

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Thirteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

MONDAY, OCTOBER 3RD, 1932, AT 11.30 A.M.

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President : M. POLITIS.

29. — REQUEST OF POLAND FOR RE-ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.

The President :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is the vote on Poland's request for re-eligibility for election to the Council.

The Assembly will remember that I informed it, at the meeting on the afternoon of September 27th, of a letter bearing that day's date from the Polish delegation, submitting, on behalf of its Government, a request for re-eligibility.

There is no need to read this letter again, since it has been communicated to all the delegations.

I stated at the meeting on September 27th that Poland's request for re-eligibility had been submitted in the proper form and within the time-limits prescribed in the rules of 1926 dealing with elections to the Council. It is therefore for the Assembly to vote on this request, in accordance with the provisions of the resolution of September 15th, 1926, laying down the rules for such elections.

In order that the matter may be put clearly before you, I will read you the provisions of Article II, paragraphs 1 and 2, of the resolution of 1926 :

“ A retiring Member may not be re-elected during the period between the expiration of its term of office and the third election in ordinary session held thereafter, unless the Assembly, either on the expiration of the Member's term of office or in the course of the said period of three years, shall, by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast, previously have decided that such Member is re-eligible.

“ The Assembly shall pronounce separately, by secret ballot, upon each request for re-eligibility. The number of votes cast shall be determined by the total number of voting tickets deposited, deducting blank or spoil votes.”

The Assembly is thus called upon to take a decision by secret ballot. As the name of each delegation is called, a representative of that delegation will deposit its voting card in the ballot-box.

Each delegation will write on the voting card “ Yes ” if it is in favour of re-election, “ No ” if it is not favourable, and “ Abstaining ” if it does not desire to express any opinion.

I will ask M. Rosso, delegate of Italy, and Sir John Simon, delegate of the United Kingdom, to be good enough to act as tellers and to take their places on the platform.

(M. Rosso and Sir John Simon took their places on the platform as tellers.)

The President :

Translation : The ballot is now open.

(The ballot was taken by roll-call.)

The President :

Translation : The result of the voting is as follows :

Number of votes cast	51
Blank or spoilt voting papers	4
Number of valid votes	47
Majority required for acceptance (two-thirds)	31
Number of votes in favour of the request	41

The request for re-eligibility has therefore been granted.

I should like to thank the tellers for their assistance in counting the votes.

30. — APPLICATION BY THE KINGDOM OF IRAQ FOR ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the report of the Sixth Committee on the admission of the Kingdom of Iraq to the League of Nations (document A.42.1932.VII, Annex 2).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Lange, Chairman of the Sixth Committee, and M. Yevtitch, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Yevtitch, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Yevtitch (Yugoslavia), Rapporteur :

Translation : The report of the Sixth Committee has been distributed to you, and I do not think it is necessary for me to read it. I will only say that the Sixth Committee unanimously approved the admission of Iraq into the League of Nations.

The President :

Translation : As no delegation has asked to speak, I think I may take the silence of the Assembly as indicating its desire to take a vote at once.

The Sixth Committee's report recommends the admission of the Kingdom of Iraq to the League, and we should accordingly apply Article 1 of the Covenant, which requires a two-thirds majority for the admission of a State to the League. We will therefore take a vote by roll-call. The name of each delegation will be called. Each delegation should reply "Yes" if it is in favour of the admission of Iraq, "No" if it is not in favour, or "Abstaining" if it does not desire to express an opinion.

(The vote was taken by roll-call.)

The President :

Translation : The result of the voting is as follows: fifty-two delegations took part in the ballot, and all voted for the admission of Iraq. I have therefore great pleasure in stating that the Assembly has just declared unanimously in favour of the admission of this new State to the League of Nations.

I think I shall be interpreting your feelings in expressing my congratulations to the new State Member of the League.

M. Yevtitch, Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee, will address the Assembly.

M. Yevtitch (Yugoslavia), Rapporteur :

Translation : The accession of each new Member to the League should be welcomed as a happy event. It is necessary, nay, indispensable, to the development of our institution that it should grow. Strength lies in numbers — that is a well-established truth — and our Assembly is to-day called upon to receive a new Member.

It is a pure coincidence that it should fall to the representative of a country whose whole history has been one long and bitter struggle for liberty to contribute his modest quota to the task of admitting the Kingdom of Iraq to the League of Nations. I reflect with pleasure on the fact that international institutions have developed enormously in our day and now exercise very considerable influence on international life. Things were very different at the time when my country was striving to secure its freedom. In those days, the conception of international collaboration and solidarity fell far short of our present ideas, thanks to which we are now privileged to welcome the Kingdom of Iraq as our equal. We can thus register a measure of tangible progress in international life which no one will deny. The fact of Iraq's admission is the most conclusive proof we could possibly have.

In welcoming Iraq into the League, I share sincerely and profoundly in the joy which her people must now be feeling, and I realise the tremendous importance that this solemn moment must have for them. I am particularly happy at Iraq's admission, since that country, as the result of the termination of the mandate, is now beginning life as a free and independent State. But this moment is important, not only for the Kingdom of Iraq and the Iraqi, it is significant for the League of Nations, for the League's work and for its future.

The entry of the Kingdom of Iraq into the League has, in my opinion, a two-fold significance. In the first place, our membership is thereby increased, and the League's work and importance enhanced, inasmuch as our efforts are rendered more universal by the addition of each Member into our ranks. Secondly, at the very moment when, as our President said the other day, a wind of pessimism seems to be sweeping through Geneva, spreading doubts as to the vitality of our institution, I venture to hope that Iraq's admission will help to dispel this pessimism. We should therefore stress this significant fact and see in it a good omen for the future of the League.

The Kingdom of Iraq, up to the present under a mandate entrusted to the United Kingdom in virtue of Article 22 of the Covenant, has now acquired full independence, thanks to the sincere and friendly co-operation of the mandatory Power, to which I would pay a well-merited tribute, and thanks also to the collaboration of the other Members of the League.

We must all rejoice that a wise and prudent application of the Covenant, which, in Article 22, lays upon the mandatory Powers a sacred trust of civilisation, should to-day be so happily crowned by the admission of Iraq, now a free and independent State, to membership of the League.

As one who has had some share in this work, I desire, on my country's behalf and in my own name, to welcome the Kingdom of Iraq into the League of Nations, and to express my sincerest wishes for the prosperity of that young State and the happiness of its people.

The President :

Translation : M. Lange, Chairman of the Sixth Committee, will address the Assembly.

M. Lange (Norway), Chairman of the Sixth Committee :

Translation : I should like, in the first place, to associate myself wholeheartedly with the congratulations voiced from this platform by M. Yevtitch, our distinguished Rapporteur. In adding a few words to what he has said, I wish to emphasise one aspect of the independence which the Kingdom of Iraq has acquired to-day on entering the League of Nations.

It is right that recognition of such independence should be conditional upon Iraq's entry into the League, the first official manifestation in history of the interdependence which must necessarily exist between nations, for nowadays, more than ever before, interdependence is the logical corollary of independence. That fact is often not realised ; and perhaps the failure to realise it is largely responsible for the crisis through which we are now passing. I am not, however, going to deliver a dissertation on that dismal subject. What I want to emphasise on the occasion of Iraq's entry is rather the moral character of the fact of interdependence between the nations.

No event, no crisis, can occur in any country without its effects being felt, and deeply felt, in other countries. But, on the other hand, through the interdependence of interests, through the interdependence of currents of opinion which ignore the existence of frontiers, every State derives support from international 'co-operation and international solidarity.

At the special Assembly last spring we admitted Iraq's neighbour to membership of the League, and one important region of Western Asia is thus more fully represented here this year.

On more than one occasion in its early days, the League, through this Assembly, gave very full and sympathetic consideration to the interests of certain elements of the population in that part of Western Asia. On entering the League, Iraq has made a solemn declaration, recognising her duties towards the racial and religious minorities within her borders. What I wish to say now is that those minorities must know, as the Government of Iraq must know, that there are around them in all the other countries currents of opinion which represent the interests they are themselves defending, and which will follow with the closest attention the development of the State of Iraq and the fate of the different elements in her population.

With these remarks, which, I feel confident, voice the unanimous opinion of the Sixth Committee, I desire to second with the utmost cordiality, on behalf of the Committee and of my country, and also on my own behalf, the sincere congratulations addressed to the new Member of the League of Nations, to the Kingdom of Iraq.

The President :

Translation : I thank the Chairman and Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee for the explanatory observations they have been good enough to make on the decision we have just taken and on the meaning they attach to your unanimous vote.

31. — CREDENTIALS OF THE DELEGATES OF THE KINGDOM OF IRAQ: REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The President :

Translation : In order that the representatives of the Kingdom of Iraq might take part in the work of the present meeting, I requested the Credentials Committee to examine the credentials of the members of the Iraqi delegation. I will ask

the Chairman of the Credentials Committee to submit the Committee's report.

His Excellency M. de Agüero y Bethancourt will address the Assembly.

M. de Agüero y Bethancourt (Cuba), Chairman and Rapporteur of the Committee on Credentials.

Translation : The Committee appointed by the Assembly to examine the credentials of delegates met again, in order to ascertain whether the representatives of Iraq were duly accredited to take part in the work of the Assembly.

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations transmitted to us the full powers by which His Majesty the King of Iraq has accredited, as his representatives at the present session of the Assembly, His Excellency Noury Pasha el-Said, Prime Minister, first delegate, and His Excellency Ruatam Bey Haidar, Minister for Finance, second delegate.

Having examined these credentials, the Committee considers that the representatives of Iraq are duly accredited.

The President :

Translation : Does any delegate wish to speak on the conclusions of the report of the Credentials Committee ?

As no one has asked to speak, I shall consider the conclusions of the report adopted, and shall accordingly request the delegates of the Kingdom of Iraq to take their places among us.

The conclusions of the report were adopted.

(The delegates of the Kingdom of Iraq took their seats in the Assembly.)

32. — ADMISSION OF THE KINGDOM OF IRAQ IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The President :

Translation : Gentlemen, it is my privilege and special pleasure, on behalf of the Assembly, to congratulate you as delegates of the Kingdom of Iraq and to extend to you a cordial welcome among us.

Let me assure you that we fully understand and share the legitimate joy which you must be feeling at the present moment, for to-day is a great day for your country. Iraq, by a unanimous vote of this Assembly, has just received the well-merited reward of the praiseworthy efforts she has made during the past few years to organise the country, to establish her political status, to delimit her frontiers and to cope with the multiple problems confronting her rulers as the outcome of the needs of national life and the complexities of international relations.

Now, after many centuries of foreign domination, Iraq has at last recovered her liberty, and she may, if she so wishes, revert to the traditions of the fabulous civilisation whose glory and splendour the names of Nineveh and Babylon have perpetuated in the memory of mankind. Henceforward, she will know no other form of submission than that which is known to all of us here : obedience to the rules of international law and respect for the general obligations specifically assumed towards the League of Nations.

We enter the more readily into Iraq's joy in that to-day is not only a great date in Iraq's history, but a great date in the history of the nations and in the development of the League. Her admission assures us the invaluable co-operation of the Arab race. It marks the beginning of the

political resurrection of the various peoples belonging to that race, a proud and noble race which, thanks to its qualities of valour, tenacity and energy has made so deep an impress wherever it has dwelt and wherever it has passed.

Iraq's admission, moreover, marks the steady progress of the League towards a condition of universality corresponding alike to its ideal and to our experience of life. Facts are showing more clearly every day that the organisation the foundations of which were laid by the Covenant will not yield us all we are entitled to expect of it until all the nations have agreed to participate in its life.

During the past year our membership has been increased by three, and now numbers fifty-six States. After the entry of Mexico, we had the privilege of welcoming Turkey, and now after Turkey comes Iraq. The successive admission of those last two countries assumes in my eyes the value of a symbol; for, long subject as they were to a regime of oppression from which they have succeeded in freeing themselves, they stand to-day on a footing of complete equality in the family of nations assembled for the welfare of mankind. Thus the gates of the League stand ever open, ready to welcome all nations. It is our inmost hope that those who are not yet among us may one day take here the place to which they are entitled in our joint work of pacific endeavour. Let them rest assured in advance that they will receive the sincere and cordial welcome so characteristic of League life.

Viewed from yet other aspects, Iraq's admission is a highly significant event. It shows that peoples who are worthy of liberty are not slow to achieve it when they have acquired a realisation of their national qualities, when they can apply those qualities in such a way as to merit the esteem and consideration of the world and when they are fortunate enough to have at their head, for the purpose of making those same qualities manifest, an enlightened guide.

That is why, now that the moment has come to welcome the Kingdom of Iraq here, our thoughts turn in particular to its eminent chief, His Majesty King Feisal, and we extend to him our sincere congratulations on the great work he has successfully accomplished.

The present event shows further that the institution of mandates is not, as its detractors and those of the League may have thought, a hypocritical mask for annexation in disguise, but a necessary apprenticeship through which, before reverting to or achieving liberty, the peoples must necessarily pass who have perhaps lost or are not yet experienced in the use of liberty. When we see, as the example before us shows, that this is indeed the case, we must rejoice at the existence of an institution capable of producing such results, and must congratulate alike the people which has employed it for its own emancipation and the Power which has successfully acquitted itself of its task as educator.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland has given the world yet another signal proof of the supreme virtues of liberalism and magnanimity and of its rare administrative and political ability. The civilising mission which that Power is carrying on in the most diverse and remote parts of the globe offers, as it has always offered, a guarantee of order and prosperity and constitutes at the same time a school of energy and liberty.

May I, on behalf of the Assembly, extend to the United Kingdom Government an expression of our gratitude and our admiration?

I should be falling short of my duty were I to omit, in this expression of our thanks for the work carried out in Iraq, the Permanent Mandates Commission. That body may justly claim its share in the success of the institution over whose sound working it is responsible for watching.

This event is characterised by yet another feature which it is my duty to point out: it bears witness to the League's capacity to achieve pacific successes and to keep abreast of changes which the life of the peoples makes necessary. Thanks to that power, we see in the example of Iraq, with the consent and to the satisfaction of all concerned, the birth of a new State which, without the League — the history of the last century enlightens us on this point — would probably never have taken place save by violence. The League thus gives the lie to those who bring against it a charge of perpetuating existing situations and obstructing the normal course of life; for it shows that, by the very action of its rules, it does in fact afford an opportunity of attaining by evolution what otherwise could in most cases only be obtained by revolution.

When, despite the difficulties and preoccupations of the present hour, we see the League capable of ensuring, even in this direction, the regular working of its machinery we feel persuaded that the crisis through which it is said to be passing is only apparent and that its vital functioning is unimpaired. In that the Kingdom of Iraq has given us an opportunity of demonstrating and rejoicing in the League's vitality, that country is entitled to our reiterated congratulations and cordial welcome, to which we would add, in all sincerity, our very grateful thanks.

The President :

Translation : His Excellency Noury Pasha el-Said, first delegate of Iraq, will address the Assembly.

Noury Pasha el-Said (Iraq). — I should like first of all, if I may, to thank you all most sincerely on behalf of my Government for the decision which you have just taken and by which you have admitted our country to membership of the League of Nations.

Iraq appreciates very greatly the high honour of being received into this society of free nations, and we are deeply touched by the cordial and encouraging words which the President of this Assembly has just addressed to us as representatives of our August Sovereign and of our country. We can assure you that these words will be very much appreciated by our people, who have impatiently awaited the realisation of their hopes.

The regime provided for in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations was provisional, and the Iraqi people have never ceased to aspire eagerly to their complete and lasting independence. By the decision which you have taken to-day, you have not only performed the great duty which was incumbent upon you, but you have also rendered justice to a nation which, although still young, is the proud possessor of a great past of several civilisations. It is also our duty, on this historic occasion, to express our gratitude to Great Britain for the admirable and timely manner in which she has performed her task, not merely in the letter but in the spirit of the Covenant of the League.

In all the vicissitudes of my country's existence, there has always been one man especially who has never lost confidence in international justice and the future of his people. I refer to His Majesty King Feisal, and I am sure you will agree that the homage which has been rendered to him in this great Assembly is the homage which he deserves.

At the end of a relatively short period of time, Iraq can claim to be a united country with a

constitutional regime which has proved itself worthy of co-operating with you in the fulfilment of your great ideals in the service of the peace of the world.

As member of the Assembly, where all nations — whether great or small — are equal, we acknowledge the great responsibility which devolves upon us, and we can assure you that we shall spare no effort to perform our task loyally and honourably.

Situated, as she is, at the cross-roads of the great trade routes, Iraq declares that she is fully sensible of the important rôle which she is now called upon to play. Her sole ambition will be to continue her progress, to maintain and work unceasingly for the establishment of the most friendly relations with her neighbours, and to co-operate loyally to the utmost of her ability in the work of this great Assembly in the cause of universal peace and general prosperity.

At this moment of national rejoicing, you will allow us to express the hope that, within a short time, we may be able to welcome to membership of this great League our brothers whose destiny has not yet been decided. It is by governing that one learns to be a good governor. The example given by the greatest Empire deserves to be studied and followed. In expressing our sincere and abiding gratitude to the British people, we know that we are interpreting the sentiments of all our people.

The President :

Translation : Sir John Simon, first delegate of the United Kingdom, will address the Assembly.

Sir John Simon (United Kingdom). — My colleagues in the Assembly will permit a few words at this interesting and historic moment from the representative of the country whose privilege it has been to guide the State of Iraq through the period of adolescence to the full status of manhood, and in this connection let me express at once on behalf of my Government our sincere thanks to you, Mr. President, and to the Prime Minister of Iraq for the reference made to the discharge by my country of its duty under the mandate.

This moment is historic because Iraq is the first State to emerge from the mandatory regime. When the mandatory regime was instituted, when Article 22 of the Covenant was drafted and discussed, there were not wanting critics and cynics who hinted that the whole mandatory system had been devised merely as a cloak for colonisation and annexation. All who are interested in upholding the Covenant of the League and of maintaining in its entirety the principle for which the League of Nations stands are entitled to rejoice to-day that the admission of Iraq as a Member to the League is a sufficiently emphatic answer to that suspicion.

There is also the most significant circumstance, already mentioned by the President, that Iraq is the first Arab country to join the League. We all of us believe that, in this step with which we are associating ourselves to-day, Iraq is helping us to make an advance towards that ideal of the League as the universal and all-embracing institution which we wish it to be. I venture to express the confident hope that the Government and people of Iraq will, in this new position of responsibility and authority, exert ever-increasing influence in that part of the world in maintaining the causes of progress and of peace.

Lastly, there is an historic reflection which I permit myself, and, indeed, we should be dull in the historic sense to-day if we did not find something infinitely striking in the fact that we are admitting, by the path of Article 22, to full membership of the League the newest of States but one of the most ancient of countries. I recall the famous phrase employed by the English philosopher Francis Bacon when he was dwelling on the mysterious continuity of human life. He wrote *Antiquitas sæculi juvenus mundi*, or, as it has been expressed in English by a Victorian poet :

“ We are ancients of the earth,
And in the morning of the times.”

We salute our new comrade, recalling that, for many of us, the country over which His Majesty the King of Iraq rules is the country that has been the source of religion and of civilisation for half the world, that it encloses within its boundaries the place that was the Garden of Eden, the area that was afflicted by the flood, that it can show to-day the records of Father Abraham and Ur of the Chaldees, records of Nebuchadnezzar and the Kingdom of Babylon, records still remain of the ancient empire of Nineveh and Sennacherib.

It is with a deep sense of the continuity of history and of the spirit which may make all things new that we salute the State of Iraq and welcome it to the Assembly of the League of Nations.

In welcoming the new State and wishing it all success and prosperity in the future, let me in a concluding sentence pay a warm tribute to King Feisal and to his Ministers, without whose wise and energetic co-operation it would have been impossible, whatever might have been the goodwill on the side of the Power discharging its mandate, for the young State of Iraq in the space of no more than twelve years to qualify, as it has qualified, to take its place, as it now takes its place with the assent and approval of us all, in the comity of the League of Nations.

The President :

Translation : As there are still a large number of speakers who wish to address the Assembly, I shall postpone the discussion until this afternoon.

(The Assembly rose at 1.15 p.m.)

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Thirteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

MONDAY, OCTOBER 3RD, 1932, AT 3.30 P.M.

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35. ELECTION OF THREE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

President : M. POLITIS.

33. — ADMISSION OF THE KINGDOM OF IRAQ INTO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS : CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

Translation : Tevfik Rüstü Bey, delegate of Turkey, will address the Assembly.

Tevfik Rüstü Bey (Turkey) :

Translation : In my capacity as representative of the Turkish Republic, I am particularly glad to express, here in this Assembly, the great satisfaction I feel at seeing Iraq a Member of the League of Nations.

My Government, which has followed with the greatest sympathy the birth and growth of the young State, is especially pleased, inasmuch as Iraq is a country with which we have so much in common and whose past is bound up with the history of Turkey itself. The relations between the two peoples go back many centuries and have during that time developed in an atmosphere of mutual respect and affection.

I am particularly happy to note on this occasion that the wise policy pursued by Iraq — a policy corresponding to that of the United Kingdom and Turkey — has inspired neighbouring States with full confidence, thereby rendering a signal service to the cause of peace by helping to establish increasingly intimate relations between Turkey and the United Kingdom and between Turkey and Iraq.

The only territorial question, as we know, that could not be solved by the Treaty of Lausanne was the question of Iraq's frontier, which was finally settled as a result of amicable negotiations between the United Kingdom and Turkey. What rendered such a solution possible was the renunciation by Turkey, in favour of an independent Iraq, of her rights and titles to the vilayet of Mosul. The treaty concluded with that object and signed by Iraq on a footing of perfect equality with the other two contracting parties formed the basis of the Turco-British and Turco-Iraqi friendship, which has now proved its worth. That treaty was at the same time the first formal manifestation of the existence of Iraq as an independent nation. Since then, Iraq has been, in our eyes, a sovereign State.

Thus Turkey, by concluding a series of conventions with Iraq, has helped to establish relations of the kind which should exist between her and such a neighbouring State. It is, then, a profound satisfaction to see among us my friend Noury Pasha, the eminent Prime Minister of that country the admission of which to the League constitutes a further step towards universality, the true object of the League.

I cordially congratulate the young State and wish it a very prosperous future.

I have great pleasure also in heartily congratulating His Britannic Majesty's Government on its wise and far-seeing policy in Iraq.

I cannot conclude without saying a word about Syria.

I desire first to express my confidence in the efforts made by France — with whom Turkey is anxious to maintain and develop friendly and neighbourly relations — in the direction of Syria's emancipation; and I trust that Syria, mindful of the conditions and methods which have rendered possible what we are witnessing to-day, will, in the same spirit, follow the path traced out by Iraq, so that we may be privileged to welcome her in the near future as a Member of the League.

The President :

Translation : M. Bérenger, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. Bérenger (France) :

Translation : As delegate of France, I desire to express here my Government's approval of the conclusions contained in the Sixth Committee's report recommending the admission of Iraq, as a sovereign State, to membership of the League of Nations.

Iraq, with Syria and Palestine, was, in a past which is still invested with all the glamour of religious and historical prestige, one of the cradles of Indo-European civilisation and still remains one of its sanctuaries.

Now, after centuries of obscurity, liberated at length, Iraq is taking her place once more in the amphictyony of independent nations assembled on the shores of the Lake of Geneva in pursuit of the ideals of world peace. France desires to express her good wishes on this the occasion of the resurrection of one of the oldest States, which to-day becomes also the youngest State in the world.

France reaffirms her friendship for His Majesty King Feisal and the Arab nation, which, with all its ardent patriotism, has never ceased to accord the mandatory Power that patient collaboration which was the essential factor in the success crowned by to-day's ceremony. The French Government takes this opportunity of paying its tribute to the British Government for the noble use it has made of its power as mandatory, gradually bringing to a state of full liberty the Iraqi nation, which for twelve years had been entrusted to its care under the terms of Article 22 of the League Covenant.

France thus confirms the doctrine which she has constantly held as regards the evolution of mandates, and which she has expounded more than once at Geneva through her qualified representatives.

For this reason, I associate myself unreservedly with the words just spoken by the distinguished delegate of the Turkish Republic, who uses all his authority to maintain and consolidate neighbourly relations between Turkey and the adjacent States.

I desire also to associate myself with the hopes to which expression has been given regarding the Arab world. A great example is offered to the Arab peoples to-day; they will find in it, through permanent contact with other civilisations, an opportunity to multiply and extend their relations with the various other communities. The French Republic is doubly grateful — as a mandatory Power and as a Moslem Power — and it is with these sincere feelings that she expresses her full and entire approval of the proclamation of the independence of Iraq within the framework of the League of Nations.

The President :

Translation : The Aga Khan, delegate of India, will address the Assembly.

The Aga Khan (India). — On behalf of the Government and peoples of India, I wish most heartily to congratulate Iraq on her independence and to welcome her entry into the League.

The whole world knows the long and intimate spiritual, cultural and economic relations between India and the lands that to-day form the Kingdom of Iraq. We sincerely hope and pray that a future of great prosperity and peace, worthy of its great history, awaits Iraq as a Member of the League of Nations.

The President :

Translation : M. Foroughi, delegate of Persia, will address the Assembly.

M. Foroughi (Persia) :

Translation : After the eloquent speeches you have heard, I am sure you will not wish me to speak at too great length on the present occasion. I should like, however, in a few words, to express our great satisfaction at witnessing the entry of the Kingdom of Iraq into the League of Nations. Our satisfaction is two-fold. In the first place, from the point of view of the League, which is thus taking one more step towards universality. From this point of view, Iraq's entry into the League is of particular interest to Persia, which, until recently, was the only country of Western Asia represented here. The entry of Turkey, which is already an accomplished fact — and I desire to extend to that country the hand of brotherly greeting — and that of Iraq, which is about to become an accomplished fact, will bring Persia out of her isolation. Secondly, from the particular point of view of Persia: there are, as you know, many close bonds uniting us with Iraq and with Turkey, and the entry of those two countries into our great community can only render those bonds closer and our collaboration more effective in the international field.

Persia has business to transact, agreements and conventions to conclude and frontier questions to settle with Iraq. We feel sure that these problems will be solved by direct negotiation and without any difficulty; but the fact that Iraq is now a Member of the League of Nations must tend to facilitate the rapid settlement of all such questions. I was therefore anxious not to miss the opportunity of addressing our warmest congratulations to Iraq, our neighbour, and to the United Kingdom, which, to the satisfaction of us all, has so nobly fulfilled its duties as mandatory Power and enabled the country under mandate to assume the direction of its own destiny.

The President :

Translation : M. von Rosenberg, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

M. von Rosenberg (Germany) :

Translation : I also desire to express once again my country's deep sympathy towards the State whose entry into the League we are celebrating.

Iraq, whose history is age-long, whose contribution to the culture and civilisation of mankind makes her pre-eminent, has always formed a special centre of world interest. Now, thanks to the qualities of her people, the riches of her soil, and a situation which makes her an intermediary between the Mediterranean countries and the territories on the Persian Gulf, she will — without a doubt — be called upon, in the future also, to play an important part in international life and world economy.

Germany offers her best wishes for the happy and prosperous future of the now independent Kingdom of Iraq and entirely associates herself

with the congratulations which are being addressed to-day to the people of Iraq and to their august Sovereign.

The President :

Translation : M. Nagaoka, delegate of Japan, will address the Assembly.

M. Nagaoka (Japan) :

Translation : I have great pleasure in associating myself with the eloquent words of the President and those of my colleagues who have preceded me on this platform.

At a time when the League of Nations is dealing with questions of essential importance for the future of the human race, it is with feelings of gratification that we welcome the Kingdom of Iraq. That country's admission to the League is of peculiar significance and importance inasmuch as it is the first example of a territory under mandate that has passed rapidly and confidently through a period of evolution and finally attained the status of independence provided for in Article 22 of the League Covenant.

With real pleasure I express my sincere hope that this State, now independent and sovereign, may continue to prosper as a Member of the League, and that the most cordial relations both of friendship and of commercial and economic co-operation may be fostered between the Kingdom of Iraq and Japan, both of which are Asiatic countries, despite the great distance that separates them.

The President :

Translation : M. Rosso, delegate of Italy, will address the Assembly.

M. Rosso (Italy) :

Translation : The delegation on whose behalf I have the honour to speak also desires to express, from this platform, its profound satisfaction at the unanimous decision which the Assembly has taken to-day. By this act Iraq assumes her rank among the sovereign and independent States. To-day marks the beginning of her co-operation in the work of solidarity and peace which forms our common task. Her assistance and her presence at Geneva will be doubly valued in that this assembly of nations has included as yet no direct representative of the Arab race, that noble race which has played so remarkable a rôle in history and which, we are convinced, is called upon to advance still further along the path of civilisation and progress. Our conviction is strengthened by the knowledge of the spirit in which the Iraqi Government has undertaken to carry out all its duties towards the League, for that spirit gives us an assurance of its loyal and effective co-operation.

By the entry of Iraq into the League, the last of the conditions laid down for the termination of the mandate over that territory has been fulfilled. As Members of the League, we have reason to rejoice on seeing to-day for the first time the achievement of the aim laid down in Article 22 of the Covenant.

The tutelage which the mandatory States, acting on behalf of the League, exercise over the populations of the territories ceded to the Allied and Associated Powers constitutes, in the words of the Covenant, a sacred trust of civilisation. It aims at directing the development of those peoples during such time as may be necessary to enable them to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world. The United Kingdom in its capacity as mandatory Power over Iraq has nobly acquitted itself of its task, and to that country our thanks are due.

The work of the mandatory Power, however, has undoubtedly been facilitated by the enlightened policy of His Majesty King Feisal and of the Iraqi statesmen, as, indeed, by the Iraqi nation itself, whose patriotic virtues and sense of discipline have contributed in no mean degree to the fulfilment of their claims to independence.

It is the cordial wish of Italy that this new sovereign State, which is now entering the League and which, by its accession to the Covenant, will henceforth possess all the guarantees of security that the Covenant ensures to all the Members, may enjoy rapid prosperity and a peaceful and happy life in the comity of nations.

The President :

Translation : M. de Modzelewski, delegate of Poland, will address the Assembly.

M. de Modzelewski (Poland) :

Translation : I should not wish this demonstration of welcome to the Kingdom of Iraq to be concluded without the voice of Poland being heard.

No one can understand better than my country the happiness of a people in the presence of its national resurrection. The hour of freedom sounded for us fourteen years ago; we are happy and proud that to-day it should have sounded for another country. We associate ourselves wholeheartedly, then, with to-day's manifestation, and wish all happiness and prosperity to the new Kingdom of Iraq.

34. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SINCE THE TWELFTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY: CLOSE OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion on the report on the work of the League since the twelfth session of the Assembly.

M. Valdés-Mendeville, delegate of Chile, will address the Assembly.

M. Valdés-Mendeville (Chile) :

Translation : You will not, I hope, reproach me with prolonging for a little this traditional debate, which circumstances have already greatly curtailed. At the present juncture, when international life is out of joint as a result of the problems now confronting us, it seemed to me desirable to make, on my country's behalf, a few brief observations.

I shall offer you neither an expression of unbounded confidence nor one of blind faith; words, however, such as were uttered by the eminent Prime Minister of France, when he considered the essential results to be obtained, justify some hope, even and indeed primarily for the smaller nations, whose disquietude of every kind has its origin, in most cases, in the existing economic disorder.

Chile has collaborated uninterruptedly, from the beginning, in the League's manifold activities, and, although at times we have been somewhat disheartened, our confidence in the League has never been seriously shaken.

True, the League's political work has not been of vital concern to us Chilians, and, although, as a State which is a Member of the international comity of nations, we are interested in that work, the League has necessarily been engaged most constantly upon problems which lay outside our

essential concerns. At the same time, the League has more than once been obliged in this connection to exercise its pacific action in regard to various problems relating to our continent.

At this very moment it is helping to find a pacific solution of the conflict between Bolivia and Paraguay, and has been called upon, by the action of the Council, to lend its invaluable assistance in support of the efforts which the American nations are making with that object. The Chilean Government, which has taken a willing part in those efforts, has always acted on the basis of the legal and moral duties ensuing from the Covenant, and, when it signed the collective American declaration of August 3rd last, it took account more particularly of the obligations arising out of Article 10. My Government trusts, then, as indeed we all do, that a pacific solution may be found for the conflict which divides these two sister nations.

Over and above the League's political work, there is its economic work, for it is obvious that at the present moment economic problems really dominate the situation. Even the problem of disarmament — a capital issue, is envisaged by us primarily as a factor in the restoration of confidence, which would permit of economic disarmament. I expressed this same view only a few months ago speaking from this platform, and I added — so true is the opposite — that "when the interdependence of world interests is thus evident, a proper economic understanding would constitute one of the soundest guarantees of universal peace". You will, then, realise my delight at hearing the words of Baron Aloisi, the eminent delegate of Italy, when he stated his incontestable case. Trade restrictions, quotas, control of foreign exchange, and the like, form a concatenation that is both formidable and inescapable, so that it is often difficult to distinguish the relationship between cause and effect. Countries that are producers of raw materials, for example, are obliged, in order to correct their trade balances, to adopt currency and Customs restrictions prejudicial to a large number of manufacturing countries. But such measures are, in their turn, an inevitable consequence of the policy followed by other States, which have felt obliged to impose restrictions on the trade in such materials, either with the object of protecting some similar natural product or with a view to facilitating its replacement by an artificial product.

The whole scheme of international trade has become distorted to such an extent that, in this twentieth century, we have been driven to recommend a return to the prehistoric system of barter as the best solution.

In the sphere of finance, the repercussions are disastrous for all alike. How can we wonder, for example, that countries which are relatively new, whose pride it has been never in the whole course of their existence to have failed to meet their financial obligations, are forced to do so now? How can we be surprised if these countries, already so sorely tried by the world crisis, have at length gone under economically, in the face of the barriers to the normal disposal of the products by which they live?

That is why so many nations have set their hopes on the success of the proposed world economic and monetary Conference. How many grave dangers might be averted by some form of international discipline for production, calculated to restore the economic balance by a readjustment of the system of international trade involving a resumption of commerce by joint agreements such as would permit of the sounder circulation of capital! National efforts to safeguard or restore normal constitutional, financial and social conditions in every country would also be facilitated.

It cannot be denied that, while the memory of the victims of the war imposes on us sacred duties in the matter of pacific organisation, the presence of thirty millions of human beings condemned to abject poverty by the present crisis and trade war, or constituting a crushing financial burden on State budgets, makes it no less urgently incumbent on us to turn our attention to economic organisation.

The League possesses all the complex and far-reaching machinery, all the strength required to make the Conference a success. It possesses all the complex machinery, for it can call upon all the circles, all the authorities interested, and, without a doubt, upon a constructive will; it possesses all the far-reaching machinery, for, deaf to the charge of "crisis" which pursues it, it is pressing steadily onward towards universality. The ceremony that has just taken place is a clear proof of what I say.

In the space of one year three new Members, all enjoying our cordial esteem, have come to join this body. May I add my good wishes to those addressed to Iraq, to that State which has entered to-day on its independent life under conditions very similar in some respects to those which saw our birth 120 years ago?

May I add my word of rejoicing at the news announced to us a few days ago, which points to the adhesion in the near future of the Argentine Republic, my country's neighbour and good friend?

Let us hope, then, that the Economic Conference may be in practice and to all intents a world conference. Already we should be preparing for it, so as to ensure that it shall provide for the examination of all the problems which might tend to poison the economic life of the peoples — admittedly interdependent — whether those peoples are situated close at hand or far from the scene of its efforts.

A comparison has been made between this vast consultation and a consultation of doctors over a patient sick unto death. Let us not be guilty of the mistake of neglecting, on the ground that it is so small, the treatment of an organ which, if only half cured, might later spread its poison throughout the body.

If this Assembly could take a full share of responsibility in the preparation of the Conference, and if it could give to the competent bodies specific means, encouragement and directions, far from being the drab and unhistoric Assembly which some foretold, it would go down to posterity — more fittingly than many other Assemblies — as a truly historic gathering.

The President :

Translation : M. Paredes, delegate of Salvador, will address the Assembly.

M. Paredes (Salvador) :

Translation : The Government and people of my country have followed with the keenest interest the efforts of the League of Nations, and more particularly of the Council, to bring about a pacific settlement of the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay.

As the representative of a State of Central America, I am happy to voice here the satisfaction we feel at the well-weighed and judicious words which M. Matos, the President of the Council, addressed to both parties, at the same time faithfully interpreting the pacific sentiments of the American continent.

May I venture in this connection to draw the Assembly's attention to the important declaration made on August 3rd last at Washington by the representatives of nineteen Latin-American States? The signatories of this declaration, which was unanimous, included, besides the American States

Members of the League of Nations, the Argentine, the United States of North America and Brazil, who desired to associate themselves with the declaration; and thus it may, in my opinion, be regarded as accurately reflecting the views of the most clear-sighted statesmen of our continent.

The declaration reads as follows:

"The representatives of all the American Republics meeting in Washington, the seat of the Neutral Commission, having been duly authorised by their respective Governments, have the honour to make the following declaration to the Governments of Bolivia and Paraguay:

"Respect for law is a tradition among the American nations, who are opposed to force and renounce it both for the solution of their controversies and as an instrument of national policy in their reciprocal relations. They have long been the proponents of the doctrine that the arrangements of all disputes and conflicts of whatever nature or origin that may arise between them can only be sought by peaceful means. The history of the American nations shows that all their boundary and territorial controversies have been arranged by such means.

"Therefore, the nations of America declare that the Chaco dispute is susceptible of a peaceful solution, and they earnestly request Bolivia and Paraguay to submit immediately the solution of this controversy to an arrangement by arbitration or by such other peaceful means as may be acceptable to both.

"As regards the responsibilities which may arise from the various encounters which have occurred from June 15th to date, they consider that the countries in conflict should present to the Neutral Commission all the documentation which they may consider pertinent and which will be examined by it. They do not doubt that the country which this investigation shows to be the aggressor will desire to give satisfaction to the one attacked, thus eliminating all misunderstanding between them.

"They furthermore invite the Governments of Bolivia and Paraguay to make a solemn declaration to the effect that they will stop the movement of troops in the disputed territory, which should clear up the atmosphere and make easy the road to the solution of good understanding which America hopes for in the name of the permanent interests of all the countries of this hemisphere.

"The American nations further declare that they will not recognise any territorial arrangement of this controversy which has not been obtained by peaceful means, nor the validity of the territorial acquisitions which may be obtained through occupation or conquest by force of arms."

I was anxious to emphasise the importance of the declaration I have just read and to affirm my faith and confidence in the part the League is called upon to play in the settlement of the Bolivo-Paraguayan conflict.

May I also point out that the terms of this declaration of August 3rd are in conformity with the principles underlying Articles 10, 11, 12 and 13 of the Covenant of the League of which most of the Latin-American States signatories of the declaration are Members.

Moreover, the declaration of August 3rd is in harmony with the resolution adopted by the Special Assembly on March 11th, 1932, which declares that:

"... it is incumbent upon the Members of the League of Nations not to recognise 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."

Despite all the difficulties and uncertainties of this grave problem, one point is now gained: both States have evinced a full realisation of their position as Members of the League of Nations; and in so doing they have remained faithful also to the fraternal ideal of the American continent.

The President:

Translation: M. Zumeta, delegate of Venezuela, will address the Assembly.

M. Zumeta (Venezuela):

Translation: We have heard it authoritatively stated from this platform that responsibility for the prevailing want of confidence in the League on the part of world opinion rests, not with the League itself, but with the States which caused that want of confidence. The League is perhaps the victim of certain serious errors of omission. I am optimistic enough not to despair; but it would be unfortunate if such omissions or lapses were allowed to form precedents fatal to the realisation of the League's aims.

I trust, then, that the conflict between Paraguay and Bolivia may serve once and for all to annihilate the distance which appears to separate Geneva from the American world.

The Covenant, which is our law, defines our obligations at each stage of a dispute or conflict between two States. There is no reason why, when such States are American, the competent organs of the League should not fulfil those imperative duties in agreement with the permanent or temporary institution set up for a similar purpose by the republics of the New World.

There is every indication that this year will be a memorable, if not a critical, one in the history of the collaboration between the Old and the New World in the work of peace which has been assigned to the League.

The President:

Translation: As there are no more speakers on my list, I shall declare the general discussion closed.

Before doing so, however, it is my duty, in conformity with the resolution of the General Committee of the Assembly, to explain — as did M. Motta — why the general discussion has been so short this year.

Usually, the general discussion lasts for several days, and most of the delegations take the opportunity of coming to this platform to inform public opinion on the great political and economic questions which have arisen since the previous session of the Assembly and to set forth the policy of their Governments on each of those questions.

This year, there has been no lack of questions of this nature — far from it. They have this year been more important than ever. I need hardly recall the problem of disarmament, the economic and financial crisis through which the world is passing, the Far-Eastern dispute and the re-establishment of peace in South America.

All these questions are holding the attention of the world and are, indeed, stirring public opinion to its depths. They are, however, all being dealt with by other organs of the League — the Disarmament Conference, the Council, the Special Assembly which has preceded and will follow the present ordinary session, and the Commission of Enquiry for European Union — and will shortly be dealt

with by the World Economic and Financial Conference. All these questions, as treated by these organs, have been followed by public opinion with intense interest.

In the circumstances, I have every reason to think that, in the opinion of most of the delegations, it would serve no useful purpose to raise these important and serious questions during this general discussion. That does not mean that the delegations do not take the very greatest interest in them; it merely signifies, I am sure, that they considered it preferable to save the Assembly's time and enable it to be devoted more fully to the essential task of the Assembly — to take stock of the work of the Council and the Secretariat in order to give it a fresh impetus.

I would add that any delegations which, but for this consideration, would have desired to make some general statement here will have an opportunity of doing so at the end of the present session.

I therefore declare the general discussion closed.

35. — ELECTION OF THREE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

The President :

Translation : Before reminding you of the rules of procedure governing the election of non-permanent Members of the Council, I will, in accordance with the wish expressed by the Portuguese delegation, ask M. de Vasconcellos to make a short statement.

M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal) :

Translation : The delegation of the Portuguese Republic to the thirteenth Assembly of the League of Nations, in conformity with its declaration of September 23rd, 1930, does not intend to put forward its candidature for one of the vacancies as a non-permanent Member of the Council; but it desires, before this election, to urge, on behalf of its Government, that the Committee appointed by the Council to examine the present system of elections should submit its report as soon as possible, in order that that report may be discussed and voted on at the next Assembly and an end thus be put to a situation which is prejudicial to a certain number of States.

The President :

Translation : Following the practice of my predecessors in this office, I would remind you of the provisions of the Assembly resolution of September 15th, 1926, making rules dealing with the election of the nine non-permanent Members of the Council, their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility.

Article 1, paragraph 1, reads as follows :

“ The Assembly shall each year, in the course of its ordinary session, elect three non-permanent Members of the Council. They shall be elected for a term commencing immediately on their election and ending on the day of the elections held three years later by the Assembly.”

Before opening the ballot, I would again remind you of the provisions of Rule 22 (a) of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, which apply in this case.

The rule reads as follows :

“ (1) The Members whose representatives are to sit on the Council as non-permanent Members of that body shall be selected by the Assembly by secret ballot.

“ (2) Where several seats are to be filled; the election shall be made by voting a list of names. Any ballot paper containing more names than there are seats to be filled shall be null and void.

“ (3) No Member shall be elected at the first or at the second ballot unless it has obtained at least the absolute majority of the votes. If, after two ballots, there still remain seats to be filled, a third ballot shall be held upon a list consisting of the candidates which obtained the most votes at the second ballot, up to a number double of that of the seats still to be filled, and those Members shall be elected which obtain the greatest number of votes.

“ (4) If two or more Members obtain the same number of votes and there is not a seat available for each, a special ballot shall be held between them: if they again obtain an equal number of votes, the President shall decide between them by drawing lots.”

In computing the absolute majority prescribed for the first and second ballots, the Assembly will, I think, agree with me that, as at previous sessions, we should here, by analogy, apply the rule contained in the Assembly resolution of September 15th, 1926, concerning the “ rules dealing with the election of the nine non-permanent Members of the Council, their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility”.

This resolution provides as follows :

“ The Assembly shall pronounce separately, by secret ballot, upon each request for re-eligibility. The number of votes cast shall be determined by the total number of voting papers deposited, blank or spoilt votes being deducted.”

In electing the non-permanent Members of the Council, blank or spoilt voting papers must not be counted when the number of votes is reckoned. The absolute majority should be calculated on the basis of the total number of valid voting papers.

If no one has any remarks to make, I shall assume that the Assembly, adopting the precedents of previous sessions, agrees to take the course I suggest. (*Agreed.*)

I would emphasise the point that, to be valid, voting papers must bear the names of States and not of persons. Further, no voting paper must contain more than three names of States — that is to say, as many names of States as there are vacancies to be filled.

May I ask M. Zulueta y Escolano, first delegate of Spain, and M. Henri Bérenger, delegate of France, to come to the platform and act as tellers?

(*M. Zulueta y Escolano and M. Henri Bérenger took their places on the platform as tellers.*)

The President :

Translation : We will now proceed to ballot by roll-call.

(*The ballot was taken by roll-call.*)

The President :

Translation : The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of votes cast	52
Voting papers blank or spoilt	0
Voting papers valid	52
Absolute majority	27

The votes obtained by the States are as follows :

Poland	48
Mexico	46
Czechoslovakia	46
Portugal	3
Turkey	3
Austria	2

Belgium, Chile, Colombia, Hungary and Iraq have each obtained one vote.

I declare that Poland, Mexico and Czechoslovakia, which have obtained an absolute majority, are duly elected non-permanent Members of the Council for a period of three years. I have pleasure, on behalf of the Assembly, in offering my warmest congratulations to those States.

I wish also to thank the tellers for their kind assistance.

(The Assembly rose at 5.35 p.m.)