Assembly of the League of Nations should not only consist of its full complement of three delegates but should have attached to it officials competent to advise on the more important technical questions which arise.

Members of Committees.

(Document 48).

Mr. Doherty was appointed to represent Canada in Committees Nos. 1, 5 and 6 and Sir George Perley served on Committees Nos. 2, 3 and 4. Further information as to the various subjects discussed, together with such observations upon them as we may have to offer is furnished in a later part of this report.

Debate on Secretariat Report.

(Documents 9, 9 (1)).

The Assembly having elected its Committees, proceeded to consider the report of the League Secretariat on the work performed by it since the last Assembly. A debate lasting for

several days took place upon this report. Mr. Doherty took part in this discussion. He dwelt upon the necessity of the League confining its efforts to its primary purpose: i.e. maintenance of peace, and he pointed out that an effort should be made to see that the expenses of the League were kept down as far as possible and that it was not desirable that the League should enlarge the sphere of its activities at the present time.

Situation in Eastern Galicia.

(Documents 80, 82, 84, 121, 157).

Mr. Doherty further took the opportunity of referring to the desirability of defining the status of Eastern Galicia and mentioned that representations on the subject had been received by the Government of the Dominion of Canada from Ukrainians now resident in Canada. We felt however that the mere reference to this matter in a speech even in the Assembly itself was not likely to do much towards furthering the interests of the Ukrainians. Mr. Doherty therefore handed in a day or two later a motion requesting the Council of the League to urge upon the Allied and Associated Powers the necessity of dealing with the subject as speedily as possible. This motion was referred to Committee Six of the Assembly but it came up at a time when Mr. Doherty was occupied at Committee Five - Sir George Perley therefore took the matter up and pressed our views strongly - After hearing him the Committee unanimously agreed to report the proposal favourably to the Assembly. A recommendation in the sense proposed by Mr. Doherty was therefore adopted by the Assembly and we have no doubt that the necessary action has now been taken by the Secretariat of the League. The matter is nevertheless one of considerable difficulty and we do not anticipate that the Supreme Council will be able to get it disposed of immediately.

Election of--

Election of Judges.

Documents 30, 30 (a), 60, 65, 67, 68, 70, 75, 79, 92.114).

The election of Judges of the new Permanent Court of International Justice took place on the 14th of September and occupied the attention of the Assembly during both morning and afternoon sessions. You are, we believe, aware of the rather novel procedure regulating the election by which a candidate can only be considered to be duly elected when he has received an absolute majority of votes not only in the Assembly itself but also in the Council of the League. In accordance with your cable the name of Sir Robert Borden was put forward as Canada's first choice and we used our best efforts to secure his election. In order to ensure that any vote given for a Canadian Candidate was given for Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Doherty had his name withdrawn from the list of candidates. We also attempted to further Sir Robert's candidature by means of personal interviews. That all our efforts were in vain was clearly indicated by the first ballot. Several factors contributed to our non success. In the first place the States of Spanish origin or association voting evidently on a preconcerted plan exhibited great solidarity and secured absolute majorities in the Assembly for no less than four of their nominees on the first ballot. The other five successful candidates were the nominees of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Holland. There was also a general feeling in the Assembly that preference should be given to candidates noted rather for their judicial than their political eminence. It is possible therefore that the splendid political services which Sir Robert Borden rendered to Canada were remembered to his disadvantage in this connection. Apart from this there was evidently an idea running through the Assembly and generally believed..

believed to be in a measure shared by the representatives of Great Britain that the Court would be more likely to be a permanent success if an American were a member of it and on that argument Mr. Moore was selected in place of our candidate, as the second representative of the English System of Common Law, although we have no doubt that Sir Robert Borden is better equipped for the position. The candidates who finally obtained the requisite majorities in both the Assembly and the Council were as follows:-

M. Anzilotti (Italy)	M. Loder (Netherlands)
M. Altamira (Spain).	M. Moore (United States)
M. Barboza (Brazil)	M. Nyholm (Denmark)
M. de Bustamante (Cuba)	M. Oda (Japan)
Viscount Finlay (Gt. Britain)	M. Weiss (France)
M. Huber (Switzerland)	

The remainder of the sessions of the Assembly were devoted almost entirely to considering reports from the six Committees. The subjects are given below. We have attached a set of documents circulated and the numbers at the top of each paragraph are the numbers of these documents.

Subjects discussed, etc.

(a) Dispute between Bolivia and Chile.

(Documents 11, 33, 73.)

The Bolivian Government was anxious to obtain the Assembly's intervention so that the treaty entered into in 1904 between Chile and Bolivia should be revised. The matter was referred to a Committee of Jurists members of Assembly who expressed the opinion that the request of Bolivia as made, namely for revision of the Treaty by the Assembly could not under the provisions of the Covenant be entertained.

(b):....

(b) Armenia.

(Documents 20, 63, 90, 107).

After hearing a report from the Sixth Committee the Assembly adopted a resolution urging the Supreme Council to make provision for the future of Armenia, and in particular for providing Armenians with a national home entirely independent of Turkish rule.

(c) Repatriation of Prisoners of War.

(Document 86.)

Dr. Nansen read a report showing the progress he had made with this work and was thanked by the President of the Assembly for what he had done.

(d) Typhus in Europe.

(Documents 16 (1), 100, 117.)

A report on this subject was presented to the Assembly. It gave account of the progress made during the past year and showed that only £126,000 had been received of the money promised. Of this sum £50,000 was subscribed by Great Britain and £41,000 by Canada.

(e) International Organisation of Intellectual Work.

(Documents 42, 42 (a), 42 (b), 42 (c), 97, 116.)

After hearing a report from Professor Murray on this subject the Assembly approved of a proposal to request the Council of the League to appoint a Committee to enquire into possible methods of international co-ordination of intellectual work. At the instance of the Canadian delegation all reference to suggested action by the League in connection with education was eliminated.

(f)...

(f) Admission of New States

(Documents 5, 14, 14 (b), 15, 23, 26, 51, 89, 91, 102, 137, 152, 174).

On the recommendation of the Sixth Committee the Assembly decided to admit the following States to membership of the League:-

Esthonia

Latvia

Lithuania.

An application from Hungary for admission was withdrawn.

(g) Communications and Transit.

(Documents 44, 45, 98, 118).

A memorandum on this subject was received from the Second Committee. It approved in general of the proposals of the Barcelona Conference. Sir George Perley took exception to one of the resolutions which would have permitted General Conferences on this subject to have been summoned at the request of one third of the States members of the League. On his suggestion the Assembly agreed that the number should be one half

(h) Mandates A and B.

(Documents 55, 105, 108, 126, 148.)

On the proposal of Lord Robert Cecil, the Assembly adopted a resolution expressing regret at the delay in defining these mandates and urging that they should be defined forthwith.

(i) Amendment of Rules of Procedure.

(Documents 83, 103, 128).

The Assembly decided to amend Article 20 of the rules of procedure so that votes can be taken in most circumstances by members of a delegation simply answering "Yes" or "No" when the name of the Delegation is called out in the Assembly.

(j)

(j) Economic Weapon.

(Documents 28, 28 (a), 28 (b), 32, 115, 145, 146, 147, 149, 154, 155, 166, 180).

The Assembly decided to amend Article 16 of the Covenant and to approve a number of resolutions embodying a scheme to give effect to this article should necessity arise for its application. The new text of the Article will be found in Paper A. 168. The resolutions are given in full on pages 209 to 211 of the Assembly Journal.

(k) Eastern Galicia.

(Documents 80, 82, 84, 121, 157)

Mr. Doherty's proposal was adopted unanimously. Further information on the subject is given in an earlier part of this report.

(l) Organisation of Statistics.

(Documents 10, 12, 12 (1), 12 (2), 12 (3), 12 (4), 12 (5), 12 (6), 139 156).

The Assembly adopted three resolutions on this subject. The general effect of them being to ensure that no expense is incurred pending the full consideration of the matter by the next Assembly.

(m) Provisional Economic and Financial Committee .

(Documents 95, 112, 160.)

The Assembly had before it a report showing the work done by this Committee. It was arranged (1) that the Committee should continue its work (2) that it should study the exchange question etc. (3) that it should give technical advice to States on request (4) that it was not necessary to summon a general conference this year (5) that the Committee should continue its endeavours to organise an International credits scheme on lines laid down at Brussels Conference and (6) that it should continue to assist Austria in organizing its finances. Several other less important duties were also delegated to the Committee.

(n)

(n) Traffic in Women and Children.

Documents 125, 125 (1), 132, 134, 161, 161 (a).)

On the suggestion of Mr. Doherty's committee the Assembly adopted a proposal urging States members of the League to sign the new convention. Mr. Doherty has already cabled to you explaining where this new convention differs from the old one. We were pleased to receive your cable authority permitting Mr. Doherty to sign the Convention on behalf of the Dominion Government and he signed it forthwith.

(o) Traffic in Opium.

Documents 143, 143 (a), 168).

The Assembly adopted a number of resolutions with a view to ensuring better control over the production of manufacture of and trade in this drug. It was further agreed to invite the Council to consider the question of convening a conference with a view to determining whether it was not desirable to draw up a convention for the suppression of all dangerous drugs of whatever origin which produce similar effects.

(p) Russian Famine Relief.

Documents 61, 162, 164, 167, 175).

This subject produced a long debate in the Assembly which decided on the suggestion of the Sixth Committee and Lord Robert Cecil to pass a number of resolutions. Their net effect was to suggest private aid should be given but that it was not possible for the Assembly to urge Governments to grant credits. The Assembly also considered that Dr. Mansen would be an excellent official to supervise this work.

(q) Deportation of Women and Children in Turkey, Asia Minor and Neighbouring territories.

Documents 33, 113, 127).

The Assembly on hearing a report from a Commission of

Enquiry...

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Enquiry decided (1) to appoint a High Commissioner in Constantinople and secure cooperation of Allied High Commissioners there (2) to assume financial responsibility for a "neutral house" for rescue work in Constantinople and open such further houses as opportunity offers.

(r) The dispute between Poland and Lithuania.

(Documents 59, 73, 106, 111, 138).

This matter has been engaging the attention of the Council for many months. At its request M. Hymans outlined to the Assembly a scheme for settlement which he had prepared and which he is hopeful will be accepted by both parties.

(s) Health Organisation.

(Documents 31, 31 (a), 31 (b), 109).

The Assembly decided to approve the proposal that since it was not possible to take over the Office International d'Hygiene publique set up by Rome Convention of 1907 owing to the unwillingness of the United States to have this done, a Provisional Health Committee should be established under the direction of the League which would work in cooperation with that Office. A full report will be submitted to the next Assembly.

(t) Permanent Organisation of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office.

(Documents 3, 21, 133, 140, 171.)

A report was submitted showing what steps had been taken to put these organisations on such a footing as would enable them to carry out their functions with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of expense. Various proposals were made as to the recruitment of the staff, length and conditions of service, etc. The Committee responsible for the report had already adopted a suggestion of Sir George Perley that the staff of the League should be recruited as far as possible in fair proportion from all States members of the League.

(u)

(u) Reduction of Armaments.

(Documents 13, 18, 61, 88, 153, 176).

The Assembly adopted a number of resolutions on this important subject. They will be found on pages 286 and 287 of the Assembly Journal. The general opinion was that the refusal of the United States to become a member of the League, the unsettled state of certain European territories and the forthcoming Washington Conference made it difficult to accomplish anything very practical at the present time. The debate on the subject was rendered memorable by a speech by M. Noblemaire who defined very clearly France's attitude towards the reduction of armaments.

(v) Albania.

(Documents 6, 34, 99, 123, 130, 131, 135, 142, 150, 151, 159, 186.)

The Assembly decided to urge Albania to accept the decision of the Associated Powers as to the defining of the frontiers of Albania and it was further resolved to send as soon as possible a small commission to enquire into the situation there.

(w) Amendments to the Covenant.

(Documents 8, 24, 24 (1), 25(1), 47, 47(a), 119(1), 119(2), 119(3), 119(4), 119(5), 119(6), 119(7), 119(9), 119(10), 119(11), 165, 166, 179, 181, 182, 184, 185).

The Second Assembly differed from the first in the desire of the majority of the Delegates to secure Amendments of the Covenant. Article 26 in reference to the majority required for its amendment, was first considered. It was decided that the majority should be three fourths in which there should be included the votes of all members of the Council represented at the meeting. It was further provided that amendments would

have....

have to be ratified by members within 22 months and that if sufficient ratifications were not obtained the proposed amendments were to be without effect.

The amendment of Article 16 has already been referred to under the paragraph (j) relating to the Economic Weapon.

By far the most important amendment so far as Canada and many other countries are concerned was the amendment of Article 6 in so far as it relates to the apportionment of League expenses. Under the new scheme Canada will for the next two years contribute 35 units as against United Kingdom 90 France 90 China 65, India 65 Italy 65 Japan 65 etc. The new allocation relates to the 1922 budget but the Assembly recommended that any amounts which would have been overpaid if the scheme had been in operation this year should be refunded if and when the League Accounts show a surplus. Sir George Perley spent a great deal of his time at this Committee No. 4. and endeavoured to get as favourable a solution as possible for Canada. In the result we can at all events look forward to paying a smaller contribution towards the League expenses and a further adjustment may be arranged after next year. The Assembly further decided to adjourn consideration of proposals to amend Articles 1, 3, 5, 12, 15, and 21. Slight verbal alterations due to the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice were however agreed upon in the case of Articles 12, 13, and 15. Special mention should be made of the position of Article 10. not only because the case for its deletion was put forward by the Canadian Delegation to the First Assembly but because of the strong arguments used by Mr. Doherty in favour of the proposal at the meetings of Committee One of the Second Assembly. It was well known that the Committee fortified by the opinion
of...

of the Committee of the Council and supported by Jurists²¹⁵⁸⁶ had decided to reject the proposal. The case put forward by Mr. Doherty was however so strong that a majority of the Committee decided that new light had been thrown on the subject and that in view of the strength of the case made against it the report of the Committee appointed by Council should not be adopted, but that the Canadian proposal should be carefully examined and considered by the next Assembly and have precedence over all other proposals of Amendments of the Covenant.

(x) League Budget.

(Documents 19, 19(a), 19(1), 19(a) (1), 21, 29, 129, 169, 169(1) 170, 179, 184, 185)

The budget of the League and International Labour Office was considered in detail by the Fourth Committee of the Assembly who recommended its adoption subject to certain amendments. The Assembly approved the Budget as recast by the Committee. The amount involved is about the same as that voted last year.

(y) Protection of Minorities.

(Documents 64, 163, 176, 177).

A proposal for the appointment of a Permanent Commission of Enquiry into complaints was withdrawn as it was understood that the Council had already made ample provision for their consideration.

(z) Election of Non Permanent Members.

of the Council.

(Document 119 (10)).

It was decided to make no change at this Assembly and the old representatives were therefore re-elected.

General Observations.

The League of Nations has had only two Assemblies. It would be inadvisable yet to make any prediction as to its future.

One...

One thing is certain that it will never be able to carry out its full programme until it embraces all States. This fact was made abundantly evident in the discussions which took place in the Second Assembly on such matters as Reduction of Armaments, Blockade and even Health. Nevertheless a great deal has already been accomplished. It is indeed a great step forward to have brought the representatives of 51 States to a public conference where they can discuss matters of common interest in a friendly way and in a spirit of cooperation. It was remarked during the Assembly that there was an entire absence of destructive criticism. It is possible to go even further and to say that there was a keen desire on all sides to make the League a success and to endeavour to appreciate and to meet the views of any State which put forward amendments not quite in harmony with the general feeling of the Assembly. This is all for the good and should be a great factor in making for the peace of the world.

A word as to publicity may not be out of place. It is certain that the League can never become popular even among the peoples of the States comprising it unless some steps are taken to make its organisation and purpose better known to them. Most of the countries are far removed from the seat of the League, and are in most cases dependent on second hand information as to its doings. In this connection it may be noted that there was not a single Canadian Press Correspondent in Geneva. Those who are interested in the cause of peace for which the League stands should therefore cooperate in making the League better known. No doubt League of Nations Associations in various countries are doing something in this direction but this effort must..

must be supported by other means. The League Secretariat cannot from its very nature carry on propaganda of this description and it must therefore fall upon the States and their peoples. Mr. Doherty pointed out in the course of his speech on the Secretariat report that it would be very beneficial if the delegates to the Assembly were the representatives of the peoples of the League rather than League Governments. This would undoubtedly mark a great advance but the difficulties in carrying out this charge are considerable. Few States situated far from Europe can on account of the time and expense involved send delegations direct from the States to the Assembly. They have to be content in most cases to be represented by Ministers and officials already resident in Europe. These representatives have often been away from their respective countries for a considerable time and are therefore not fully conversant with the present feelings of their country towards the League. Apart from this the fact that these representatives do not return home at the conclusion of the Assembly prevents them explaining fully to their fellow-countrymen the excellent work that the League is doing. One opportunity of helping the League suggests itself to us. States members of the League have to contribute to its upkeep and when the necessary contribution is being voted each year by Parliament, a good occasion presents itself for explaining fully the details as to its organisation, purpose and achievements.

We appreciate the confidence you have shown us by sending us as Canada's delegates to the Assembly, and are,

Your obedient servants,

Charles J. Doherty

George H. Perley.

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