

hand, the Japanese could not be insensitive to the scorpion's sting in Mr. Stimson's other proposition, which was to the following effect:

It must be remembered also that this treaty was one of several treaties and agreements entered into at the Washington Conference by the various powers concerned, all of which were interrelated and interdependent. No one of these treaties can be disregarded without disturbing the general understanding and equilibrium which were intended to be accomplished and effected by the group of agreements arrived at in their entirety. The Washington Conference was essentially a disarmament conference, aimed to promote the possibility of peace in the world not only through the cessation of competition in naval armament but also by the solution of various other disturbing problems which threatened the peace of the world, particularly in the Far East. These problems were all interrelated. The willingness of the American Government to surrender its then commanding lead in battleship construction and to leave its positions at Guam and in the Philippines without further fortification, was predicated upon, among other things, the self-denying covenants contained in the Nine-Power Treaty, which assured the nations of the world not only of equal opportunity for their Eastern trade, but also against the military aggrandisement of any other power at the expense of China. One cannot discuss the possibility of modifying or abrogating those provisions of the Nine-Power Treaty without considering at the same time the other premisses upon which they were really dependent.

The gist of this proposition was that the set of treaties which had been concluded at Washington in 1921-2 constituted a coherent and interdependent and indivisible whole in which all the parts stood or fell together—with the consequence that, if any one of the contracting parties picked to pieces any one of the instruments in question, it could not perpetrate this act of sabotage and sacrilege without unravelling the entire nexus of treaties, including those instruments which were of value to itself. In concrete terms, if Japan tore up the Nine-Power Treaty which was intended to assure China of her integrity and to assure the other seven contracting parties of the preservation of the Far Eastern Balance of Power as it had stood at the time when the Washington Treaties were negotiated, then Japan would be tearing up, in the same act, the Four-Power Treaty and the Five-Power Treaty concerning the Balance of Power in the whole area of the Pacific: that is to say, the two instruments which were the source of Japan's momentary power to violate her own treaty obligations by using naval and military force against the integrity of China without herself being exposed to any danger of naval or military coercion on the part of other Powers.¹

¹ This highly advantageous position was secured to Japan by the combination of the Four-Power Treaty, taken as a whole, with Article XIX of the Five-

The more closely the second of Mr. Stimson's propositions, here quoted, is studied the more formidable will it be found to be.

The Japanese Government showed their sensitiveness to this sting in Mr. Stimson's letter of the 23rd February in the official comments upon it that were made in Tokyo on the 25th. 'The Foreign Office Spokesman' in the Japanese capital 'declared that Mr. Stimson was under a misapprehension if he considered that a bargain had been struck at the Washington Arms Conference between the Nine-Power Treaty and the naval agreements. He said the naval agreements and the agreement not to fortify Guam were not reached by a process of barter regarding Chinese questions but were concluded before the Chinese questions were taken up.'¹ A high official in the Japanese Foreign Office was reported to have gone so far as to declare that Mr. Stimson had displayed 'ignorance of the history of the Washington Conference';² and on the same day 'the Naval Spokesman' at Tokyo 'said it would be extremely serious for Japan if Mr. Stimson's note [i.e. letter] could be interpreted as implying that the United States had resumed its right to fortify Guam', but that 'the Japanese Navy could not believe that Mr. Stimson intended to convey such a threat'.³

Thus, in Japanese minds and hearts, the sting went home; and the question now presented itself whether the ultimate outcome of the Far Eastern crisis would really be a liquidation of the whole settlement that had been achieved at Washington, and a resumption of naval competition in the Pacific between the principal naval Powers of the World, or whether this international calamity would be averted—in accordance with the hope which Mr. Stimson himself had expressed—by a practical proof of the efficacy of a refusal to accord recognition to illegal acts of violence. Mr. Stimson had expressed the hope that the working of this principle would 'eventually lead to the restoration to China of rights and titles of which she' might 'have been deprived'; but this optimism on the part of the American Secretary of State in regard to the stand which had been taken by the United States Government in the note of the 7th January, 1932, had been conditional upon one postulate: namely, 'if a similar decision should be reached and a similar position taken by the other Governments of the world.'

Power Treaty, which provided for the preservation of the *status quo* with regard to fortifications and naval bases within a region so defined as to keep the British and American Navies at arm's length from Japan, while leaving the Philippines and Hongkong at the Japanese Navy's mercy. (See the *Survey for 1920-3*, pp. 489-90.)

¹ *The New York Times*, 26th February, 1932.

² *The New York Times*, *loc. cit.*

³ *The New York Times*, *loc. cit.*

On the 23rd February, as on the 7th January, 1932, the Government from which Mr. Stimson was most eager to receive frank support in the application of the non-recognition policy was the Government of the United Kingdom.¹ In this desire, however, the Government of the United States were disappointed once again. The Government at Westminster made no sign on the 24th February, when Mr. Stimson's letter was published; and on the 2nd March, 1932,² in the House of Commons at Westminster, when the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eden, was asked whether Honourable Members were to understand that the Government approved of the principles laid down in Mr. Stimson's letter, the British Government's parliamentary spokesman replied:

I think the Right Honourable Gentleman will be on safer ground if he assumes that we approve the statement to which we set our name with the other members of the Council [of the League of Nations].³

In reply to a further question on the same occasion from the same questioner, Mr. Eden added that no further action was contemplated for the time being by His Britannic Majesty's Government at Westminster.

Thus the Government of the United Kingdom persisted in their policy of non-co-operation with the United States on the large question of principle, in so far as their own individual action or inaction was at issue. At the same time, the British Government were engaged in co-operative proceedings, *à propos* of the Far Eastern crisis, in the international forum of the League of Nations; and in this forum the remission of the problem by the Council of the League

¹ If evidence for this statement is required, it will be found, in clear and emphatic terms, in the two relevant despatches from the Washington Correspondent of *The Times*: i.e. the despatch of the 8th January, 1932, which was published on the 9th; and the despatch of the 25th February which was published on the 26th. The evidence of these two despatches is particularly convincing because the editorial policy of *The Times*, as determined in Printing House Square and executed in the editorial columns, was in diametrical opposition to the American desires of which the Washington correspondent's despatches conveyed information, so that there can be no suspicion that the sense of these despatches may have been coloured with an eye to making the news agreeable to those quarters in London to which the despatches were addressed. In Mr. Stimson's letter of the 24th February, 1932, there is also internal evidence to the same effect in the prominence that is given to the citations from Lord Salisbury and Lord Balfour.

² This was just a month after the date on which the language of Anglo-American co-operation had been spoken by Sir John Simon in the House of Commons at Westminster and by Mr. J. H. Thomas in the Council Room of the League of Nations at Geneva. (See p. 504 above, footnote, and pp. 563-4 below.)

³ For this statement—i.e. the note of the 16th February, 1932—see p. 547 above, and pp. 565-6 below.

to the Assembly on the 19th February enabled the small states members—whose attitude, as has been explained above,¹ resembled that of the United States—to make their voices heard more effectively than theretofore.² The sense of the peoples and the Governments of the small countries was strongly in favour of giving the Government of the United States all possible support in their Far Eastern policy; and, on this occasion, the opinions and feelings of the majority prevailed in some degree over the policies and calculations of the United Kingdom, Germany and France. Indeed, in this session of the Assembly, the atmosphere induced by the temper of the majority was sufficiently electric to convince the principal British delegate of the advisability of providing a lightning-conductor; and accordingly, on the 7th March,³ the Assembly (like the Council in February) heard a British proposal for a collective endorsement of the American policy which the Government of the United Kingdom had refrained from endorsing individually on their own part hitherto. Sir John Simon's move on this occasion was supported by his French, German and Italian colleagues. And thus all the four European Powers were implicated in the resolution which was voted by the Assembly on the 11th March, 1932, and which contained the following passage:

The Assembly . . . declares that it is incumbent upon the members of the League of Nations not to recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the Covenant of the League of Nations or to the Pact of Paris.

In this passage the American policy of non-recognition was endorsed by the League of Nations in terms that were unmistakably explicit; and on the 12th March Mr. Stimson expressed his gratification in the following statement:

The nations of the League at Geneva have united in a common attitude and purpose towards the perilous disturbances in the Far East. The action of the Assembly expresses the purpose for peace which is found both in the Pact of Paris and the Covenant of the League of Nations. In this expression all the nations of the world can speak with the same voice. This action will go far toward developing into terms of international law the principles of order and justice which underlie those treaties, and the Government of the United States has been glad to co-operate earnestly in this effort.

The Japanese, on their part, were not slow in putting Mr. Stimson's doctrine and the Assembly's resolution to the test; for on the 12th March, 1932, 'the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Manchukuo' addressed a communication⁴ to the Governments of seventeen

¹ See p. 517 above. ² See pp. 575-7 below. ³ See pp. 577-8 below.

⁴ Text in *Proclamations, &c.* (cited in footnote 5 on p. 456 above), pp. 7-8.

countries which had consular officials in Manchuria, and also to the Governments of thirty-five other countries. In this communication, the first and last paragraphs ran as follows:

I have the honour of informing you that the Provinces of Fengtien, Kirin, Heilungkiang and Jehol, the Tungsheng Special District and Mongolian Mungs (Leagues) under several Banners have united themselves to establish an independent Government severing their relations with the Republic of China and have created 'Manchukuo', the State of Manchuria, on March 1st, 1932. . . .

It is the earnest desire of this Government that your Government will fully understand the purport of the establishment of the State of Manchuria hereinbefore stated and that formal diplomatic relations be established between your Government and the State of Manchuria.

The Japanese can scarcely have expected that this communication would elicit, from the Governments addressed, the recognition of 'Manchukuo' which was solicited; and it may therefore be presumed that they were neither surprised nor disappointed by the outcome, which was uniformly negative. In the House of Commons at Westminster, on the 14th March, 1932, Sir John Simon stated, in answer to a parliamentary question, that, on the information at the disposal of the Government at Westminster, any recognition of 'Manchukuo' would be premature. On the 22nd March, it was reported that France (like Japan up to that date)¹ had merely acknowledged unofficially the receipt of the communication from 'Manchukuo', without making any reference to the request for recognition which the communication had conveyed. A somewhat more difficult problem was presented to the U.S.S.R. by the destruction of Chang Hsüeh-liang's Government in 'the Three Eastern Provinces' of China and the erection of the puppet 'Manchukuo' in its place, because the vast length of the common frontier between this portion of China and the territories of the Soviet Union made relations of some sort with whatever Power ruled *de facto* in this Chinese territory unavoidable for the Russian authorities. Accordingly, the Soviet Government were virtually bound to take practical cognizance of the Japanese military occupation of Manchuria behind the 'Manchukuo' façade; and on the 14th June, 1932, it was reported from Changchun that the Soviet Government were ceasing to recognize the Consuls who had been appointed at Chita, Blagovieschensk, Khabarovsk and Vladivostok by the late Government at Mukden, and were arranging for the appointment, in their stead, of nominees of the new Government at Changchun. Soviet officials were reported, however, to have stated at the same time that this step did not involve a recognition of 'Manchukuo', but

¹ See p. 461 above.

was merely a convenience in dealing with a situation of fact in a country adjoining the U.S.S.R. In the event, the Soviet Government at Moscow, so far from giving recognition to the fictitious Manchurian Government at Changchun, re-entered into diplomatic relations with the Central Government of the Chinese Republic at Nanking before the end of the calendar year.¹

Mr. Stimson's open letter of the 23rd February, 1932, to Senator Borah was not the last opportunity that was taken in the course of this year by the American Secretary of State to indicate in public the opinion of the United States Government that the action of Japan in Manchuria was a breach of treaty and the determination of the United States Government not to recognize any changes which might be brought about in breach of treaty and by violent means.

For example, in the address which he delivered on the 8th August, 1932, in New York, to the Council on Foreign Relations on the general theme of the collective international interest in the maintenance of the world's peace, and the duties and rights of each and every nation in this matter,² Mr. Stimson illustrated the general from the particular in the following passage:

In September, 1931, hostilities broke out between the armed forces of Japan and China in the same quarter of the world, Manchuria, and the situation was brought to the attention of the Council of the League of Nations, which happened to be then in session at Geneva. Our Government was invited to confer as to the bearing of the Pact of Paris upon the controversy. We promptly accepted the invitation, designating a representative to meet with the Council for that purpose; and the attention of the two disputants was called to their obligations under the Pact by France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain, Norway and the United States—those nations, other than the United States, being members of the Council then in session.

The hostilities between Japanese and Chinese armed forces continued, and protracted efforts towards conciliation were made by the Council of the League, which had taken jurisdiction of the matter. The American Government maintained its attitude of sympathetic co-operation with the efforts of the Council and, acting independently through the diplomatic channels, endeavoured to reinforce the Council's efforts at conciliation. Finally, when in spite of these efforts Japan had occupied all of Manchuria, the American Government formally notified both that country and China, on the 7th January, 1932, that it would not recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which might be brought about by means contrary to the covenant and obligations of the Pact of Paris.

¹ For this important event in the diplomatic history of the Far East in 1932, see pp. 535-6 above.

² The general theme of Mr. Stimson's address on this occasion is dealt with in the present volume on pp. 271-3. The text of his speech will be found in *Documents on International Affairs, 1932*.

Subsequently, on the 11th March, this action of the American Government was endorsed by the Assembly of the League of Nations, at a meeting in which fifty nations were represented. On that occasion, under circumstances of the utmost formality and solemnity, a resolution was adopted unanimously, Japan alone refraining from voting, in which the Assembly declared that, 'it is incumbent upon the members of the League of Nations not to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the Covenant of the League of Nations or to the Pact of Paris'.

These successive steps cannot be adequately appraised unless they are measured in the light of the vital change of point of view which I have described in the opening of this address. They were the acts of nations which were bound together by a new viewpoint towards war, as well as by covenants which made that viewpoint a reality. Except for this new viewpoint and these new covenants, these transactions in far-off Manchuria, under the rules of international law theretofore obtaining, might not have been deemed the concern of the United States and these fifty other nations. Under the former concepts of international law, when a conflict occurred it was usually deemed the concern only of the parties to the conflict. The others could only exercise and express a strict neutrality alike towards the injured and the aggressor. If they took any action or even expressed an opinion, it was likely to be deemed a hostile act towards the nation against which it was directed. The direct individual interest which every nation has in preventing a war had not yet been fully realized, nor had that interest been given legal recognition. But now under the covenants of the Briand-Kellogg Pact such a conflict becomes of legal concern to everybody connected with the Treaty. All of the steps taken to enforce the treaty must be judged by this new situation. As was said by M. Briand, quoting the words of President Coolidge: 'An act of war in any part of the world is an act that injures the interests of my country.' The world has learned that great lesson, and the execution of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty codified it.

Thus the power of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty cannot be adequately appraised unless it is assumed that behind it rests the combined weight of the opinion of the entire world united by a deliberate covenant which gives to each nation the right to express its moral judgment. When the American Government took the responsibility of sending its note of the 7th January last, it was a pioneer. It was appealing to a new common sentiment and to the provisions of a Treaty as yet untested. Its own refusal to recognize the fruits of aggression might be of comparatively little moment to an aggressor. But when the entire group of civilized nations took their stand beside the position of the American Government, the situation was revealed in its true sense. Moral disapproval, when it becomes the disapproval of the whole world, takes on a significance hitherto unknown in international law. For never before has international opinion been so organized and mobilized.

When this passage was called in question by the Japanese Ambassador at Washington in a conversation which he had with Mr. Stimson on the 10th August, 1932, the Secretary of State took occasion to

impress upon him the opinion and the policy of the United States Government once again.

Thereafter, on the 1st October, 1932, Mr. Stimson expressed himself in another public speech¹ to the following effect:

The present crisis in Manchuria is not only a blow to the commercial interests of the United States, but a threat to the authority of the great peace treaties which were conceived after the War by the nations of the world in a supreme effort to prevent the recurrence of such a disaster. Across the Pacific lie the great potential markets of the Orient. Our commerce in that quarter has been expanding more rapidly in recent years than in any other portion. During the centuries to come these opposite shores of this great ocean will have the most important relations, and the character of these relations will have a commanding influence upon the welfare of the world. It is vitally important, therefore, that these relations should be based upon enduring foundations of justice and peace. For over thirty years our Government has sponsored a policy of the open door in China, which rests upon the two principles of equality of opportunity among all nations dealing with China, and, as necessary to that equality, the preservation of China's territorial and administrative integrity. This policy is crystallized in the Nine-Power Treaty.

Between the publication of his letter to Senator Borah and the delivery of the two addresses from which the last two quotations have been taken, the American Secretary of State had visited Europe (landing at Havre on the 15th April and sailing from Golfe Juan on the 4th May) and had studied at first hand the respective attitudes of the various European Governments towards the Far Eastern crisis. According to a credible report,² this personal reconnaissance had confirmed Mr. Stimson in the view which he had held when he sent his note to Japan on the 7th January of this year. In his opinion, now as then, the key to the diplomatic situation was the attitude of the Government of the United Kingdom. If the British Government chose to co-operate frankly with the United States on the one hand and with the small states members of the League of Nations on the other hand in carrying the policy of non-recognition through, then Japan would be confronted by an expression of world opinion to which she would ultimately have to defer: partly because of the number and importance of the nations represented in such a combination and partly because, with London acting as a *trait d'union* between Washington and Geneva, the opinion of all these nations would be

¹ A speech addressed by Mr. Stimson to the Union League Club, as reported in *The Manchester Guardian* on the 3rd October, 1932.

² See a telegram of the 16th September, 1932, from the Washington correspondent of *The Times* which was published on the 17th September. Testimony in this sense must carry weight when it comes from this source and is published in this quarter.

co-ordinated and mobilized in an effective form for translation into action. On the other hand, so long as the Government at Westminster allowed it to be apparent to the Japanese that the United Kingdom, as well as France, would continue to treat the military action of Japan on Chinese soil with indulgence, while maintaining an apparently equivocal attitude towards the diplomatic efforts of the small countries and of the United States to uphold the collective system of security and peace, for just so long would the Japanese Government feel themselves able with impunity to break their own treaty obligations in defiance of the opinion of the rest of Mankind. Throughout the year 1932 British policy was the decisive diplomatic factor in the situation arising from the Sino-Japanese conflict; and throughout the year, as will have become apparent from the foregoing survey, this policy was conducted on the second and not on the first of the two alternative lines.

The inclination of British policy in this direction was a fact of far-reaching importance. It not only governed the course of Far Eastern affairs during the year 1932. It promised to have an even wider and deeper effect in years to come upon the general relations between the United Kingdom and the United States. The probable nature of this effect was already foreshadowed, in December 1932, in the psychological connexion that could be detected between the latest chapter in the history of Anglo-American relations over the Far East and the new chapter, which opened in that month, in the relations between the two countries over Inter-Ally Debts.¹

(c) THE ACTION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(1) *The Sixty-Sixth Session of the Council (25th January-29th February, 1932)*

The Council of the League of Nations assembled for its sixty-sixth session on the 25th January, 1932, and, at the request of the Chinese delegate, resumed its discussion of the Sino-Japanese dispute. In the interval which had elapsed since the 10th December, 1931, the date on which the sixty-fifth session of the Council had closed with the adoption of a unanimous resolution,² the members of the Commission of Inquiry which the Council had decided, by that resolution, to appoint had been nominated, had held a preliminary meeting at Geneva, and had elected the British member, Lord Lytton, as their chairman. The Commission, however, had not yet started for the

¹ For the history of Inter-Ally Debts in 1932, see the present volume Part II, section (i).

² See the *Survey for 1931*, pp. 501-5.

scene of its labours, where, in the meantime, the Japanese had been proceeding with the execution of their programme, in complete disregard of the other provisions of the Council's resolution of the 10th December, 1931.¹ The interval between the 10th December, 1931, and the 25th January, 1932, had also been marked by increasing tension between the Chinese and Japanese at Shanghai; and four days before the Council met at Geneva the Commander of the Japanese naval forces at Shanghai had announced his intention of taking 'direct action' of some kind if the Chinese authorities did not fulfil five demands which had been presented to them by the Japanese Consul-General on the previous day.² Thus the Council assembled under the shadow of the cloud which was destined to burst at Shanghai during the night of the 28th/29th January.

The Council recognized that the situation at Shanghai was extremely menacing; and its President, Monsieur Paul-Boncour, appealed to the Chinese and Japanese Governments 'to take all the necessary measures to prevent Shanghai from becoming a new centre of trouble'. This appeal was made after the Council had heard the Japanese and the Chinese versions of recent developments. Mr. Sato, who had taken Mr. Yoshizawa's place at Geneva,³ defended the Japanese occupation of Chinchow and dealt at some length with the situation at Shanghai. Dr. W. W. Yen, who had succeeded Mr. Sze as leader of the Chinese delegation, entered a vigorous protest against the Japanese Government's defiance of the Council's previous recommendations, and also against the delay in the departure of the Lytton Commission of Enquiry. He declared that the methods of conciliation which the Council had adopted in accordance with Article 11 of the Covenant had failed completely, and he indicated that his Government contemplated altering the basis of their appeal to the League. 'The necessity for proceeding to the exhaustion of all rights and remedies available to China under other articles of the Covenant' was, he said, becoming 'daily more pressing'.

The Council considered that their resolution of the 10th December, 1931, made it unnecessary for them to pass a fresh resolution pending receipt of the Lytton Commission's report, so long as no new facts were brought to their notice. During the next few days, however,

¹ For the course of events in Manchuria down to the Japanese occupation of Chinchow on the 3rd January, 1932, see the *Survey for 1931*, Part IV, section (iii) (b) (2). For the developments after that date, see section (ii) of this part of the present volume.

² See section (iii) (a) of this part of the present volume.

³ Mr. Yoshizawa had been appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the new Japanese Cabinet which took office in December 1931.

the members of the Council, other than the representatives of China and Japan, held a number of private meetings and drew up a long declaration on the Sino-Japanese dispute. The concluding paragraphs of this declaration referred to the note which had been addressed to the Governments of China and Japan by the Government of the United States on the 7th January¹ and stated that it would be impossible for the League to endorse a settlement secured by methods at variance with the obligations arising under the treaties referred to in the American note, or under Article 10 of the Covenant. The members of the Council hoped that this declaration 'would put an end, for this session, at any rate, to the difficulty engaging' their 'attention';² but their hope was doomed to disappointment by the march of events at Shanghai. On the 29th January, when Japanese aeroplanes were bombing the Chinese quarters of that city, the Chinese Government took the step which had been indicated by Dr. Yen four days earlier.³ In view of the fact that the Sino-Japanese dispute had not 'been submitted to arbitration or to judicial settlement in accordance with any of the articles of the Covenant', and that the dispute had 'now reached a stage when it' was 'likely to lead to an immediate rupture between China and Japan', the Chinese Government invoked 'the application (not in derogation of the measures taken, or which may be taken, by the League in the exercise of its functions under Article 11, but in addition thereto) both of Article 10 and Article 15 of the Covenant to the said dispute, and formally' submitted 'the said matter to the Council for all appropriate and necessary measures under both of the said articles'.

In supporting his Government's application at the meeting of the Council on the 29th January, Dr. Yen laid special stress on the obligation which was imposed upon members of the League by Article 10 of the Covenant.⁴ He submitted that 'the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China' had 'been largely destroyed, and its political independence gravely threatened, by external aggres-

¹ See pp. 540-1 above.

² Monsieur Paul-Boncour at the Council meeting on the 29th January.

³ Dr. Yen told the Council on the 30th January that the Chinese Government would have invoked Article 15 of the Covenant even if the Shanghai incidents had not occurred, and that the communication which had been submitted to the Council on the previous day had been drafted before the Chinese Government had received news of the fighting at Shanghai.

⁴ 'The Members of the League 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 such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.'

sion', and that it only remained for the Council 'to advise upon the means' by which the obligation specified in Article 10 of the Covenant was to be fulfilled. By invoking Articles 10 and 15 of the Covenant, the Chinese Government were taking 'affirmative steps to strengthen the hands of the League' in dealing with the dispute.

The most important respect in which the invocation of Articles 10 and 15 of the Covenant might be expected to 'strengthen the hands of the League' arose out of paragraphs 3 and 4 of Article 15, which provided that the Council should 'endeavour to effect a settlement of' a dispute referred to it under that article, but that, if its efforts were not successful, it should 'either unanimously or by a majority vote . . . make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto'. In the earlier discussions of the Sino-Japanese dispute by the Council, Japan had taken full advantage of the fact that any decisions of the Council in regard to a dispute which had been submitted to it under Article 11 of the Covenant must be unanimous.¹ It was only to be expected, therefore, that Japan would oppose a change in the basis of the Chinese appeal which would mean that the Council, in drawing up its recommendations, would no longer be obliged to reckon with a power of veto on Japan's part.

Mr. Sato, on the 29th January, followed the precedent which had been set by Mr. Yoshizawa and raised technical objections to the invocation of Article 15 of the Covenant. He expressed doubts as to whether a dispute could be dealt with at the same time under Articles 11 and 15 of the Covenant, and whether this particular dispute was in fact of such a nature as to justify an appeal under Article 15—that is, whether it had 'already reached a stage which' might 'lead to an imminent severance of relations' between China and Japan. He declared that, in his opinion, Article 15 constituted 'the final means of redress between members of the League', and that, before having recourse to that procedure, China should have exhausted all the other available means of settlement, and in particular should have had 'recourse to direct negotiations' with the Japanese Government. Monsieur Paul-Boncour, as President of the Council, disposed of Mr. Sato's objections by referring to previous Council rulings to the effect that the initiation of procedure under Article 15 did not prevent the Council from continuing to take measures in accordance with Article 11, and by pointing out that the Council was not responsible for deciding whether a Member of the League which appealed under Article 15 of the Covenant was or was not justified in thinking that

¹ See the *Survey for 1931*, Part II, section (iii) (b) (4).

the dispute in question was 'likely to lead to a rupture'. The onus of that decision rested on the Government which made the appeal; and, once the appeal had been lodged, the provisions of Article 15 came automatically into force. Monsieur Paul-Boncour's views were supported by other members of the Council who took part in the debate on the following day (the 30th January); but Mr. Sato declared himself unconvinced, and warned the Council that 'a very bad impression' would be created in Japan when it became known that the Council had 'adopted so hasty a decision on a question of very great importance without even taking the trouble to consider the arguments which the Japanese representative submitted to it'.

It fell to the Secretary-General of the League and not to the Council to take the first step in the procedure which was laid down in Article 15 of the Covenant. Paragraph 1 of that Article stipulated that a party to a dispute might submit that dispute to the Council by giving notice of its existence to the Secretary-General, who would thereupon 'make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof'. The widely different accounts of events at Shanghai which were given to the Council by Dr. Yen and Mr. Sato on the 29th January showed how necessary it was that the Council should be supplied with information from an impartial source; and the Council at once endorsed the proposal which Sir Eric Drummond made on the 30th January, in execution of the duty imposed upon him by Article 15 of the Covenant. His proposal was that the Governments represented on the Council, other than the parties to the dispute, which had official representatives at Shanghai should instruct those officers to form a committee which would report to the Council on the incidents which had taken place, their causes and development. The representatives of France, Italy, Great Britain, Germany, Spain and Norway at once accepted the Secretary-General's suggestion on behalf of their Governments. The appointment of a commission at Shanghai was welcomed by Dr. Yen, who took occasion to point out, however, that if Shanghai was 'important to China—very important—Manchuria' was 'still more important'. The situation in Manchuria was, he declared, 'much graver' than that at Shanghai, since in Manchuria '200,000 square miles of Chinese territory and 30,000,000 Chinese people' were involved. As for Mr. Sato, he assured the Council that his Government were 'willing to afford' the Council 'every assistance at Shanghai'.

A Committee of Enquiry, consisting of the Consular representatives of the six Powers mentioned above, was immediately constituted at Shanghai, and the Government of the United States, at the request

of the Secretary-General, authorized their Consul-General to cooperate in the work of the committee. The Consular Committee despatched its first report to Geneva on the 6th February, its second on the 12th February, its third on the 20th February, and its fourth on the 15th March.¹

During the month of February, 1932, the Council devoted four public meetings to the consideration of the Sino-Japanese dispute, and the Committee of Twelve (that is, all the members of the Council except China and Japan) met from time to time in private in order to discuss what measures, if any, they could take to facilitate a settlement. The first of the public meetings was held on the 2nd February, at the request of the British representative. The 2nd February was the day which had been fixed for the opening session of the World Disarmament Conference at Geneva,² and the assembly of that Conference was postponed for an hour in order not to clash with the meeting of the Council. In this way the intimate connexion between the situation in the Far East and the problems which were before the Disarmament Conference received dramatic recognition.

The Council meeting of the 2nd February was chiefly remarkable for the unexpectedly vigorous statement which was made by Mr. J. H. Thomas on behalf of the British Government. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, said Mr. Thomas, felt it 'to be impossible that the present situation in the Far East should be allowed to continue. Every day' brought 'news of some fresh incident of the utmost gravity. Fighting over a wide area' was 'practically continuous. Shanghai' was 'the scene of a series of conflicts in which rifles and machine-guns, artillery and aeroplanes' were 'taking part. War in everything but name' was 'in progress'. If this state of things were allowed to go on, 'the Covenant, the Pact of Paris and the Nine-Power Treaty must inevitably lose the confidence of the world'.

Mr. Thomas reminded the Council that the Government of the United States took 'entirely the same view of the situation', and he referred to the efforts which were being made, in concert with the Government of the United States, to 'bring the present lamentable state of things to an end'. He read a statement, which was communicated to the House of Commons at Westminster by Sir John Simon during the same afternoon, in regard to the truce which had been arranged by the American and British Consuls-General at Shanghai on the 29th January³ and in regard to the negotiations which had

¹ See section (iii) of this part of the present volume.

² See the present volume, Part III, section (ii).

³ See p. 483 above. When Mr. Thomas made his speech at 2.30 p.m. on the

been going on for the establishment of a neutral zone between the combatants.¹ He also informed the Council that the British and American Governments had presented formal proposals at Tokyo and at Nanking for the immediate cessation of hostilities at Shanghai and for the opening of negotiations to settle all the outstanding differences between China and Japan.² Mr. Thomas added that in bringing their action to the notice of the Council his Government were satisfied that they would receive the approval and support of their colleagues. Thereupon the representatives of France and Italy hastened to assure the Council that their Governments had already taken action similar to that indicated by the British representative.³ Mr. Thomas had thus attained the object which he had in view when he requested that a meeting of the Council should be held—that is, he had associated the Council with the steps which his Government had taken.

Unfortunately the efforts of the 'neutral' Shanghai Powers to bring about a settlement proved unavailing. The Japanese Government rejected both the Consuls' suggestion for a neutral zone and the Anglo-American proposals;⁴ and when the Council met again, at the request of the Chinese representative, on the 9th February, the situation at Shanghai was still going from bad to worse. The Council now had at its disposal the first report of the Consular Committee at Shanghai, and it also heard statements from the Chinese and the Japanese representatives in regard to recent developments. Dr. Yen referred to the extension of Japanese operations in Manchuria⁵ as well as at Shanghai, and expressed the opinion that the position was intolerable, not only for China but also for the League and for the Powers, whose proposals had been 'rejected by Japan in their very essence'. The Council, however, was assured by Mr. Sato that his Government were anxious to terminate hostilities at Shanghai as quickly as possible, and that the negotiations for the establishment of a neutral zone were still continuing. The British representative, Sir John Simon, supplied additional information in regard to the attempts at mediation which were in progress at Shanghai; and the

2nd February the truce had already been broken at Shanghai. Fighting reopened at about 3 p.m. on the 2nd February—that is at about 8 a.m. by Geneva time.

¹ See pp. 503-4 above.

² See p. 505 above.

³ The representative of Germany indicated that his Government, also, would give 'appropriate instructions' to their representatives in Tokyo and Nanking; but Germany does not in fact appear to have associated herself with the diplomatic *démarches* made by the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy at this time (see pp. 504-5 above). The general attitude of Germany towards the Far Eastern crisis is discussed on pp. 518-19 above.

⁴ See pp. 503-6 above.

⁵ See section (ii) (a) above.

Council, on the strength of these assurances, concluded that a detailed discussion of the situation would be inexpedient, pending the receipt of a further report from the Consular Committee. It was after this inconclusive meeting of the Council that the Chinese Government decided to ask for the immediate convening of a special session of the League Assembly to consider the Sino-Japanese conflict.¹

On the 16th February, the Committee of Twelve of the Council met in private to consider the second report of the Consular Committee at Shanghai, and came to the conclusion that the situation was such as to call for the despatch of a special appeal to Japan. This was the first occasion on which the members of the Council had addressed themselves to one of the parties to the dispute without addressing the other simultaneously, and the fact that they should have decided to take this step was even more significant than the terms of the note² which was duly dispatched by Monsieur Paul-Boncour, as President of the Council, on the evening of the 16th February. The twelve members of the Council made a 'pressing appeal to the Government of Japan to recognize the very special responsibilities for forbearance and restraint which devolve upon it in the present conflict, in virtue of the position of Japan as a member of the League of Nations and a permanent member of its Council'. They referred to the events which had occurred, and were still occurring, at Shanghai, which had 'intensified public anxiety', endangered 'the lives and interests of the nationals of numerous countries', added 'to the unexampled difficulties with which the whole world' was 'faced' during the present crisis, and threatened 'to throw new and serious obstacles in the path of the Disarmament Conference'. While they were 'far from disregarding the grievances advanced by Japan', they could not but regret that she had 'not found it possible to make full use of the methods of peaceful settlement provided in the Covenant'; and they pointed out that, 'from the beginning of the conflict', China had 'put her case in the hands of the League and had agreed to accept its proposals for a peaceful settlement'. The note continued as follows:

The twelve members of the Council recall the terms of Article 10 of the Covenant, by which all the members of the League have undertaken to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all other Members. It is their friendly right to direct attention to this provision, particularly as it appears to them to follow that no infringement of the territorial integrity and no change in the political independence of any Member of the League brought about in

¹ See section (iv) (c) (2) below.

² The full text is printed in *Documents on International Affairs, 1932*.

disregard of this article ought to be recognized as valid and effectual by the Members of the League of Nations.

Japan has an incalculable responsibility before the public opinion of the world to be just and restrained in her relations with China. She has already acknowledged this responsibility in most solemn terms by becoming one of the signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922, whereby the contracting Powers expressly agreed to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. The twelve members of the Council appeal to Japan's high sense of honour to recognize the obligations of her special position and of the confidence which the nations have placed in her as a partner in the organization and maintenance of peace.

This appeal by the Committee of Twelve was answered by the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Yoshizawa, on the 23rd February, in a note¹ which politely deprecated 'the growth of the practice of substituting, for discussions by the Council of the League, discussions by a select committee of whatever composition'. 'As a matter of courtesy', however, Mr. Yoshizawa responded to the 'individual desires' of the twelve members of the Council by forwarding for their consideration a detailed statement of his Government's views on the issues raised in the note of the 16th February. The substance of this statement was set out as follows in the concluding paragraph:

It has been shown that the Powers, in appealing to Japan, are forcing an open door, and that it is the aggressive Chinese forces to whom the appeal should be addressed. It has been suggested that, to be really useful and practical, the appeal should comprise some specific plan, such as the creation of a 'safety zone'. The charge has been rebutted that Japan is less disposed than China to settle matters by peaceful means. Lastly, it has been shown that China cannot be dealt with on any other footing than that of fact and reality, and that the fact is that China does not constitute an 'organized people'. It remains for the Japanese Government to repeat their deep sense of the high purpose and philanthropic energy which have actuated the Powers in taking this unusual step.

Before this reply had been despatched from Tokyo, the Japanese forces at Shanghai had launched a 'major offensive' against the Chinese forces in consequence of the Chinese rejection of a Japanese ultimatum which had demanded the unconditional withdrawal of the Chinese Army from the neighbourhood of Shanghai. This ultimatum had been presented at 9 p.m. on the 18th February—after a Sino-Japanese meeting, which had been arranged through the good offices of the neutral diplomatic representatives, had failed to produce a settlement—and it expired at 7 a.m. on the 20th February.²

At 5.30 p.m. on the 19th February, the Council held another public

¹ The text will be found in *op. cit.*

² See pp. 490-2 above.

meeting, at the request of Dr. Yen, who had received information on the previous day of the break-down of the Sino-Japanese negotiations. The members of the Council listened to an impassioned plea from Dr. Yen that they should take 'conservatory measures' which might avert, even at this eleventh hour,¹ the threatened battle at Shanghai. They also heard a long restatement by Mr. Sato of the claim that all Japan's actions, in Manchuria and at Shanghai, were dictated solely by the necessity of self-defence. Mr. Sato declared that his Government had no intention of infringing the principles of Article 10 of the Covenant; whereupon Monsieur Paul-Boncour, from the chair, asked the Japanese representative, 'with sincerity and emotion', whether there was not 'an appalling inconsistency' between the declared 'freedom from territorial interests' of Japan 'and the fact that a battle is about to be joined and that the field will be strewn with dead. . . . If the ultimatum could be extended long enough to allow the negotiations to be reopened, and if the desire . . . of the Council . . . could help to bring about their immediate resumption, thanks to the prolongation of the ultimatum, we could, I think, go to sleep with lighter hearts to-night.' All the other members of the Council associated themselves with the President's appeal for the postponement of the Japanese offensive, and Mr. Sato undertook to acquaint his Government with the views which had been expressed. This discussion at Geneva, however, exercised no influence upon the course of events at Shanghai, where the Japanese offensive opened at the appointed hour on the morning of the 20th February.

Before the members of the Council dispersed on the evening of the 19th February, they adopted a resolution referring the Sino-Japanese dispute to the Assembly of the League of Nations and convening the Assembly for the 3rd March.² Before the Sino-Japanese dispute

¹ Since the Council had met at 5.30 p.m. on the 19th February by Geneva time, the discussion was taking place during the early hours of the 20th by Shanghai time, so that, as Dr. Yen pointed out, there remained only four or five hours before the Japanese ultimatum was due to expire. It seems highly improbable that any appeal from Geneva, however it was transmitted, could have reached the scene of action, *via* Tokyo, in time to prevent the launching of the Japanese offensive; and the fact that the meeting of the Council was fixed for so late in the day was in itself sufficient comment upon the ineffectiveness of the proceedings at Geneva. In the words of an eye-witness, the Council meeting on the 19th February constituted an 'impressive and yet outrageous drama. . . . No meeting of the League Council ever made a deeper impression on those present—only it was an impression produced not by statesmanship but by play-acting, not by reality but by drama. The Council . . . met, knowing perfectly well that whatever it did would be done too late.' (Letter from 'A Witness at Geneva' published in *The Manchester Guardian* on the 26th February.)

² See sub-section (iv) (c) (2) below.

passed into the hands of the Assembly, the Council made a final attempt to promote a settlement at Shanghai. During the last days of February there were numerous informal conversations between the Japanese delegation and individual members of the Council; and the British Foreign Minister, Sir John Simon, was also known to be in correspondence with Washington. On the 29th February, an emergency meeting of the Council was summoned in order to hear a statement by Sir John Simon in regard to the Sino-Japanese conversations which had taken place on the previous day on the British Admiral's flagship at Shanghai.¹ It was believed—mistakenly as it turned out—that a basis for the cessation of hostilities had been found which was acceptable to both parties, and the atmosphere in which the Council met was therefore decidedly more cheerful than it had been ten days earlier. On the strength of the news from Shanghai, Monsieur Paul-Boncour, as President of the Council, put forward a proposal which was intended as a 'contribution towards the consolidation of peaceful conditions' at Shanghai. His proposal was as follows:

(1) A conference to be immediately set up in Shanghai composed of representatives of the Governments of China and Japan, together with representatives of the other Powers above referred to, for the purpose of bringing about a final conclusion of fighting and the restoration of peaceful conditions in the Shanghai area.

(2) The Conference would be undertaken on the basis (a) that Japan has no political or territorial designs and no intention of establishing a Japanese settlement in Shanghai or of otherwise advancing the exclusive interests of the Japanese, and (b) that China enters the Conference on the basis that the safety and integrity of the International and French Settlements must be preserved under arrangements which will secure these areas and their residents from danger.

(3) The meeting of this Conference is, of course, subject to the making of local arrangements for a cessation of hostilities. The Council trusts that this will very speedily be brought about. It is proposed that the military, naval and civilian authorities of the other principal Powers represented in Shanghai will render all possible assistance in consolidating the arrangements.

Monsieur Paul-Boncour pointed out that the execution of this plan would require not only the acceptance of the Governments of China and Japan, but also 'the co-operation on the spot of the other principal Powers who have interests in the Shanghai Settlements', and in his own name and in that of his colleagues he invited 'the adherence and co-operation both of China and Japan and of the other Powers'. Monsieur Paul-Boncour himself spoke for one of the principal Shanghai Powers, and the representatives of the other two Powers who were

¹ See pp. 507-8 above.

members of the League Council—Great Britain and Italy—at once signified that their Governments were ready to collaborate in carrying out the President's plan. Sir John Simon was also able to announce that he had been in close consultation with the United States Government, and he told the Council that he was—

authorized to communicate the assurance of the United States that it is prepared to associate itself with the step which we are now taking and to instruct its representatives in the Shanghai area to co-operate with us who are members of the League in the fullest measure in carrying out the proposals which the President has put before us.¹

Neither Dr. Yen nor Mr. Sato was able, in the absence of instructions from his Government, to accept Monsieur Paul-Boncour's proposal definitively, but Dr. Yen promised that he would 'strongly urge' his Government to accept it, while Mr. Sato accepted the plan, subject to his Government's approval. Mr. Sato also made a brief statement in which he declared once more that Japan had no 'political or territorial designs' at Shanghai and was merely acting in defence of her nationals. He also announced that—

the Japanese Government will be prepared to co-operate with the other Powers with a view to settling the position in Shanghai, once calm has been restored, under conditions which will guarantee the safety of the Settlement and of Japanese nationals. To this end, and, in particular, for the purpose of ensuring in future the safety of foreigners in the Shanghai district, it will have no objection to the opening in Shanghai of a Round Table Conference at which the foreign Powers having interests in Shanghai would be represented.

Mr. Sato's provisional acceptance of Monsieur Paul-Boncour's plan was confirmed by the Japanese Government on the 1st March,² but their acceptance was rendered illusory by the fact that the Sino-Japanese conversations of the 28th February had not resulted, as had been anticipated, in the immediate cessation of hostilities at Shanghai. The Council's recommendation that representatives of the neutral Shanghai Powers should assist in the negotiations for the definitive cessation of hostilities was repeated in the first resolution adopted by the Assembly³ and was carried into effect.⁴ At a later stage, the Japanese Government took up again the idea of a Round Table Conference for the discussion of means of guaranteeing the safety of foreigners at Shanghai; but the conditions proposed by Japan were

¹ After the Council meeting, Monsieur Paul-Boncour's proposal was formally transmitted by the Secretary-General to the United States Minister at Berne, who replied on the same day that his Government was 'happy to associate itself with this effort for the re-establishment of peace'.

² The Chinese Government also signified their formal acceptance on the 2nd March.

³ See p. 574 below.

⁴ See pp. 509-11 above.

not acceptable to the other Powers concerned, and the idea was dropped.¹

(2) *The Special Session of the Assembly and the Committee of Nineteen (March to November 1932)*

Article 15 of the Covenant, which China invoked on the 29th January, 1932, provided (in paragraph 9) that the Council might 'in any case under this article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.'

On the 12th February, the day on which the time-limit mentioned in Article 15 expired, Dr. Yen sent a communication to the Secretary-General of the League explaining that, in view of the time-limit, the Chinese Government were 'constrained hereby to request that the [Sino-Japanese] dispute be referred to the Assembly'. Dr. Yen added, however, that 'if it should be the pleasure and intention of the Council to refer the said dispute at its own initiative to the Assembly or in virtue of the general powers vested in it to summon the Assembly for consideration of the dispute, the Chinese Government will then be prepared to withdraw the request on its part'.

Dr. Yen's communication was considered during the next few days by the Committee of Twelve of the Council. The Committee held its meetings in private and the result of its discussions was not published officially, but it was generally believed that some of its members (including, it was said, the British representative) contemplated with considerable reluctance the prospect of handing the dispute over to a body on which the influence of the Great Powers was less predominant than it was on the Council. It soon became clear, at all events, that the Council was not likely to act upon Dr. Yen's suggestion and relieve him of responsibility by referring the dispute to the Assembly on its own initiative. As was to be expected, the proposed convocation of the Assembly met with opposition from Japan. The Japanese delegation followed their usual practice of raising technical objections of a legal nature,² and they also took the line that if the Assembly

¹ See p. 514 above.

² The Japanese appear to have raised the question whether Dr. Yen's communication of the 12th February could, in view of its terms, be considered a valid request for the summoning of the Assembly within the meaning of Article 15 of the Covenant. If the request were not valid, the conditions laid down in Article 15 in regard to the reference of a dispute to the Assembly would not have been fulfilled, since the time-limit of a fortnight expired on the 12th February.

were to meet it would only be competent to deal with the situation at Shanghai and that the Manchurian question would not come within its purview. The Japanese technical objections were disposed of on the 18th February by a committee of jurists to whom they were referred. The committee's report made it clear that, since China had not withdrawn her tentative request for the convocation of the Assembly, the Council was bound to act on that request. Accordingly, on the 19th February, the Council adopted a resolution referring the Sino-Japanese dispute to the Assembly. In view of the fact that 'delegations from almost every Member of the League' were 'present in Geneva in order to take part in the Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments, thereby enabling the Assembly to meet at short notice', the 3rd March was fixed as the date of the meeting. The final paragraph of the resolution noted that 'the duty of the Council to continue its work for the maintenance of peace in accordance with the Covenant remains unaffected by the present decision'. The Japanese delegate did not oppose the adoption of this resolution; but on the 29th February Mr. Sato, in notifying the Secretary-General of the appointment of a Japanese delegation to the Assembly, stated that his Government maintained the objections which he had raised at the Council meetings on the 29th and 30th January¹ 'regarding the application of Article 15 of the Covenant to the present difficulties between Japan and China', and that they 'accepted the invitation to the Assembly subject to these objections'.

The special session of the Assembly, which held its first meeting on the 3rd March, was attended by delegations from 51 of the 55 members of the League.² Before proceeding to its first business—the election as its President of Monsieur Hymans, the first delegate of Belgium, who had presided over the first ordinary session of the Assembly in 1920—the Assembly listened to an opening speech by the acting Chairman of the Council, Monsieur Paul-Boncour. His remarks were in the nature of an apologia for the Council, whose members were not ignorant of the fact that their handling of the Sino-Japanese dispute hitherto had been the subject of widespread criticism. At the afternoon session on the 3rd March, when the

¹ See pp. 561–2 above.

² It was only the second occasion in the history of the League on which the Assembly had been convened in extraordinary session. (The previous occasion had been in March 1926, when the Assembly had been summoned in order to admit Germany to membership of the League but had failed to achieve its purpose. See the *Survey for 1926*, Part I A, section (i) (e).) The Assembly had never before been called together to deal with a dispute which had been referred to the League under Article 15 of the Covenant.

Assembly heard statements by the principal delegates of China and Japan, it encountered one of the difficulties which had impeded the Council in the execution of its task—the difficulty of ascertaining the truth in regard to what was actually happening in the Far East. While Mr. Matsudaira, the principal Japanese delegate, assured the Assembly that the Japanese Commander at Shanghai had given the order to cease fire,¹ Dr. Yen declared that fighting was still continuing and that Japanese reinforcements were being landed. In order that the Assembly might be supplied with accurate and unbiased information as rapidly as possible, the Secretary-General, at the close of the second plenary meeting, telegraphed to Shanghai asking the Consular Committee which had been established in response to his request of the 30th January to submit a further report;² and on the 4th March the representatives of Great Britain, France and Italy undertook that their naval, military and civil authorities at Shanghai should investigate the situation, with special reference to the question of the cessation of hostilities, and should supply information to the Assembly from time to time.³

Dr. Yen, in his speech before the Assembly on the 3rd March, reviewed the whole history of the Sino-Japanese dispute from the 18th September, 1931, onwards. He declared that the negotiations for the cessation of hostilities at Shanghai had broken down, and appealed to the Assembly, 'as its most urgent task under Article 15 of the Covenant, to endeavour to establish an armistice between the parties on the basis of the principle resulting from the discussion on the British flagship *Kent*'. In regard to Manchuria, also, he pointed out that the developments of the past few days could not 'fail to instil the gravest apprehension'. He referred in particular to the Japanese penetration northward as far as Harbin and to the proclamation of the Republic of Manchukuo.⁴ He concluded his long speech, which was very sympathetically received both by the delegates to the Assembly and by the journalists and other members of the public who formed the unofficial part of the audience, by the following indication of the action which China expected from the Assembly.

¹ The order had in fact been given in the early afternoon of the 3rd March (see p. 494 above): that is, more than eight hours before the second plenary meeting of the Assembly was opened at 4.30 p.m. at Geneva.

² This report was duly despatched on the 5th March.

³ The American authorities at Shanghai also collaborated in this task; and, between the 7th March and the 2nd May, twenty-two 'Joint Situation Reports' were telegraphed to Geneva by the representatives of the four Powers.

⁴ See pp. 435 and 457 above.

1. We urge this Extraordinary Assembly which is now seized of the whole dispute between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan to explore and exhaust the possibilities of effecting a settlement in conformity with the provisions of our Covenant.

2. China asks you to do everything in your power, first to bring about the cessation of all hostile action on her territory and the withdrawal of the invading forces; and, second, the peaceful settlement of the entire Sino-Japanese controversy within the scope of the Council's resolutions and the spirit of the Covenant. Naturally, no measure, taken in relation either to Shanghai or to Manchuria, which encroaches upon China's sovereignty rights or is contrary to the general principles of international law or her existing treaty obligations to third parties, can be regarded as a settlement.

3. We ask you to recognize that the Covenant has been broken.

4. We ask you solemnly to declare that, for the present terrible state of affairs which prevails in Manchuria, Shanghai and other parts of China, my country bears no shadow of responsibility. When the Assembly has made this declaration, it will have begun to mobilize those moral forces by which, we still believe, this conflict may be solved and ended.

Mr. Matsudaira broke no new ground in the speech which he delivered in reply to Dr. Yen. He gave the Assembly the Japanese version of the origin and development of the conflict at Shanghai, and declared that the Japanese forces were prepared to cease hostilities as soon as the danger to Japanese residents had been removed. He repeated the assurance, which Mr. Sato had already given to the Council,¹ that the Japanese Government had no political or territorial ambitions at Shanghai and that they were ready to take part in a Round Table Conference on the question of safeguarding foreign interests in future. In regard to Manchuria, he declared that his Government were of opinion that it was not a question which ought to be discussed by the Assembly. They believed that 'it would be unwise to re-open discussions . . . on a matter which is being fully looked after and in which no danger of rupture is in sight. Such a course would only cause confusion and would be harmful to its settlement'. This Japanese attempt to confine the discussion in the Assembly to the question of Shanghai met with no success. Subsequent speakers assumed that the Assembly was seized of the Sino-Japanese dispute in all its aspects, and this assumption was definitely confirmed by the terms of the resolution which was adopted on the 11th March.²

In view of the uncertainty which existed at Geneva on the 3rd March in regard to the current situation at Shanghai, there was a general feeling that the first duty which the Assembly was called upon to fulfil, before it proceeded with the general debate on the

¹ See p. 567 above.

² See pp. 578–80 below.

issues raised by the speeches of Dr. Yen and Mr. Matsudaira, was to take such steps as lay in its power to prevent further bloodshed by using its corporate influence in another attempt to promote the definitive cessation of fighting between the Japanese and Chinese forces at Shanghai. Dr. Yen was able to tell the Assembly on the 4th March that the Chinese Commander had given orders that hostilities should cease; but he declared—and Mr. Matsudaira denied—that Japanese troops were still attacking the Chinese in the new position to which they had withdrawn. On the evening of the 4th March, the Assembly, by a unanimous vote, adopted a resolution¹ calling upon the Governments of China and Japan to take immediate measures to ensure that orders for the cessation of hostilities should be made effective, and recommending them to enter into negotiations 'for the conclusion of arrangements which shall render definite the cessation of hostilities and regulate the withdrawal of the Chinese forces'. The other Shanghai Powers were asked to instruct their representatives to assist in these negotiations and to keep the Assembly informed both of the manner in which the orders for the cessation of hostilities were carried out and of the progress of the negotiations.

In the discussion on this resolution, Mr. Sato had moved an amendment which would have left it open to the Japanese to insist that certain conditions relating to the security of their nationals must be fulfilled before the Japanese forces could be recalled from Shanghai; but he had withdrawn this amendment when it became clear that the general feeling of the Assembly was against a modification of the resolution in this sense, and he did not oppose the adoption of the resolution when it was put to the vote. Dr. Yen accepted the resolution on the understanding that the negotiations mentioned referred 'to armistice negotiations rather than to the so-called Shanghai Conference, which is to follow the armistice negotiations'; and also on the understanding 'that no condition should be imposed upon the withdrawal of troops occupying the territory of an invaded country'. At the suggestion of the Swiss delegate, Monsieur Motta, the vote on the resolution was taken by roll-call, in order that there might be no doubt in regard to the Assembly's unanimity. The resolution was subsequently communicated by the Secretary-General to the United States Government, who requested their military authorities at Shanghai, by telegraph, to co-operate in the execution of the resolution.

On the following day, before the general discussion began in the Assembly, the representatives of France and Great Britain were able

¹ The text is printed in *Documents on International Affairs, 1932*.

to inform their colleagues, on the basis of communications which they had received from Shanghai, that military operations had actually been suspended; and although the Chinese and Japanese delegations continued to make contradictory statements in regard to alleged acts of aggression by either side, the information which reached Geneva from neutral sources during the next few days all went to prove that fighting on a serious scale was no longer taking place. The delegates to the Assembly were therefore no longer preoccupied by the urgent necessity for putting an end to active hostilities and could turn their attention to the wider issues.

The general debate in the Assembly, which lasted for three days, was chiefly remarkable for the plain speaking of the representatives of the smaller Powers—the majority of whom were not members of the Council, so that they now had their first opportunity of making their views on the Sino-Japanese dispute known and their influence felt.¹ These Powers, for the most part, had neither interests nor responsibilities in the Far East, and they could therefore consider the dispute with impartial minds; but they all felt themselves to be vitally concerned in the maintenance of the system of security which was being slowly and laboriously built up during the post-war period, with the Covenant of the League of Nations as its chief corner-stone. Accordingly, their attitude in regard to the dispute between China and Japan was determined less by any interest in the rights and wrongs of the dispute as such than by their conviction that the future of the League of Nations—and with it the whole system of security—was in dire peril as a result of the actions of one of the disputants. Most of the speakers in the debate disclaimed any intention of examining into the merits of the Sino-Japanese dispute or prejudging the issue, but few of them left it open to doubt that they considered Japan the aggressor; and while they differed in the degree of vigour² with which they condemned Japan's actions on Chinese

¹ For a preliminary sketch of the attitude of the smaller Powers, see p. 517 above.

² One of the most vigorous of the indictments of Japan to which the Assembly listened came from the representative of one of the British Dominions. Mr. de Water, the delegate of South Africa, who spoke on the 8th March when the debate was drawing to its close, declared that—

'We have no other name for the state of affairs in China to-day than that of war, and the following facts at any rate appear to be clear to us. Powerful Japanese forces, equipped with all the modern weapons of war, have been transported into Chinese territory. These armies have been actively and destructively used against Chinese forces and have taken possession of a considerable portion of Chinese territory. It appears to us equally clear that Japan has not sought to use the pacific means at its disposal under the Covenant, to which it is signatory. Nor, in the absence of any further

territory, her refusal to resort to pacific procedure, and her flouting of the Council's recommendations, there was a striking degree of unanimity in their insistence that the Assembly must not attempt to shelve the issue, but must vindicate the moral authority of the League by taking definite action. It was specially significant that the necessity for defending the Covenant was felt and expressed by the small Powers of all categories: not only by 'ex-neutrals' such as Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries, but also by allies of France such as Belgium and Czechoslovakia; not only by European countries, but also by Latin American states and by states members of the British Empire like Canada and South Africa. The attitude of mind of the small Powers, who felt that their own security was at stake so long as one Far Eastern state was allowed to trespass with impunity upon the territory of another, was well described by the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Dr. Beneš, when he declared that the country which he represented was—

concerned in this serious problem solely as a Member of the League of Nations. She is anxious regarding the results of our present action; she desires the League to fulfil all its obligations deriving, not only from the Covenant, but from the moral prestige it at present possesses throughout the world. [She] desires that the League, which, in spite of all, represents a new spirit and quite a new method in international relations, shall prove that it is useful and, indeed, indispensable to the maintenance of world peace.

The representatives of the smaller states generally recognized it to be desirable that the Assembly should exhaust all the possibilities of mediation and conciliation before it proceeded to take the other steps which were indicated in paragraphs 4 and 10 of Article 15 of the Covenant¹ (that is, to 'make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are

explanation by Japan, does it appear to us that in this dispute she has remembered her declarations under the Pact of Paris. Equally it seems to my delegation an undisputed fact that China has placed its case in the hands of the League and has been prepared, at every stage of the enquiry by the Council of the League, to act on its advice and instructions. As emphatically has Japan refused to show the same confidence in the fair-mindedness of a body of which it has been for many years so active and important a Member. As far as these facts are concerned, it is to be stated unhesitatingly, in our opinion, that a *prima facie* case has been made out that Japan has acted in contradiction to what we believe to be the obligations to which, equally with all of us, she is bound.'

¹ By paragraph 10, the provisions of paragraph 4 relating to the action and powers of the Council applied to the action and powers of the Assembly, but a report by the Assembly must be concurred in by all the members of the Council (other than the parties to the dispute) and by a majority of the other members of the Assembly.

deemed just and proper in regard thereto'); but most of them made it clear that they would not hesitate, so far as they were concerned, to take those steps, and any others which might follow therefrom, should the necessity arise. Not many of the delegates were as outspoken as Monsieur Motta of Switzerland, who reminded his hearers that the provisions of Article 15 of the Covenant 'already foreshadow the application of Article 16'; but the possibility of applying economic sanctions against Japan was evidently in the minds of many of the speakers.

While the smaller Powers were thus making their stand in defence of the integrity of the Covenant, a much greater degree of caution was noticeable in the speeches which were delivered by the representatives of the Great Powers. Those Powers, of course, had more direct concern than the small Powers in Far Eastern affairs and at the same time—in the spirit of 'the strong man armed' of the Parable, in the first chapter of his history—they conceived themselves to have a less vital national interest in the maintenance of the system of pooled security. Great Britain, in particular, was also conscious that upon her would rest the main burden of applying Article 16 of the Covenant—should its application be decided upon—and of coping with any resulting complications with the United States. As members of the Council, the Great Powers could block any proposal for action which was not to their minds, even if the majority of the smaller Powers were in favour of it; and a declaration of their policy, in the new atmosphere which had been created by the stand of the small Powers, was therefore eagerly awaited. Special significance was felt to attach to the views of Great Britain, which were expressed by the Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, on the 7th March.

Sir John Simon began his speech by pointing out that the meeting of the Assembly and the course of the discussion were 'a demonstration that we are all of one mind in recognizing the importance and desiring the maintenance of the fundamental principles of the League'; but he went on to emphasize the necessity for not abandoning the procedure of mediation or regarding it 'in these first few days of our work as already exhausted', and for not 'pronouncing a premature judgment on matters in controversy'. So far, the British Foreign Secretary's speech contained little encouragement to those of his hearers who felt that the time had come for the adoption of more energetic methods than those by which the Council had tried, and failed, to curb Japanese aggression. Sir John Simon concluded his remarks, however, by suggesting that the Assembly should make a solemn declaration reaffirming the principles of the Covenant and of

the Kellogg Pact, and making it clear that 'changes brought about by means contrary' to those principles 'manifestly could not receive the approval of members of the Assembly of Nations'. The proposal for a declaration on these lines, which would bring the states members of the League into line with the attitude of the United States, as set forth in the recent letter from Mr. Stimson to Senator Borah,¹ was welcomed by many of the subsequent speakers, and received support from the representatives of the other permanent members of the Council—France, Italy and Germany—when they joined in the debate.

The general discussion in the Assembly came to an end on the afternoon of the 8th March, and a drafting committee was appointed to prepare a draft resolution which would express the ideas that had been put forward during the discussion. This committee had before it eleven resolutions proposed by a corresponding number of members of the Assembly, all of whom were represented on the Committee, and by the 11th March agreement had been reached on a final text. The long resolution² which was adopted unanimously by the Assembly (with the abstention of both China and Japan) on the evening of the 11th March was couched in less peremptory terms than some of the small Powers would, perhaps, have preferred, but it met the main points which had been raised during the discussion. In particular, it embodied the principle of non-recognition of results achieved in defiance of treaty obligations, and it also made it clear that the principle applied to Manchuria as well as to Shanghai. The resolution was divided into three parts.

In Part I the Assembly expressed the opinion that the provisions of the Covenant were 'entirely applicable to the present dispute'; adopted the principles laid down in Monsieur Briand's declaration of the 10th December, 1931;³ referred to the note of the 16th February, 1932; to Japan⁴ in which the twelve members of the Council had declared 'that no infringement of the territorial integrity and no change in the political independence of any Member of the League brought about in disregard of Article 10 of the Covenant ought to be recognized as valid and effectual by Members of the League of Nations'; and pointed out that 'the principles governing international relations and the peaceful settlement of disputes between Members of the League' were 'in full harmony with the Pact of Paris, which is one of the corner-stones of the peace organization of the world'.

¹ For this state paper, see pp. 548-50 above.

² The full text will be found in *Documents on International Affairs, 1932*.

³ See the *Survey for 1931*, pp. 458 and 501-2.

⁴ See pp. 565-6 above.

The 'binding nature' of these principles and provisions was proclaimed, and the Assembly declared that it was 'incumbent upon the Members of the League of Nations not to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which' might 'be brought about by means contrary to the Covenant of the League of Nations or to the Pact of Paris'.

In Part II of the resolution, the Assembly affirmed that it was 'contrary to the spirit of the Covenant that the settlement of the Sino-Japanese dispute should be sought under the stress of military pressure on the part of either Party'; recalled the Council resolutions of the 30th September and the 10th December, 1931,¹ and its own resolution of the 4th March;² and requested the Powers with special interests at Shanghai, which had already signified their readiness to assist in bringing about the definitive cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of the Japanese forces, to co-operate, if necessary, 'in maintaining order in the evacuated zone'.

In Part III, the Assembly, 'considering that the whole of the dispute which forms the subject of the Chinese Government's request³ is referred to it, and that it is under an obligation to apply the procedure of conciliation provided for in paragraph 3 of Article 15 of the Covenant and, if necessary, the procedure in regard to recommendations provided for in paragraph 4 of the same article', decided to set up a Committee of nineteen members which would exercise 'its functions on behalf of and under the supervision of the Assembly'. This Committee was to be composed of the President of the Assembly, who would act as chairman, the members of the Council, other than China and Japan, and six other members to be elected by secret ballot. Its terms of reference were as follows:

- (1) To report as soon as possible on the cessation of hostilities and the conclusion of arrangements which shall render definitive the said cessation and shall regulate the withdrawal of the Japanese forces in conformity with the Assembly resolution of the 4th March, 1932;
- (2) To follow the execution of the resolutions adopted by the Council on the 30th September and the 10th December, 1931;
- (3) To endeavour to prepare the settlement of the dispute in agreement with the Parties, in accordance with Article 15, paragraph 3, of the Covenant, and to submit a statement to the Assembly;
- (4) To propose, if necessary, that the Assembly submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice a request for an advisory opinion;
- (5) To prepare, if need be, the draft of the report provided for in Article 15, paragraph 4, of the Covenant;

¹ See the *Survey for 1931*, pp. 486-7 and 501-2. For the full text of these resolutions, see *Documents on International Affairs, 1932*.

² See p. 574 above.

³ I.e. the Chinese request of the 12th February, 1932, that the dispute be referred to the Assembly.

- (6) To propose any urgent measure which may appear necessary;
 (7) To submit a first progress report to the Assembly as soon as possible and at latest on the 1st May, 1932.

In conclusion, the Assembly recorded its intention of remaining in session and instructed its President to convene it as soon as he deemed a meeting necessary.

The Chinese delegate assured the Assembly that his abstention from voting on this resolution was 'not to be taken as a sign of opposition', but was purely owing to the fact that he had not had time to receive definite instructions from his Government.¹ Mr. Sato, who had received his instructions from Tokyo, declared that the Japanese Government were 'entirely in agreement with the fundamental principles set out in the resolution', and expressed 'great satisfaction that the duty scrupulously to respect existing treaties' was 'again proclaimed'. He recalled the objections which he had raised on the 29th and 30th January² 'to the application of Article 15 to the whole Sino-Japanese conflict', and the fact that the Japanese delegation was taking part in the Assembly subject to 'reservations with regard to the applicability of Article 15'. It was for that reason alone, he explained, that he was obliged to abstain from voting on the resolution.

After the adoption of the resolution,³ the ballot was held for the election of the six members of the Committee of Nineteen who would not be members of the Council. The six states elected were Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Colombia, Portugal, Hungary and Sweden.

By the 11th March, when the Assembly adopted the resolution which established the Committee of Nineteen, the representatives of the neutral Powers at Shanghai were engaged in the attempt to bring a Chinese and a Japanese delegation together in order that they might discuss arrangements which would make the cessation of hostilities definitive and would lead to the withdrawal of the Japanese forces. Formal negotiations for an armistice agreement began a few days later, before the Committee of Nineteen held its first private

¹ The Chinese Government subsequently intimated that they accepted the resolution.

² See pp. 501-2 above.

³ According to a precedent which had already become well established, the text of the resolution was formally communicated to the United States Government through their representative at Berne, Mr. Hugh Wilson. Mr. Wilson replied on the 12th March that he was instructed by his Government to express 'its gratification at the action taken by the Assembly of the League of Nations. My Government is especially gratified that the nations of the world are united on a policy not to recognize the validity of results attained in violation of the treaties in question. This is a distinct contribution to international law and offers a constructive basis for peace'. For Mr. Stimson's own expression of gratification in a public statement which he made at Washington on the same date, see p. 553 above.

meeting on the 16th March, and its first public meeting, under the chairmanship of Monsieur Hymans, on the following day. The members of the Committee agreed that it was not their duty to dictate the terms of a settlement at Shanghai, but that they would be called upon to intervene if the negotiations on the spot should appear likely to result in a settlement which was inconsistent with the text or the spirit of the Assembly's resolution. The Committee heard conflicting accounts from Dr. Yen and Mr. Sato of the progress and prospects of the armistice negotiations; and they noted that difficulties had arisen because the Japanese had proposed certain conditions which were unacceptable to the Chinese in connexion with guarantees against the resumption of the anti-Japanese boycott. The Committee took the view that conditions of this kind could not properly form part of the armistice agreement, but they felt that the question of the boycott would come within the scope of the post-armistice conference, which had been suggested in the Council's resolution of the 29th February.¹ The Committee dispersed after it had disposed of this question; but Monsieur Hymans announced that he would remain in touch with the League Secretariat, and would reassemble the Committee if circumstances should render a further meeting necessary.

The negotiations for an armistice agreement at Shanghai continued during the latter part of March and the first week of April, but further difficulties arose in connexion with the reluctance of the Japanese to agree to a definite time-limit for the final withdrawal of their troops.² The Chinese negotiators felt that the Japanese standpoint on this matter was not in accordance with the terms of the Assembly's resolution, and they referred the question to the Committee of Nineteen for decision. The Committee held several meetings between the 16th of April and the end of the month, and on the 19th they adopted a preliminary draft resolution embodying a proposal which would, they hoped, remove the difficulty which stood in the way of the conclusion of an armistice agreement. The substance of their proposal was that the representatives of the neutral Powers at Shanghai, who were acting as 'honest brokers' in the armistice negotiations, should decide when conditions had become sufficiently normal to allow of the withdrawal of the Japanese troops inside the boundaries of the International Settlement. This proposal was not acceptable to Japan; but during the last week of April direct negotiations were resumed at Shanghai—this time with success.³

By the terms of the Assembly resolution of the 11th March, the Committee of Nineteen was called upon to report to the Assembly

¹ See p. 508 above.

² See pp. 510-11 above.

³ See p. 511 above.

upon the execution of the terms of the resolution before the 1st May, 1932. A plenary session of the Assembly was therefore held on the 30th April, when Monsieur Hymans, in his double capacity as President of the Assembly and of the Committee of Nineteen, was able to report that the terms of an armistice had at last been accepted by both parties at Shanghai, though the agreement had not yet been signed.¹ The Assembly, accordingly, adopted a resolution² noting the articles of the draft armistice and in particular the undertaking given by the Japanese Government in regard to the withdrawal of their troops. The resolution declared that it was 'in accordance with the spirit of the resolutions of the 4th and the 11th March that this withdrawal should take place in the near future'; that the resolution of the 4th March would 'only have been fully complied with when the Japanese forces' had been 'entirely withdrawn'; and that 'unless a conclusion' was 'reached as laid down in the resolutions of the 4th and 11th March, the question' would 'necessarily come up again before the Assembly'. The Governments of the Powers with special interests at Shanghai were asked to transmit to the League the information that would be supplied to them by their representatives on the Mixed Commission which was to be appointed, under the terms of the armistice agreement, to supervise the execution of the agreement.

This resolution was adopted unanimously by the members of the Assembly, but with the abstention of Japan. The Japanese delegate explained that he was obliged to abstain from voting on this, as on the earlier resolutions of the Assembly, because his Government maintained 'the attitude of reserve which it has always felt bound to observe in regard to the application to the Sino-Japanese dispute of Article 15 of the Covenant'.

The armistice agreement was duly signed at Shanghai on the 5th May, and the provisions relating to the withdrawal of the Japanese troops were carried out within the time-limit specified in the agreement.³ Neither the Committee of Nineteen nor the Assembly, therefore, was called upon to hold a further meeting in order to discuss the situation at Shanghai. In regard to the situation in Manchuria, the Chinese delegation submitted complaints from time to time during the early summer, but the members of the League were naturally reluctant to take further decisions pending the completion of the Lytton Commission's inquiry. By the terms of Article 15 of the

¹ See p. 511 above.

² The text will be found in *Documents on International Affairs, 1932*.

³ See p. 513 above.

Covenant, however, the Assembly was bound to make a report upon any dispute which had been submitted to it within the period of six months specified in Article 12;¹ and in the case of the Sino-Japanese dispute this time-limit expired on the 19th August, 1932—the Council's decision to refer the dispute to the Assembly having been taken on the 19th February.² During June it became known that the report of the Lytton Commission would not be submitted before September, and the Assembly was therefore obliged to decide whether, in the circumstances, the time-limit specified in Article 12 of the Covenant should be extended.

The Committee of Nineteen met on the 24th June to consider what recommendations it should make to the Assembly on this question; and it also had before it a request from the Chinese delegation that the League should use its influence in order to dissuade Japan from carrying out her declared intention of granting *de jure* recognition to the 'state' of Manchukuo.³ The meeting of the Committee was held in private, but there was understood to have been considerable divergence of opinion between the members. The representatives of the smaller states, led by the Czechoslovak and Spanish delegates, were said to have desired an emphatic and unambiguous expression of disapproval of any action—such as the recognition of Manchukuo—which might be held to be inconsistent with the Assembly resolutions, whereas the representatives of the Great Powers were guided by their usual cautious preference for a more diplomatic procedure. The Committee finally agreed to recommend to the Assembly that the time-limit of six months should be extended until such time as the Lytton Commission's report had been received, provided that the date was not later than the 1st November, 1932. It was also agreed that Monsieur Hymans should send an identic note to the Chinese and the Japanese delegations asking their approval of the proposed extension of the time-limit; reminding them of their obligation not to take any action which might aggravate the situation; and recalling the fact that the Assembly, by its resolution of the 11th March, had declared it to be incumbent upon members of the League not 'to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought

¹ 'The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to tend to rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council. . . . The report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.' By paragraph 10 of Article 15, all the provisions of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council applied to the action and powers of the Assembly when it had been seized of a dispute.

² See p. 511 above.

³ See section (ii) (c) of this part of the present volume.

about by means contrary to the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Pact of Paris'.

On the 1st July, the Assembly met in plenary session and formally decided to extend the time-limit of six months mentioned in Article 12 of the Covenant until the Lytton Commission had submitted their report. The Chinese delegate, Dr. Yen, agreed to the extension, though with obvious reluctance. He reminded the Assembly that it was through no fault of China that the Commission of Inquiry was unable to complete its task within the period specified in the Covenant, and he declared that further delay was a serious matter for China, since the situation in Manchuria was growing steadily worse. The Japanese representative, who had already notified Monsieur Hymans that his Government did not object to the extension of the time-limit, took no part in the debate. The representatives of Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Mexico and Spain gave expression to the uneasiness which was felt by the smaller Powers in regard to this deliberate breach of the terms of the Covenant, and indicated that they could only agree to the decision which the Assembly was asked to take on the understanding that it would not constitute a precedent. The representatives of Sweden and Czechoslovakia also took occasion to emphasize the fact that the previous resolutions of the Assembly on the Sino-Japanese dispute had lost nothing of their force, and that any infringement of their terms could not be countenanced. This point was also taken up by Monsieur Hymans in his closing speech, after the Assembly had adopted the proposals of the Committee of Nineteen. He recalled the terms of the note which he had addressed to the Chinese and Japanese delegations on the 24th June, and pointed out that the Assembly had agreed to extend the time-limit of six months only in order that the efforts of the League to promote a satisfactory settlement of the dispute might continue in the best possible conditions. He felt himself authorized to declare, therefore, 'that the parties must abstain from any action that might compromise the success of the work of the Commission of Inquiry or of any efforts the League may make with a view to a settlement'.

The past experience of the Council and of the Assembly in dealing with the Sino-Japanese dispute must have left the members of the Assembly with little hope that Monsieur Hymans's recommendation would avail to turn Japan from her course; and the Japanese Government took no one by surprise when they attempted to forestall the findings of the Lytton Commission by recognizing Manchukuo before the Commission's report was submitted to the Council. The report of the Lytton Commission was signed at Peking on the 4th

September, but it was announced that its terms would not be made public until it had been presented to the Council. On the 15th September, while the report was on its way to Geneva, the Japanese Government signed the protocol by which they granted *de jure* recognition to Manchukuo.¹ On the same day, at Geneva, the Japanese Government presented a formal request for the postponement of the Council's consideration of the Lytton Report for a period of at least six weeks from the date of its reception, in order that the Japanese observations on the report might be considered together with the report and that there might be time for a special Japanese delegate to travel from Tokyo to Geneva.

The Lytton Report reached Geneva on the 22nd September and was published on the 2nd October. The Japanese request for delay was considered by the Council on the 25th September. Mr. Nagaoka explained that the Japanese proposal was dictated solely by practical considerations, and that his Government had no intention of trying to postpone the discussion indefinitely. Dr. Yen, who asked that the Japanese request might be submitted to the Committee of Nineteen, pointed out that China would not 'hesitate so much in considering the request for a further delay did' she 'feel assured that Japan would not again take advantage of the opportunity to aggravate the situation'. The Council decided to grant Japan's request and fixed the 14th November as the date on which it would begin its consideration of the Lytton Report. The President was left free, however, to extend the delay for another week at his discretion. At this session of the Council the Chair was occupied by Mr. de Valera, the President of the Council of the Irish Free State. In recommending the acceptance of the Japanese proposal Mr. de Valera remarked that he would be lacking in frankness if he were not to give expression to the regret which he was sure was 'felt by the generality of the members of the Council that before the discussion of the report of the Commission, before even the publication of that report, Japan' had, 'not only by recognizing, but also by signing a treaty with what' was 'known as the Manchukuo Government, taken steps which' could 'not but be regarded as calculated to prejudice the settlement of the dispute'.

On the 1st October the Committee of Nineteen held a public meeting to consider a request from Dr. Yen that it should fix a definite date for the final report of the special session of the Assembly on the Sino-Japanese dispute. The general feeling of the majority of the members of the Committee was clearly in sympathy with Dr. Yen's desire to avoid further procrastination, but, as Monsieur

¹ See pp. 462-3 above.

Hymans pointed out, the Committee was not in a position to accede to the Chinese delegate's request, since it could take no further action until the Council had transmitted the Lytton Report to it, and its rate of progress was therefore dependent upon that of the Council. Accordingly, Dr. Yen was obliged to resign himself to the continued exercise of 'the painful patience in delays' which had characterized the Chinese attitude towards the proceedings at Geneva during the past twelve months. It may have been some slight consolation for the Chinese delegate to hear a further emphatic expression of the sentiments which had been uttered by Mr. de Valera on the 25th September in the speeches of Monsieur Hymans and of the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and Sweden.

On the 2nd November it was announced that the session of the Council which was to consider the Lytton Report would begin on the 21st November, and not on the 14th, owing to the fact that the special Japanese delegate who was bringing the Government's observations on the Lytton Report was not expected to arrive at Geneva until the 16th November. The history of the new phase of the Sino-Japanese dispute which opened on the 21st November, 1932, must be reserved for the next volume of this *Survey*.

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1932¹

N.B. The following abbreviations are used in the references to the published texts of the treaties and documents: *Cmd.* = *British Parliamentary Paper*; *D.I.A.* = *Documents on International Affairs*; *E.N.* = *L'Europe Nouvelle*; *J.O.F.* = *Journal Officiel* (France); *L. of N.* = *League of Nations Publication*; *L.N.M.S.* = *League of Nations Monthly Summary*; *L.N.O.J.* = *League of Nations Official Journal*; *L.N.T.S.* = *League of Nations Treaty Series*; *M.G.* = *Manchester Guardian*; *N.Y.T.* = *New York Times*; *O.M.* = *Oriente Moderno*; *Ov.F.S.* = *Overenskomst med Fremmede Stater* (Norway); *P.C.I.J.* = *Permanent Court of International Justice*; *P.R.* = *Press Releases* (U.S.A.); *S.* = *Staatsblad* (Netherlands); *T.I.* = *Treaty Information* (U.S.A.); *U.S.D.* = *United States Daily*; *U.S.T.S.* = *United States Treaty Series*.

Abyssinia

1932, Feb. 19. Ratifications exchanged with France, Great Britain and Italy of arms traffic treaty of Aug. 21, 1930 (*Cmd.* 4051).

Aug. 26. Ratifications exchanged with Japan of friendship and commerce treaty of Nov. 15, 1930 (*L.N.T.S.* 133).

See also under *Permanent Court of International Justice*, Jan. 6.

Afghanistan

1932, May 5. Friendship treaty signed with Sa'ūdī Arabia.

July 18. Frontier agreement reached with India at Chitral regarding Dokalim area.

Dec. 20. Friendship treaty signed with 'Irāq (*'Irāq Government Gazette*, June 25, 1933).

Albania

1932, Jan. 7. Protocol signed with Bulgaria regarding Balkan pact and minorities.

April 23. Treaty of friendship signed with Uruguay.

See also under *France*, July 13.

Argentina

July 8. Diplomatic relations broken off with Uruguay. Sept. 12, Exchange of notes re-establishing relations.

See also under *Bolivia*.

Australia. See under *British Empire*.

Austria

1932, Jan 14. Dr. Buresch visited Geneva. Jan. 17, League Financial Committee discussed Austrian situation.

¹ In this chronology only a few treaties of political importance are included. For a full list of bilateral and multilateral treaties and conventions signed or ratified during the year 1932, see the supplementary volume, *Documents on International Affairs, 1932*.

Austria: cont.

- Jan. 27. Dr. Buresch's Government resigned. Jan. 31, Dr. Buresch returned to office.
- May 6. Dr. Buresch's Government resigned. May 20, Dr. Dollfuss formed a Government.
- May 9. Austrian note to League of Nations regarding financial situation. May 21, Council discussed question and referred it to special committee. July 14, committee reached agreement regarding loan. July 15, Council approved loan protocol, the political conditions of which were unacceptable to Germany. It was signed by Austria, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy and the Netherlands. Ratifications were deposited by Austria on Nov. 14, by France on Dec. 31, by Great Britain on Dec. 29, and by Italy on Dec. 27.
- See also under *Europe*; *France*, July 13; *Inter-Governmental Debts*.

Belgium

- 1932, Jan. 23. Netherlands deposited ratification of Oslo economic convention and protocol of Dec. 22, 1930, which came into force on Feb. 7 between Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden (*E.N.* Jan. 24, 1931).
- April 4. Ratifications exchanged with Rumania of arbitration, conciliation and judicial settlement treaty of July 8, 1930 (*L.N.T.S.* 128).
- May 24. Ratifications exchanged with Lithuania of arbitration, conciliation and judicial settlement treaty of Sept. 24, 1930 (*L.N.T.S.* 129).
- July 18. Ouchy convention for the lowering of economic barriers signed with Luxembourg and Netherlands; open to accession by other states (*E.N.* Aug. 27, 1932).
- Oct. 18. M. Renkin's Liberal-Catholic Cabinet resigned. Oct. 22, the Comte de Broqueville formed a Government which was successful in general election on Nov. 27.
- See also under *Austria*, May 9; *France*, July 13; *Inter-Governmental Debts*.

Bolivia

- 1932, July. Renewed fighting between Bolivian and Paraguayan troops in the Chaco. July 30, Paraguayan Government informed League Council of alleged Bolivian aggression. Aug. 1, President of Council reminded both States of their Covenant obligations. Aug. 3, nineteen American States informed disputants that they would not recognize the acquisition of territory by conquest. Aug. 5, Committee of Neutral States (Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, U.S.A., and Uruguay), set up in 1931, appealed to Bolivia and Paraguay to suspend hostilities, and seek arbitral settlement. Sept. 23 and 27, League Council discussed question and set up Committee of Three to watch events. Nov. 5, Committee of Neutrals informed Committee of Three that both parties had agreed to open negotiations. Nov. 25, League Council appealed to Bolivia, Paraguay and Committee of Neutrals urging more rapid progress towards a settlement. Dec. 6, League Council proposed appointment of Commission of

Bolivia: cont.

- Inquiry. Dec. 16, Committee of Neutrals proposed convention providing for settlement of dispute. Dec. 17, League Council invited Bolivia and Paraguay to accept convention. Dec. 20, both parties announced their inability to do so. Dec. 31, Committee of Neutrals notified League Council that it had invited Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru to take part in further mediation.

Brazil

- 1932, May 9. Notes exchanged with Venezuela on April 26 and May 9 regarding frontier demarcation.
- July 9. Separatist rising in San Paulo State which was not suppressed by Federal Government till Oct. 3.
- See also under *Bolivia*.

British Empire

- 1932, July 21-Aug. 20. Imperial Economic Conference held at Ottawa. Aug. 20, bilateral commercial agreements signed between the following countries: (1) Australia and Great Britain; (2) Canada and Great Britain, Irish Free State, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia; (3) Great Britain and India, New Zealand, Newfoundland, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia; (4) Irish Free State and South Africa; (5) New Zealand and South Africa (Canada: *Report of Conference*, Annex V).

Bulgaria

- 1932, Jan. 20. Bulgarian Government asked League of Nations for financial assistance. Feb. 12-14, Financial Committee's representatives visited Sofia. March 17, Bulgaria accepted Committee's recommendations and agreed to transfer 50 per cent. of the service of League Loans. Oct. 10, transfer reduced to 40 per cent. of service. Dec. 3, agreement reached regarding control by Financial Committee.
- Jan. 31. Graeco-Bulgarian Mixed Commission for the exchange of populations completed its work.
- March 8. Permanent Court of International Justice gave advisory opinion by 8 votes to 6 that no legal difference existed between Bulgaria and Greece in the sense of Art. 8 of the Kaphandaris-Molov Agreement of Dec. 9, 1927 (*P.C.I.J.*, Series A/B, No. 45).
- May 29, Bulgaria informed Greece of her inability to make next payment due under above agreement.
- Oct. 15. Ratifications exchanged with Norway of arbitration, conciliation and judicial settlement treaty of Nov. 26, 1931 (*Ov.F.S.* No. 8, 1932).
- See also under *Albania*, Jan. 7; *Conferences*, Oct. 21; *Europe*, March 16; *France*, July 13; *Inter-Governmental Debts*, Jan. 21, June 29.

Canada. See under *British Empire*.

Chile

- 1932, April 19. Gold standard suspended.
- June 5. Government of Don Juan Esteban Montero overthrown by

Austria: cont.

- Jan. 27. Dr. Buresch's Government resigned. Jan. 31, Dr. Buresch returned to office.
- May 6. Dr. Buresch's Government resigned. May 20, Dr. Dollfuss formed a Government.
- May 9. Austrian note to League of Nations regarding financial situation. May 21, Council discussed question and referred it to special committee. July 14, committee reached agreement regarding loan. July 15, Council approved loan protocol, the political conditions of which were unacceptable to Germany. It was signed by Austria, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy and the Netherlands. Ratifications were deposited by Austria on Nov. 14, by France on Dec. 31, by Great Britain on Dec. 29, and by Italy on Dec. 27.

See also under *Europe*; *France*, July 13; *Inter-Governmental Debts*.

Belgium

- 1932, Jan. 23. Netherlands deposited ratification of Oslo economic convention and protocol of Dec. 22, 1930, which came into force on Feb. 7 between Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden (*E.N.* Jan. 24, 1931).
- April 4. Ratifications exchanged with Rumania of arbitration, conciliation and judicial settlement treaty of July 8, 1930 (*L.N.T.S.* 128).
- May 24. Ratifications exchanged with Lithuania of arbitration, conciliation and judicial settlement treaty of Sept. 24, 1930 (*L.N.T.S.* 129).
- July 18. Ouchy convention for the lowering of economic barriers signed with Luxembourg and Netherlands; open to accession by other states (*E.N.* Aug. 27, 1932).
- Oct. 18. M. Renkin's Liberal-Catholic Cabinet resigned. Oct. 22, the Comte de Broqueville formed a Government which was successful in general election on Nov. 27.

See also under *Austria*, May 9; *France*, July 13; *Inter-Governmental Debts*.

Bolivia

- 1932, July. Renewed fighting between Bolivian and Paraguayan troops in the Chaco. July 30, Paraguayan Government informed League Council of alleged Bolivian aggression. Aug. 1, President of Council reminded both States of their Covenant obligations. Aug. 3, nineteen American States informed disputants that they would not recognize the acquisition of territory by conquest. Aug. 5, Committee of Neutral States (Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, U.S.A., and Uruguay), set up in 1931, appealed to Bolivia and Paraguay to suspend hostilities, and seek arbitral settlement. Sept. 23 and 27, League Council discussed question and set up Committee of Three to watch events. Nov. 5, Committee of Neutrals informed Committee of Three that both parties had agreed to open negotiations. Nov. 25, League Council appealed to Bolivia, Paraguay and Committee of Neutrals urging more rapid progress towards a settlement. Dec. 6, League Council proposed appointment of Commission of

Bolivia: cont.

- Inquiry. Dec. 16, Committee of Neutrals proposed convention providing for settlement of dispute. Dec. 17, League Council invited Bolivia and Paraguay to accept convention. Dec. 20, both parties announced their inability to do so. Dec. 31, Committee of Neutrals notified League Council that it had invited Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru to take part in further mediation.

Brazil

- 1932, May 9. Notes exchanged with Venezuela on April 26 and May 9 regarding frontier demarcation.
- July 9. Separatist rising in San Paulo State which was not suppressed by Federal Government till Oct. 3.
- See also under *Bolivia*.

British Empire

- 1932, July 21-Aug. 20. Imperial Economic Conference held at Ottawa. Aug. 20, bilateral commercial agreements signed between the following countries: (1) Australia and Great Britain; (2) Canada and Great Britain, Irish Free State, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia; (3) Great Britain and India, New Zealand, Newfoundland, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia; (4) Irish Free State and South Africa; (5) New Zealand and South Africa (Canada: *Report of Conference*, Annex V).

Bulgaria

- 1932, Jan. 20. Bulgarian Government asked League of Nations for financial assistance. Feb. 12-14, Financial Committee's representatives visited Sofia. March 17, Bulgaria accepted Committee's recommendations and agreed to transfer 50 per cent. of the service of League Loans. Oct. 10, transfer reduced to 40 per cent. of service. Dec. 3, agreement reached regarding control by Financial Committee.
- Jan. 31. Graeco-Bulgarian Mixed Commission for the exchange of populations completed its work.
- March 8. Permanent Court of International Justice gave advisory opinion by 8 votes to 6 that no legal difference existed between Bulgaria and Greece in the sense of Art. 8 of the Kaphandaris-Molov Agreement of Dec. 9, 1927 (*P.C.I.J.*, Series A/B, No. 45).
- May 29, Bulgaria informed Greece of her inability to make next payment due under above agreement.
- Oct. 15. Ratifications exchanged with Norway of arbitration, conciliation and judicial settlement treaty of Nov. 26, 1931 (*Ov.F.S.* No. 8, 1932).
- See also under *Albania*, Jan. 7; *Conferences*, Oct. 21; *Europe*, March 16; *France*, July 13; *Inter-Governmental Debts*, Jan. 21, June 29.

Canada. See under *British Empire*.

Chile

- 1932, April 19. Gold standard suspended.
- June 5. Government of Don Juan Esteban Montero overthrown by

Chile: cont.

- Socialist Junta, which was succeeded on June 17 by a Junta under Don Carlos Davila.
 June 30. Friendship and commerce treaty with Germany of Feb. 1, 1862, prolonged for one year.
 Sept. 13. Señor Davila overthrown by military leaders under Air Commodore Merino, who was succeeded next day by General Blanche. Oct. 21, Germany, Great Britain and U.S.A. recognized the new Government.
 See also under *Bolivia*.

*China**(a). Sino-Japanese Conflict.*

- 1932, Jan. 7. Mr. Stimson sent identic note to Chinese and Japanese Governments on non-recognition of any settlement reached in defiance of international obligations (*D.I.A.* p. 261). Jan. 9, British communiqué issued regarding note (see p. 541 above). Jan. 12, Chinese reply to note (*D.I.A.* p. 262). Jan. 16, Japanese reply (*D.I.A.* p. 264).
 Jan. 18 and 20. Collisions between Chinese and Japanese at Shanghai.
 Jan. 21. League Commission of Inquiry met at Geneva. Lord Lytton elected Chairman. The commission reached Tokyo on Feb. 29 and Shanghai on March 14, and proceeded to Manchuria via Nanking and Peiping.
 Jan 28/29. Japanese forces attacked Chapei and Hongkew district of Shanghai.
 Jan. 29. Chinese Government appealed to League of Nations under Arts. 10 and 15 of Covenant as well as under Art. 11.
 Jan. 29. British and U.S. consuls at Shanghai arranged truce as from Jan. 29 and meeting between representatives of China and Japan on Jan. 31. Their proposal for neutral zone was rejected by Japanese Government on Feb. 2.
 Feb. 1. Japanese warships bombarded Nanking. Chinese Government withdrew to Loyang.
 Feb. 2. Special meeting of League Council. Statement by Mr. Thomas.
 Feb. 2. British and U.S. Governments made proposals for peaceful settlement, which were accepted by Chinese Government on Feb. 3, but rejected by Japanese Government on Feb. 4.
 Feb. 3. Japanese offensive continued against Chapei and Woosung.
 Feb. 7. Japanese statement of policy issued.
 Feb. 12. Chinese Government informed Secretary-General of League that they would refer Sino-Japanese dispute to Assembly unless the Council should do so on its own initiative.
 Feb. 16. Committee of Twelve Members of Council sent note to Japan (*D.I.A.* p. 269). Feb. 23, Japanese reply (*D.I.A.* p. 271).
 Feb. 16-17. Conference of Provincial Governors at Mukden. Feb. 17, North-Eastern Administrative Committee set up. Feb. 18, declaration of independence published. Feb. 29, 'All Manchuria Convention' conferred Provisional Presidency on Mr. Henry Pu Yi. March 9,

China: cont.

- State of 'Manchukuo' inaugurated at Hsinking (Changchun).
 March 12, 'Manchukuo' asked other states for recognition.
 Feb. 18. Meeting between Chinese and Japanese commanders at Shanghai failed to avert Japanese ultimatum demanding that Chinese should withdraw 20 kilometres from International Settlement boundary by Feb. 20.
 Feb. 19. League Council appealed to Japanese Government to extend time-limit, and adopted resolution convening Assembly.
 Feb. 20. Renewed Japanese attack in Kiangwan and Woosung areas.
 Feb. 23. Letter from Mr. Stimson to Senator Borah on non-recognition doctrine and inter-dependence of Washington Treaties (*D.I.A.* p. 278).
 Feb. 28. Admiral Kelly arranged meeting on H.M.S. *Kent* between Chinese and Japanese leaders who agreed provisionally on conditions for the cessation of hostilities. These were, however, not put into effect.
 Feb. 29. Sir John Simon made statement to League Council on *Kent* conversations. Council proposed conference at Shanghai.
 March 1-3. Chinese troops withdrew outside 20 kilometre limit. Japanese troops advanced to line north-west of Shanghai.
 March 2. British statement on policy in House of Commons.
 March 2. Japanese peace terms laid before Admiral Kelly. March 3, further Sino-Japanese meeting on H.M.S. *Kent*. Chinese Government rejected terms. March 9, renewed negotiations. March 24, conference opened at Shanghai. April 27, both parties accepted terms of armistice agreement. May 5, agreement signed (*Cmd.* 4077). May 31, Japanese withdrawal of troops completed.
 March 3. Special session of Assembly opened. March 11, resolution adopted on non-recognition doctrine and appointment of Committee of Nineteen (*D.I.A.* p. 284). March 12, statement by Mr. Stimson regarding resolution. March 16, first meeting of Committee of Nineteen. April 19, Committee made proposal regarding withdrawal of troops from Shanghai which was rejected by Japan. April 30, Plenary session of Assembly noted draft armistice agreement.
 March-April. Japanese military expedition on Sungari river.
 April 20-June 4. Lytton Commission visited Manchuria.
 May. Japanese advance into Mutan valley.
 May-Aug. Campaign north of Harbin against General Ma Chan-shan.
 June 24. Committee of Nineteen agreed to recommend extension of time limit for Assembly report. President of Assembly sent notes to China and Japan. July 1, Assembly agreed to await report of Lytton Commission.
 July-Aug. Fighting in S.W. Jehol.
 July 4-15. Lytton Commission visited Japan.
 July 18. Count Uchida, Japanese Foreign Minister, stated that Japan would eventually recognize 'Manchukuo'.
 July 26. General Muto appointed as chief Japanese civil and military representative in Manchuria.

China: cont.

- Aug. 6. Mr. Stimson referred to Sino-Japanese conflict in speech on Paris Pact.
 Aug. 25. Speech before Imperial Diet by Count Uchida on recognition of 'Manchukuo' (*The Times*, Aug. 25, 1932).
 Sept. 4. Lytton Report signed at Peiping. Oct. 2, Report published at Geneva (*L. of N.* 1932. vii. 4).
 Sept. 15. Treaty signed between Japan and 'Manchukuo' regarding recognition and political relations (see p. 462 above). Japanese Government issued statement (*M.G.* Sept. 16, 1932).
 Sept. 17. Chinese Government appealed to President of Special Assembly and to signatories of Nine-Power Treaty against Japanese recognition of 'Manchukuo'.
 Sept. 27. General Su Ping-wen occupied Manchuli. Dec. 5, Japanese troops crossed Khingan range and General Su's forces retreated into Soviet territory where they were interned.

(b) Relations with Foreign States other than Japan.

- 1932, Dec. 12. Diplomatic relations re-established with U.S.S.R.
 Dec. 15. Ratifications exchanged with U.S.A. of arbitration treaty of June 27, 1930 (*U.S.T.S.* 857).

Colombia

- 1932, Jan. 11-13. Exchange of notes with Panamá effecting agreement as to mixed frontier demarcation commission.
 March 18. Arbitration and conciliation treaty signed with Italy.
 April 6. Exchange of notes of Feb. 2 and April 6 with Venezuela effecting frontier agreement.
 July 5. Ratifications exchanged with Sweden of conciliation treaty of Sept. 13, 1927 (*L.N.T.S.* 132).
 Sept. 1. Peruvians captured Leticia, a town in territory ceded by Peru to Colombia.
 See also under *Bolivia*; *Permanent Court of International Justice*, Jan. 6.

Conferences, International

- 1932, Sept. 3-Dec. 9. 'Telecommunications' Conference held at Madrid. Conventions signed regarding radiotelegraphy, &c.
 Oct. 21-6. Third Balkan Conference held at Bucharest. Oct. 25, withdrawal of Bulgarian delegation, owing to disagreement over minorities question. Oct. 26, remaining delegations approved draft Balkan Pact.

*Cuba. See under Bolivia.**Czechoslovakia*

- 1932, Feb. 8. Ratifications exchanged with Yugoslavia and Rumania of agreement of April 25, 1930, regarding Fund B.
 Sept. 16. Ratifications exchanged with Turkey of arbitration, conciliation and judicial settlement treaty of March 17, 1931 (*L.N.T.S.* 133).

Czechoslovakia: cont.

See also under *Disarmament*; *Europe*; *France*, July 13; *Inter-Governmental Debts*, Jan. 21, May 6 *seqq.*, June 29, Nov. 21 *seqq.*; *League of Nations*, Sept. 26; *Little Entente*.

*Danubian States. See under Europe.**Danzig*

- Jan. 14. High Commissioner gave three decisions on railway questions.
 Oct. 25, Polish decree issued that all railway charges in Free State must be paid in Polish currency. High Commissioner referred question to League Council. Nov. 26, agreement signed regarding withdrawal of decree and other matters.
 Jan. 29. League Council advised direct negotiations on question of entry of warships into Danzig harbour. No agreement was reached by 1st May when provisional regulations issued by High Commissioner expired. Aug. 12, agreement signed.
 Jan. 29. Council referred question of Polish use of port of Danzig back to Jurists' Committee which submitted a report on April 8. May 10, Council adopted report and asked High Commissioner to collect further information. Traffic through Gdynia during May for the first time exceeded traffic through Danzig. Sept. 14, Expert Committee appointed to advise High Commissioner completed its report.
 Feb. 4. Permanent Court of International Justice gave advisory opinion regarding treatment of Poles in Danzig (*P.C.I.J.*, Series A/B, No. 44). Nov. 26, agreement signed.
 Feb. 11. M. Strasburger, Polish Commissioner, resigned and was succeeded by M. Pappee.
 March 29. High Commissioner gave decision regarding tariffs and 'passive finishing trade'. Nov. 10, negotiations began on tariff questions, but were broken off on Nov. 16. Nov. 21, decisions given by High Commissioner (Summary, *The Times*, 23 Nov., 1932). Poland appealed to League Council.
 Aug. 12. Agreement signed with Poland for discontinuance of Polish boycott of Danzig and mutual efforts to counteract unfriendly manifestations. Agreement also signed regarding *port d'attache*.
 Sept. 30. Death of Count Gravina, League High Commissioner.
 Oct. 15, M. Helmer Rosting appointed Acting High Commissioner.

Denmark

- 1932, July 12. Norway proclaimed annexation of Frederick VI Land in S.E. Greenland. July 18, Danish and Norwegian Governments referred dispute to Permanent Court of International Justice. Norwegian Government asked the Court for interim measures of protection for Norwegian nationals in disputed area. After a public hearing on July 28 the Court made an order on Aug. 3 dismissing the request. Nov. 22, Court began hearings of E. Greenland case.
 See also under *Belgium*, Jan. 23.

Disarmament and Security

- 1932, Feb. 2. Disarmament Conference opened at Geneva.
 Feb. 5. French proposals laid before Conference.
 Feb. 8-24. General discussion. Speeches by Sir John Simon and M. Tardieu on Feb. 8, by Mr. Gibson and Dr. Brüning on Feb. 9, by Signor Grandi and Mr. Matsudaira, on Feb. 10, and by M. Litvinov on Feb. 11. Detailed German proposals submitted on Feb. 18.
 Feb. 25. General Commission set up Military, Naval, Air, National Expenditure and Political Commissions.
 Feb. 25 and 28. Franco-German conversations.
 March 8. General Commission adopted co-ordinating table of draft convention and subsequent proposals and list of questions to be examined by Commissions.
 April 11-13. General Commission discussed Art. 1 of Preparatory Commission's draft convention.
 April 11. Mr. Gibson proposed draft resolution on qualitative disarmament (see p. 217 above).
 April 14. French memorandum issued on internationalization of civil aviation (*E.N.* Sept. 24, 1932).
 April 15. Conversation between Mr. Stimson and Monsieur Tardieu in Paris.
 April 19. General Commission adopted resolution on progressive reduction of armaments. April 20, resolution adopted on criteria for limitation or reduction in accordance with Art. 8 of Covenant and geographical situation and circumstances of each State (*L.N.M.S.* April 1932).
 April 21. Conversations between representatives of France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and U.S.A.; continued after April 22 between Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Stimson, and Dr. Brüning.
 April 22. General Commission adopted resolution on qualitative disarmament (*L.N.M.S.* April 1932), and on April 26 suspended its meetings to await outcome of private conversations and special commissions' reports on qualitative disarmament.
 April 27. It was announced that illness prevented M. Tardieu from taking part in Geneva conversations.
 May 10. General Committee set up Technical Committee on Effectives and Committee on Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare.
 June 13. Franco-British conversations, followed during the next week by conversations between the Great Powers.
 June 14. Further German proposals laid before Bureau.
 June 21. Meeting between Mr. Gibson and M. Herriot at Morges.
 June 22. U.S. proposals put forward by Mr. Hoover at Washington and by Mr. Gibson at Geneva.
 July 7. British declaration issued regarding Hoover proposals (*Cmd.* 4122).
 July 7-8. Further discussion by General Commission.
 July 20-2. General Commission discussed and adopted resolution on work of Conference presented by Dr. Beneš as *rapporteur*. July 22, Herr Nadolny stated that future German collaboration in the

Disarmament and Security: cont.

- Conference would depend on the recognition of equality of rights (*L.N.M.S.* July 1932).
 July 23. Plenary Conference adopted Chapter 5 of above resolution proposing extension of armaments truce from Nov. 1, 1932, to March 1, 1933.
 July 26. Speech by General von Schleicher on equality of rights.
 Aug. 6. Speech by Mr. Stimson on Paris Pact to Council on Foreign Relations (*Foreign Affairs* (New York), vol. ii, No. 1, 1932, special supplement).
 Aug. 29. German memorandum on equality of rights presented to France (*D.I.A.* p. 185).
 Sept. 11. French reply to German memorandum (*E.N.* Sept. 24, 1932).
 Sept. 14. German Government informed President of Conference that Germany would not be represented at forthcoming meeting of Bureau.
 Sept. 18. British statement on question of German claim to equality issued (*The Times*, Sept. 19, 1932).
 Sept. 21. Bureau of Conference set up Committee on Manufacture and Trade in Arms which met from Oct. 4-10. It was stated that U.S.S.R. would not attend technical commissions till General Commission had taken decisions on questions of principle. Sept. 26, Bureau adjourned until Oct. 13.
 Oct. 4. It was stated that the British Government had invited the Governments of France, Germany and Italy to a conference in London and that the German and Italian Governments had accepted, the former with reservations.
 Oct. 15. It was stated that the French Government had agreed to attend Conference at Geneva; the German Government refused to do so.
 Oct. 26. Statement by M. Herriot to Chamber of Deputies on new French proposals.
 Nov. 4. M. Paul-Boncour laid new French proposals before Bureau.
 Nov. 14, text of plan issued (*E.N.* Feb. 18, 1933).
 Nov. 10. Statement in House of Commons by Sir John Simon and speech by Mr. Baldwin on air armaments.
 Nov. 17. Sir John Simon submitted new proposals to Conference Bureau (*Cmd.* 4189).
 Dec. 2-5. Conversations at Geneva between representatives of France, Great Britain, Italy and U.S.A. Dec. 6-11, German representative took part in conversations. Dec. 11, Five-Power declaration signed, enabling Germany to return to Conference.
 Dec. 5. Japanese naval disarmament proposals issued.
 Dec. 14. General Commission met, German delegates being present, and subsequently adjourned till Jan. 31, 1933.

Egypt

- 1932, Aug. 24. Ratifications exchanged with U.S.A. of arbitration and conciliation treaties of Aug. 27, 1929 (*U.S.T.S.* 850, 851).

Estonia

1932, May 4. Non-aggression pact signed with U.S.S.R. (*Soviet Union Review*, June 1932). June 16, conciliation convention signed. Ratifications exchanged Aug. 18.
See also under *Inter-Governmental Debts*, May 23, Sept. 14, Dec. 15.

Europe

1932, Feb. 12-13. Conference held at Bucharest regarding economic co-operation among Successor States. Feb. 22, after further negotiations at Brno, the proposal was made to hold an official conference on the economic *rapprochement* of Poland and the Danubian States.
March 5. French Government presented memorandum to British, German and Italian Governments regarding closer union between Danubian States (Text of 'Tardieu Plan', *The Times*, March 18, 1932).
March 7. Italian Government replied to French memorandum.
March 16. Bulgaria asked to be included in scheme.
March 16. British Government issued statement regarding plan. German reply to memorandum, suggesting that France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy should be included (*E.N.* April 2, 1932).
March 22. Statement by Dr. Beneš that Czechoslovakia would take part in negotiations on economic questions only (*E.N.* April 2, 1932).
March 23. Dr. Walko, Hungarian Foreign Minister, stated that his Government would agree to negotiations.
March 26. British Government invited French, German and Italian Governments to a Conference in April.
March 31. Dr. Buresch stated that Austria would accept plan.
April 4. Conversations between M. Tardieu and Mr. MacDonald in London.
April 4-6. Four-Power conference met in London but failed to reach agreement.
April 16-20. International Chamber of Commerce held conference at Innsbruck on Danubian question. May 19-20, Further conference on financial problems held at Munich.
July 12. Lausanne Conference set up committee to prepare for Central European Conference.
Aug. 27. Final session of Conference of Central and East-European Agrarian States at Warsaw (Text of recommendations, *E.N.* Oct. 15, 1932).
Sept. 5-20. Conference for the financial and economic reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe held at Stresa (*E.N.* Oct. 15, 1932).
Sept. 30-Oct. 1. Sixth session of Commission of Inquiry for European Union discussed work of Stresa Conference and requested League Council to examine proposal for monetary normalization fund (*E.N.* Oct. 15, 1932). Oct. 15, Council referred question to expert committee (Text of report, *L. of N.* ii A. 23).

Finland

1932, Jan. 21. Non-aggression pact signed with U.S.S.R. April 22, conciliation convention signed. Ratifications exchanged Aug. 9 (*E.N.* Feb. 20, 1932).

Finland: cont.

Feb. 5. Ratifications exchanged with Iceland of Thingvellir pacific settlement treaty of June 27, 1930.
Feb. 23. Lapuans gathered at Mäntsälä intending to march on Helsinki but were dispersed on March 6.
Sept. 30. Agreement signed with Great Britain for arbitration of Finnish claims in respect of vessels used during the War (*Cmd.* 4179).
See also under *Inter-Governmental Debts*, May 23, Dec. 15.

France

1932, Jan. 12. Resignation of M. Laval's Government. Jan. 14, M. Laval returned to office as Premier and succeeded M. Briand as Foreign Minister.
Feb. 16. Resignation of M. Laval. Feb. 21, M. Tardieu took office as Premier and Foreign Minister.
March 7. Death of M. Briand.
April 19. Permanent Court of International Justice began hearings of Savoy Free Zones case. June 7, judgement given by 6 votes to 5 that France must maintain Free Zones and withdraw customs line by Jan. 1, 1934 (*P.C.I.J.*, Series A/B, No. 46).
May 1-8. Radical and Socialist parties successful in general election.
May 6. Assassination of President Doumer. May 10, M. Lebrun elected President; resignation of M. Tardieu. June 4, M. Herriot took office as Premier and Foreign Minister.
June 24. Ratifications exchanged with Sa'ūdī Arabia of friendship treaty of Nov. 10, 1931 (*J.O.F.* Aug. 12, 1932).
July 13. Franco-British declaration ('consultative pact') issued regarding future European co-operation (*Cmd.* 4131). Belgium and Italy had acceded to the declaration by July 15, and Germany did so on July 25. By Sept. 23 notice of accession had also been given by Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Spain and Sweden.
July 27. Ratifications exchanged with Spain of arbitration and friendship treaty of July 10, 1929 (*J.O.F.* Aug. 3, 1932).
July 31. Exchange of notes with Persia prolonging provisional agreement of May 11, 1928, till Feb. 1, 1933 (*L.N.T.S.* 126).
Oct. 10. Agreement signed with Great Britain and 'Irāq transferring certain rights and obligations from Great Britain to 'Irāq (*Cmd.* 4220).
Oct. 27. Conventions signed with Turkey regarding (1) Syro-Turkish frontier questions, (2) Alexandretta-Nisibin Railway (*E.N.* July 8, 1933).
Oct. 28. Declaration signed with Yugoslavia renewing treaty of Nov. 11, 1927 (*J.O.F.* Jan. 7, 1933).
Nov. 29. Non-aggression and conciliation treaties signed with U.S.S.R. (*E.N.* Dec. 3, 1932).
Dec. 14. M. Herriot resigned on war debts question. Dec. 18, M. Paul-Boncour took office as Premier and Foreign Minister.
See also under *Abyssinia*, Feb. 19; *Austria*, May 9; *Disarmament*; *Europe*; *Inter-Governmental Debts*; *Lithuania*, Feb. 6.

Germany

- 1932, March 13. Presidential election. President Hindenburg failed to secure absolute majority over Herr Hitler, Herr Thälmann (Communist), Lieut-Col. Düsterberg (Nationalist) and Herr Winter, but was re-elected on the second ballot held on April 10.
- April 24. Elections for Prussian Diet. Nazis gained 162 seats out of 422.
- May 9-12. Reichstag session held. May 12, General Groener, Defence Minister, resigned.
- May 30. Dr. Brüning's Government resigned over question of emergency decrees and land settlement policy. June 2, Herr von Papen took office. June 4, Reichstag dissolved.
- May 30. Nazis gained absolute majority in Oldenburg Diet on May 30, and majority in Mecklenburg Diet on June 5.
- July 20. Reich Government dismissed Prussian Government and appointed Reichskommissar.
- July 26. Exchange of notes with Great Britain regarding dissolution of Anglo-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal (*Cmd.* 4160). July 26-7, exchange of notes regarding liquidation of German property (*Cmd.* 4172).
- July 30. Nazis won 230 seats in general election and Communists 89 seats; no party had clear majority.
- Aug. 13. Herr Hitler refused President Hindenburg's invitation to join the Government, because his demand for chancellorship was not complied with.
- Aug. 30. Reichstag reopened and was dissolved on Sept. 12 before a vote of censure was passed on the Government.
- Sept. 23. Herr von Hoesch, Ambassador in Paris, appointed to London, succeeding Baron von Neurath, and was succeeded by Herr Köster.
- Oct. 1. Armoured cruiser C. laid down.
- Nov. 6. General election. Nazis won 196 seats and Communists 100 seats; no party had clear majority.
- Nov. 17. Papen-Schleicher Government resigned. Nov. 21, President Hindenburg saw Herr Hitler, who again demanded the chancellorship.
- Dec. 4. General von Schleicher formed a Government with Baron von Neurath as Foreign Minister. Dec. 6-9, session of Reichstag.
- Dec. 30. Arbitration and conciliation treaty signed with Uruguay.
- See also under *Chile*, June 30, Sept. 13; *Disarmament*; *Europe*; *France*, July 13; *Inter-Governmental Debts*; *Lithuania*, Feb. 6.

Great Britain

See under *Abyssinia*, Feb. 19; *Austria*, May 9; *British Empire*; *Chile*, Sept. 13; *China (a)*; *Disarmament*; *Europe*; *Finland*, Sept. 30; *France*, July 13, Oct. 10; *Germany*, July 26; *India*, Nov. 17; *Inter-Governmental Debts*; *Irāq*, July 8; *Lithuania*, Feb. 6; *Monetary and Economic Conference*, July 13; *Norway*, Aug. 19; *Persia*, Nov. 27; *Salvador*; *Sweden*, Aug. 9; *U.S.A.*

Greece

- 1932, Jan. 4. Friendship, arbitration and conciliation treaty signed with Poland. Ratifications exchanged July 2 (*L.N.T.S.* 131).
- Feb. 17-28. Sir O. Niemeyer visited Athens on behalf of the League Financial Committee which issued a report on March 23 (*Messenger d'Athènes*, April 6-7, 1932).
- April 7. Exchange of notes with Turkey regarding Graeco-Turkish Mixed Commission.
- April 15. M. Venizelos made proposal to League Council for five years suspension of public debt sinking fund and postponement of interest on foreign loans due in May. April 21, Council discussed Financial Committee's report proposing loan and transfer moratorium for a year.
- April 27. Gold standard suspended.
- May 21. M. Venizelos resigned. May 26, M. Papanastassiou took office but resigned on June 3. M. Venizelos returned to office on June 5.
- Sept. 23. Ratifications exchanged with U.S.A. of arbitration and conciliation treaties of June 19, 1930 (*U.S.T.S.* 853, 854).
- Sept. 25. General election. Oct. 4, M. Tsaldaris, leader of Popular Party, made declaration regarding maintenance of republican régime. Oct. 30, M. Venizelos resigned. Nov. 4, M. Tsaldaris took office.
- See also under *Bulgaria*, Jan. 31, March 8; *France*, July 13; *Inter-Governmental Debts*.

Haiti

- 1932, Sept. 3. Treaty and two protocols regarding financial control and 'Haitianization' of *Garde* signed with U.S.A., but rejected by Haitian Legislature on Sept. 15 (*U.S.D.* Sept. 9, 1932).

Hungary

- 1932, June 13. Exchange of notes with Persia prolonging provisional agreement of June 19, 1929, till Sept. 19, 1932.
- See also under *Europe*; *France*, July 13; *Inter-Governmental Debts*.

Iceland

- 1932, Feb. 6. Ratifications exchanged with Norway on Feb. 6 and with Sweden on Feb. 10 of pacific settlement treaties of June 27, 1930 (*L.N.T.S.* 126 and 127).
- See also under *Finland*, Feb. 5.

India

- 1932, Feb. 4. Agreement signed regarding position of Indians in South Africa.
- March 14. Exchange of notes of July 17, 1931, and March 14, 1932, with Siam regarding frontier between Burma (Kengtung) and Siam (*Cmd.* 4112).
- Nov. 17-Dec. 24. Third session of Round Table Conference (*Cmd.* 4238).
- See also under *Afghanistan*, July 18; *British Empire*.

Inter-Governmental Debts

- 1931, Dec. 21. It was announced that all Governments concerned had accepted British suggestion that Reparations Conference should be held at Lausanne on Jan. 18, 1932.
- 1932, Jan. 5-6. Franco-German conversations.
- Jan. 8-11. Conversations between British and French Treasury experts.
- Jan. 8. Dr. Brüning stated that at Lausanne he would ask for final suspension of reparations, and that, failing an agreement, he would make a unilateral declaration as to future policy.
- Jan. 10. Statement by Mr. MacDonald. British Government proposed to postpone Conference till Jan. 25.
- Jan. 11 and 12. Statements by Italian and French Governments.
- Jan. 15. Italo-British conversations in London.
- Jan. 16. It was announced that Powers had agreed to propose extension of Hoover moratorium followed by adjournment of Conference. Conversations between M. Laval and U.S. Ambassador regarding moratorium.
- Jan. 19. Dr. Brüning rejected proposal for extension of moratorium.
- Jan. 19. Statement by M. Laval in Chamber of Deputies. Further statement made on Jan. 22.
- Jan. 20. British Government announced postponement of Conference.
- Jan. 21. Two protocols signed concerning reparations moratorium for Bulgaria and Hungary (*Cmd.* 4052 and 4071).
- Jan. 25. Further conversations between Lord Tyrrell and M. Flandin.
- Feb. 12. Franco-British agreement reached regarding preparation for Conference at Lausanne in June on reparations and other economic questions. Feb. 13, all interested States accepted British invitation to conference.
- Feb. 23. Statement by M. Tardieu in Chamber of Deputies.
- May 6. Hague agreement of Jan. 20, 1930, regarding Czechoslovak obligations came into force on deposit of ratifications (*Cmd.* 3765).
- May 11. Speech by Dr. Brüning in Reichstag asking for cancellation of reparations.
- May 11. Hague agreement of Jan. 20, 1930, between creditor Powers regarding Liberation debts and non-German reparations came into force on deposit of ratifications (*Cmd.* 4146).
- May 23. U.S.A. signed agreement with Finland regarding Hoover moratorium. Similar agreements signed with Greece and Germany before May 26, with Great Britain and Italy on June 4, with Hungary before June 6, with Lithuania on June 9, with Belgium, France, Latvia and Rumania on June 11, with Estonia on June 14, and with Poland on June 15.
- June 6. Creditor Powers signed protocol with Germany supplementary to Hoover moratorium protocol of Aug. 11, 1931 (*Cmd.* 4206).
- June 8. Mr. Stimson stated that U.S. Government was opposed to war debt cancellation and was not concerned with reparations.
- June 21, further statement by Mr. Stimson that U.S. representatives had had no connexion with Lausanne Conference.
- June 11-13. Conversations between Mr. MacDonald, Sir John Simon, and M. Herriot in Paris.

Inter-Governmental Debts: cont.

- June 16. Lausanne Conference opened. Mr. MacDonald elected President. Declaration signed by Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan suspending reparation and war debt payments during conference. June 21-3, Franco-British conversations. French proposal made for suspension and reduction of payments.
- June 24, Franco-German conversations began. Germany proposed cancellation, trade negotiations with France, and contribution to European reconstruction fund. June 27, Italian memorandum issued. June 28, Anglo-Franco-German discussion. June 29, German communiqué issued asking for removal of Versailles Treaty political discriminations. Meeting of inviting Powers; Executive Bureau set up. Statement by Mr. MacDonald on progress. June 30, proposal by M. Herriot for reconstruction fund.
- July 2, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy signed 'Gentlemen's Agreement' on ratification of Lausanne agreements (*Cmd.* 4129). Creditor Powers completed draft 'reconstruction payment' scheme. July 3, scheme presented to Germany and counter-proposal made. July 8, agreement reached; British letters to France and Italy about war debts (*Cmd.* 4129). July 9, Final Act of Conference signed, together with (1) agreement with Germany; (2) Creditor Powers' agreement on transitional measures; and resolutions on non-German reparations, Central and Eastern Europe, and World Economic Conference (*Cmd.* 4126). July 11, Reich cabinet approved Chancellor's report on Lausanne. Statement by Chancellor to press (*F.Z.* July 12, 1932). July 12, statement by Mr. MacDonald in House of Commons (*The Times*, July 13, 1932). July 17, speech by M. Herriot in French Chamber on Conference and Franco-British consultative agreement (*Le Temps*, July 18, 1932). (See also *E.N.* July 16 and 30, 1932, for texts of agreements and other documents.)
- June 28. Great Britain signed supplementary protocols regarding Hoover moratorium with Greece and Rumania on June 28, with France and Portugal on June 29, with Italy on June 30, and with Belgium on July 5 (*Cmd.* 4206).
- June 29. Creditor Powers signed supplementary protocols regarding Hoover moratorium with Czechoslovakia on June 29 and with Bulgaria and Hungary on July 7 (*Cmd.* 4206).
- July 1. Greece postponed payment of sinking fund on debt to U.S.A.
- Sept. 14. U.S. Treasury announced that Estonia, Latvia and Poland would take advantage of agreement allowing postponement of sinking fund payments.
- Sept. 30. Postponement of German payments of war claims and occupation costs.
- Nov. 10. British note to U.S.A. regarding extension of moratorium (*Cmd.* 4192).¹
- Nov. 10. Hungarian request to U.S.A. for postponement of payment. Greece did not pay non-postponable instalment.
- Nov. 11. French note to U.S.A. (*The Times*, Nov. 14, 1932).
- ¹ This and other communications between U.S.A. and debtor states were published in the *Press Releases* of the U.S. Department of State.

Inter-Governmental Debts: cont.

- Nov. 15. Belgian note to U.S.A. (*The Times*, Nov. 14, 1932).
 Nov. 21. Czechoslovak note to U.S.A. (*U.S.D.* Nov. 22, 1932).
 Nov. 22. Polish memorandum to U.S.A. (*E.N.* Jan. 21, 1933).
 Nov. 22. Conversations between President Hoover and Mr. Roosevelt, each of whom issued a statement on Nov. 23 (*P.R.* Nov. 26, 1932, and *N.Y.T.* Nov. 24, 1932).
 Nov. 23. U.S. notes to France (*U.S.D.* Nov. 26, 1932) and Great Britain (*Cmd.* 4203). Nov. 24, U.S. note to Belgium identical with note to France.
 Nov. 26. U.S. notes to Czechoslovakia and Poland (*E.N.* Jan. 21, 1933).
 Nov. 28. Latvian request for postponement.
 Dec. 1. U.S. Treasury announced suspension of Austrian debt payments due on Jan. 1.
 Dec. 1. French and British notes to U.S.A. (*Le Temps*, Dec. 3, 1932, and *Cmd.* 4210).
 Dec. 7. Second Czechoslovak note (*E.N.* Jan. 28, 1933).
 Dec. 7. Second Belgian note (*U.S.D.* Dec. 9, 1932).
 Dec. 7. U.S. counter-reply to Great Britain (*Cmd.* 4211).
 Dec. 8. Second Polish note to U.S.A. (*N.Y.T.* Dec. 10, 1932).
 Dec. 8. U.S. counter-reply to France (*N.Y.T.* Dec. 10, 1932); MacDonald-Herriot conversations in Paris.
 Dec. 9. M. Herriot made statement to Finance and Foreign Affairs Committees of Chamber of Deputies.
 Dec. 11. Third British note and U.S. reply (*Cmd.* 4215 and 4216).
 Dec. 12. Final British note (*Cmd.* 4217).
 Dec. 12. Lithuanian memorandum presented to U.S. Government. (*P.R.* Dec. 17, 1932).
 Dec. 12. M. Herriot made further statement in Chamber of Deputies in favour of making payment. Dec. 13-14, debate ending in defeat of Government.
 Dec. 13. Final U.S. notes to Belgium and Czechoslovakia. Dec. 15, Czechoslovak reply (*P.R.* Dec. 17, 1932).
 Dec. 14. Belgium and Poland notified U.S.A. that they would make no payment. Dec. 15, France notified U.S.A. that Chamber had refused to sanction payment (*E.N.* Jan. 21, 1933).
 Dec. 15. Czechoslovakia, Finland, Great Britain, Italy, Latvia and Lithuania made war debt payments to U.S.A. No payments were made by Belgium, Estonia, France, Hungary and Poland.
 Dec. 15. Bulgarian reparations moratorium extended for six months.
 Dec. 16. Rumania accepted extension in return for suspension of relief bond payments.
 Dec. 17. President Hoover invited Mr. Roosevelt to co-operate with him in choosing representatives to investigate debt problem before opening of World Economic Conference (*P.R.* Dec. 24, 1932).
 Dec. 19. President Hoover sent message to Congress regarding co-operation with incoming administration and setting up of debt commission (*U.S.D.* Dec. 20, 1932).
 Dec. 19. Mr. Roosevelt replied that he would take no part in the negotiations until he came into office. Dec. 20-21, further exchange of telegrams (*P.R.* Dec. 24, 1932).

'Irāq

- 1932, Jan. 28. League Council decided that mandate over 'Irāq could be terminated as soon as 'Irāq had given certain guarantees, especially regarding minorities, and had been admitted to membership of the League. A committee was appointed to draw up a declaration on the undertakings to be given by 'Irāq. May 19, Council approved declaration (*L.N.O.J.* July 1932), and recommended that all States should renounce their capitulatory rights in 'Irāq. All States concerned subsequently agreed to this proposal. July 13, Secretary-General informed Council that 'Irāq had signed declaration of guarantee.
 April 26. Ratifications exchanged with Yaman of friendship treaty of May 11, 1931.
 May 10. Ratifications exchanged with Sa'ūdī Arabia of friendship treaty and arbitration protocol of April 7, 1931, and of extradition treaty of April 8, 1931.
 July 8. Correspondence exchanged between Governments of Great Britain and U.S.A. regarding right of U.S.A. to be consulted with regard to future conditions of administration in 'Irāq (*T.I.* Nov. 1932).
 Oct. 3. 'Irāq admitted to membership of League of Nations.
 Nov. 5-8. Permanent Mandates Commission discussed situation in 'Irāq and considered petitions from Assyrian minority.
 Nov. 25. Council adopted decision of Commission of Inquiry regarding frontier between 'Irāq and Syria.
 Dec. 15. Council adopted resolution on land settlement in 'Irāq with reference to the Assyrians.
 See also under *Afghanistan*, Dec. 20; *France*, Oct. 10; *League of Nations*, Sept. 26; *Norway*, Aug. 19; *Sweden*, Aug. 9.

Irish Free State. See under *British Empire.*

Italy

- 1932, Jan. 4. Agreement signed with Turkey regarding boundary between Castellorizo and the Anatolian coast.
 Feb. 2. Ratifications exchanged with Latvia of conciliation and judicial settlement treaty of April 28, 1931 (*L.N.T.S.* 126).
 Feb. 10. Italy recognized Sa'ūdī Arabia. Treaty of friendship signed. Ratifications exchanged April 22.
 April 15. Conciliation and judicial settlement treaty signed with Luxembourg.
 May 24-9. İsmet Paşa and Tevfik Rüstü Beğ visited Rome. May 26, protocol signed with Turkey prolonging treaty of friendship, conciliation and judicial settlement for five years.
 June 3. Speech by Signor Grandi in Senate on foreign policy (*Corriere della Sera*, June 4, 1932).
 July 18. Friendship treaty with Rumania prolonged for six months.
 July 20. Resignation of Signori Grandi, Mosconi, Giuliano, Rocco, and Bottai from Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Education, Justice, and Cults and Corporations. Signor Mussolini retained

Italy: cont.

Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Corporations. Signor Rossoni became Secretary to Presidency of the Council. July 21, Signor Grandi appointed Ambassador in London.

July 30. Ratifications exchanged with U.S.A. of pacific settlement treaty of Sept. 23, 1931 (*U.S.T.S.* 848).

Nov. 16. Ratifications exchanged with Persia of friendship treaty of Sept. 5, 1929.

See also under *Abyssinia*, Feb. 19; *Austria*, May 9; *Colombia*, March 18; *Disarmament*; *Europe*; *France*, July 13; *Inter-Governmental Debts*; *Lithuania*, Feb. 6.

Japan

1932, Feb. 9. Assassination of Mr. Inouye.

Feb. 20. Seiyukai Party successful in general election.

March 5. Assassination of Baron Takuma Dan, director of Mitsui firm.

May 15. Assassination of the Premier, Mr. Inukai, and bomb outrages in Tokyo.

May 26. Admiral Saito formed a Government with General Araki as War Minister.

See also under *Abyssinia*, Aug. 26; *China (a)*; *Disarmament*; *Inter-Governmental Debts*; *Lithuania*, Feb. 6.

Jugoslavia

1932, April 2. Ratifications exchanged with Netherlands of arbitration, conciliation, and judicial settlement treaty of March 11, 1931 (*L.N.T.S.* 129).

April 4. General Zhivkovič resigned Premiership and was succeeded by Dr. Marinkovič.

July 2. Dr. Marinkovič resigned from Premiership and Foreign Ministry and was succeeded by Dr. Srškič.

See also under *France*, July 13, Oct. 28; *Inter-Governmental Debts*; *League of Nations*, Sept. 26; *Little Entente*.

Latvia

1932, Feb. 5. Non-aggression pact signed with U.S.S.R. (*E.N.* March 19, 1932). June 18, conciliation convention signed. July 28, ratifications exchanged of both agreements.

See also under *Inter-Governmental Debts*, May 23, Sept. 14, Nov. 28, Dec. 15; *Italy*, Feb. 2.

League of Nations

1932, Jan. 25–April 15. Sixty-sixth session of Council.

March 3–11. Special session of the Assembly met to consider the Sino-Japanese dispute. The session was continued on April 30, July 1, and Dec. 6–9.

April 12–30. Sixteenth session of International Labour Conference. Convention adopted on prohibition of employment of children in non-industrial occupations.

League of Nations: cont.

May 4–11. First session of Committee of Experts on Slavery. Aug. 22–30, second session held.

May 7. Death of M. Albert Thomas.

May 9–July 15. Sixty-seventh session of Council.

July 18. Turkey admitted membership by resolution of special Assembly.

Sept. 23–Oct. 3. Sixty-eighth session of Council.

Sept. 26–Oct. 17. Thirteenth session of Assembly. Mexico and 'Irāq admitted to membership. Czechoslovakia and Mexico elected to succeed Peru and Jugoslavia on Council, Poland re-elected. Constitution of Advisory Committee on Slavery approved.

Oct. 3–Dec. 19. Sixty-ninth session of Council.

Oct. 17. Council appointed M. Joseph Avenol, Deputy Secretary-General, to succeed Sir Eric Drummond as Secretary-General as from June 30, 1933. Dec. 9, Assembly confirmed appointment.

Nov. 3–Dec. 6. Twenty-second session of Permanent Mandates Commission.

Nov. 15. Permanent Court of International Justice gave advisory opinion that the International Labour Convention of 1919 on the employment of women during the night applied to women holding positions of supervision and management (*P.C.I.J.*, Series A/B, No. 50).

See also under *Austria*, Jan. 14, May 9; *Bolivia*; *Bulgaria*, Jan. 20; *China (a)*; *Danzig*; *Disarmament*; *Europe*, Sept. 30; *Greece*, Feb. 17, April 15; *'Irāq*, Jan. 28, Oct. 3 *seqq*; *Lithuania*, Feb. 6; *Monetary and Economic Conference*; *Persia*, Nov. 27; *Poland*, Jan. 30; *Rumania*, July 18; *Syria*, Jan. 30.

Lithuania

1932, Feb. 6. Dismissal of Memel Directorate and arrest of Herr Böttcher its President. Feb. 8, German protest to League of Nations against alleged infraction of Memel Convention; Herr Böttcher released. Feb. 20, League Council adopted report virtually transferring question to France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, as guarantors of Memel Convention. Feb. 27, Colonel Merkys, Lithuanian Governor of Memel, asked M. Simaitis to form directorate; this proved unacceptable to majority (German) parties, but took office on March 3. March 16, Guaranteeing Powers asked Lithuania to appoint directorate acceptable to *Landtag* and submit Böttcher case to arbitration. March 19, further representations made. March 22, *Landtag* dissolved by Colonel Merkys after vote of censure against Simaitis directorate. April 11, Guaranteeing Powers asked Permanent Court to give decision regarding legality of Herr Böttcher's dismissal. May 4, German parties successful in *Landtag* election. May 6, Colonel Merkys resigned. May 19, M. Gylys succeeded him. June 6, Dr. Scheiber formed directorate. June 8, Permanent Court began hearings of case. June 24, decision given regarding competence of court. Aug. 11, judgement given declaring that dismissal

Lithuania: cont.

of Herr Böttcher did not infringe terms of Statute of Memel (*P.C.I.J.*, Series A/B, Nos. 47 and 49).

Aug. 18. Financial agreement signed with Memel.

See also under *Belgium*, May 24; *Inter-Governmental Debts*, May 23, Dec. 12, Dec. 15.

Little Entente

1932, May 9. Convention signed renewing treaty of defensive alliance. May 13-15, Conference held at Belgrade.

Dec. 18-19, Conference held at Belgrade. Decision taken to set up permanent council and secretariat.

Luxembourg. See under *Belgium*, Jan. 23, July 18; *Italy*, April 15.

Memel. See under *Lithuania*.

Mexico

1932, May 15. Diplomatic relations broken off with Peru because of alleged Communist propaganda by Mexican legation.

Sept. 3. General Abelardo Rodriguez succeeded Señor Ortiz Rubio as President.

Sept. 30. Papal Encyclical issued about position of Mexican Catholics (*N.Y.T.* Oct. 1, 1932). Oct. 2, President Rodriguez said that all Catholic churches would be closed if resistance continued.

Oct. 3, Protest by Papal Legate, Archbishop Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores. Oct. 4, Legate expelled from Mexico.

See also under *Bolivia*; *League of Nations*, Sept. 26.

Monetary and Economic Conference.

1932, July 9. Lausanne Conference adopted resolution in favour of convening Conference (*Cmd.* 4126).

July 13. British Government invited U.S. Government to take part in Conference and preliminary work of organization. The U.S. Government accepted this invitation on Aug. 2.

July 15. League Council passed resolution regarding convening of Conference and appointment of Organizing Committee of Council to take necessary decisions. It also adopted the decision of the Lausanne Conference that an expert commission should prepare a draft annotated agenda.

Oct. 31-Nov. 9. First session of Preparatory Commission for the Monetary and Economic Conference.

Najd-Hijaz. See *Sa'udi Arabia*.

Netherlands

1932, April 16. Arbitration and conciliation treaty signed with Turkey (*S.* No. 598, 1932).

See also under *Austria*, May 9; *Belgium*, Jan. 23, July 18; *France*, July 13; *Jugoslavia*, April 2.

New Zealand. See under *British Empire*.

Newfoundland. See under *British Empire*.

Norway

1932, Aug. 19. Exchange of notes with Great Britain of July 12 and Aug. 19 regarding capitulations in Iraq (*Ov.F.S.* No. 8, 1932).

Sept. 13. Ratifications exchanged with U.S.A. of treaty of friendship, commerce and consular rights of June 5, 1928, and additional article of Feb. 25, 1929, replacing treaty of July 4, 1927 (*U.S.T.S.* 852).

Oct. 4. Ratifications exchanged with Persia of friendship and commerce treaty of May 8, 1930 (*Ov.F.S.* No. 2, 1933).

See also under *Belgium*, Jan. 23; *Bulgaria*, Oct. 15; *Denmark*, July 12; *France*, July 13; *Iceland*.

Panamá. See under *Colombia*, Jan. 11-13.

Paraguay. See under *Bolivia*.

Permanent Court of International Justice.

1932, Jan. 6. Ratification of the protocol of signature of the Statute of the Court was deposited by Colombia on Jan. 6 and by Peru on March 29. Colombia signed the optional clause of the statute on Jan. 6. Ratifications of this clause were deposited by Abyssinia on April 15, by Persia on Sept. 19, and by Peru on March 29.

Feb. 4. Twenty-third (extraordinary) session closed.

Feb. 1-March 8. Twenty-fourth (ordinary) session held.

April 18-Aug. 11. Twenty-fifth (extraordinary) session held.

Oct. 14. Twenty-sixth (extraordinary) session began.

See also under *Bulgaria*, March 8; *Danzig*, Feb. 4; *Denmark*, July 12; *France*, April 19; *League of Nations*, Nov. 15; *Lithuania*, Feb. 6.

Persia

1932, Jan. 23. Frontier treaty and arbitration, conciliation and judicial settlement treaty signed with Turkey (Summary, *O.M.* March 1932). Nov. 5, treaties signed with Turkey regarding (1) friendship; (2) neutrality and political and economic co-operation (*O.M.* Jan. 1933).

Nov. 27. Persian Government notified Anglo-Persian Oil Company of cancellation of D'Arcy concession of 1901. Dec. 2, British Minister at Teheran requested withdrawal of notification which was refused by Persian Government on Dec. 3. British Government renewed request on Dec. 8 and proposed to refer dispute to Permanent Court. Dec. 12, Persian reply, denying that dispute lay within competence of Court. Dec. 14, British Government referred dispute to League Council under Art. 15 of Covenant. Dec. 19, British memorandum laid before Council, which decided to postpone discussion till the January session. (Text of 1901 agreement and other documents, *L.N.O.J.* Dec. 1932.)

See also under *France*, July 31; *Hungary*, June 13; *Italy*, Nov. 16; *Norway*, Oct. 4; *Permanent Court of International Justice*, Jan. 6.

Peru. See under *Bolivia*; *Colombia*, Sept. 1; *League of Nations*, Sept. 26; *Mexico*, May 15; *Permanent Court of International Justice*, Jan. 6.

Poland

1932, Jan. 25. Non-aggression pact with U.S.S.R. initialled. July 25, pact signed for three years, renewable for two more years (*E.N.* March 9, 1932). Nov. 23, conciliation treaty signed.

Jan. 30. League Council adopted report on minorities in Eastern Galicia.

Nov. 2. M. Zaleski, Foreign Minister since 1926, resigned, and was succeeded by Colonel Beck.

See also under *Danzig*; *Europe*; *France*, July 13; *Greece*, Jan. 4; *Inter-Governmental Debts*; *League of Nations*, Sept. 26.

Portugal. See under *Inter-Governmental Debts*.

Rumania

1932, Jan. 6. Non-aggression pact negotiations opened with U.S.S.R. at Riga. Jan. 26, deadlock reached over Bessarabian question. Sept. 25, Rumanian Government stated that negotiations would continue. Nov. 10, U.S.S.R. rejected Rumanian proposal for arbitration of outstanding questions. Nov. 23, break-down of negotiations announced.

May 31. Professor Iorga's Government resigned. June 9, Dr. Vaida-Voivod took office.

July 17. National Peasant Party successful in general election.

July 18. Rumania asked League of Nations for technical assistance regarding finance. Sept. 5, Sir O. Niemeyer and other experts arrived in Bucharest. Oct. 7, Rumanian Government refused to sign protocol providing for financial control by League. Oct. 21, announcement that negotiations would be resumed.

Oct. 16. Dr. Vaida-Voivod resigned. Oct. 20, M. Maniu took office with M. Titulescu as Foreign Minister.

Dec. 29. Agreement reached with representatives of creditors suspending sinking fund payments on foreign loans till March 16, 1933.

See also under *Belgium*, April 4; *France*, July 13; *Inter-Governmental Debts*; *Italy*, July 18; *Little Entente*.

Salvador

1932, Feb. 25. Statement by Mr. Stimson regarding U.S. non-recognition of General Martinez' Government. Sept. 27, British recognition of Government.

Sa'ūdī Arabia

1932, June 24. Ratifications exchanged with Syria of friendship and *bon voisinage* treaty of Nov. 10, 1931 (*J.O.F.* Aug. 12, 1932).

Sept. 22. Kingdom of Najd-Hijāz renamed Sa'ūdī Arabia.

See also under *Afghanistan*, May 5; *France*, June 24; *'Irāq*, May 10; *Italy*, Feb. 10.

Siam. See under *India*, March 14.

South Africa

1932, Dec. 29. Gold standard abandoned.
See also under *British Empire*; *India*, Feb. 4.

Southern Rhodesia. See under *British Empire*.

Spain

1932, Jan. 23. Decree signed dissolving Jesuit Order.

Aug. 10-11. Unsuccessful monarchist rising in Madrid and Andalusia.

Sept. 9. Cortes passed Catalan Statute. Sept. 15, President signed Statute. Nov. 20, Colonel Maciá's party (*Esquerra*) successful in general election. Dec. 14, Colonel Maciá elected Catalan President.

See also under *France*, July 13, July 27.

Stresa Conference. See under *Europe*.

Sweden

1932, June 30. Arbitral decision given in favour of U.S.A. in case arising from detention of Swedish vessels during the War.

Aug. 9. Exchange of notes with Great Britain regarding jurisdiction over Swedish nationals in 'Irāq.

See also under *Belgium*, Jan. 23; *Colombia*, July 5; *France*, July 13; *Iceland*.

Switzerland

1932, May 23. Ratifications exchanged with U.S.A. of arbitration and conciliation treaty of Feb. 16, 1931 (*U.S.T.S.* 844).

See also under *France*, April 19.

Syria

1932, Jan. 30. League Council decided to approve Anglo-French agreement of Oct. 31, 1931, regarding delimitation of frontier between Syria and the Jabal 'ud Duruz and Transjordan.

May 9. Lebanese constitution partially suspended (Text of decree *O.M.* June 1932).

See also under *'Irāq*, Nov. 25; *Sa'ūdī Arabia*, June 24.

Transjordan. See under *Syria*, Jan. 30.

Turkey. See under *Czechoslovakia*, Sept. 13; *France*, Oct. 27; *Greece*, April 7; *Italy*, Jan. 4, May 24; *League of Nations*, July 18; *Netherlands*, April 16; *Persia*, Jan. 23.

United States of America

1932, July 6. Exchange of notes with Great Britain regarding convention of Jan. 2, 1930, relating to boundary between Philippine Islands and North Borneo. Dec. 13, ratifications exchanged of convention (*Cmd.* 4241).

United States of America: cont.

Nov. 8. Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt elected President.
See also under *Bolivia*; *Chile*, Sept. 13; *China* (a), (b); *Disarmament*; *Egypt*; *Greece*, Sept. 23; *Haiti*; *Inter-Governmental Debts*, Jan. 16, May 23, June 8, July 1 *seqq.*; *Irāq*, July 8; *Italy*, July 30; *Monetary and Economic Conference*, July 13; *Norway*, Sept. 13; *Salvador*; *Sweden*, June 30; *Switzerland*, May 23.

U.S.S.R.

1932, Dec. 31. Completion of first Five-Year Plan.
See also under *China* (a), Sept. 27, (b), Dec. 12; *Disarmament*; *Estonia*; *Finland*, Jan. 21; *France*, Nov. 29; *Latvia*; *Poland*, Jan. 25; *Rumania*, Jan. 6.

Uruguay. See under *Albania*, April 23; *Argentina*; *Bolivia*; *Germany*, Dec. 30.

Vatican. See under *Mexico*, Sept. 30.

Venezuela. See under *Brazil*, May 9; *Colombia*, April 6.

Yaman. See under *Irāq*, April 26.

INDEX

- Abyssinia, 194 n.
Adatci, Monsieur, 331, 346 n.
Afghanistan—see under DISARMAMENT.
Africa, East, British protectorates in, 465.
Agrarian States—see under EUROPE: Economic situation.
Akamatsu, Mr., 424.
Albania, election in, 176. See also under DISARMAMENT.
Albert, King of the Belgians, 39.
Allenstein, 347 n.
Ambassadors, Conference of, 324, 374-5.
America, Latin: external debt of, 43; U.S. arms embargo and, 297 n.
Anatolia: Graeco-Turkish battles in, 448 n.; Greek occupation of, 443.
Andrew, Mr. G. F., 414.
Apponyi, Count, 210, 255, 256.
Araki, General, 427.
Arbitration, 199; General Act (26.9.28), 276.
Argentina: commercial relations of— with Chile and Germany, 18;—with Great Britain, 18, 30; exchange control in, 12. See also under DISARMAMENT.
Australia, economic position of, 4, 95, 532. See also under BRITISH EMPIRE; CHINA: Japan; DISARMAMENT; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; TARIFFS.
Austria:
Commercial policy of, 9, 12, 15, 22, 82.
Financial situation: budget, 55; clearing agreements, 15, 82; Credit-Anstalt, failure of, 3, 51-2, 56, 98; currency reserves, 53; exchange control, 11, 15, 52-3, 72, 81, 88; League of Nations and,—(1922-3), 73, 75, 85, 143-4, see also under loans;—(1932), 52 *seqq.*, 77, 78-9, 83 *seqq.*, 90, 172; loans to—amount of, 54-5, 55-6, 84, 88;—Bank for International Settlements credit, 53-4, 84;—reconstruction loan (1923), 44, 54, 73-7, 79, 83, 86, 138-9, 144;—reconstruction loan (1932), 4, 54, 83-7, 90; Standstill Agreement, 53, 54-6, 80, 172; transfer moratorium, 44, 54-5, 73, 78-9, 84.
France, relations with, 15, 84, 85.
Germany: *Anschluss* with, 84, 85; clearing agreement with, 15; Customs Union with, 23, 36, 84, 97-8, 322.
Government, change of, 53.
Great Britain, financial relations with, 53-4, 84, 85-6, 87.
Hungary, commercial relations with, 13, 15.
Italy, relations with, 15, 54, 84, 86.
Jugoslavia, commercial relations with, 15.
Netherlands, commercial relations with, 15.
Poland: Austrian investments in, 383 n.; commercial agreement with, 15.
Post-war situation of, 4, 186.
Rumania, commercial agreement with, 15.
Switzerland, commercial relations with, 15.
Trade balance, 55-6, 88.
See also under: DISARMAMENT; EUROPE: Economic and Financial Situation; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; REPARATION: East European.
Austria-Hungary: Hapsburg Monarchy, fall of, 183, 303 and n., 304; pre-war debt of, 138, 144, 162 n.
Aviation, civil: Disarmament Conference resolution on, 250; international control of, proposals for, 215 n., 230-1 and n., 235-6 n., 250;—France and, 197, 198, 199, 230-1 and n., 278;—Germany and, 204 n., 230-1, 235-6 n.;—U.S.A. and, 231, 235-6 n., 240; potential military use of, 192, 229, 235 n., 236.
Bachman, Monsieur, 87.
Baker, Captain James, 413, 414, 415.
Balbo, General, 254, 260.
Baldwin, Mr. Stanley: and war debts, 135, at Ottawa Conference, 27, 28; on air armaments, 189-90, 191, 192.
Balfour, Earl of, 104 n., 134 and n., 549.
Bank for International Settlements; 41, 94; and reparations, 101, 111, 112 and n., 148;—Special Advisory Committee, work of, 103, 106-7, 108, 109. See also under AUSTRIA: Financial situation; GERMANY: Loans.
Bank rate, 49, 59, 95.

- Bartel, Monsieur, 377-8.
 Beck, Monsieur, 393.
 Belgium: commercial policy of, 9, 10, 11, 16; debt conversion in, 95; elections in, 176; General War and, 183, 184; France, relations with, 1, 17, 247 n.; Germany, relations with, 1, 10-11; Great Britain, commercial relations with, 30; Hungary, commercial relations with, 16, 62; Poland, Belgian investments in, 383 n. *See also under* CHINA: Japan; DISARMAMENT; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; REPARATION: East European, German; TARIFFS.
 Beneš, Dr. Eduard: and Disarmament Conference, 214, 215 and n., 267, 274; —and July resolution of, 246, 248-9 and n., 249, 252, 254, 255, 258; and Sino-Japanese dispute, 576; on Hague reparations agreements, 165 n.
 Bethlen, Count, 142.
 Blücher, General (Galentz), 437.
 Blum, Monsieur Léon, 274 n.
 Bolivia: commercial policy of, 9; debt moratorium declared by, 44; exchange control in, 12; Paraguay, dispute with, 185 n.
 Bonnet, Monsieur Georges, 23.
 Borah, Senator; and arms embargo resolution, 297 n.; on French disarmament proposals, 200 n.; on treaty revision, 323; on war debts, 116 n., 274 n. *See also under* STIMSON, Mr.
 Borodin, Monsieur Michael, 536.
 Böttcher, Herr: appointed President of Memel Directorate, 401-2; arrest of, 402 and n., 403 and n.; death of, 405 n.; dismissal of, 402 seqq.; resignation of, 405.
 Bourquin, Monsieur, 294 and n.
 Braadland, Monsieur, 77.
 Brazil: 194 n., debt moratorium declared by, 44; exchange control in, 12; Germany, barter arrangement with, 15.
 Briand, Monsieur Aristide, 272.
 British Empire:
 Ottawa Conference, 4, 27-34; agreements—provisions of, 29-32, 37;—results of, 5-6, 28, 31, 32-4; aims of, 27-8; Australia and, 27-8, 30, 31; Canada and, 14, 29 seqq., 37; Great Britain and, 5-6, 7, 27 seqq., 37, 40; India and, 29, 30, 32; industrial rationalization and, 37; most-favoured-nation clause and, 33, 38, 40;

New Zealand and, 30, 31, 32; Newfoundland and, 32; South Africa and, 29, 31-2, 33; Southern Rhodesia and, 32.

See also under REPARATION: East European; SECURITY.

Brouckère, Monsieur de, 229 n.

Bruce, Mr. S. M., 27-8.

Brüning, Dr.: and German-Polish relations, 322 and n.; and Memel, 406 n.; and *Osthilfe*, 340-1 n.; at Disarmament Conference—and effectives, 225, 259, 280;—and equality of status, 204-5 and n., 223, 225, 226, 233, 237-8 n., 238;—speech by (9.2.32), 201, 203-5 and n., 223, 233, 237-8 n.; government formed by, 340-1; on Reparations, 109; resignation of—cause of, 341 n.;—consequences of for international relations, 177, 188, 213, 234, 324.

Budding, Dr. Carl, cited, 352 n.

Buero, Señor, 295.

Bulgaria:

Earthquake in, 146.

Financial situation of, 63-7, 88; budget, 63-4; currency reserves, 65, 66; exchange control, 12, 64-5, 82, 88-9; League Council and, 146; League Financial Committee and, 63 seqq., 77, 78-9, 146; loans to—amount of, 65, 66, 67 and n., 74, 88;—League Loans, 63 seqq., 73-7, 79, 146-7 and n., 148;—pre-war debt, 148 n.; stabilization of leva, 64, 146-7; transfer problem, 44, 64-7, 78-9, 82, 88, 146.

Great Britain, financial relations with, 76, 146.

Greece, commercial and financial relations with, 15, 82, 148 n.; conflict with (1925), 185 n.; Kaphandaris-Molov agreement (9.12.27), 145-6 and n., 169-70 and n.

Jugoslavia, financial relations with, 148 n.

Poland, commercial agreement with, 15.

Post-war situation of, 186.

Trade balance, 65, 67 and n., 88.

Switzerland, relations with, 15, 146.

U.S.A., financial relations with, 74, 146.

See also under DISARMAMENT; EUROPE: Economic and Financial Situation; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; REPARATION: East European.

Bülow, Herr von, 404.

Bydgoszcz, 331, 350 n.

Calonder, Monsieur, 346 n., 354 and n.

Canada: commercial relations of—with Germany, 8, 19;—with U.S.A., 31;—with U.S.S.R., 14. *See also under*: BRITISH EMPIRE; CHINA: Japan; DISARMAMENT; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS.

Cecil, Viscount, of Chelwood, 195, 227 n.
 Chamberlain, Sir Austen, 76, 77, 264 n., 496 n.

Chamberlain, Mr. Neville, and war debts—to Great Britain, 114;—to U.S.A., 115, 125 n., 126, 133, 135.

Chan Chai-tong, 412.

Chang Ching-hui, 456 n.

Chang Hsüeh-liang, 413, 434, 453-5, 459, 469, 489 n., 536.

Chang Tso-lin, 454, 408-9.

Charron, Monsieur René, 146.

Chen, Mr. Eugene, 412.

Cheng Hsiao-hsu, 462, 544-5.

Chéron, Monsieur, 86.

Chiang Kai-shek, 412, 418 n., 489 n., 503 n.

Chile: debt moratorium declared by, 44; exchange control in, 12; Great Britain, commercial relations with, 30. *See also under* ARGENTINA.

China:

Administrative methods of, 453-4.

Agrarian questions, 416-17, 418, 418-19 n.

Boxer Rebellion, 549.

Brigandage, 411, 413-14, 420, 421, 454, 455.

Canton Government: dissensions in, 413; dissolution and revival of, 411-12; northern military expedition of, 413.

Central Government: campaign against Communists, 413, 414-15, 418 n.; removal from Nanking to Loyang, 412, 485, 489; weakness of, 411, 473. *See also below under* Kuomintang.

Civil War, 411, 412-13, 454.

Communications, development of, 412 n., 421.

Communism, 411, 413, 414 seqq., 535, 536.

External debt, 43.

Famine, 411, 413;—International Relief Commission, 418 n., 421.

Flood Relief Commission, work of, 414-15, 420-1, 487-8 n.

Foreigners: hostility to, 525; outrages against, 413-14, 415.

Great Britain: boycott against, 543; policy of, 524-5, 526, 538-9, 549. *See also below under* Japan.

Integrity of, question of, 543, 546, 549, 550, 557, 560-1, 565-6, 578.

Japan, dispute with:

Australia, attitude of, 531-3.

Belgium, attitude of, 545, 576.

Boycott, anti-Japanese, 429, 470, 471 n., 472-3, 474, 514, 543, 581.

Canada, attitude of, 531, 532 n.

Czechoslovakia, attitude of, 409, 520, 576, 583, 584, 586.

France: attitude of, 409, 516, 517-18, 519-22, 548, 553, 554, 558, 564, 578; Shanghai crisis, action regarding, 475 n., 499, 500-1, 504 n., 507, 564, 568, 572.

Germany, attitude of, 516, 517-18, 519, 553, 564 n., 578.

Great Britain: attitude of, 409, 516, 517-18, 523 seqq., 546, 547-8, 552, 553, 558, 563-4, 577-8;—business community, 524-5, 543;—'Imperialists', 523-4, 531;—naval and military circles, 525-7; communiqué (9. 1. 32), 541-2; diplomatic methods, 529-30, 539-40; non-recognition of Manchukuo, 554; protest to Japan regarding railway receipts (7.1.32), 542 n.; Shanghai crisis, action regarding—mediation, 483, 493, 503, 504-5, 506 seqq., 510-11, 563-4, 568-9, 572;—reinforcements, despatch of, 475 n.;—representations to Japan, 498-9, 500-1, 514; U.S.A., relations with, 410, 498, 504, 527, 528-9 n., 530, 538-40, 541-5, 547-8, 552, 557, 558, 568, 569.

Issues raised by, 1, 185, 186, 403 and n., 404, 409-10.

Italy: attitude of, 516, 548, 553, 564, 578; Shanghai crisis, action regarding, 475 n., 498, 500-1, 504 n., 564, 569, 572.

Japan: reasons for action of, 522; sanctions against, question of, 527-9 n., 577; territorial ambitions disclaimed, 544, 546, 567, 569, 573. *See also below under* League of Nations; Shanghai.

China (*cont.*)

League of Nations

Assembly, special: Chinese expectations from, 573; Chinese request for, 565, 570, 571; convocation of, 567, 570-1, 583; general debate, 517 *n.*, 532 *n.*, 553, 574-8; Japanese attitude regarding, 570-1, 573, 580, 582; Manchurian question within scope of, 571, 573, 578, 579; meeting of (1.7.32), 584; opening meeting (3.3.32), 212, 483 *n.*, 495, 510, 571-3; report by, question of, 576-7, 579, 581-2, 583, 584, 585-6; resolutions of—(4.3.22), 510 *n.*, 574, 579, 582;—(11.3.32) 272, 510 *n.*, 553, 573, 578-80, 581, 582, 583;—(30.4.32), 513 *n.*, 582.

Chinese appeal under Arts. 10 & 15 of Covenant, 504 *n.*, 559, 560-2, 570, 571.

Committee of Nineteen: appointment and functions of, 510 *n.*, 579-80; meetings of—(March-April), 581;—(24.6.32), 583;—(1.10.32), 585-6; resolution of (19.4.32), 511, 581.

Council: Committee of Twelve, 563, 565;—appeals to Japan (16.2.32), 490, 507, 547, 565-6, 578;—Japanese reply to (23.2.32), 547, 566;—draft declaration (Jan. 1932), 547, 560; meetings of—(Oct. 1931), 516, 518, 542, 543;—(Nov.-Dec. 1931), 516, 542, 578;—(Jan. 1932), 558, 559, 561-2, 571, 580;—(2.2.32), 194, 504 *n.*, 548, 552 *n.*, 563-4;—(9.2.32), 564-5;—(19.2.32), 566-7;—(29.2.32), 508, 514, 568-9;—(25.9.32), 585;—resolutions of—(30.9.31), 579;—(10.12.31), 505, 558-9, 579;—(19.2.32), 553, 567, 571, 583;—(29.2.32), 581; unanimity of, question of, 561.

Lytton Commission: appointment of, 558; delay in departure of, 559; in Japan, 461, 493 *n.*; in Manchuria, 445-7, 456 *n.*;—in Shanghai, 493 *n.*; report of—cited, 416-17, 445-7, 451, 455-6, 457-8, 458-9, 460, 466 and *n.*, 485-6, 493-4;—delay

in submission of, 583, 584;—Japanese views on, 462, 463, 468, 469, 585, 586;—postponement of consideration of, 585-6;—signature of, 584-5.

Manchukuo—*see under* MANCHURIA.

Manchuria, military operations in: Angangki, occupation of, 434, 438; Chinchow, occupation of, 433, 449, 458, 559; cost of, 429, 430; extension of, in 1932, 429, 433 *seqq.*; guerrilla warfare, 439, 447 *seqq.*; Harbin, advance to, 434-5, 458, 572; on Jehol border, 438; against Ma Chan-shan, 437-8; in Manchuli neighbourhood, 438-9; Mukden, occupation of (18-19 Sept. 1931), 409, 422, 425, 432, 440, 441, 449, 453, 455; position at beginning of 1932, 433-4; Shanhaikwan, occupation of, 433, 434, 449; Tsitsihar, occupation of, 433, 438, 458. *See also under* MANCHURIA.

Nakamura incident, 438.

Nanking, Japanese bombardment of (1.2.32), 412, 485-6.

Negotiations for settlement of, proposed, 505, 506, 507, 564.

Netherlands, attitude of, 409, 517, 545.

New Zealand, attitude of, 531-3.

'Non-recognition' doctrine—*see below under* Treaties.

'Open door', question of, 541, 542, 543, 544-5, 546, 557.

Portugal, attitude of, 517.

Shanghai, conflict in and round, 409, 410, 432, 470-515:

Casualties, Chinese and Japanese, 514 and *n.*

Chapei: bombing of, 482-3, 487, 492, 494, 502; evacuation of, 494; Hongkew Park Salient in relation to, 477-9; incidents in, 472.

China:

military forces of: composition and strength of, 412, 473, 479, 482 *n.*, 486, 503 *n.*; sniping by, 484; tenacity of, 487-8, 493; transport of, 494 and *n.*; withdrawal of—abortive agreement for, 493, 508;—demanded by Japan,

480, 481, 487, 490-1, 503, 507, 509;—effected, 494, 502, 508.

protests and appeals by: to Consular body, 483, 502-3; to Japanese Minister, 492; to Municipal Council, 500 *n.*; to Great Britain and U.S.A., 500, 503.

Compensation for damage, question of, 513-14.

Conference, proposed, 507, 508, 509, 514, 568-9, 573, 574, 581.

Consular Committee: appointment of, 562-3; reports of, 471 *n.*, 475, 563, 564, 565, 572;—cited, 470-92 *passim*.

Foreign Powers: consultation between, 498, 504, 547-8, 568, 569; mediation by, 483, 490, 493, 503, 504-5, 506 *seqq.*, 563-4, 566, 568, 572, 574, 580, 581; reinforcements, despatch of, 475 *n.*; reports of, on situation, 572, 574, 582; representations made by—to Chinese, 499, 500, 502, 505;—to Japanese, 498-9, 500-1, 502, 503, 504-5; responsibility of, regarding cessation of hostilities, 511, 512, 513, 574, 579, 581, 582. *See also above under* Consular Committee.

Hongkew Park district: inclusion of, in Japanese sector, 478-9; Japanese occupation of, 481-2, 484, 499 *n.*

Incidents during January 1932, 471-3, 483.

International Settlement:

Chinese refugees, influx of, 475, 480, 484 *n.*, 497.

Danger to, from Sino-Japanese conflict, 475, 497, 499-500, 501.

Defence of: area included in scheme, 477-9; in 1927, 477, 478, 495, 496-7, 501 *n.*, 538 *n.*; forces, foreign—mobilization of, 476-7, 480;—strength of, 475 *n.*; International Committee, functions and responsibility of, 476-7, 478, 479, 495-6; Japanese participation in, 478-9, 495-6, 504; sectors—allocation of, 478-

80, 481, 501;—non-Japanese, intrusion of Japanese into, 499.

Neutrality of, 495, 497, 502, 538.

Use of, as base of Japanese operations, 432, 489, 492, 495 *seqq.*; representations regarding—by Chinese, 500 and *n.*;—by foreign Powers, 498-9, 500-1, 503 *n.*;—by Municipal Council, 497, 498.

Japan:

appeal to foreign Powers regarding Chinese withdrawal, 503. demands made by (20.1.32), 472-3, 474, 475, 476, 483, 559.

direct action, threat of, 473-4, 475, 476, 559.

Excesses committed by, 484.

Government, attitude and policy of, 471 and *n.*, 476 *n.*, 487, 501, 505-6, 513, 564, 567, 569, 573.

justification for action of, 480, 482-3, 496.

military forces: despatch of, 487, 506; landing of, in Settlement, 489, 500-1; strength of, 482, 488-9, 509 *n.*; withdrawal of—abortive agreement for, 493, 508;—conditions for, 507, 509, 510-11, 512, 574, 581;—effected, 509 *n.*, 513, 582.

naval forces: headquarters of, 478; strength of, 474, 475 *n.*, 482, 486-7.

objectives of, 478 *n.*, 480-1 *n.*, 483, 487, 492, 493, 506.

prestige, considerations of, 489, 504, 505.

proclamations (28.1.32), 480-1. ultimata of: (27.1.32), 474-5, 495; (18.2.32), 490-2, 494, 502, 507, 566, 567.

Mayor, Chinese, part played by, 472-3, 473-4, 476, 479, 490, 483, 490, 491, 514-15.

Military and naval operations: (28/29.1.32) 478 *n.*, 481-3, 499, 504.

(3.2-18.2.32) 487-90.

(20.2-3.3.32) 492-5, 502, 508, 566, 567.

China (*cont.*)Military and naval operations (*cont.*)

- Air bombardment, 482-3, 487, 487-8 n., 488, 493, 494, 500, 501, 560.
- cessation of: abortive agreement for, 493, 509; Anglo-American proposals (2.2.32), 504-5, 507 n., 548, 564;—Japanese reply, 505-6; armistice agreement (5.5.32), 511-13, 582; fighting terminated, 494-5, 508, 572, 574, 575; Japanese terms, 508-9; League of Nations action, 509-10, 511, 574, 579, 581, 582; Sino-Japanese negotiations:—(18.2.32), 507, 566;—(28.2.32) 493, 507-8, 509, 568, 569, 572;—(3.3.32), 508-9;—(March-April), 510-11, 569, 580-1; Truce (29.1—2.2.32), 483-5, 487, 503, 504, 505, 563-4.
- extension of, danger of, 489-90.
- renewal of: danger of, 509, 514-15; rumours regarding, 494, 509, 572, 574, 575.
- terrain, nature of, 488.
- Neutral zone, proposed, 487, 503-4, 505, 506, 507, 514, 563-4.
- State of Emergency, declaration of, 475, 476, 479, 480, 495.
- Woosung forts: fighting round, 488, 492-3; fire from, alleged, 487; Japanese occupation of, 494; situation of, 488.
- See also under SHANGHAI.*
- Small states, attitude of, 409, 516, 517, 520, 531, 532 n., 537, 553, 557, 575-7, 583, 584, 586.
- South Africa, attitude of, 532 n., 575-6 n.
- Spain, attitude of, 583, 584.
- Switzerland, attitude of, 409, 576, 577, 586.
- Treaties applicable to: breach of—by China, 522;—by Japan, 521-2, 526, 527 n., 549, 558, 573, 576 n.;—non-recognition of changes brought about by, 272, 410, 528 n., 540-1, 543, 545, 546, 547, 548-9, 551, 552, 553, 555-6, 557, 560, 578, 579, 580 n., 583-4; Covenant of League of Nations, 521, 532 n.,

547, 560-1, 565-6, 567, 573, 576, 577, 578-9, 582, 584; 'Kellogg Pact', 272, 273, 517, 521, 532 n., 541, 542, 545, 546, 549, 555, 556, 576, 578, 579, 584; Washington Nine-Power Treaty, 521, 526, 529, 541, 542, 543, 544, 546, 549, 566;—relation of, to other Washington Treaties, 526, 550-1.

U.S.A.: attitude of, 271, 272, 273, 409, 515-16, 516-17, 518, 520, 526, 537-9, 540 *seqq.*, 580 n.; letter from Mr. Stimson to Senator Borah (23.2.32), 410, 548-52, 555, 578;—British attitude regarding, 552;—Japanese comment on, 551; note to China and Japan (7.1.32), 410, 540-1, 542, 544, 545, 547, 548, 551, 555, 556, 557, 560;—British response to, 541-4;—Chinese reply (12.1.32), 548;—Japanese reply (16.1.32), 529, 545-6; League of Nations, co-operation with, 516, 538, 539, 555; Shanghai, action regarding, 547-8, 574;—mediation, 483, 503, 504-5, 506, 507, 513, 563-4, 569 n.;—reinforcements, despatch of, 475 n.;—representations to Japan, 498-9, 500-1, 514; speeches by Mr. Stimson (Aug. and Oct. 1932), 272, 273, 555-7. *See also above under Great Britain.*

U.S.S.R.: attitude of, 409, 410, 433, 434, 436, 516, 533-7; Japanese assurances to, 437; Manchukuo, recognition of, 554-5; Manchuli, position at, 438-9; Maritime Province, concern for, 436-7, 526, 533.

See also under SECURITY.

Kuomintang, factions of: dissensions between, 411-12, 413; reunion of, 411, 489 n. *See also above under Canton Government; Central Government; and under MANCHURIA.*

Manchu régime, 442, 443, 444.

Maritime Customs, 466 *and n.*

Mongol régime, 443.

National Emergency Conference, 412.

Position of, compared with that of Japan, 421-2, 431.

Revolution (1911), 443, 444.

Saving elements in life of, 419-21.

T'ai'ing Rebellion, 497.

Twenty-one Demands, 410 n.

U.S.A., policy of, 410 n., 549. *See also above under Japan.*

U.S.S.R.: agreements with (31.5.24), 534-5; alliance, possibility of, 418, 536; diplomatic relations—breaking off of, 535-6;—resumption of, 410, 417-18, 535-6, 537, 555. *See also above under Communism; Japan.*

See also under DISARMAMENT; LEAGUE OF NATIONS; MANCHURIA; SHANGHAI; TARIFFS.

Churchill, Mr. Winston, 190-1.

Circassians, the, 443.

Colban, Monsieur, 404-5.

Colombia; commercial and financial policy of, 10, 12; Peru, dispute with, 185 n. *See also under DISARMAMENT; LEAGUE OF NATIONS.*

Coolidge, President, 124, 272.

Corkran, Mr., 450.

Costa Rica, 12, 194 n.

Coudenhove-Kalergi, Count, 317 n.

Council of Foreign Bondholders, 44, 71.

Credit:

Breakdown of system of, 14, 42-3.

Creditor and debtor countries, relations between, 5, 10, 24, 42-4, 75, 81, 91, 95, 107, 122, 172.

League Financial Committee on, 77-83, 171-2 *and n.*

Loans, international: adjustment of, proposed, 77, 91, 92, 94, 95; budgetary stability and, 78, 80, 90-1, 94, 95; default on, 43-4, 47-8, 62, 94, 95; interest rates, 45-6, 47, 77; lending, reduction of, 5, 42, 68, 75, 78, 95, 122; liquidation of, 12, 24, 45-6, 47, 95-6; moratoria on, 44, 78-80, 89 n., 94, 96, 172; 'over-borrowing', 75, 89-90; reconstruction loans—post-war, 138;—proposed, 24, 70, 78, 83, 84, 85-6, 90, 94; short-term, 80, 88-9, 90, 91-2—amount of, 96;—conversion of into long-term, 45, 92;—standstill agreements on, 43, 78, 80, 92, 94, 96; sterling, 43, 72; temporary reinvestment of, 45, 46, 67, 70, 78, 92; trade as means of payment of, 14, 78, 80, 81, 91, 172.

See also under AUSTRIA; BULGARIA; GERMANY; GREECE; HUNGARY.

Public debt, conversion of, 95.

Restriction of, 4, 78, 94, 95.

World Economic Conference and, 41, 42.

See also under AMERICA, Latin; AUSTRIA

&c.; BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS; CURRENCY; EUROPE.

Cuba, 184, 194 n.; *see also under DISARMAMENT.*

Currency:

Clearing agreements, 13-14, 15-16, 18, 62-3, 78, 81, 82.

Compensation agreements, 15, 63.

Deflation, 42, 90, 94.

Depreciation of, 3 *and n.*, 7, 38, 72, 78; effects of on trade, 4, 6, 7, 10 *and n.*, 16, 18, 72.

Exchange control, 3, 12, 13, 23, 43, 44, 80-2, 96, 172; countries maintaining, 11-12, 88-9; effects of on trade and finance, 4, 13-14, 16, 19, 65, 67, 95; relaxation of, 4, 11, 23, 87, 90-1, 93-4. *See also under AUSTRIA; BULGARIA; GERMANY; GREECE; HUNGARY.*

Foreign exchange assets, fall in, 96.

Gold Standard, 3 *and n.*, 43, 72, 88, 91.

See also under GREAT BRITAIN.

Inflation, 90.

League Financial Committee on, 78, 80-2.

Revaluation of, 91, 94.

Transfer, problem of, 23, 44, 73, 78-80, 92, 94, 172. *See also under AUSTRIA; BULGARIA; GERMANY; GREECE; HUNGARY.*

Curtius, Dr. Julius, 321, 365-6, 367, 369, 400, 401.

Czechoslovakia: and pre-war Austrian debt, 162 n.; commercial policy of, 9; foreign exchange restrictions in, 12, 88; Germany, commercial relations with, 8; Hungary, clearing agreement with, 62; loans to, 88; Poland, Czechoslovak investments in, 383 n., post-war position of, 183, 186; trade balance of, 88. *See also under BENEŠ, Dr.; CHINA: Japan; DISARMAMENT; EUROPE: Economic and Financial Situation; HUNGARY: Rumania; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; REPARATION: East European; SECURITY.*

Daladier, Monsieur, 177, 311.

Dan, Baron Takuma, 425, 427.

Danzig:

Bauernbank, 332.

Budgets of, 374, 380 n.

Constitution and status of, 372 n., 378 *and n.*

Currency policy of, 373 n., 380-1 n.

Danzig (*cont.*)

Economic and financial position of, 324, 373, 377, 380-1 *and n.*; League Financial Committee and, 373-5 *and n.*; League Loans to, 74, 374-5.
 Elections in—(1927), 373, 376;—(1930), 373, 377, 378-9 *and n.*, 380.
 German character of, 370, 371, 394, 396.
 Germany, attitude of, regarding, 312 *n.*, 371, 379, 396.
 Government, changes of—(1925-30), 372-3, 374, 376, 380;—(1931), 373, 377, 379, 380.
 League Council: appoints High Commissioners, 373 *n.*, 388 *n.*; approves constitution, 372 *n.*, 379; disputes with Poland referred to—(1925-30), 372 *seqq.*;—(1931-2), 379 *seqq.*; guarantees status of, 395.
 League High Commissioner: appointments to post of, 373 *n.*, 388 *n.*; decisions by, 376, 380 *n.*, 384-5, 389 *seqq.*; disputes with Poland referred to, 371 *n.*, 372 *seqq.*; on financial situation, 373; reports to League Council, 379 *and n.*, 381, 387, 388 *and n.*
 Minorities in, treaty provisions regarding, 386 *n.*
 Nazis in, 373, 378-9 *and n.*, 380 *and n.*, 392 *n.*
 Officials, question of, 371 *and n.*, 374 *and n.*
 Poland, relations with, 322, 370 *seqq.*: anti-Polish demonstrations, 371, 378, 379, 387-8 *and n.*; 390 *and n.*, 392; boycott of, 392 *and n.*, customs receipts, division of, 374 *and n.*; 'direct action', 389 *and n.*, 391; incidents between Danzigers and Poles, 385, 386-8, munitions—transport of, 371 *n.*;—Westerplatte depot for, 375, 377; Paris Convention (9.11.20), 378 *n.*; 'passive finishing trade' dispute, 344, 384, 390-3 *and n.*; Permanent Court of International Justice and, 376, 383, 386 *and n.*, 389, 393-4; Polish assistance in maintenance of order, question of, 388 *n.*; Polish Commissioner-General, resignation of, 379, 386-7 *and n.*; Polish nationals in Danzig, 380 *n.*, 383-4, 385-6 *and n.*, 393-4; port—access of warships to, 376-7, 384, 389-90 *and n.*;—utilization of, 305, 371, 381-5 *and n.*; *putsch*, fear

of, 324 *and n.*, 370, 404 *n.*; railway questions, 376 *and n.*, 377 *and n.*, 384, 393-4; *rapprochement* (1928-30), 376, 377-8; tobacco monopoly negotiations, 374; unfriendly activities, agreement regarding (12.8.32), 392.
 Population of, 370 *and n.*
 Port of, traffic through, 381-2 *and n.*, 383 *n.*
 Unemployment in, 374, 380 *n.*
 U.S.S.R., relations with, 379 *n.*
See also under ODYNIA; INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE; REPARATION: German.
 Davila, Monsieur Charles, 152.
 Davis, Mr. Norman, 224 *n.*, 270 *n.*, 273 *n.*, 287 *and n.*, 291, 292.
 Democracy, 175-8, 180-1.
 Denmark; currency depreciation in, 7, 38; debt conversion by, 95; elections in, 176; exchange control by, 8, 12, 13; Germany, commercial relations with, 7-8; Great Britain, commercial relations with, 13 *and n.*; 30, 38-9, 40; import control in, 9, 10, 13; Slesvig-Holstein war, 184. *See also under* DISARMAMENT; TARIFFS.
 de Valera, Mr., 585, 586.
 Diplomacy, changes in methods of, 529-30, 539-40.
 Disarmament:
 Afghanistan and, 194 *n.*, 257.
 Albania and, 194 *n.*, 254 *n.*, 257.
 Argentina and, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*
 Armaments:
 Air: bombing—abolition of, 204 *n.*, 205, 207, 216, 229, 235 *n.*, 240, 241;—restrictions on, 198, 199, 200, 235 *n.*, 240, 241, 245; civilians, protection of, 198, 201, 202, 206; Conference Commission on, 220-1, 226-7, 233, 234, 235-6 *n.*;—report of, 229-31 *and n.*; danger of, 179, 189-92, 249-50, 283; International Air Force, proposed, 197, 198, 278-9; July resolution and, 250, 253; police purposes, use for, 245, 285; proposals to Conference regarding—British, 200, 245, 283, 285;—French, 197 *seqq.*, 235-6 *n.*, 278;—German, 204 *n.*, 207;—Italian, 205, 216;—Japanese, 206;—Russian, 207, 254;—U.S., 202, 240, 241; useful load of aircraft, 229 *and n.*, 230. *See also under* AVIATION.
 of, 324 *and n.*, 370, 404 *n.*; railway questions, 376 *and n.*, 377 *and n.*, 384, 393-4; *rapprochement* (1928-30), 376, 377-8; tobacco monopoly negotiations, 374; unfriendly activities, agreement regarding (12.8.32), 392.
 Population of, 370 *and n.*
 Port of, traffic through, 381-2 *and n.*, 383 *n.*
 Unemployment in, 374, 380 *n.*
 U.S.S.R., relations with, 379 *n.*
See also under ODYNIA; INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE; REPARATION: German.
 Davila, Monsieur Charles, 152.
 Davis, Mr. Norman, 224 *n.*, 270 *n.*, 273 *n.*, 287 *and n.*, 291, 292.
 Democracy, 175-8, 180-1.
 Denmark; currency depreciation in, 7, 38; debt conversion by, 95; elections in, 176; exchange control by, 8, 12, 13; Germany, commercial relations with, 7-8; Great Britain, commercial relations with, 13 *and n.*; 30, 38-9, 40; import control in, 9, 10, 13; Slesvig-Holstein war, 184. *See also under* DISARMAMENT; TARIFFS.
 de Valera, Mr., 585, 586.
 Diplomacy, changes in methods of, 529-30, 539-40.
 Disarmament:
 Afghanistan and, 194 *n.*, 257.
 Albania and, 194 *n.*, 254 *n.*, 257.
 Argentina and, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*
 Armaments:
 Air: bombing—abolition of, 204 *n.*, 205, 207, 216, 229, 235 *n.*, 240, 241;—restrictions on, 198, 199, 200, 235 *n.*, 240, 241, 245; civilians, protection of, 198, 201, 202, 206; Conference Commission on, 220-1, 226-7, 233, 234, 235-6 *n.*;—report of, 229-31 *and n.*; danger of, 179, 189-92, 249-50, 283; International Air Force, proposed, 197, 198, 278-9; July resolution and, 250, 253; police purposes, use for, 245, 285; proposals to Conference regarding—British, 200, 245, 283, 285;—French, 197 *seqq.*, 235-6 *n.*, 278;—German, 204 *n.*, 207;—Italian, 205, 216;—Japanese, 206;—Russian, 207, 254;—U.S., 202, 240, 241; useful load of aircraft, 229 *and n.*, 230. *See also under* AVIATION.

Expenditure on, 195, 196, 203, 236 *and n.*, 251; Conference Commission on, 214, 215, 231-2, 236 *n.*, 251, 299.
 Land, 202, 206, 240, 276-7; 'armoured fighting vehicles', 228; Conference Commission on, 214, 215, 217, 220-1, 226 *seqq.*, 233 *seqq.*, 295; fortifications, 228 *n.*, 230, 258, 277, 313; guns, proposals to Conference regarding—British, 201, 244, 285;—French, 198, 237, 277;—German, 204 *n.*;—Italian, 205, 216;—Russian, 254;—U.S., 203, 217, 240, 241; July resolution and, 250, 295; tanks, proposals to Conference regarding—British, 180, 228, 244-5, 285;—French, 228, 277;—German, 204 *n.*;—Italian, 205;—Russian, 254;—U.S., 217, 240, 241.
 Limitation or reduction of, 185, 192, 196, 216-17 *n.*, 218-9, 288, 289; arms traffic and, 211, 206-7 *and n.*; France and, 193, 197, 201, 204, 222-3 *and n.*, 237, 278; Great Britain and, 200-1, 209, 245-6, 285; Italy and, 205; Japan and, 206, 219, 243 *and n.*; July resolution and, 249-52, 256, 257; U.S.A. and, 193, 202-3, 209, 239 *seqq.*, 249, 281; U.S.S.R. and, 207, 219, 242-3, 254.
 Manufacture of, and traffic in, 205 *n.*, 208, 211, 248, 277, 295-7 *and n.*; Conference Committee on, 251 *and n.*; 295, 297-8 *n.*; Conference on (1925), 231 *n.*, 295 *n.*; draft convention on (1929), 296 *n.*, 298.
 Naval—*see below under* DISARMAMENT: Naval.
 Publicity regarding, 277, 296 *n.*
 Truce, renewal of, 249, 252, 257-8 *n.*
 Australia and, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*
 Austria and, 186, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*, 230, 256, 257; and July resolution, 254 *n.*
 Belgium and, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*, 209 *n.*, 229 *n.*, 230 *and n.*, 268 *n.*; and eight-state group, 186, 248.
 Bulgaria and, 186, 230, 254 *n.*, 256, 257.
 Canada and, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*
 Chemical and bacteriological warfare: Conference Committee on, 226 *and n.*, 231 *and n.*, 232, 250, 294-5; July resolution and, 250, 251, 253; proposals to Conference regarding, 206, 207, 210, 229, 235 *n.*;—British, 200, 244, 285;—French, 200, 244;—U.S., 203, 240; protocol on (17.6.25), 231 *n.*, 253.
 China and, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*, 230, 256, 257; Sino-Japanese dispute in relation to, 185, 194, 195, 206, 212, 256, 257.
 Colombia and, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*, 254 *n.*
 Conference, World (1932):
 Adjournment of, suggested, 287-8.
 Anglo-Franco-Italian problem as test of success of, 222, 225 *n.*
 Bureau: and arms truce, 257 *n.*; constitution and functions of, 196 *n.*, 251, 252, 255, 266-7, 290; work of (1932)—(Feb.-April), 215, 216 *and n.*, 218 *and n.*, 241 *n.*;—(June-July) 235-6, 246;—(Sept.-Nov.), 252, 258 *n.*, 266-7 *and n.*, 275 *and n.*, 281 *n.*, 284, 285, 293 *seqq.*
 Committee on Procedure, 195, 214.
 Continuation of work of, preparations for, 251, 255, 266-7.
 Countries represented at, 194 *and n.*
 Delegations to, changes of personnel in, 180 *n.*
 General Commission: adjournments of, 212, 215-16 *and n.*, 234, 235, 238 *and n.*, 239 *n.*, 243, 251, 252, 266-7; appointment of, 212 *n.*; questions referred to, 213-14, 216, 233, 251; technical commissions' reports to, 221, 228 *seqq.*, 234; work of; (1932)—(Feb.-March), 213-16;—(April), 216-21, 222, 224 *n.*, 226;—(May), 226, 231, 232;—(June-July), 239 *seqq.*, 246-7, 249, 252-7, 258, 289, 299;—(Dec.), 299-300.
 Hoover-Laval conversations and, 105.
 Ineffectiveness of, 173 *seqq.*, 260, 261; reasons for, 176 *seqq.*, 187, 211-13.
 Phases of, 192-3, 290, 291, 300.
 Plenary sessions—(2.2.32), 187, 194-5, 563;—(5.2.32), 196 *n.*;—(6.2.32), 174, 195-6;—(8-24.2.32), 199, 200-11, 212 *and n.*, 236 *n.*, 241 *and n.*;—(23.7.32), 257.
 Political Commission, 214-15, 216.
 President of—*see under* HENDERSON: Rt. Hon. Arthur.

- Disarmament (*cont.*)
 Conference, World (*cont.*)
 Resolutions—(16.3.32), 216;—(20.4.32), 218-19;—(qualitative disarmament, 22.4.32); 219-20 and *n.*, 257;—(22.4.32), 221;—(23.7.32), 193, 246, 248 *seqq.*, 258, 266, 295.
 Technical committees: appointment of, 213, 214-15, 226, 231, 251, 294, 295; proceedings of, 211, 215-16 and *n.*, 220-1, 226-32, 235-6 and *n.*, 251, 294-9; reports of, 227-32, 294-5, 298; results of work of, 1, 179, 187, 193, 226-7 and *n.*, 232-3 and *n.*, 234. *See also above under Armaments and below under Effectives; Naval.*
 Convention on: draft, Preparatory Commission's—as basis of Conference discussions, 200, 202, 204, 210, 233;—co-ordination of new proposals with, 213-14, 215;—General Commission of Conference discusses, 216-8 and *n.*, 219;—German refusal to accept, 204;—provisions of, regarding supervision, 250, 253; interim, proposed, 287-8; revision of, proposals for, 283, 287.
 Conversations on, 186, 220, 221, 223 *seqq.*, 239; Anglo-American, 291; Anglo-French (April 1932), 223; criticisms of, 235 *n.*, 238 *n.*, 248, 300; five-Power (April 1932), 129 *n.*, 224-6 and *n.*, 234, 235; Franco-American, 224, 239, 291; Franco-German, 223, 286-7; Franco-Italian, 221-2; Italo-American, 291; results of, disappointing, 234, 235; three-Power (June-July 1932), 236-8, 243, 246. *See also below under Germany; Naval.*
 Cuba and, 194 *n.*, 247.
 Czechoslovakia and, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*, 209 *n.*, 247 *n.*, 268 *n.*; and eight-state group, 186, 248. *See also under* BENEŠ, Dr.
 Democracy in relation to, 175-8, 181.
 Denmark and, 186, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*, 230 *n.*, 248, 255, 297, 298.
 Dominican Republic and, 194 *n.*, 247.
 Effectives: Conference Committee on, 226 and *n.*, 231, 232, 233, 298-9; conscription, 201, 204 *n.*, 281 and *n.*; limitation of, 237; overseas forces, 240, 241 *n.*, 278, 299; period of ser-

- vice, 277, 280; 'police component', 203, 240, 241 *n.*, 245, 298-9; pre-military training, 232, 277; proportion to population, 240, 241 *n.*, 277 *n.*; proposals to Conference regarding—British, 201;—French, 276-7, 280;—German, 225, 259, 261;—U.S., 203, 240, 245, 251, 277 *n.*, 285; trained reserves, 204 *n.*, 259, 269.
 Egypt and, 209 *n.*
 Experts, attitude and work of, 173-4, 178-80, 187, 189, 274 *n.* *See also above under* Conference.
 Finland and, 209 *n.*
 France, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*, 219, 288; and arms truce, 258 *n.*; and British proposals (Nov. 1932), 285-6; and effectives, 232, 269, 277 *n.*, 299; and fortifications, 228 *n.*, 258-9, 269; and July resolution, 246, 248, 253; and qualitative disarmament, 198, 199, 217, 218 *n.*, 220, 228, 235 *n.*, 237, 277, 278-9; and technical commissions, 228, 230-1, 232, 298, 299; and U.S. proposals, 217, 218 *n.*, 242 and *n.*, 243, 244, 247 *n.*; Memorandum issued by (20.7.31), 197 *n.*, 212; military strength of, 185, 186; political situation in, effect of, 197 and *n.*, 212-13, 220 and *n.*, 237; proposals made by—(5.2.32), 196 *seqq.*, 208, 209-10 and *n.*, 214, 217, 218 *n.*, 220 *seqq.*, 242, 269-70;—(14.4.32), 230-1 and *n.*—(23.6.32), 235 *n.*;—(Nov. 1932), 270, 273 *seqq.*, 283; state of mind of, 175, 186, 190-7, 265;—change in, 187, 188, 233, 237, 259, 268-9, 274 and *n.*, 289 *n.*; takes part in conversations, 186, 220 *seqq.*; 236-7, 239, 246. *See also above under Armaments; Chemical Warfare; Effectives; and below under Germany; Naval.*
 Franco-British consultative agreement and, 115, 247 *n.*, 262 *n.*
 Germany:
 Arms truce not renewed by, 258 *n.*
 Attitude of, 175, 246, 290, 365;—to British proposals, 283-4, 286;—to French proposals, 199-200, 280;—to July resolution, 246, 248, 249 *n.*, 254 and *n.*, 255-6, 257;—to U.S. proposals, 217 and *n.*, 243, 244.
 Conference: absence of from, 188, 193, 258, 259 *n.*, 266, 267 and *n.*, 268, 290, 293, 299;—declaration

- regarding, 255-6, 257; presence of at, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*; return of to, 299-300;—negotiations regarding, 267, 268, 280, 284, 286, 288-9 and *n.*, 290.
 Effectives, question of in relation to, 225, 261, 276-7 and *n.*, 280, 285, 299; conscription, 281; period of service, 225, 259, 261, 277, 280; pre-military training, 232, 265 and *n.*, 269, 277; *Reichswehr*—reorganization of, 259 and *n.*, 261, 280, 285;—strength of, 240.
 Equality of status: 212, 257, 365.
 Conferences on: four-Power, proposed, 267-8 and *n.*, five-Power (Dec. 1932), 287, 288-9, 300.
 Conversations (1932), 186;—(Feb.), 223;—(April), 193, 221, 224-6 and *n.*, 233, 259 and *n.*;—(June), 237-8;—(Sept.-Nov.), 267, 286-7, 291.
 Five-Power declaration (11.12.32), 193, 253 *n.*, 288-9, 290, 299.
 France: and conversations (April-June), 222, 224-6, 237-8, 259; and negotiations (Aug.-Dec.), 260 *seqq.*, 283 *seqq.*; attitude of, 188, 222-3 and *n.*, 225-6, 233-4, 237, 259 *seqq.*, 268-9, 289 *n.*; proposals by (Nov. 1932), 275 *n.*, 279-80, 282, 283, 286-7; reply of to German *aide-mémoire*, 262-3. Security policy of in relation to, 187, 214, 222-3 and *n.*, 253 *n.*, 259, 263, 268, 269-70, 288-9, 291.
 Germany: *aide-mémoire* presented by (29.8.32), 260-1, 262 and *n.*; declaration by (22.7.32), 255-6, 257; proposals by—(9.2.32), 204-5, 223;—(18.2.32), 204-5 *n.*;—(April 1932), 225, 233;—(14.6.32), 235; public opinion in, regarding, 204, 258, 264-5, 280, 286, 290; threat of independent action by, 259 and *n.*, 261-2.
 Great Britain and, 224-6, 233 and *n.*, 237-8, 262 and *n.*, 267-8, 287, 288-9 and *n.*; declaration and proposals made by (10/17.11.32), 282-3, 284-6 and *n.*, 293; statement issued by (18.9.32), 263-5 and *n.*, 267.
 Italy and, 205, 224-6, 262 *n.*, 267, 268, 281, 287 *seqq.*
 July resolution and, 248, 255-6, 257.
 Lausanne Conference, question raised at, 112 and *n.*, 116.
 League Council, position of, regarding, 263.
 Negotiations regarding (Aug.-Dec. 1932), 193, 258 *seqq.*
 Political Commission and, 214.
 Poland and, 262 *n.*, 268 *n.*, 313 and *n.*, 325.
 Preparatory Commission and, 204.
 U.S.A. and, 224-6, 233, 270, 287, 288 *n.*, 289, 291.
 Versailles Treaty: modification of suggested, 225, 261; provisions of for general disarmament, 185, 204, 205, 229 *n.*, 264; replacement of by disarmament convention, 261, 262, 264 and *n.*, 280, 281, 282, 283, 290; unilateral disarmament of Germany by, 186, 205 and *n.*, 210 and *n.*, 229 *n.*, 275 *n.*, 307.
 Financial position in relation to, 261, 264.
 Fortifications, 204 *n.*, 228, 315, 316, 324.
 German-Polish relations and, 312-13.
 Militarism of, in relation to, 262 *n.*, 265 and *n.*
 Political situation, effect of, 188, 212-13, 234, 237, 259, 262 *n.*, 286, 287, 289-90.
 Proposals made by—(9.2.32), 201, 203-5; 223;—(18.2.32), 204-5 *n.*, 208, 210;—(April 1932), 225, 233;—(14.6.32), 235.
 Qualitative disarmament policy of, 217 *n.*, 225, 228, 229-30 and *n.*, 261, 285. *See also above under* Proposals.
 Rearmament of, 185, 205, 225, 237-8 and *n.*, 259, 261, 263 and *n.*, 266, 269, 270 *n.*, 274, 280, 285, 289 *n.*, 290, 291-2, 313.
See also above under Armaments; Effectives; and below under Naval; and under SCHLEICHER, General von.
 Great Britain, attitude of, 175, 180, 189-92, 195 *n.*; and air armaments, 231, 235, 236; and arms manufacture, 298; and Conference procedure, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*, 213, 214, 267; and

Disarmament (*cont.*)

- conversations, 186, 224-6, 236-8, 246; and French proposals (14.11.32), 275, 281 *and n.*, 282-3; and Hoover Plan, 242, 244-6, 247; and July resolution, 246, 248, 253, 256; and qualitative disarmament, 200, 203, 209, 217 *and n.*, 219-20, 233 *n.*; and tanks, 180, 228; proposals made by, to Conference—(8.2.32), 200-1, 203, 209;—(7.7.32), 244-6, 247;—(17.11.32), 282-6, 293; representation of, at Conference, 180 *n.* *See also above under Armaments; Chemical Warfare; Effectives; Germany; and below under Naval.*
- Greece and, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*, 213, 274.
- Guatemala and, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*
- Haiti and, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*
- Hungary and, 186, 194 *n.*, 210 *n.*, 228, 230; and July resolution, 254 *n.*, 255, 256.
- Incendiary warfare, 198, 207, 229, 231, 235 *n.*, 250, 251.
- International police force, proposals for, 197-9, 201, 220, 223 *n.*, 265, 277, 278-9; criticisms of, 207, 209 *and n.*, 281.
- Italy, attitude of, 181, 185, 186, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*, 259-60, 288, 291-2; and air armaments, 229 *n.*, 231, 235 *n.*; and arms traffic, 298; and British proposals, 285; and conversations, 224-5, 238 *n.*; and French proposals (Nov. 1932), 276 *n.*, 281; and Hoover proposal, 242 *and n.*; and July resolution, 249 *and n.*, 254 *and n.*, 257, 260; and pre-military training, 232; and tanks, 228; proposals made by, to Conference—(10.2.32), 205-6, 210 *n.*, 216;—(8.4.32), 218 *and n.* *See also above under Armaments; Germany; and below under Naval.*
- Japan, attitude of, 185, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*, 219; and arms traffic, 298; and Hoover Plan, 243 *and n.*, 247 *n.*; and July resolution, 254-5; proposals made by (10.2.32), 205, 206 *and n.* *See also above under Armaments and below under Naval; and under JAPAN: Finance.*
- Jugoslavia and, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*, 230, 247 *n.*
- Latvia and, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*
- League of Nations, 295-6 *and n.*; Covenant, Art. 8 of, 217 *n.*, 218, 219, 249, 255; Secretariat, information prepared by, 195; Temporary Mixed Commission, 295 *n.*, 296. *See also above under International Police Force and under SECURITY.*
- Lithuania and, 194 *n.*, 254 *n.*
- Mexico and, 194 *n.*, 247.
- 'Moral Disarmament', 207-8 *and n.*, 214-15, 232, 236 *n.*
- Naval:
- Aircraft carriers: abolition of, proposed, 204 *n.*, 205, 206, 207, 216, 227; limitation of, 206 *n.*, 240-1, 246, 292.
- Anglo-Franco-Italian problem, 202, 221-2 *and n.*, 225 *and n.*, 241, 291, 292.
- auxiliary vessels, 293.
- capital ships: abolition of, 195 *n.*, 204 *n.*, 205, 207, 216, 227; internationalization of, 198; reduction in size of, 201, 204 *n.*, 206, 227 *and n.*, 240, 246, 284, 286, 293; Washington and London ratios for, 293.
- Competition between principal Powers, possible renewal of, 550-1.
- Conference Commission on, 214, 215, 226-8 *and n.*, 236 *n.*
- Conversations on, proposed, 251-2, 290-1. *See also above under Anglo-Franco-Italian problem.*
- Cruisers, 241 *and n.*, 246, 284, 293.
- Destroyers, 241, 246, 293.
- France and, 222, 241, 286; proposals made by to Conference, 197, 198, 278. *See also above under Anglo-Franco-Italian problem.*
- Geneva Conference (1927), 296.
- Germany: demand for equal status in, 204 *n.*, 227 *and n.*, 263, 284, 286; 'pocket battleships', question of, 227 *and n.*, 284, 313-14 *and n.*, 318.
- Great Britain, attitude of, 208-9, 217 *n.*, 227; and Hoover Plan, 241 *n.*, 242 *seqq.*; and Japanese proposals, 292-3; proposals made by—(8.2.32), 200, 201, 209;—(7.7.32), 245-6 *and n.*, 247;—(17.11.32), 284, 286, 292; U.S.A. parity with, 527.
- Guns, calibre of, 206, 207, 227, 292; British proposals regarding, 201, 246, 284.
- Italy and, 206, 227-8 *and n.*, 241; building programme of, 221 *n.*

- See also above under Anglo-Franco-Italian problem.*
- Japan: and Conference Commission, 227; and Hoover Plan, 241 *n.*, 243 *and n.*; proposals made by, 206 *and n.*, 292-3 *and n.*
- London Conference (1930), 201, 224.
- London Treaty (22.4.30), 201, 202, 225 *n.*, 240, 241 *and n.*, 251-2, 287, 293, 527; Franco-Italian participation in, 225 *n.*, 241.
- Merchant vessels, arming of, 206 *n.*
- Smaller Powers, attitude of, 209, 292.
- Spain and, 206 *n.*
- Submarines: abolition of, 200 *seqq.*, 227, 242, 245, 246, 284; internationalization of, 198; limitation of, 198, 206, 240 *and n.*, 242, 293.
- U.S.A.: and Conference Commission, 227; and conversations with Great Britain, 290-1, 292; and Franco-Italian problem, 291, 292; and Japanese proposals, 292-3; proposals made by—(9.2.32), 202, 209;—(22.6.32), 240 *seqq.*, 278; supremacy, renunciation of, 550.
- U.S.S.R. and, 207.
- Washington Treaty, 201, 240, 251-2, 293, 525-6, 550, 551.
- Netherlands and, 194 *n.*, 231, 255; and eight-state group, 186, 248.
- New Zealand and, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*
- Norway and, 186, 194 *n.*, 248, 255.
- Persia and, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*
- Petitions and resolutions sent to Conference, 174, 195-6 *and n.*, 227 *n.*, 257.
- Poland, attitude of, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*, 219, 230; 313 *and n.*; and French proposals, 209 *n.*; and Hoover Plan, 247 *n.*; moral disarmament proposals of, 207-8, 215, 232. *See also above under Germany—equal status.*
- Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, 192, 193, 194, 197 *n.*, 206-7, 208, 210, 250, 255, 296 *n.* *See also above under Convention; Germany—equal status.*
- Public opinion and, 174-5, 178, 179, 196, 210, 226, 242, 257.
- Qualitative, 192-3, 195 *n.*, 209-10 *n.*, 216 *and n.*, 233 *n.*, 248; proposals regarding—British, 200-1, 203, 209, 219-20 *and n.*, 221;—French, 198, 199, 235 *n.*, 237, 277, 278-9;—German, 204-5 *n.*, 210, 225, 235, 261;—Italian, 205-6, 210 *and n.*, 216, 218 *n.*;—Japanese, 206, 292-3;—Russian, 207, 210, 254;—U.S., 202-3, 217 *and n.*, 218 *n.*, 224 *n.*, 240 *seqq.*; resolutions on,—(22.4.32), 219-20 *and n.*, 221;—(23.7.32), 249, 250, 251; technical commissions and, 193, 215 *n.*, 220-1, 226-31, 233, 235 *n.*, 236 *n.*, 293-5.
- Rumania and, 194 *n.*, 209 *n.*, 219, 220, 247 *n.*
- Security in relation to, 187-8, 197 *and n.*, 202, 205, 211, 214-15, 223, 237, 265, 269, 288-9.
- Smaller Powers, attitude of, 184-6, 234-5, 239 *n.*; and conversations between Great Powers, 235 *n.*, 238 *n.*, 268 *n.*, 288, 300; and Hoover Plan, 246-7 *and n.*; and 'interim convention', 288; and July resolution, 248-9, 251 *n.*, 253, 255; eight-state group, 186, 235, 248-9, 251 *n.*
- Spain, attitude of, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*; and air armaments, 215 *n.*, 235; and arms manufacture and traffic, 208, 251 *and n.*, 298; and civil aviation, 230 *n.*; and eight-state group, 186, 248; and Hoover Plan, 243 *n.*; and naval armaments, 206 *n.*
- Supervision: French proposals for, 198, 199, 214, 277-8; German proposals for, 204-5 *n.*; Permanent Disarmament Commission, 188, 200-1, 210-11, 250, 253, 285, 294.
- Sweden, attitude of, 186, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*, 230 *n.*, 231, 255; and eight-state group, 186, 248.
- Switzerland and, 186, 209 *n.*, 230 *n.*, 248.
- Turkey, attitude of, 194, 196, 209 *n.*, 230; and July resolution, 254 *n.*, 256, 257; proposals made by, 208, 218.
- U.S.A., 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*, 202, 216 *n.*; and air armaments, 231, 235 *n.*; and arms traffic, 297-8 *and n.*; and conversations between Powers, 223, 224-6, 236-7, 238 *n.*; and qualitative disarmament, 217 *and n.*, 218 *n.*, 224 *n.*; Gibson proposals (9.2.32), 201-3; Hoover proposals (22.6.32)—announcement of, 193, 238-9 *and n.*;—Herriot plan in relation to, 277 *n.*, 278, 281 *and n.*;—July resolution and, 246, 248, 249, 251, 253;—pro-

- Disarmament (*cont.*)
visions of, 240-1 and *n.*;—reception of, 242 *seqq.*, 257, 285. *See also above under* Armaments; Chemical warfare; Effectives; Germany—equal status: Naval.
- U.S.S.R.: and air armaments, 230 and *n.*; and Conference procedure, 194 *n.*, 196 *n.*, 266-7; and French proposals, 207, 209 *n.*; and Hoover Plan, 242-3; and July resolution, 193, 246, 249 *n.*, 254-5, 256-7; and naval armaments, 207; and pre-military training, 232; and tanks, 228; proposals made by (11.2.32), 206-7, 208 *n.*, 210, 218. *See also above under* Armaments:
- World crisis and, 195, 236, 239.
- Dollfuss, Dr., 53-4.
- Dominican Republic—*see under* DISARMAMENT.
- Donald, Sir Robert, *cited*, 347 *n.*
- Dudek, Schulrat, 357.
- Dumping, 9, 30. *See also under* TARIFFS: Exchange dumping.
- Duncan, Major-General Sir John, 496 *n.*
- Durand, Monsieur, 18.
- Ecuador, 12, 176, 194 *n.*
- Eden, Mr. Anthony, 180 *n.*, 552.
- Edge, Mr. Walter, 17.
- Egypt: Germany, commercial relations with, 15; loans to, 43. *See also under* DISARMAMENT; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS.
- Estonia, 194 *n.*; commercial and financial policy of, 9, 10, 12; League Loan to, 74; Poland, commercial agreement with, 15. *See also under* EUROPE: Economic and financial situation; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS.
- Europe:
Commission of Inquiry for European Union: Co-ordination sub-Committee of, 21-2; Economic Experts' Committee of, 35-8; sessions of—second, 20-1;—third, 35; fifth, 26, 93. Economic crisis in (1925), 373. Economic and financial situation of: Agrarian states, position of, 19 *seqq.*;—cereal valorization fund, proposed, 25-7, 93;—Conferences of, 20-1, 24; Austria and, 22 *seqq.*, 82; bilateral agreements, 22 *seqq.*, 82; Bulgaria and, 19, 24, 25; currency normalization fund, proposed, 25-6, 93-4; Czechoslovakia and, 22 *seqq.*; Danubian customs preference (Tardieu plan), 22-3, 220 *n.*, 222, 223; Estonia and, 24; financial situation (1932), 3, 13, 87-9, 95-6, France and, 22 *seqq.*, 85, 220 *n.*, 222, 223; Germany and, 22 *seqq.*; Great Britain and, 22 *seqq.*, 84, 85-6, 223; Greece and, 22, 24; Hungary and, 19, 22, 24, 25, 82; Italy and, 20 *seqq.*, 222; Jugoslavia and, 19, 22, 24, 25; Latvia and, 24; League of Nations and, 85, 86, 95;—Financial Committee, reports of, 77 *seqq.*, 90, 91, 171-2;—Stresa report referred to, 26-7, 93, 94;—work of (1921-8), 73-7; Lithuania and, 24; Poland and, 19, 24, 25; Rumania and, 19, 22, 24, 25; Stresa Conference, 4, 23-7, 84, 87-95, 113;—Economic and Agricultural Committee, work of, 23 *seqq.*, 87, 93;—Financial Committee, work of, 23, 26, 87, 89-95;—on trade restrictions, 13-14 and *n.*, 81, 82; U.S.S.R. and, 26.
- Hostile camps, danger of division into, 186, 515 *n.*
- North-Eastern, definition of, 301 and *n.* *See also under* REPARATION; SECURITY.
- Féng Yü-hsiang, 412, 418, 489 *n.*
- Ferguson, Mr., 415.
- Finland: exchange control in, 11; Great Britain, commercial relations with, 30. *See also under* DISARMAMENT; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS.
- Flandin, Monsieur, 85.
- Foochow, anti-Japanese outbreak at, 471 *n.*
- France:
Economic and financial position of, 9, 16, 95, 121, 125; clearing agreements signed by, 15, 16; commercial policy of, 8-9, 10, 15, 16-18. Elections (May 1932), 176, 177, 198 and *n.*, 212-13. Germany, relations with, 1, 187, 188, 247-8 *n.*, 308, 309, 310, 316;—commercial negotiations, 17-18;—military alliance, suggested, 237 *n.* *See also under* DISARMAMENT; GERMANY: Poland; REPARATIONS. Government, changes of—(Feb. 1932), 212;—(June 1932), 177, 213;—(Dec. 1932), 127, 128-9, 177.

- Great Britain—commercial relations with, 9, 17, 115, 247 *n.*; consultative agreement with (July 1932), 115-16, 247-8 *n.*, 262 and *n.*
- Greece, financial relations with, 68, 71, 74.
- Hungary, clearing agreement with, 16, 62.
- Italy, relations with, 17, 115, 247 *n.*, 291-2. *See also under* DISARMAMENT: Naval.
- Latvia, commercial agreement with, 15.
- League Loans, issue of, in, 74.
- Poland, investments in, 383 *n.*; political agreement with (19.2.21), 301, 308.
- Post-war position of, 186.
- Spain, commercial agreement with, 17.
- Trade balance, 8-9, 16.
- U.S.A., relations with, 17, 105, 115-16.
- Unemployment in, 16.
- See also under* AUSTRIA; AVIATION: Civil; BELGIUM; CHINA: Japan; DISARMAMENT; EUROPE: Economic and financial situation; GERMANY: Poland; HERRIOT, MOBSIEUR; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; LEAGUE OF NATIONS; MEMEL: Convention; MOROCCO; REPARATION: East European, German; SECURITY; SHANGHAI; SYRIA; TARDIEU, MONSIEUR; TARIFFS; TREATIES.
- Franklin-Bouillon, Monsieur, 274.
- Freedom of the Seas—*see under* WAR.
- Fremantle, Admiral Sir Sydney, 528 *n.*
- Galicia, Eastern, *see under* POLAND.
- Gdynia, 305, 324, 371 and *n.*, 375, 376, 381-5 and *n.*
- Germain-Martin, Monsieur, 111.
- Germany:
Commercial policy of, 6-7, 8, 9-10, 18, 97; agrarian influence on, 8, 18, 336, 340 and *n.*
- Elections: (Sept. 1930), 320-1, 342; (1932-3), 109, 176; (March-April 1932), 109, 176, 212, 216 *n.*; (July, 1932), 260 *n.*
- Financial situation: bank rate, 49; banks, reconstruction of, 3, 48, 49-51; budget, 97, 99, 103, 107; exchange control, 6, 12, 45; financial crisis (1931), 97 *seqq.*, 107; International Bankers' Committee report on, 103; loans to—Central
- Banks credit, 45-6, 96;—difficulty of maintaining service of, 6, 47-8, 97;—moratoria on, 44, 48 *n.*, 111. London Seven-Power Conference on, 102; short-term credits, 97-8, 101, 102, 106;—amount of, 46;—Standstill Agreements on, 12, 45-7, 48 *n.*, 96, 102; taxation, 48-9; transfer problem, 45, 46, 47-8 and *n.*, 97. Young Plan Advisory Committee and, 106, 107.
- Foreign policy, effect of nationalist revival on, 177, 183-4, 187, 234, 259, 268-9, 310-11, 321, 379.
- General War and, 182-3, 184, 186, 304, 307.
- Government, changes of (1932), 177, 213, 234, 286. *See also under* BRÜNING, Dr.
- Great Britain: and Rhineland evacuation, 264 *n.*; commercial and financial relations with, 5-7, 8, 10, 18, 45-6. *See also below under* Poland.
- Hungary, commercial relations with, 15-16, 22, 62.
- Italy, relations with, 12, 260.
- Lithuania, relations with, 317, 396 and *n.*, 399, 400 and *n.* *See also under* MEMEL.
- National-Socialists: and Lausanne Agreement, 113; growth of movement, 97, 212, 260 *n.*, 265, 269, 320-1, 342, 378-9, 380 and *n.*; success of (1933), 176, 180, 181, 183, 310-11.
- Netherlands, financial relations with, 46.
- Osthilfe, 322 *n.*, 340-1 *n.*
- Poland:
Agreements signed regarding minor questions, 315, 326 and *n.*
- Commercial relations with;—(1920-5), 305;—(1925-30), 305-6, 334-40 and *n.*;—(1930-3), 8, 340-4 and *n.*; Danzig attitude regarding, 377 *n.*; German attitude regarding, 317, 335, 336; Polish attitude regarding, 335-6; protocol regarding negotiations (23.11.27), 337-8; provisional agreement (26.3.32), 343; rye and timber agreements, 338, 343 and *n.*; trade, decrease in, 305-6; treaty (17.3.30),—negotiations for, 18, 34, 315, 316, 317, 326-7 and *n.*, 334 *seqq.*;—ratification of, by Poland only, 322, 334, 342-3;—signing of, 319, 327, 334,

Germany (*cont.*)
 Poland (*cont.*)
 339-40; Versailles Treaty régime, 334.
 Corridor, question of, 312, 317 n., 323, 371.
 Cultural relations, 304-5, 306, 349 n.
 Espionage cases, 319 n., 323.
 Financial claims, 327, 332 and n.
See also below under Germans in Poland.
 France, attitude of, regarding, 301, 302, 307 *seqq.*, 313, 317-18.
 Frontier: 'Eastern Locarno', question of, 308, 313 and n., 316, 318 n.; German campaign for revision of, 304, 312 and n., 314-15, 316, 320 *seqq.*, 345; incidents, 319 and n., 322 n., 323 and n.; Poland—attitude of, regarding, 312 *seqq.*, 319-20, 321, 325-6;—special zones maintained by, 317, 338-9; raids, fear of, 313, 314, 324, 325, 404 n.; technical agreements signed regarding, 315, 326 and n.
 Germans in Poland: election incidents, 358-9 and n., 364-70 and n.; entry and settlement of, 337 and n.; expulsion of, 327, 337 and n.; frontier revision campaign and, 321 n., 345; League Council, appeals to, regarding, 330, 331, 346, 351-2 and n., 364-70 and n.; liquidation of property of, 327-9, 331, 336-7, 350-2 and n.;—agreement regarding (31.10.29), 318 and n., 319, 327, 331-4 and n.; number of, 344 and n.; Polish Minorities Treaty and, 346, 351, 361 n., 364 and n.; position of, 344-6.
 Germany: anti-Polish demonstrations in, 313 and n., 318, 322, 323-4 and n.; conciliatory policy, advantages of for, 304-6; investments of, in Poland, 383 n.; 'Junkers', attitude of, 324, 336, 340-1 n.; Nazi revolution, effect of, 310, 311, 320-1; press campaign in, 314, 320, 321 n., 324, 360; state of mind of, 301 *seqq.*
See also above under Frontier.
 Great Britain and, 302, 307 *seqq.*, 351.
 Impartial study of, obstacles to, 302.

International repercussions of, 301-2, 307-11, 396, 404 n.
 League of Nations and, 314, 320.
See also above under Germans in Poland, and below under Poles in Germany.
 Locarno agreements and, 308, 312-13, 315.
 Masures, 344 n., 347 n.
 Nationality questions, 327, 328-9 and n., 331, 332.
 Poland: anti-German demonstrations in, 315, 320, 333, 364; press campaign in, 318, 360; state of mind of, 302 *seqq.* *See also above under Frontier.*
 Poles in Germany: expulsion of, 327; League Council, appeals to, regarding, 346, 348; minority schools for, 347 and n., 348 and n.; number of, 344 and n.; position of, 345-6; seasonal immigration of, 337, 340 n.; school strike (1906-7), 348.
Rapprochement, possibility of, 310-11; relief of tension—(1927), 317;—(1929), 318-9, 339.
 U.S.A., attitude of, 302, 307 *seqq.*
 Rhineland: evacuation of, 264 n., 313 n., 316, 317, 319-20; separatist movement in, 456 n., 467.
 Ruhr, military occupation of, 1, 403 n., 522.
 Rumania, commercial agreement with, 22.
 Shipping policy, 51.
 South Africa, commercial relations with, 33.
 Sweden, commercial and financial relations with, 18, 47.
 Switzerland, financial relations with, 46.
 Trade balance, 6 and n., 12, 17, 47 and n., 48, 97.
 Unemployment in, 47, 48-9, 373.
 U.S.A., financial relations with, 46.
 U.S.S.R.: non-aggression treaty with (24.4.26), 315-16; relations with, 518 n.
 Wages, reduction of, 49 and n.
See also under: ARGENTINA; AUSTRIA; AVIATION, Civil; BELGIUM; BRAZIL; BRÜNING, Dr.; CANADA; CHINA; JAPAN; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; DANZIG; DENMARK; DISARMAMENT; EGYPT; EUROPE: Economic and financial

situation; FRANCE; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; LEAGUE OF NATIONS; MEMEL; PRUSSIA; REPARATION: East European, German; SECURITY; SILESIA; STRESEMANN, Dr.; TARIFFS.
 Gibson, Mr. Hugh: and Morges conversations, 239; at Disarmament Conference, 216, 238 n., 239, 253; presents U.S. proposals—(9.2.32), 201, 202-3;—(11.4.32), 217 and n., 218 n., 220, 224 n.;—(22.6.32), 239 *seqq.*, 247 n., 253.
 Gilbert, Mr. S. Parker, 97.
 Gold: inter-governmental debt payments and, 121 *seqq.*; maldistribution of, 122, 125. *See also under CURRENCY.*
 Grandi, Signor: and Disarmament Conference, 205-6, 210 n., 218, 225, 227-8 n., 242; conversations of, with M. Tardieu, 221-2; resignation of, 180 n., 254 n., 260.
 Gravina, Count, 373 n., 384, 388 n., 389, 390.
 Grazynski, Monsieur, 358 *seqq.*, 365, 366, 368-9 n.
 Great Britain: financial position of, 11 and n., 59, 95, 96, 123; Franco-American credit to, repaid, 96; Gold Standard suspended by, 3, 13, 38, 68, 122, 135, 380-1 n., 403; Government, change of (Aug. 1931), 523; import quotas, 40; investments by, 44;—League Loans, question of, 74-5, 76-7. *See also under ARGENTINA; AUSTRIA; AVIATION, Civil; BELGIUM; BRITISH EMPIRE; BULGARIA; CHILE; CHINA; DENMARK; DISARMAMENT; EUROPE: Economic and financial situation; FINLAND; FRANCE; GERMANY; GREECE; HUNGARY; INDIA; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; ITALY; LEAGUE OF NATIONS; MACDONALD, Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay; MEMEL: Convention; NETHERLANDS; NORWAY; POLAND; REPARATION: East European, German; SECURITY; SHANGHAI; SIMON, Sir John; SWEDEN; TARIFFS; U.S.A.; U.S.S.R.; URUGUAY.*
 Great Powers—*see under SECURITY.*
 Greece:
 Elections in, 176.
 Financial situation of, 67-73, 88, 89, 95, 172; budget, 69, 70; currency reserves, 68, 69; exchange control, 12, 68, 72, 89;—Gold Standard suspended, 72-3, 88, 89; League Council and, 73, 76-7; League Financial

Committee and, 68 *seqq.*, 73 *seqq.*, 172; loans to, 43, 44, 67 *seqq.*, 73, 78-80, 89, 172;—amount of, 88;—League loans, 68, 69, 70, 73-7, 78-80;—reconstruction loan, proposed, 83; transfer problem, 68, 69-72, 73, 78-80, 89.

General War and, 184.

Great Britain, commercial and financial relations with, 68, 71, 72.

Import control in, 9, 70.

Irrigation schemes in, 67, 68, 69, 70.

Italy, financial relations with, 68, 71.

Refugees in, 67-8 and n. *See also under BULGARIA.*

Trade balance of, 68, 69, 88.

Turkey, *rapprochement* with, 311.

See also under ANATOLIA; BULGARIA;

DISARMAMENT; EUROPE: Economic

and financial situation; FRANCE;

INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; RE-

PARATION: East European, German.

Groener, General, 314, 318.

Guatemala—*see under DISARMAMENT.*

Gyls, Monsieur, 407.

Haiti—*see under DISARMAMENT.*

Hamaguchi, Mr., 425.

Hambro, Monsieur, 401 n.

Hamel, Dr. van, 317 n., 373 and n.

Hay, Mr. John, 549.

Henderson, Rt. Hon. Arthur:

and Danzig—Polish relations, 388.

and Disarmament Conference, 177,

216, 221 n., 238 n., 239 n., 267; and

German participation, 266, 299-300;

appointed President—of Bureau,

196 n.,—of Conference, 194;—of

General and Political Commissions,

213, 214; speeches by—(2.2.32), 194-

5 and n.;—(24.2.32), 208, 210-11;—

(22.7.32), 174, 257.

and Hungarian Optants, 153.

and Silesian elections dispute, 365, 368,

369-70.

Hengel, Dr. van, 52.

Hergt, Herr, 316-17.

Hermes, Herr, 338, 339.

Herriot, Monsieur:

and disarmament, 177, 234, 237, 263 n.,

269, 274 and n., 291; and French

proposals (Nov. 1932), 274 n., 280;

and German equality of status, 235

n., 253 n., 289;—conversations re-

garding (June 1932), 237-8;—nego-

tiations regarding (Sept.-Dec. 1932),

- Herriot, Monsieur (*cont.*)
 262, 265 *seqq.*, 280, 287, 288 *and n.*,
 289 *n.*; and interim convention, 287,
 288; and Morges conversations, 239;
 on July resolution, 253 *and n.*, 256;
 speech by (28.10.32), 274, 289 *n.*
 and Franco-Italian relations, 291, 292.
 and Lausanne Conference, 110, 112,
 113.
 and War Debts, 124, 126, 127, 129.
 at Commission of Inquiry for Euro-
 pean Union, 26.
 foreign policy of, 177 *and n.*
 forms ministry, 213, 234.
 Government of (1924-5), 177 *and n.*
 on Austrian loan, 85.
 resignation of, 127, 129.
- Hijāz-Najd—*see under SA'UDĪ ARABIA.*
- Hindenburg, President von, 366; and
 German internal politics, 213, 260, 286,
 341 *n.*; and German-Polish relations,
 318, 333, 336; and inter-governmental
 debts, 99; and Memel, 405-6 *n.*; and
Osthilfe, 340-1 *n.*; re-election of,
 212.
- Hitler, Herr, and Danzig, 379, 385 *n.*;
 probable foreign policy of, 180, 188,
 310, 311, 321; rise to power of, 180,
 217, 260, 286, 341 *n.*, 378, 385 *n.*
- Hoesch, Herr von, 106, 223.
- Honduras, 194 *n.*
- Honjo, General, 437, 476 *n.*
- Hoover, President: and arms traffic,
 297 *n.*; and Disarmament Conference,
 202, 270 *n.*;—proposals announced by
 (22.6.32), 193, 238-41 *and n.*; and
 Hoover-MacDonald communiqué (Oct.
 1929), 272; and inter-governmental
 debts, 105, 118 *n.*, 119, 120, 124, 130-1,
 132;—moratorium proposed by, 99-
 100 *and n.*, 107, 168;—negotiations of,
 with Mr. Roosevelt, 119, 130-1, 132-3;
 —relations of, with Congress, 99, 100,
 107-8, 119 *and n.*, 130-1, 132; and
 Sino-Japanese dispute, 541; conversa-
 tions of, with M. Laval (Oct. 1931),
 105-6, 108, 115, 117, 118. *See also*
under DISARMAMENT; INTER-GOVERN-
MENTAL DEBTS.
- Horsfall, Major A. H., 533 *n.*
- Hsi Hsia, General, 434-5, 442, 456 *n.*
- Hsuan Tung—*see PU YI, Mr.*
- Hughes, Mr. C. E., 549.
- Hugenberg, Herr, 8.
- Hungary:
 Commercial policy of, 9, 13, 82.
- Financial situation of: budget, 57-8;
 credit policy, 57, 62, 81; crisis (1931-
 2), 56-63, 172; currency reserves,
 60, 61, 62; exchange control, 12, 13,
 56 *seqq.*, 81, 88-9; gold pengō
 scheme, 56-7, 73; League Council
 and, 73, 76-7, 149-50; League
 Financial Committee and, 57-9, 62,
 63, 73 *seqq.*, 149-50, 172; loans to,
 44, 56 *seqq.*, 78-80, 89, 172;—amount
 of, 88;—League loans, 60, 61-2, 73-
 7, 78-80, 139, 142, 150; standstill
 agreements, 59, 60-1, 80; transfer
 problem, 56 *seqq.*, 73, 78-80, 89, 172.
- Frontiers, revision of, 323.
- Great Britain, financial relations with,
 61, 74.
- Italy, clearing agreement with, 15-16,
 62.
- Mixed Arbitral Tribunals, 142-3, 150,
 154 *and n.*, 157.
- Poland, commercial agreement with,
 15.
- Post-war position of, 186, 301.
- Rumania:
 Clearing agreement with, 62.
 Optants dispute: Czechoslovakia
 and, 150, 153 *seqq.*, 166, 168;
 Hague settlement—negotiation of,
 140-1, 142-3, 165, 166;—provi-
 sions of, 143 *and n.*, 153-7 *and n.*,
 166-7; history of (1921-9), 138,
 139 *n.*, 150-3 *and n.*; Jugoslavia
 and, 153 *seqq.*; League Council
 and, 150 *seqq.*, 166, 167; League
 Financial Committee and, 152,
 167; Permanent Court of Inter-
 national Justice and, 155.
- Switzerland, clearing agreement with,
 15-16, 62.
- Trade balance of, 59, 62, 63, 88.
- U.S.A., financial relations with, 61, 74.
See also under AUSTRIA; BELGIUM;
CZECHOSLOVAKIA; DISARMAMENT;
EUROPE: Economic and financial
situation; FRANCE; GERMANY; INTER-
GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; REPARATION:
East European.
- Hymans, Monsieur, 571, 581, 583, 584,
 586.
- India, 194 *n.*; British policy in, 523-4,
 526; Japan, commercial relations with,
 10 *and n.* *See also under BRITISH*
EMPIRE.
- Indo-China, French, 519, 526.

- Inouye, Mr. Junnosuke, 425, 427.
- Inter-Governmental Debts, 4, 97 *seqq.*
 Australia and, 104.
 Austria and, 104, 128.
 Belgium: debt of, to U.S.A., 117 *n.*,
 120 *n.*, 128; loss of, under Hoover
 Moratorium, 103, 104.
 Bulgaria and, 104.
 Canada and, 104.
 Cancellation of, question of, 99-100,
 104-5, 115-16 *and n.*, 117, 132, 134.
 Capacity to pay, 122 *and n.*
 Czechoslovakia: debts of—to France,
 Great Britain and Italy, 163;—to
 U.S.A., 117 *n.*, 120 *n.*, 128, 133 *n.*;
 gain of, under Hoover moratorium,
 104.
 Disarmament in relation to, 116 *n.*,
 119, 126, 129, 131-2, 239.
 Egypt and, 104.
 Estonia, debt of, to U.S.A., 117 *and n.*,
 128 *and n.*
 Finland, debt of, to U.S.A., 128.
 France: attitude of, 104, 105-6; debt
 of, to Great Britain, 114, 126; debt
 of, to U.S.A.—American discrimina-
 tion against France, 121, 133;—con-
 versations regarding (Feb. 1933),
 136-7;—default (Dec. 1932), 127-8
and n., 128-9, 131 *n.*, 133, 134 *and n.*;
 —exchange of notes (Nov.-Dec.
 1932), 117, 118, 120-1, 123-4, 125-6;
 —Franco-British relations regard-
 ing, 134 *and n.*; loss of, under
 Hoover Moratorium, 103, 104. *See*
also below under Hoover Moratorium.
 Franco-British Consultative Agree-
 ment and, 115-16.
 Germany: gain of, under Hoover
 Moratorium, 104; U.S.A., payments
 to, 117 *and n.* *See also below under*
Hoover Moratorium.
 Gold, payment in, 121, 122, 123, 126-7,
 128.
 Great Britain: attitude of, 100, 104,
 124, 128, 134 *n.*, 135; debt of, to
 U.S.A., 558;—American attitude re-
 garding, 120-1, 124, 133;—amount
 of, 122;—Baldwin-Mellon Agreement,
 135;—Balfour Note, 104 *n.*, 134
and n.;—conversations (Jan.-March
 1933), 131 *seqq.*;—exchange of notes
 (Nov.-Dec. 1932), 117-18, 120-3,
 124-5 *and n.*, 126-7 *and n.*, 128;—
 payment effected (Dec. 1932), 128;
 —postponable part of debt, 99 *n.*;
 debts to, 103, 128; losses of, under
 Hoover Moratorium, 103, 104 *and n.*
 Greece and, 141; debts of—to Great
 Britain, 165;—to U.S.A., 117, 128,
 165; loss of, under Hoover Mora-
 torium, 104.
 History of, 121-2.
 Hoover-Laval Conversations and, 105-
 6, 108, 115, 117, 118.
 Hoover Moratorium, I; 66, 70, 97 *seqq.*,
 114, 117, 123; Agreements regarding
 —Berlin (6.6.32), 112 *and n.*;—
 London (11.8.31), 102-3 *and n.*, 112
and n., 170 *and n.*;—with U.S.A. for
 repayment, 110; announcement of,
 99-100; creditor Powers, accept-
 ance by, 100, 101-2; Eastern Re-
 parations and, 168-70; effects of, on
 financial crisis, 43, 83, 100, 101, 103,
 104, 137; experts committee, 102-3,
 168, 169, 170; extension of, pro-
 posed, 105, 106, 118; financial results
 of, 103-4; France, negotiations with,
 100-2, 103, 242 *n.*; Germany and,
 97 *seqq.*; repayments under, 101,
 102-3 *and n.*, 110, 170; U.S.A. and,
 97 *seqq.*;—attitude of, 100, 105-6,
 108;—loss of, under, 103, 104;—
 ratification of, 107-8, 170 *and n.*
 Hungary: debt of, to U.S.A., 117, 128;
 gain of, under Hoover Moratorium,
 104.
 Italy and, 100, 103, 111, 143; debt of—
 to Great Britain, 114;—to U.S.A.,
 117 *n.*, 128, 133 *n.*; loss of, under
 Hoover Moratorium, 103, 104.
 Japan and, 104.
 Jugoslavia: debt of, to U.S.A., 128;
 loss of, under Hoover Moratorium,
 103, 104.
 Latvia, debt of, to U.S.A., 117 *and n.*,
 128.
 Lithuania, debt of, to U.S.A., 117 *n.*,
 128, 133 *n.*
 New Zealand and, 104.
 Poland, debt of, to U.S.A., 117 *and n.*,
 120 *n.*, 128 *and n.*
 Portugal and, 104.
 Postponement of payments: during
 Lausanne Conference, 110; provi-
 sions for, 98, 99. *See also above under*
Hoover Moratorium.
 Reparations and: cancellation, effect
 of, 114-15, 115-16, 119 *seqq.*;
 'Gentlemen's Agreement', 114, 115-
 16 *and n.*, 128, 134 *and n.*; inter-

Inter-Governmental Debts (*cont.*)

- connexion of problems, 1, 98 and *n.*, 100, 104-5, 105-6, 108, 118 *seqq.*, 130-1, 133; Lausanne Settlement, 119, 120, 121, 123, 125 and *n.*, 126, 129, 134 and *n.*, 135, 137.
- Revision, question of, 105, 107, 108, 116 *n.*, 134.
- Rumania: debt of, to U.S.A., 128; gain of, under Hoover Moratorium, 104.
- South Africa and, 104 and *n.*
- Transfer, problem of, 119, 123, 125, 129.
- Unproductivity of, 122, 124-5 and *n.*
- U.S.A. and: Commissions—Congressional, proposed, 119, 120;—World War Foreign Debt, 107-8; compensation, question of, 119, 131 *seqq.*; Congress—attitude of, 99 and *n.*, 100, 107-8, 120, 129, 131, 133;—powers of, 119-20, 127, 130, 132; debts to, negotiations regarding, 117 *seqq.*;—procedure for, 130-1, 132-3; fear of 'united front' of debtors, 116, 117, 118; financial crisis, American, 137; foreign currencies, payment in, 119, 123, 125 and *n.*; Government, attitude of, 98, 105-6, 114-15, 239; Hoover-Roosevelt negotiations, 119-20, 130, 131, 132-3; loss of, under Hoover Moratorium, 103, 104; payments to—capital account, postponement of, 116-17;—defaults on, 117, 127-8;—methods of financing, 133;—position regarding (Dec. 1932), 128; political situation and, 117, 118-20; public opinion and, 105, 108, 114-15, 115-16, 118, 120-1, 124, 129, 131 and *n.*, 133, 134, 135-6. *See also above under Belgium; Czechoslovakia, &c.; Hoover Moratorium.*
- World Economic Conference and, 41-2, 116.
- World Economic problems in relation to, 98, 121, 125, 132-3, 136, 137.
- Young Plan Special Advisory Committee and, 107.
- International Chamber of Commerce, 14, 81.
- International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, 232.
- International Federation of League of Nations Societies, 118, 195, 210 *n.*
- International Labour Office, Permanent

- Court of International Justice decision on question of admission of Danzig to membership of, 378 *n.*
- Inukai, Mr., 422, 426-7, 432.
- Irāq, 194 *n.*—*See also under LEAGUE OF NATIONS.*
- Irish Free State, 176, 194 *n.*
- Italy: Cabinet Ministers, resignation of, 254 *n.*; commercial policy of, 9, 10; dictatorship in, 181, 183; financial policy of, 12, 95; foreign policy of, 181, 183, 186; Great Britain, commercial relations with, 30; Jugoslavia, relations with, 181, 301; share of, in pre-war Austrian debt, 162 *n.* *See also under AUSTRIA; BULGARIA; CHINA; Japan; DISARMAMENT; EUROPE: Economic and financial situation; FRANCE; GERMANY; GREECE; HUNGARY; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; LEAGUE OF NATIONS; MEMEL: Convention; MUSSOLINI, Signor; REPARATION: East European, German; SECURITY.*

Japan:

- Agricultural population, position of, 423, 428-9, 430.
- Army: connexion of, with political outrages, 426, 427, 428; peasantry, relation to, 423, 428, 430; political power of, 423-4, 428, 430. *See also below under Finance.*
- Constitutional traditions, 464-5.
- Crime, political, 425-7.
- Emperor: attacks on, 425; constitutional position of, 464; references to, in Chinese press, 471.
- 'Fascist' movement, 424.
- Finance: Budgets, 424, 429, 430, 432; currency, depreciation of, 10 and *n.*, 429, 431-2; foreign exchange assets of, 96; gold standard, departure from, 422, 423, 431; loans, 429, 430; naval and military expenditure, 424, 429, 430; rural relief, 428-9; stocks, fall in value of, 431-2.
- Foreign trade, 429.
- Great Britain, alliance, termination of, 526.
- Imperialist policy, 181, 183, 293, 436, 468.
- Koreans, crimes committed by, 425, 511.
- Navy, connexion of, with political outrages, 425, 426. *See also above under Finance.*

- Political situation in, 176, 422 *seqq.*, 427-8.
- Strength of: strategic, in Far East, 525-7, 550, 550-1 *n.*; superficial nature of, 421-2.
- U.S.A., assaults against subjects of, 425 *n.*
- U.S.S.R.: Japanese occupation of territory of (1918-22), 436; non-aggression pact, proposed, 410, 435, 535. 'War-mindedness' of, 431 *n.*
- Western world, relation to, 424, 431, 465-7.
- See also under CHINA; DISARMAMENT; INDIA; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; LEAGUE OF NATIONS; MANCHURIA; MEMEL: Convention; REPARATION: East European, German; SHANGHAI.*
- Jehol: Japanese operations on border of, 438; Mongols in, 444, 459; relation of to Three Eastern Provinces, 434, 453, 459.
- Johnson, Dr. Hewlett, 418 and *n.*, 420, 421.
- Jugoslavia: and pre-war Austrian debt, 162 *n.*; exchange control in, 12, 89; loans to, 44, 88, 89 and *n.*; Poland, commercial relations with, 15; post-war situation of, 183, 186; trade balance of, 88. *See also under AUSTRIA; BULGARIA; DISARMAMENT; EUROPE: Economic and financial situation; HUNGARY: Rumania; ITALY; REPARATION: East European, German.*
- Kaeckenbeek, Dr., 346 *n.*
- Kaphandaris, Monsieur, 145-6 *n.*
- Kelly, Admiral Sir Howard, 475 *n.*, 506 *seqq.*, 568.
- Kemāl, Mustafā, 311.
- Kinney, Mr. Henry W., 450.
- Kjelstrup, Monsieur, 396 *n.*
- Koo, Dr. Wellington, 507 *n.*
- Korea, Japanese rule over, 465.
- Korfanty, Monsieur, 358 *n.*, 359.
- Krysinski, Dr., *cited* 344 *n.*
- Kuo Sung-lin, 454 *n.*
- Kuo Tai-chi, 511-12.
- Kwantung, Japanese leased territory of, 452, 460, 466 *n.*
- Lamoureux, Monsieur, 258.
- Lampson, Sir Miles, 510-11.
- Langa-Rascanu, Monsieur, 151, 152.
- Latvia, 301 *n.*; commercial policy of, 9, 10; external debt moratorium declared by, 44. *See also under DISARMAMENT;*
- EUROPE: Economic and financial situation; FRANCE; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS.
- Laval, Monsieur: and disarmament, 197 *n.*, 269; resignation of, 212; visits U.S.A., 323. *See also under HOOVER, President.*
- Layton, Sir Walter, 38, 103.
- League of Nations:
- Assembly: thirteenth session, 267; special sessions—(1926), 315, 571 *n.*;—(1932)—*see under CHINA: Japan; and prevention of war, 276.*
- China and, 417. *See also under CHINA: Japan.*
- Colombia and, 325.
- Communications and Transit Organization, 396 *n.*
- Council: sessions of:—thirteenth, 388 *n.*;—thirty-fifth, 398 *n.*;—fortieth, 144, 149-50;—forty-first, 146;—forty-fourth, 316, 354;—forty-fifth, 375;—forty-sixth, 375-6;—forty-seventh, 317, 376-7, 400 *n.*;—fiftieth, 348;—fifty-third, 318-19, 355-6;—fifty-fourth, 348, 349 *n.*;—fifty-fifth, 331, 349 and *n.*;—fifty-seventh, 349;—fifty-eighth, 319, 350;—sixtieth, 356, 372 *n.*, 379 *n.*;—sixty-first, 356;—sixty-second, 321-2 and *n.*, 364-8;—sixty-third, 322, 353 *n.*, 368-70, 386, 388 and *n.*;—sixty-fourth, 356, 370;—sixty-fifth, 389, 390;—sixty-sixth, 384-5, 390, 404-5, 558 *seqq.*;—sixty-seventh, 41, 351-2 and *n.*, 385, 391, 393;—sixty-eighth, 267;—sixty-ninth, 26, 77, 352;—seventieth, 42, 392-3 and *n.*; and prevention of war, 276; composition of, 315. *See also under CHINA: Japan; DANZIG; DISARMAMENT; GERMANY; GREECE: Financial situation; HUNGARY: Financial situation, Rumania; MINORITIES; SILESIA, Upper.*
- Covenant: Art. 8, 217 *n.*, 218, 219, 249, 255; Art. 10, 547, 560, 561, 565, 567, 578; Art. 11, 559, 560, 561; Art. 12, 583; Art. 14, 405 *n.*; Art. 15, 560, 561, 562, 570, 571, 576-7, 579, 580, 582; Art. 16, 1, 276, 279, 577; Art. 19, 320; Franco-British pact and, 115, 247 *n.*; Great Powers and, 182, 183; provisions of, regarding security, 196-7 *n.*, 201, 271, 273, 279, 282, 308; Stimson non-recognition doctrine and, 272.

- League of Nations (*cont.*)
 Economic and Financial Organization, 4, 9, 34, 73; Financial Committee, 4, 34-5, 73 *seqq.*, 77-83, 90, 171-2. *See also under* AUSTRIA; BULGARIA; CREDIT; CURRENCY; DANZIG; EUROPE; GREECE; HUNGARY: Financial situation, Rumania.
 France and, 199 *and n.*, 260. *See also under* DISARMAMENT: International police force.
 Germany and, 12; admission of, to membership, 315, 316, 396 *n.*, 571 *n.*; attitude of, 321, 365.
 Great Britain and, 260, 308.
 'Iraq, admission of, to membership, 194 *n.*
 Italy and, 260, 291, 351.
 Japan and, 352.
 Persia and, 352.
 Poland and, 315, 316.
 U.S.A. and, 224, 260, 271, 272, 307-8. *See also under* AUSTRIA; BULGARIA; CHINA: Japan; CREDIT; DANZIG; DISARMAMENT; ESTONIA; EUROPE; GERMANY: Poland; GREECE; HUNGARY; MEMEL; SECURITY; TARIFFS.
 Liapčev, Monsieur, 140.
 Liberia, 194 *n.*
 Lindsay, Sir R. C., 118 *n.*, 134-5, 136.
 Lithuania, 301 *n.*; commercial and financial policy of, 9, 12; martial law, 400 *n.*, 401; Poland, dispute with, 317 *and n.*, 394 *seqq.*, 399-400 *n.*; U.S.S.R.—non-aggression pact signed with, 399-400 *n.*;—relations with, 399. *See also under* DISARMAMENT; EUROPE: Economic and financial situation; GERMANY; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; MEMEL.
 Little Entente, 301.
 Litvinov, Monsieur: and Disarmament Conference, 218, 219, 242, 266-7;—and July resolution, 254 *and n.*, 256-7;—speech by (11.2.32), 206-7; on relations with China, 537.
 Loucheur, Monsieur, 143 *n.*, 153.
 Luxembourg, 194 *n.*
 Lyons, Mr., 31.

 Ma Chan-shan, General, 437-8, 447.
 MacDonald, Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay: and Disarmament Conference, 225 *and n.*, 287, 288; and Franco-Italian naval problem, 225 *n.*; and German equality of status—conversations

- regarding, 224-5, 226, 236, 237, 238;—conference on, 268, 287, 288 *n.*
 and inter-governmental debts, 126, 135, 136.
 and Lausanne Conference, 110, 112, 114, 236.
 and 'Kellogg Pact', 272.
 Conversations of, with M. Tardieu, 223.
 visits to U.S.A.—(1929), 541;—(1933), 135, 136.
 McIntosh, Mr., 450.
 Madariaga, Señor de, 186 *and n.*, 208 *n.*, 215 *n.*, 235 *and n.*, 243 *n.*, 295.
 Makino, Baron, 427.
 Manchuria:
 Administration of: before Sept. 1931, 453-5, 468-9; disorganization of, after Japanese coup, 455-6.
 Agriculture in, 441, 446, 447; and nomadism, 443-4.
 Brigandage in, 439, 446, 447, 450-1, 454, 455.
 Centre of gravity of, 434, 448.
 Economic and financial position of, 440, 455. *See also below under* MANCHUKUO.
 Foreigners, outrages against, 450-1.
 Japanese policy in, before 1931, 454-5 *n.*
 Kuomintang, relations with, 454-5, 469.
 Manchukuo:
 Administration: geographical re-organization of, 459; Japanese participation in, 458-9, 460, 470.
 Army, 451, 456.
 Capital of, 457.
 Control of, Japanese, 458-60.
 Customs revenue, 466 *and n.*
 Economic relations with Japan, 446, 469-70.
 Erection of: 433, 436, 452 *seqq.*; Japanese motives for, 463 *seqq.*; precedents for in Western and American history, 465, 466 *and n.*; significance of, 452; steps taken, 453, 456 *seqq.*
 Fictitious nature of, 433, 436, 442, 448 *n.*, 451, 452, 456, 458-9, 463-4, 467, 468, 469, 544.
 Police, 451, 456.
 Presidency of, 442, 457.
 Public services, 452, 460, 463.
 Recognition of: Japanese, 433, 452, 461-2, 514, 583, 584-5; request to Powers for, 461, 553-4; U.S.S.R. and, 554-5.

- Population: Chinese—attitude of, towards Manchukuo, 445-7, 456, 468;—emigration of, 440, 445, 447, 455;—immigration of, 440, 444, 454; elements, various—reaction of, to Japanese action, 433, 436, 439, 440 *seqq.*;—relations between, 441, 446, 459-60; Japanese, 444; Koreans, 441, 446, 459; Manchus, 441-2, 448 *n.*; Mongols, 441, 442, 443-5, 459; numbers of, 440, 441; Soviet Russians, 441; White Russians, 434, 436, 441, 442-3.
 Railways:
 Administration of, under Manchukuo, 460.
 Changchun-Harbin line, 435.
 Changchun-Rashin line, 448-9.
 Chinchow-Peipiao line, 438.
 Chinese Eastern Railway: Japanese and, 434, 448-9;—military operations along, 437, 438, 439;—transport of troops on, 435-6; traffic, interruption of, 439; U.S.S.R. and, 435-6, 448-9, 534-5.
 'Hold-ups' on, 450.
 Peiping-Mukden line, 449, 455, 542 *n.*
 South Manchurian Railway, 448, 449, 452, 460, 534.
 Ssupingkaï-Taonanfu line, 449.
 Ssupingkaï-Tsitsihar line, 434.
 'Special Administrative District', 453, 459.
 U.S.S.R.: agreements with, 417, 536; dispute with (1929), 272, 439, 440, 535, 536; frontier with, 534, 554.
See also under JEHO; MUKDEN.
 Marin, Monsieur, 85, 86.
 Marx, Dr., 316.
 Massigli, Monsieur, 299.
 Matsudaira, Mr., at Disarmament Conference, 205, 206, 207, 243; and Sino-Japanesedispute, 437, 483, 572, 573, 574.
 Matsuoka, Mr., 507, 535.
 Memel:
 Conflicts between Governor and *Landtag*—(1924-30), 397-8 *and n.*, 399, 400-1.—(1932), Böttcher case, 401-8.
 Convention (8/17.5.24), 394 *and n.*, 395 *and n.*, 398 *and n.*; Art 17, 398 *n.*, 405 *and n.*; signatories of, action by, 398 *and n.*, 401 *and n.*, 405-6, 407; signed by France, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan, 395.
 Directorate, Governor's right to dismiss, 402 *seqq.*
 Economic situation, 397.
 Elections—(1925), 398;—(1927), 399 *and n.*;—(1930) 400-1;—(1932) 406-7 *and n.*, 408.
 Financial questions, 397 *and n.*, 398, 401 *and n.*
 German character of, 394 *and n.*, 395.
 German officials in, status of, 403 *n.*
 Germany: questions referred to League Council by, 396, 398 *n.*, 400-1, 404, relations with, 402, 403 *and n.*, 405-6 *n.*, 407; representations made by regarding Böttcher case, 405.
 Judicial questions, 398 *n.*, 400, 401 *and n.*
 League of Nations, position of in relation to, 395-6 *and n.*, 398 *n.*; questions referred to regarding, 396 *seqq.*, 404-5 *and n.*, 406.
 Lithuania: attitude of regarding, 395, 396 *n.*, 398 *n.*; seizure by (1923), 394-5, 403 *n.*
 Martial law in, 400 *and n.*, 401 *and n.*
 Permanent Court of International Justice; decision by regarding Böttcher case, 403, 408; questions referred to, 398 *n.*, 404 *seqq.*
 Poland and, 317, 404 *n.*; corridor, suggested exchange of for, 317; port facilities provided for, 395 *n.*
 Putsch, fear of, 403 *and n.*, 404 *n.*
 Statute, 394 *seqq.*; Art. 15, 398 *n.*, 403 *and n.*, Art. 17, 402, 403 *and n.*
See also under BÖTTCHER, Herr.
 Merkys, Colonel, 402 *seqq.*; resignation of, 407.
 Mexico, 44. *See also under* DISARMAMENT.
 Mills, Mr., 116.
 Minorities: League Council and protection of, 364-5. *See also under* DANZIG; GERMANY: Poland; MEMEL; SILESIA, Upper.
 Molov, Monsieur, 145 *n.*
 Mongol Empire, the, 443, 444.
 Mongolia, Outer, Soviet Republic of, 418.
 Mongols, *see under* JEHO; MANCHURIA.
 Moore-Brabazon, Lieut.-Colonel, 190.
 Morocco, French protectorate over, 465.
 Motta, Monsieur, 196 *n.*, 574, 577.
 Moulton, H., *cited* 145 *n.*, 148 *n.*
 Mowll, Bishop, 413.
 Mukden: civil administration, disorganization of, 455; nominal Chinese municipality in, 456. *See also under* CHINA; JAPAN.

- Müller, Dr. Hermann, 341.
 Murai, Mr., 472, 473, 474, 476, 486, 491, 503, 511.
 Mussolini, Signor: and Franco-Italian relations, 222, 291-2; and German equal status, 222, 260, 262 n., 291-2; and Italo-Yugoslav relations, 310; foreign policy of, 181, 222, 260,—speech on (23.10.32), 291-2.
 Muto, General, 461.
 Nadolny, Herr, at Disarmament Conference, 214, 217 n., 219, 223, 237-8, 243;—declaration by (22.7.32), 254, 255-6;—proposals made by, 204-5 n.
 Nagaoka, Mr., 585.
 Nanking, Central Government removed from, 412, 485, 489. *See also under* CHINA: Japan.
 Nationalism, rise of, 531.
 Netherlands: Bulgarian Refugee Loan partly issued in, 146; Debt Conversion in, 95; Great Britain, commercial relations with, 30. *See also under* AUSTRIA; CHINA: Japan; DISARMAMENT; GERMANY; REPARATION: German; TARIFFS.
 Neurath, Baron von, 260, 267, 286 *seqq.*
 Newfoundland—*See under* BRITISH EMPIRE.
 New Zealand, economic position of, 10, 532. *See also under* BRITISH EMPIRE; CHINA: Japan; DISARMAMENT; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS.
 Nicaragua, 12, 176, 194 n.
 Niemeyer, Sir Otto, 76.
 Nitobe, Dr. Inazo, 425-6.
 Nomadism, 443-4.
 Nomura, Vice-Admiral, 488, 507 n., 511.
 Norway: commercial policy of, 9, 38; financial situation of, 12, 38, 95; Great Britain, commercial relations with, 38-9, 40; U.S.S.R., commercial agreement with, 15. *See also under* DISARMAMENT.
 Ottawa Conference—*see under* BRITISH EMPIRE.
 Panama, 176, 194 n.
 Papan, Herr von, 260 n., 262 n., 324, 341 n., and disarmament, 188, 237-8 and n., 258, 265-6, 280; and unemployment relief, 48-9; at Lausanne Conference, 111, 112, 114; forms ministry, 177, 213; resignation of, 180, 286.

- Pappee, Monsieur, 387 n.
 Paraguay, 194 n. *See also under* BOLIVIA.
 Pasvolsky, Leo, *cited*, 145 n., 146 n., 147 n., 148 n.
 Paul-Boncour, Monsieur: and Disarmament Conference, 220, 237, 267, 288 n.;—and French proposals (Nov. 1932), 273, 274 n., 275, 293;—on U.S. proposals, 220, 242, 243; and Sino-Japanese dispute, 514 n., 559, 561, 562, 565, 567, 568-9, 571.
 Pawley, Mrs., 450.
 Penlington, Mr. J. M., 450.
 Permanent Court of International Justice—*see under* DANZIG; HUNGARY: Rumania; INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE; MEMEL; SILESIA, Upper.
 Persia, economic and financial policy of, 3 n., 10. *See also under* DISARMAMENT; LEAGUE OF NATIONS.
 Peru, 3 n., 194 n. *See also under* COLOMBIA.
 Philippine Islands, the, 184, 517, 519, 526.
 Pilotti, Signor, 294.
 Pilsudski, Marshal, 306, 311, 327 n., 342, 358 n.
 Pless, Hans Heinrich, Prince of, 352-3 n.
 Poland: and pre-war Austrian debt, 162 n.; constitutional situation, 333-4; currency, depreciation and revalorization of, 306, 338-9, 373 and n.; Eastern Galicia, minorities in, 368 n.; economic development of, 305-6, 335 and n., 336, 383; elections (Nov. 1930), 321, 333, 358-9 and n.—*See also under* GERMANY: Poland; financial situation—(1925-6), 306, 327 and n., 373 and n.,—(1932), 88; frontier of, 303 n.—*see also under* GERMANY: Poland; Great Britain—commercial relations with, 30, 306;—investments in, 67, 383 n.; loans, to 88, 383 n.; 'May Revolution', 327 and n.; post-war position of, 183, 186, 301, 310-11; public debt of, 383 n.; ratification of treaties by, 333-4, 342; trade balance of, 88, 335 and n.; U.S.A., investments in by, 383 n.; U.S.S.R.—relations with, 303 n., 304, 313 n.;—Russo-Polish war, 305 n., 371 n.; unemployment in, 373. *See also under* AUSTRIA; BULGARIA; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; DANZIG; DISARMAMENT; ESTONIA; EUROPE: Economic and financial situation; FRANCE; GDYNIA; GERMANY; HUNGARY; INTER-

- GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; JUGOSLAVIA; LEAGUE OF NATIONS; LITHUANIA; MEMEL; REPARATION: East European, German; SECURITY; SILESIA, Upper; TARIFFS.
 Politis, Monsieur, and Disarmament Conference, 214, 274.
 Pomorze, 350-2 and n., 364 and n., 366.
 Porter, Representative, 297 n.
 Portugal, 194 n.; commercial policy of, 9, 10; exchange control in, 11, 12. *See also under* CHINA: Japan; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; REPARATION: East European.
 Poznań, 312 n., 320, 331, 350-2 and n., 364 and n., 366.
 Prices, fall in (1929-32), 43, 62; agrarian states and, 23, 24, 26; intergovernmental debts and, 98, 107, 122-3, 172; international loans and, 42-3, 75, 78, 89, 95, 172; trade restrictions and, 7, 16, 19, 42-3; World Economic Conference and, 41.
 Prussia, East, 313 and n., 403; agrarian relief in, 340-1 n.; fear of attack on, 261-2, 314, 324, 325 and n.; *Landtag* election in, 176, 212.
 Pu Yi, Mr. Henry, 442, 456, 457.
 Quiñones de León, Señor, 389 n.
 Rauscher, Herr Ulrich, 339 and n.
 Reed, Senator, 270 n.
 Reparation, East European, 137 *seqq.*
 Agreements regarding: Bulgarian and Hungarian moratorium protocols (21.1.32 and 7.7.32), 168 n., 170 and n.; Bulgarian reparation and occupation costs protocols (21.3.23 and 28.3.24), 147, 148; Conventions regarding Hungarian Funds A and B, 21.8.31) 157 n.; Czechoslovak moratorium protocols (11.8.31 and 29.6.32), 169, 170 n.; Finance Ministers' Agreement (14.1.25), 161 and n.; Hague Agreements (20.1.30), 139, 143 and n., 144-5, 165-7, 168 *seqq.*—*see also below under* Austria; Bulgaria; Creditor Powers; Czechoslovakia, Hungary; Paris Agreement (11.3.22), 161-2 and n.; Paris Agreement (28.4.30), 143 and n., 153-9, 166; Spa Protocol (16.7.20), 160-1, 162, 163 n.
 Austria: financial reconstruction and, 138-9, 143-4; Hague settlement—negotiation of, 139-40, 141-2, 143 and n.;—provisions of, 144-5, 148, 158, 165, 166; property ceded by, 144, 163 n.; situation regarding (1919-29), 138-9, 143-4, 160, 162 n., 163 n.; special claims against, 141-2. *See also below under* Debtor States.
 Belgium and, 138, 155 n., 156 n., 160-1, 164 n., 171.
 British Dominions and, 138, 155-6, 160-1, 171.
 Bulgaria: Hague settlement, 143, 165, 166—negotiation of, 139 *seqq.*;—provisions of, 144, 147-9, 156, 158, 164; Yugoslav claim against, 145 and n.; payments by—amount of, 142, 145 and n. 147 and n., 148 n.;—distribution of, 156 and n., 160, 164 and n., 165;—postponement of provision for, 147-8;—suspension of, 66, 67 n., 168 n., 169-70, 171; refugee settlement and financial reconstruction in relation to, 146-7, 148; situation regarding (1919-29), 138, 139, 145-7, 160; war debts in relation to, 149
 Ceded properties, 139, 140 *seqq.*, 157, 159-60, 163-5. *See also above under* Austria; and *below under* Hungary.
 Conferences on: Hague (1929), 139-40, 141, 165; Hague (1930), 139, 141-3, 144-5, 147-9, 153-9, 162-7, 172;—results of, summarized, 165-7;—settlement reached at, breakdown of, 139, 172; Lausanne (June-July 1932), 139, 170-1; Paris (Technical Committee, Oct.-Nov. 1929), 140-1, 142, 153, 167; Paris (Feb.-April 1930), 143 n., 153; Spa (July 1920), 160.
 Creditor Powers, Hague Agreement with, 143 and n., 163-5.
 Czechoslovakia: and pre-war Austrian and Hungarian debt, 162 n.; as creditor, 138, 141, 164; Liberation Debt, 138, 159 *seqq.*—amount of, 141, 159, 163;—Hague Settlement, 141, 143, 156, 163-4, 165, 167;—suspension of payments, 169-70, 171.
 Debtor states: claims between, waiving of, 144, 148, 158; financial independence restored to, 144-5, 148, 149, 158, 165.
 Distribution of, 141, 142, 143, 155-6, 159 *seqq.*, 166-7.

Reparation, East European (*cont.*)
 France and, 138, 140, 153, 155-7, 160-1, 164-5, 168, 171.
 German Reparation in relation to, 161-2 *n.*, 163 *n.*
 Germany: claims against, 144, 148, 158; liability of, 138.
 Great Britain: and Hague Settlement, 140, 153, 155-7, 164-5, 166-7; and moratorium, 168, 171; share of, under Spa Protocol, 160-1.
 Greece, 138, 171; and pre-War Bulgarian debt, 148 *n.*; and suspension of Bulgarian and Hungarian payments, 169-70; share of, 161, 164-5.
 Hungary: financial reconstruction and, 142; Fund A, 154-7, 158, 164, 168, 170; Fund B, 156 *n.*, 157 *and n.*, 158, 168; Hague Settlement—negotiation of, 140-1, 142-3, 153;—provisions of, 143, 144, 153-9, 164-5, 166, 167; Optants question—*see under HUNGARY*: Rumania; payments by—amount of, 142, 158;—suspension of, 168 *seqq.*; property ceded by, 142; situation regarding (1919-29), 138, 139, 149-50, 159, 160, 162 *n.*; special claims against, 142, 143, 158.
 Italy: and Hague Settlement; 144, 153, 155-7, 164-5, 168; Liberation Debt, 159, 160-2; situation regarding (1919-29), 138, 159, 160-2, 163.
 Japan and, 138, 155-6, 160-1, 164.
 Yugoslavia: Hague Settlement, 141, 148 *n.*, 154-7, 164-5, 166-7; Liberation debt, 159-62; moratorium, 168 *n.*, 171; situation regarding (1919-29), 138, 145, 159-62.
 Liberation Debts, 139, 140, 141; Hague Settlement, 139-40, 141, 143, 156, 162-4, 165, 167; moratorium, 169-70; situation regarding (1919-29), 138, 159-63. *See also above under Czechoslovakia*; Italy; Yugoslavia.
 Liquidation of property, 145, 148 *n.*, 150, 158.
 Occupation costs, 145, 147.
 Poland and, 141, 159, 162, 163 *n.*
 Portugal and, 138, 155-6, 160-1, 164, 171.
 Reparation Commission and, 139, 142, 143-4, 145, 146, 148, 159-60, 161, 163, 164, 166.
 Rumania: Bulgarian payments to,

148 *n.*; and Hague Settlement, 141, 148 *n.*, 153-7 *n.*, 164, 166-7; and moratorium, 168, 171; situation regarding (1919-29), 138, 150 *seqq.*, 159-62.
 Switzerland and, 157 *n.*
 War debts in relation to, 143, 148-9, 163.
 World crisis and, 139, 167-8, 171-2.
 Young Plan and, 139, 141.
See also under INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS.
 Reparations, German:
 Agreements regarding—*see below under Hague*; Lausanne.
 Annuities: conditional, 98-9, 102-3, 106, 107, 109; unconditional, 70, 100, 101, 103, 106, 109, 110
 Belgium and, 107 *and n.*, 114, 161, 171.
 'C' bonds, 161-2.
 Cancellation of, 100, 105, 110-11, 112, 113.
 Commercial debts in relation to, 106.
 Danzig, liability of, 374-5 *and n.*
 Dawes Plan, 98 *n.*
 Deliveries in kind, 101, 102, 103.
 Disarmament and, 108. *See also below under Lausanne Conference.*
 Distribution of receipts, 161-2, 163.
 European reconstruction fund, compensatory payment to, 111-13.
 France: attitude of, 100, 104, 106, 110-11; and Gentlemen's Agreement, 114; and Guarantee Fund, 101; and preparations for Lausanne Conference, 108-10; at Lausanne, 110-13, 114; negotiations with Germany, 106.
 'Gentlemen's Agreement', (2.7.32), 113-14 *and n.*
 Germany: attitude of, 104, 106, 109; and Special Advisory Committee, 106-7; at Lausanne Conference, 111-12; capacity to pay, 106, 111; total liability of, 161.
 Great Britain: attitude of, 106, 113; and Gentlemen's Agreement, 114, 115; and negotiations preceding Lausanne Conference, 109-10; at Hague Conference, 163, 166-7; at Lausanne Conference, 110, 112 *and n.*; receipts of, under Lausanne Agreement, 134.
 Greece and, 161 *n.*, 169-70 *and n.*
 Guarantee Fund, 101-2.
 Hague Agreement (20.1.30), abrogation of, 112 *and n.*

and security, 273 *n.*; on disarmament, 130; special powers voted to, 181.
 Rosting, Monsieur, 373 *n.*, 392, 393 *and n.*
 Rumania: and pre-war Austrian debt, 162 *n.*; and exchange control, 3 *n.*, 12, 13, 89; commercial policy of, 9, 10; elections in, 176; loans to, 88, 89; post-war position of, 183, 186. *See also under AUSTRIA*; DISARMAMENT; EUROPE; Economic and financial situation; GERMANY; HUNGARY; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; REPARATION: East European, German; SECURITY.
 Sahm, Dr., 375, 377, 387 *n.*
 Saionji, Prince, 428.
 Saito, Admiral, 428, 432.
 Salter, Sir Arthur, and League Loans, 76; on Sino-Japanese dispute, 527-8 *n.*, 528-9 *n.*
 Salvador, 194 *n.*; financial position of, 12, 44.
 Sassoon, Sir Philip, 190.
 Sato, Mr., 559, 561, 562, 564, 567, 569, 580, 581.
 Sa'udī Arabia, 194 *n.*
 Schacht, Dr. Hjalmar, 48.
 Schiele, Herr, 341.
 Schleicher, General von, and disarmament, 258-9 *and n.*, 260, 261-2, 289, 325 *and n.*; and German internal politics, 260 *n.*, 341 *n.*; on East Prussia, 261-2, 325 *n.*
 Schober, Herr, 141.
 Schreiber, Dr., 407.
 Scialoja, Signor, 149.
 Scullin, Mr., 4, 31.
 Security:
 Aggression, definition of, 199, 276, 281.
 Collective system, effect of Sino-Japanese dispute on, 1, 271, 272, 273, 403 *and n.*, 409, 516 *seqq.*, 526, 529, 531, 539, 558, 575-7.
 Consultation: pact for, proposed, 224; provision for, question of, 244, 271, 273, 275.
 Czechoslovakia and, 199, 276 *n.*, 309, 520.
 Dominions, British, attitude of, 200, 308, 309, 311, 531, 533.
 Europe: mutual assistance pact, proposed, 276 *and n.*; non-aggression declaration regarding (11.12.32), 282-3, 288-9, 290.
 France and, 129, 184; collective system, attitude of regarding, 520-2;

Hague Conference, the, 163 *n.*, 166-7.
 Italy and, 107 *n.*, 109, 111, 112 *n.*, 114, 161-2.
 Japan and, 107 *n.*
 Yugoslavia and, 107 *n.*, 161-2, 168.
 Lausanne Conference, 4, 38, 39, 95, 108 *seqq.*; agreements concluded at, 112-15, 117, 134 *and n.*, 135; Central and Eastern European questions discussed at, 23, 41, 54, 84; Disarmament Conference in relation to, 213, 234, 236 *and n.*, 239, 247; German political demands at, 112, 113; negotiations preceding, 108-10; object of, 109; President's opening speech, 236; postponement of, 109; proceedings of, 110-12; states represented at, 171; suspension of payments during, 118; U.S. participation in suggested, 109. *See also under REPARATION*: East European.
 Liquidation of the past, 112 *n.*
 Loans: Dawes, 48 *n.*, 101, 102, 103; Young, 48 *n.*, 101, 102, 103.
 Moratorium: Hoover, 98 *seqq.*;—extension of, suggested, 109, 110;—financial results of, 103-4;—*see also under INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS*; Young Plan's provisions regarding, 98-9, 103, 106-7.
 Netherlands and, 107 *n.*
 Occupation costs, 375.
 Payments: amount of, 11, 113; financing of, by loans, 97; German trade balance and, 6, 47; reduction of, 134.
 Poland and, 163 *n.*
 Railways, German, 101, 103, 107, 109.
 Rumania and, 161 *n.*, 171.
 Schedule of Payments (May 1921), 161 *and n.*
 Special Advisory Committee, 103, 106-7, 108.
 Sweden and, 107 *n.*
 Transfer, question of, 98-9, 113.
 U.S.A., attitude of, 100, 102, 104-5, 105-6, 107 *n.*, 109 *n.*, 113, 114-15.
 World crisis and, 98, 107.
 Young Plan, 70, 98 *n.*, 100, 103, 106, 107, 327, 331, 333.
See also under BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS.
 Rheinbaben, Baron, 227 *n.*
 Rollin, Monsieur, 9.
 Roosevelt, President: and intergovernmental debts, 99 *n.*, 119-20, 130 *seqq.*;

Security (*cont.*)

- Great Britain—consultative agreement and conversations with, 223;—guarantees desired from, 175, 187, 188, 307 *seqq.*; policy of—(1919-31), 196-7 *n.*, 308-10, 317-18;—(1932), 223 *and n.*, 233 *and n.*, 237, 243, 248, 259, 265, 269-70, 288-9; proposals made by—(Feb. 1932), 196-9, 201, 212, 214-15, 217, 223 *and n.*, 242, 269-70, 274, 275-6 *and n.*;—(Nov. 1932), 270, 274-6 *and n.*, 279, 281, 282; U.S.A.—conversations with, 224, 291;—guarantees desired from, 175, 187, 188, 307 *seqq.*
- Geneva Protocol and, 308.
- Germany and, 204, 237 *n.*, 259 *and n.*, 276 *n.*, 288-9, 290.
- Great Britain and, 184, 191, 223, 288-9, 311, 521, 529, 577; and French proposals (Nov. 1932), 270, 275-6, 279, 281, 282; policy of (1919-32), 187, 188, 307 *seqq.* See also above under France.
- Great Powers and, 1, 176-7, 182-6 *and n.*
- Hoover-Laval conversations and, 105.
- Italy and, 276 *n.*, 288-9.
- League of Nations, functions of regarding, 275-6.
- Locarno treaties and, 279 *and n.*, 308, 312-13, 315.
- Poland and, 199, 276 *n.*, 309, 310.
- Rumania and, 199, 309.
- Sanctions, 1, 200, 272 *seqq.*, 279.
- Smaller Powers, attitude of, 184-6, 517, 520, 531, 532 *n.*, 558, 575-7.
- Spain and, 276 *n.*
- U.S.A.: and French proposals (Nov. 1932), 270, 273, 275, 279, 281, 282; attitude of, 184, 200, 202, 223, 224, 244, 270-3, 517, 520, 537, 539, 558; policy of (1919-32), 184, 187-8, 307 *seqq.* See also above under France.
- U.S.S.R. and, 207.
- See also under ARBITRATION; DISARMAMENT; LEAGUE OF NATIONS; Covenant.
- Serbia, 183, 184.
- Severing, Herr, 322.
- Shanghai:
Communist propaganda in, 416.
French settlement, 497, 568.
Great Britain, action of in 1927, 496-7, 538.

- Importance of, as trading centre, 409, 410, 526.
- International Settlement.—See under CHINA: Japan.
- Japanese population of, 478, 502 *n.*
- Korean bomb outrage, 425, 511.
- Municipal Council: and anti-Japanese boycott, 470 *n.*; and Japanese control of Hongkew district, 484, 499 *n.*; and use of settlement as Japanese base of operations, 497, 498; roads belonging to, 476-7; state of emergency declared by, 475, 476, 479, 480, 495.
- Municipal police, 475 *n.*, 478, 480, 484, 485 *n.*, 499 *n.*
- Recuperation of, 421.
- Shooting incident (30.5.25), 524.
- Sino-Japanese conflict—see under CHINA: Japan.
- Volunteer Corps, 475 *n.*, 481, 499.
- Shearer, Mr. W. B., 296.
- Shigemitsu, Mr., 502, 511.
- Shiozawa, Rear-Admiral Koichi, 473 *seqq.*, 482, 483, 486 *n.*, 487, 489, 495, 498, 499, 503, 504.
- Shirakawa, General, 493, 508, 511.
- Siam, 3 *n.*, 9, 194 *n.*
- Silesia, Upper:
Geneva Convention (15.5.22), 334, 346 *and n.*, 349, 355, 356, 361 *n.*, 366-7, 368.
- German: League Council, appeals to regarding, 346, 348-50 *and n.*; minority schools in, 347-9 *and n.*; Oppeln theatre incident, 318, 349 *and n.*; Polish language, use of, 349 *and n.*; Polish minority—acquisition of land by, 350;—numbers of, 344;—position of, 345, 346, 347 *n.*
- Minorities, procedure regarding, 346 *and n.*, 356.
- Partition of, German campaign against, 312 *n.*, 318, 320, 322, 323, 345, 371.
- Polish: anti-German demonstrations in, 320, 322-3, 360-1; coal arrangement with Germany, 334; *Deutscher Volksbund*—activities of, 354 *seqq.*;—Polish accusations against, 352, 355, 356, 357-8; elections—(1920-30), 319, 359;—(Nov. 1930), 321-2, 352, 358-70; espionage cases, 315, 357-8; German minority in,—numbers of, 344;—position of, 345-6; German nationals expelled from, 316, 337 *and n.*; League Council, appeals to,

- 346, 353 *n.*, 357;—regarding minority schools in, 318, 354-6 *and n.*, 357;—regarding election incidents in, 321-2, 352, 359, 361-70; liquidation of property in, 316, 329;—Chorzow factory case, 316, 317, 329-31, 332 *n.*; minority schools in, 316, 347, 352, 353-7 *and n.*;—Permanent Court of International Justice and, 316, 329-31, 353 *n.*, 354, 355, 356; Pless case, 352-3 *n.*; Ulitz case, 318 *and n.*, 357-8 *and n.*; Union of Silesian Insurgents, 361 *seqq.*
- Simaitis, Monsieur, 405, 406, 408.
- Simko, 438.
- Simon, Sir John:
and Anglo-French consultative agreement, 247 *n.*
and Disarmament Conference, 196, 213-14, 217 *n.*, 219, 236, 242, 244, 267, 287, 288 *n.*; and equal status question, 267, 268, 282 *seqq.*, 293;—and July resolution, 246, 248, 256;—and qualitative disarmament resolution, 219-20;—speech by (8.2.32), 200-1, 203, 205, 209; statements by in House of Commons, 233 *n.*; 244, 282-3, 284.
and Lausanne Conference, 110.
and Sino-Japanese dispute: conversations with Japanese Ambassador, 498, 544; diplomatic methods of, 529-30, 539-40; in Special Assembly (7.3.32) 553, 577-8; on recognition of Manchukuo, 554; on Shanghai crisis, 498, 504 *n.*, 552, 563, 564, 568, 569.
- Simpson, Sir John Hope, 414, 420, 487-8 *n.*
- Sirianni, Admiral, 222 *n.*
- Smaller Powers—see under CHINA: Japan; DISARMAMENT; SECURITY.
- Smogorzewski, Monsieur Casimir, *cited*, 332 *n.*, 344 *n.*
- Snowden, Viscount, 163, 165-7 *and n.*
- Sokal, Monsieur, 369.
- South Africa, 194 *n.*; economic and financial policy of, 3 *n.*, 9. See also under BRITISH EMPIRE; CHINA: Japan; GERMANY; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS.
- South African War (1899-1902), 184.
- Southern Rhodesia—see under BRITISH EMPIRE.
- Spain: commercial policy of, 9, 10; exchange control in, 11, 12; U.S.A., war with (1898), 184. See also under CHINA: Japan; DISARMAMENT; FRANCE; SECURITY.
- Stimson, Mr.:
and disarmament, 202, 224, 225, 226 *and n.*;
and Sino-Japanese dispute: conversations with Japanese Ambassador, 556-7; letter to Senator Borah (24.1.32), 410, 548-52, 578; note of 7.1.32 to China and Japan, 410, 540-1, 542, 544, 545, 547, 548, 555, 556, 557, 560; on Japanese action at Shanghai, 498; on League Assembly resolution (11.3.32), 553;
speeches of: (8.8.32), 175-6, 188 *and n.*, 271-3 *and n.*, 279, 282, 555-6; (1.10.32), 557;
visits Europe (1932), 224 *and n.*, 226 *and n.*, 270-1, 557.
- Strasburger, Monsieur, 379, 386 *and n.*, 387 *and n.*
- Stresa Conference—see under EUROPE: Economic and financial situation.
- Stresemann, Dr.: and German-Polish relations, 316-17, 328 *n.*, 337;—and commercial negotiations, 316-17, 319, 337, 339;—and Upper Silesia, 318, 356, 357 *n.*; and Memel, 317 *n.*, 399; death of, 319; foreign policy of, 177 *and n.*, 188, 316, 321.
- Su Ping-wen, General, 438-9, 447.
- Successor states: Anglo-American post-war behaviour towards, 307-8, 309; French attitude regarding, 308-10. See also under REPARATION: East European.
- Sueter, Rear-Admiral, 190, 192.
- Sun Fo, 412.
- Suvich, Monsieur, 57.
- Sweden: financial position of, 11, 38, 95; Great Britain, commercial relations with, 30, 38-9, 40. See also under DISARMAMENT; GERMANY; REPARATION: German; TARIFFS.
- Switzerland: commercial policy of, 9; loans issued in, 146. See also under AUSTRIA; BULGARIA; CHINA: Japan; DISARMAMENT; GERMANY; HUNGARY; REPARATION: East European.
- Syria, French military occupation of, 443.
- Sze, Mr., 559.
- Szterenyi, Baron Joseph, 151.
- Tanaka, Count Koken, 428.
- Tardieu, Monsieur André: and Danubian states, 22-3, 220 *n.*, 222, 223; and dis-

- Tardieu, Monsieur André (*cont.*)
armament, 217, 220 *seqq.*, 263 *n.*, 269, 270;—and Franco-Italian naval question, 221-2;—and five-Power conversations, 224, 225, 226;—and French plan (Feb. 1932), 196, 197, 201, 212 *seqq.*, 233, 275 *n.*; forms ministry, 212; resignation of, 213.
- Tariffs:
Australia, policy of, 4, 31.
Belgium, policy of, 9, 38-40.
Belgo-Dutch convention (1932), 33, 38-40.
China, policy of, 10.
Creditor countries, policy of, 42-3, 81.
Denmark, policy of, 7-8, 9, 13, 38.
Exchange dumping duties, 7, 10 *and n.*, 16, 18, 19, 32, 134.
France, policy of, 9, 16-18.
Germany, policy of, 7-8, 12, 18-19, 306, 334 *seqq.*, 340-2 *and n.*, 343 *and n.*, 396, 400.
Great Britain, policy of, 5-7, 9, 10, 27, 37; and Belgo-Dutch convention, 33, 37, 38, 40; tariffs increased by, 5-6, 29-30; U.S.A., relations with regarding, 123, 124, 132, 135.
Increase in, 3, 4-11, 12, 13, 55, 62.
League of Nations and, 34, 39, 82.
Limitation of, attempted, 4, 7, 16-19, 28, 32-3, 34-40, 41-2, 82.
Most-favoured-nation clause, 6-7, 11, 18, 19, 334, 339; regional agreements and, 20 *seqq.*, 33-4, 35, 38, 42.
Netherlands, policy of, 9, 38-40.
Oslo Convention (1930), 38.
Poland, policy of, 8, 9, 24, 306, 334 *seqq.*, 342 *n.*, 343.
Reasons for maintaining, 34-5.
Regional agreements, 33-4, 35-7, 38.
See also under BRITISH EMPIRE; EUROPE.
Revenue duties, 10, 37.
Sweden, policy of, 9, 38.
Truce: conferences on, 19, 21, 34; Convention (1930), 37, 341-2.
U.S.A., policy of, 4-5, 17, 30, 116, 133, 134, 135. *See also above under* Great Britain.
Uruguay, policy of, 11.
World Economic Conferences and—(1927), 34;—(1932), 41-2, 116.
Taylor, Admiral, 475 *n.*
Tevfik Rüstü Beğ, 208, 218.
ter Meulen, Mr. C. E., 375.
te Water, Mr., 575-6 *n.*

- Thomas, Mr. J. H., 504, 548, 552 *n.*, 563-4.
Trade, international: balance of, 5, 10, 11, 13-14 *and n.*, 42-3, 72, 78, 88, 90, 93; barter agreements, 14-15; bilateral agreements, 15-19, 34-5, 36, 82; cartels, 37; export permits, 10; imports, restriction of, 9-10, 12-13, 70, 72, 81;—by permits, 9-10, 81;—by quotas, 6 *seqq.*, 11, 19, 40, 65, 81, 392-3 *n.*; position of, 3-4, 6, 13-14, 42-3, 95, 98, 107, 122, 123-4, 136.
Treaties: non-recognition of changes brought about in breach of, 272, 410, 528 *n.*, 540 *seqq.*, 560, 578, 579, 580 *n.*, 583-4; revision of, 186, 199, 281, 282, 290, 325-6;—French attitude to, 100, 186, 225-6, 308-10;—*see also under* DISARMAMENT: Germany.
Treaties, agreements, &c. (bilateral):
Argentina - Germany (commercial treaty), 18.
Austria-France (clearing agreement), 15.
Austria-German (clearing agreement), 15.
Austria-Hungary (clearing agreement), 15-16, 62, 63.
Austria-Italy (clearing agreement), 15.
Austria-Jugoslavia (clearing agreement), 15.
Austria-Netherlands (clearing agreement), 15.
Austria-Poland (commercial agreement), 15.
Austria-Rumania (commercial agreement), 15.
Austria-Switzerland (clearing agreement), 15.
Belgium-France (commercial agreement, Aug. 1932), 17.
Belgium - Hungary (clearing agreement, 26.3.32), 15-16, 62.
Bulgaria-Greece (commercial agreement); 15; (Kaphandáris-Molov agreement, 9.12.27); 145-6 *and n.*, 169-70 *and n.*; (moratorium agreement, 11.11.31), 170 *and n.*
Bulgaria-Poland (commercial agreement), 15.
Bulgaria - Switzerland (commercial agreement), 15.
Canada-Germany (commercial agreement, Dec. 1932), 19.
China-Japan (Dairen Customs agreement, 30.5.07), 466 *n.*; (Shanghai armistice agreement, 5.5.32), 511-13.

- China-U.S.S.R. (C.E.R. agreement, 31.5.24), 534-5.
Czechoslovakia - Hungary (clearing agreement), 62.
Danzig-Poland (Convention, 9.11.20), 378, 386 *n.*; (*port d'attache* agreement, 8.10.21), 389; (agreement, 24.10.21), 371 *n.*, 375, 386 *n.*, 392-3 *n.*; (agreement regarding Polish nationals, 1.9.23), 386 *n.*; (Customs receipts agreement, 20.9.26), 374 *and n.*; (railway and harbour questions agreements, 4.8.28), 377, 389; (*port d'attache* and hostile activities protocols, 12.8.32), 390, 392 *and n.*; (agreement regarding Polish nationals, 26.11.32), 386 *n.*
Denmark-Great Britain (commercial agreement, 24.4.33), 40.
Estonia-Poland (commercial agreement), 15.
France-Germany (commercial treaty, 17.8.27), 17; (clearing agreement, 24.12.32), 18; (commercial agreement, 28.12.32), 18.
France - Great Britain (guarantee treaty, 28.6.19), 307-8.
France-Hungary (clearing agreement, 4.3.32), 15-16, 62.
France-Italy (commercial agreement), Aug. 1932), 17.
France - Latvia (commercial agreement), 15.
France-Poland (political agreement, 19.2.21), 308.
France-Spain (commercial agreement, Aug. 1932), 17.
France-U.S.A. (guarantee treaty, 28.6.19), 307-8.
Germany-Great Britain (commercial treaty, 2.12.24), 6-7; (commercial agreement, 13.4.33), 7, 18.
Germany-Hungary (commercial agreement, 18.7.31), 22; (clearing agreement, 13.4.32), 15-16, 62; (import quotas agreement), 15.
Germany-Italy (commercial payments agreement, 1.7.32), 12.
Germany-Lithuania (arbitration treaty and agreements on frontier questions and Memel, 29.1.28), 399; (commercial treaty, 30.10.28), 399; (agreement regarding German officials May 1930), 403 *n.*
Germany-Poland (Upper Silesia Convention, 15.5.22), 334, 346 *and n.*, 349, 350, 355, 356, 361 *n.*, 366-7, 368; (nationality treaty, 30.8.24), 327, 328 *and n.*; (arbitration treaty, 1.12.25), 312-13; (Mixed Conciliation Commission agreement, 21.12.26), 328 *and n.*; (status of Germans in Poland agreement, 21.7.27), 337, 339; (seasonal immigration agreement, 24.11.27), 337; (commercial negotiations protocol, 23.11.27), 337-8; (timber agreement, 1.12.27), 338, 343 *and n.*; (revalorization agreement, 5.7.28), 339; (liquidation agreement, 31.10.29), 318, 319, 322, 327, 339, 342, 350; (rye agreement, 18.2.30), 338, 343; (commercial agreement, 17.3.30), 319, 322, 334, 339-40, 341-3 *and n.*; (provisional commercial agreement, 26.3.32), 343.
Germany-Rumania (commercial agreement, 27.6.31), 22.
Germany-South Africa (commercial treaty, 1.9.28), 33.
Germany-Sweden (commercial treaty, 14.5.26), 8, 18.
Germany-U.S.A. (war debt agreement, 23.6.30), 117 *and n.*
Germany-U.S.S.R. (non-aggression treaty, 24.4.26), 315-16.
Great Britain (agreements regarding war debts, 11/13.8.31), 103.
Great Britain-Norway (commercial agreement 15.5.33), 40.
Great Britain-Sweden (commercial agreement, 15.5.33), 40.
Great Britain-U.S.A. (debt funding agreement, 18/19.6.23), 135.
Great Britain-U.S.S.R. (commercial agreement, 16.4.30), 29.
Hungary-Italy (clearing agreement), 15-16, 62.
Hungary-Poland (import quotas agreement), 15.
Hungary-Rumania (clearing agreement), 15-16, 62.
Hungary-Switzerland (clearing agreement), 15-16.
India-Japan (commercial convention), 10 *n.*
Japan-Manchukuo (protocol, 15.9.32), 462-3, 585.
Japan-Russia (peace treaty, 5.9.05), 534.
Jugoslavia-Poland (import quotas agreement), 15.

- Treaties, agreements, &c. (bilateral) (*cont.*)
 Lithuania-Memel (financial agreement, 18.8.32), 401 n.
 Lithuania-U.S.S.R.: (peace treaty, 12.7.20), 400 n.; (non-aggression pact, 28.9.26), 399-400 n.
 Manchuria - U.S.S.R.: (agreement, 1924), 469; (Khabarovsk Protocol, 22.12.29), 417, 536.
 Norway-U.S.S.R. (import quotas agreement), 15.
 Ottawa commercial agreements (20.8.32), 29-32, 33-4.
 Treaties, agreements, &c. (multilateral)
 Arms Traffic Convention (17.6.25), 295-6, 297.
 Austrian Loan Protocol (15.7.32); 4, 84-5, 86.
 Austrian Reconstruction Protocols (4.10.22), 84, 85.
 Austro-Hungarian Debt: (Innsbruck Protocol, 25.6.23), 162 n.; (Prague Agreement, 14.11.25), 162 n.
 Belgo-Dutch Tariff Convention (18.7.32), 33, 38-40.
 Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare Protocol (17.6.25), 231 n., 253.
 Geneva Protocol (2.10.24), 308, 521.
 'Gentlemen's Agreement' (Lausanne, 2.7.33), 113-14 and n.
 Hague Agreements (20.1.30), 112 and n., 139, 143 and n., 144-5, 165-7, 168 *seqq.*
 Lausanne Treaties (9.7.33), 112-15, 117, 134 and n., 135.
 Locarno Treaties (1.12.25), 279 and n., 282, 308, 312-13, 521.
 London Naval Treaty (22.4.30), 201, 202, 225 n., 240, 241 and n., 251-2, 287, 293.
 Memel Convention (8/17.5.24), 394 and n., 395 and n., 398 and n., 405 and n.
 Neuilly Peace Treaty (with Bulgaria, 27.11.19), 138, 140, 145, 147-8, 163, 164.
 Oslo Economic Convention (22.12.30), 38.
 Pacific Settlement (General Act, 26.9.28), 276.
 Paris, Pact of, for Renunciation of War, (Kellogg Pact, 27.8.28), 176, 182, 183, 224, 239-40, 243, 249, 271-3, 275, 279, 284, 297 n., 517, 521, 532 n., 541, 542, 545, 546, 549, 555, 556, 576, 578, 579, 584.
 Polish Minorities Treaty (28.6.19), 346, 351, 364 and n., 386 and n.
 Reparation Agreements—*see above under* Hague; Lausanne; and *under* REPARATION: East European.
 St. Germain Peace Treaty (with Austria, 10.9.19), 138, 140, 145, 159 and n., 163, 166.
 Tariff Truce Convention (24.3.30), 341-2.
 Trianon Peace Treaty (with Hungary, 4.6.20), 138, 140, 142-3, 150 *seqq.*, 159 and n., 163, 166.
 Versailles Peace Treaty (with Germany, 28.6.19), 1, 112, 163, 188, 304, 307-8, 334, 374-5 and n., 394; disarmament provisions of, 185, 193, 205 and n., 227, 263, 264;—Art. 164 and, 275 n., 280, 282, 283, 290.
 Washington (1921-2), 525-6, 550, 550-1 n.
 Washington Nine-Power Treaty (regarding China, 6.2.22), 521, 526, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 549, 557, 566.
 Washington Naval Treaty (6.2.22),—*see under* DISARMAMENT: Naval.
 Treviranus, Herr, 320-1, 360.
 Trip, Dr., 35.
 Tsai Ting-kai, General, 483, 490, 491, 492, 503.
 Tsang Shih-yi, 456 n.
 Turkey: external debt of, 43; import restrictions in, 9, 10. *See also under* DISARMAMENT; GREECE.
 Tyler, Mr. Royall, 58, 59, 150.
 Uchida, Count, 461-2, 463.
 Ueda, General, 489, 490, 507, 511.
 Ulitz, Dr., 355 n., 357-8 and n.
 Unemployment, 4, 95. *See also under* DANZIG; FRANCE; GERMANY; POLAND.
 Uruguay, 194 n.; economic and financial position of, 11, 12, 44; Great Britain, commercial relations with, 11. *See also under* TARIFFS.
 U.S.A.: expansion, methods of, 466 n.; financial situation of, 59, 95, 96, 105; foreign policy of, 517; Great Britain—commercial relations with, *see under* WAR DEBTS: Great Britain;—Hoover-MacDonald *communiqué* (9.10.29), 272, 541;—*see also under* CHINA: Japan; investment policy of, 44, 74; political situation of (1932-3), 4, 119 and n., 132 *seqq.*, 181-

effects of on foreign policy, 4, 17, 42, 176, 273, 287; U.S.S.R., relations with, 537-8. *See also under* AMERICA, Latin; AVIATION, Civil; BULGARIA; CANADA; CHINA; DISARMAMENT; FRANCE; GERMANY; HOOVER, President; HUNGARY; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; JAPAN; LEAGUE OF NATIONS; POLAND; REPARATION: German; SECURITY; SPAIN; STIMSON, Mr.; TARIFFS.
 U.S.S.R.: army, mechanization of, 437 n.; barter agreements negotiated by, 14; foreign policy of, 534, 537; Great Britain, commercial relations with, 29 and n.; Metro-Vickers trial, 29 n.; post-war position of, 183, 303; Third International, relation of Soviet Government to, 467; wheat policy, 21, 26. *See also under* CANADA, CHINA; DANZIG; DISARMAMENT; EUROPE: Economic and financial situation; GERMANY; JAPAN; LITHUANIA; MANCHURIA; NORWAY; POLAND; SECURITY; U.S.A.

Valdemaras, Monsieur, 399, 400 and n.
 Vandervelde, Monsieur Emile, 195-6.
 Venezuela, currency of, 11, 194 n.
 Venizelos, Monsieur, 68, 311.
 Viénot, Monsieur, 85.
 Vilna, 394, 395, 400 n.

Wang Ching-wei, 489 n., 507.
 War: danger of, 173 *seqq.*, 190, 282; freedom of the seas, 200, 279; General (1914-18), 174, 182-3, 184; hostilities without declaration of, 283-4; local conflicts, 185 n.; neutrality, 188, 271-3, 275, 279, 282; Renunciation of, Pact for—*see under* TREATIES.
 Washington Conference (1921-2), 549, 550, 551. *See also under* DISARMAMENT: Naval.
 Welcbeck, Count, 351.
 Western civilization, possible disintegration of, 2-3, 173-4, 175, 176.

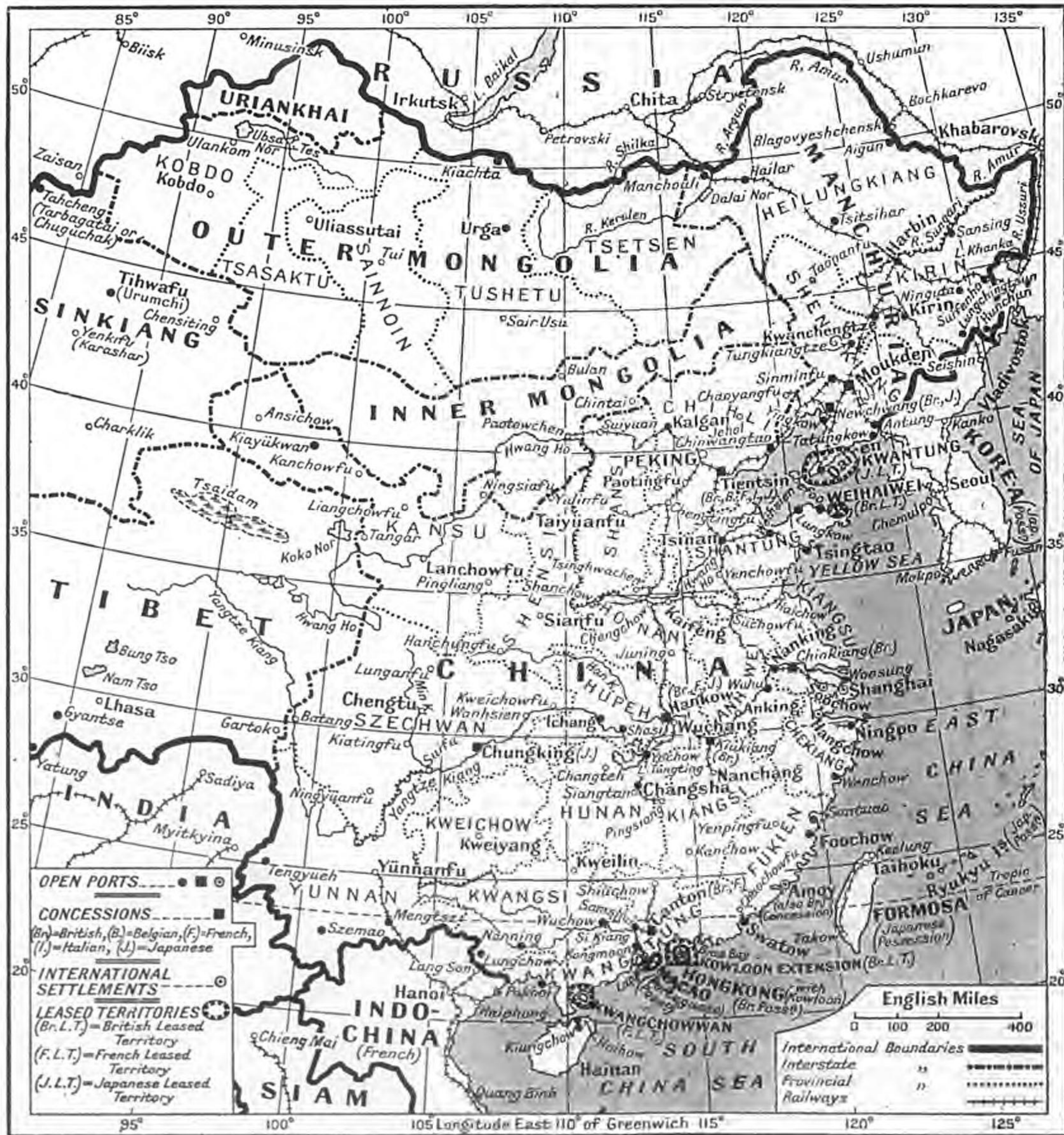
Weygand, General, 274.
 Wheat, 21, 57. *See also under* EUROPE: Economic and financial situation.
 Whiteside, Mr., 192.
 Williams, Mr. E., 191.
 Wilson, Mr. Hugh., 297, 580 n.
 Wilson, President, 99 and n.
 Woodruff, Mrs. C. T., 450.
 World crisis: capitalist system, resistance of to, 3-4; diplomatic methods in relation to, 530; distribution, problem of, 2, 14; economic and political aspects of, 236, 263; experts, attitude of, 173, 178; phases of (1931-3), 1-4; reaction of on Manchurian crisis; 403-n, 515 n. *See also under* CREDIT; CURRENCY; EUROPE; GOLD; INTER-GOVERNMENTAL DEBTS; PRICES; REPARATION; TARIFFS; TRADE.
 World Economic Conference (1932), 4, 38, 41-2, 113, 115, 136, 137, 247 n.; Great Britain and, 41-2, 115, 135, 136, 247 n.; U.S.A. and, 41-2, 116, 130 *seqq.*
 Wu Te-chen, 472-3, 474, 479, 483, 503, 514-5.
 Yang Yu-ting, 469.
 Yen, Dr. W. W., 559, 560, 562, 564, 567, 569, 570, 572, 573, 574, 581, 584, 585, 586.
 Yen Hsi-shan, 454, 489 n.
 Yoshizawa, Mr., and Silesian elections, 367-9, 369, 370; and Sino-Japanese dispute, 435, 501, 503, 535, 543, 559, 561, 566.
 Zaleski, Monsieur, and Danzig, 387; and German disarmament, 313; and German-Polish relations, 316 *seqq.*, 323, 337;—election incidents case, 365, 366-7, 368 and n.;—minority schools case, 355-6 and n., 357 n.
 Zaunius, Dr.: and Böttcher case, 404, 405, 406; and Memel elections (1930), 400, 401.
 Ziehm, Dr., 387, 393.
 Zimmermann, Dr., 144.
 Zulueta, Señor de, 208.

PRINTED IN
 GREAT BRITAIN
 AT THE
 UNIVERSITY PRESS
 OXFORD
 BY
 JOHN JOHNSON
 PRINTER
 TO THE
 UNIVERSITY



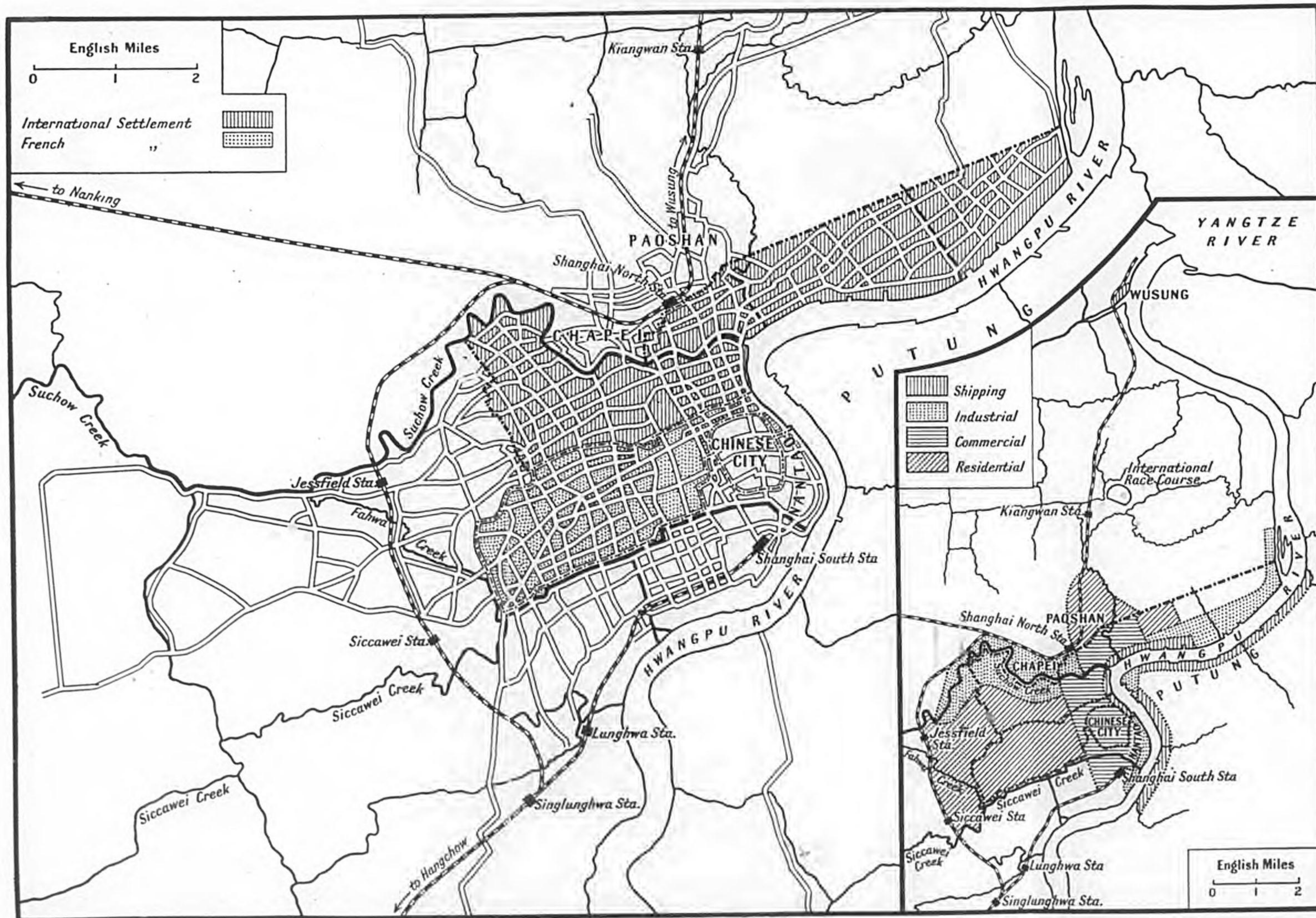
This map is a diagram illustrating the geography of China in 1926 from the particular standpoint of international relations. Accordingly, the prominence given to the treaty-ports, and to the foreign settlements or concessions at that time existing in certain of these, must not be taken as meant to imply a corresponding degree of foreign dominance over Chinese national life. Although the points of Chinese territory which were frequented by foreigners coincided, on the whole, with the focuses of economic activity in China, the great majority of the Chinese people in the greater part of the country, even in 1926, were living their lives with little consciousness of the foreigner's presence in their midst.

CHINA

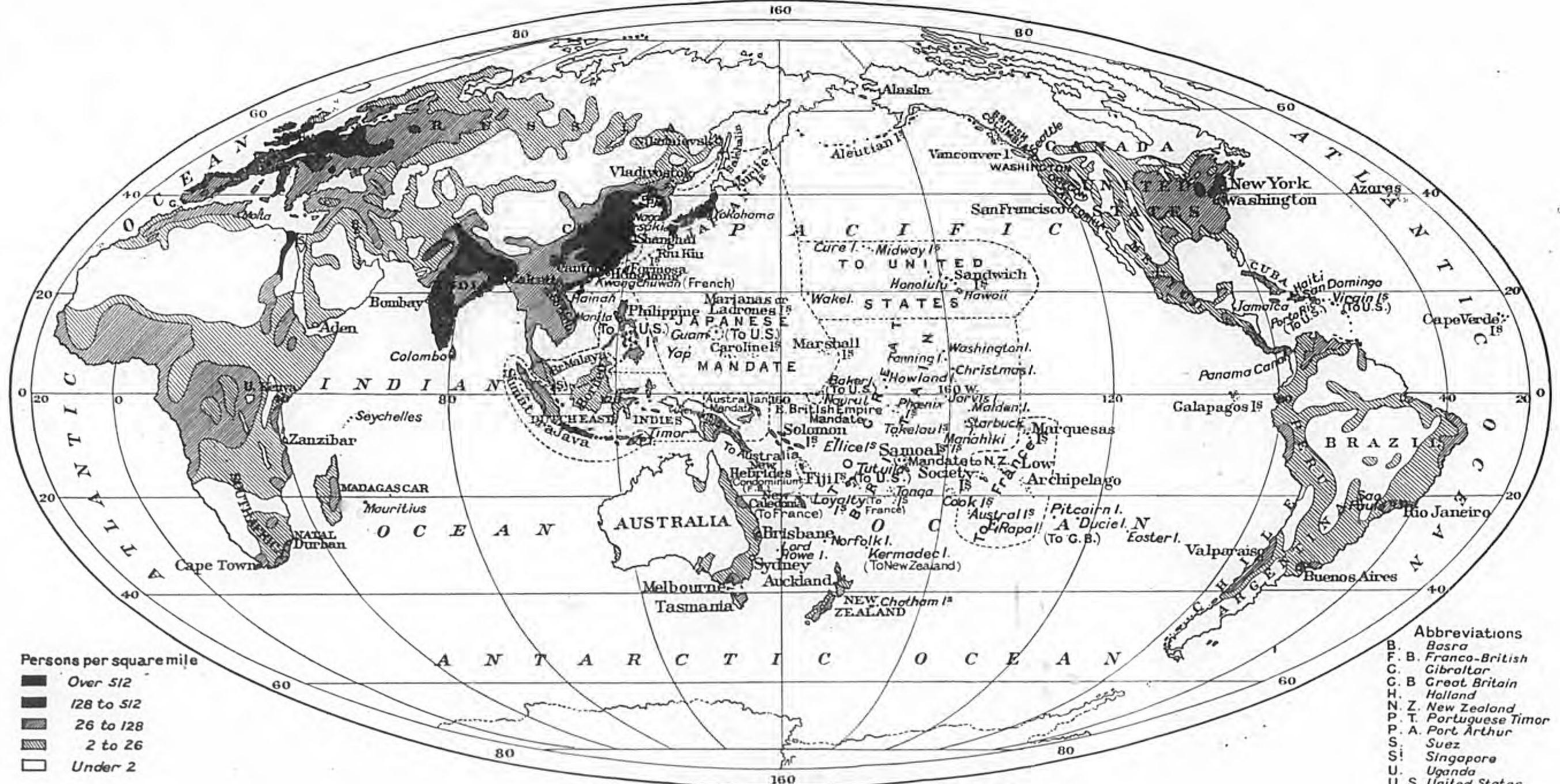


This map is a diagram illustrating the geography of China in 1926 from the particular standpoint of international relations. Accordingly, the prominence given to the treaty-ports, and to the foreign settlements or concessions at that time existing in certain of these, must not be taken as meant to imply a corresponding degree of foreign dominance over Chinese national life. Although the points of Chinese territory which were frequented by foreigners coincided, on the whole, with the focuses of economic activity in China, the great majority of the Chinese people in the greater part of the country, even in 1926, were living their lives with little consciousness of the foreigner's presence in their midst.

SHANGHAI



THE WORLD



Persons per square mile

- Over 512
- 128 to 512
- 26 to 128
- 2 to 26
- Under 2

Abbreviations

- B. Basra
- F. B. Franco-British
- C. Gibraltar
- C. B. Great Britain
- H. Holland
- N. Z. New Zealand
- P. T. Portuguese Timor
- P. A. Port Arthur
- S. Suez
- S. I. Singapore
- U. Uganda
- U. S. United States.

MOLLWEIDE'S PROJECTION (EQUAL AREA)