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PREFACE

The present bibliography has been prepared by the Library for the convenience of delegates and experts attending the first general Conference on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments.

Though not comprising all the works published in the various languages on the subjects which are to be treated by the Conference, the Library of the League of Nations nevertheless contains a large number of publications likely to be consulted by delegations. In these circumstances it is hoped that a bibliography will serve a useful purpose.

ERIC DRUMMOND,
Secretary-General
of the League of Nations.

November 2nd, 1931.
INTRODUCTION

The present volume has been prepared by the Political and Legal Reference Service of the League of Nations Library with the approval of the League of Nations Council (May 20, 1931), in order to provide information as to the principal publications on disarmament as well as a selection of works on military questions.

These questions being of general interest, much has been written on them in all countries, and accordingly the number of publications included has necessarily had to be limited. In order, however, to give a proper idea of what has been published on the subject, an endeavour has been made to mention as far as possible publications which have appeared up to the date of October 1, 1931—books, pamphlets or articles in periodicals*—forming original contributions on the subject.

Short reviews of the works quoted, providing information as to the contents, are given.

As regards League of Nations documents, only the most important have been mentioned, as a special guide has been prepared for the purposes of the Conference—namely, the "Index of the Documents of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference—Index of the Documents of the Committee on Arbitration and Security" (C.428. M.178.1931.IX. Ser. L.o.N.P. 1931.IX.5).

* Articles from periodicals are cited in the following manner: title of article, name of review, number of volume, page and date.
All the volumes mentioned in this bibliography are at the disposal of the Conference in the League Library.

A short guide to the library, its information services and its publications is annexed to the present publication and will enable those interested to obtain information with regard to other works, not contained in this bibliography, dealing with the question of armaments, or any other subject.

The Library is also placing at the disposal of the Conference its photostatic equipment, which enables photographs of articles, statistical tables, etc., to be obtained rapidly.

First Part

ARMED FORCES
GENERAL WORKS

Year-Books

The following publications contain information on the position of armaments in the various countries.


Published since 1924. For the year 1923, see:

Statistical enquiry into national armaments. A.20.1923.IX.

Etat militaire de toutes les nations du monde, 1912-1914.
Contains detailed information concerning pre-war armies. No more published.

(Forms the 45th volume in the collection "v. Löbells Jahresbericht über das Heer- und Kriegswesen"). Survey of the organisation of the armed forces of each country. Contains information on the organisation of the army, strength of effective, military budget, navy, fortifications. Information concerning the organisation of the armies and navies of all countries in the pre-war period will also be found in "Veltzes internationaler Armee-Almanach 1913-14".

The following publications contain more detailed information on naval forces.


Published annually. The naval section contains exhaustive studies of the maritime policy of the British Empire and other great sea powers, and of disarmament. Gives the main features of British and foreign navies and a summary of the principal naval budgets. Characteristics of the guns and projectiles used by the principal powers. Information concerning the chief supply stations and distances between the principal ports.


Published periodically. Gives a survey of the warships (with their main characteristics) of all countries. Arranged according to country, and in each country according to class. Introductory note on naval organisation and building programme of each country.


List issued periodically by the First Lord of the Admiralty. Gives a survey of the warships (with chief characteristics) of the British Empire, U.S.A., Japan, France, Italy, U.S.S.R., Germany. Arranged according to class and in each class according to country.


Published annually. Gives a survey of the warships (with chief characteristics) of all countries. Arranged according to country and in each country according to class. Introductory note on the naval authorities, building programme and naval organisation of each country.


"Jane's Fighting Ships" in an abridged form. Contains tables giving the main particulars of the warships of all countries. Arranged according to country, and in each country according to class.


Periodical publication giving the characteristics of the warships of all Powers.

The following publications contain information concerning the air forces of the different countries.


Published annually. Gives a survey of the civil and military air organisation for each country and information on the various types of aeroplanes, airships, etc.
Taschenbuch der Luftflotten — Pocket almanac of aeronautics — Almanach des flottes aériennes. 1931. München, J. F. Lehmanns Verlag. 1931. 3 vol. (Fondé en 1914.)

Three volumes: military, civil, sporting aviation. Summary of the aircraft of all countries with particulars necessary for their identification. In German, English and French.

***


Annual publication containing in the part dealing with military aviation detailed particulars of the organisation of military aviation in the British Empire.

Annuaire de l'Aviation... Paris, Rouillé. 6ème année, 1931. 1341 p.

Mainly devoted to information concerning the organisation of aviation in France, but contains a chapter headed "Aéronautiques étrangères," with particulars of the organisation of civil and military aviation in all countries.

Encyclopaedias

The following cyclopaedias and dictionaries give explanations of all military terms and information on all matters concerning armies, navies, armaments, military service, etc.:


Contains information on air matters and explains technical terms.

If the desired information is not found in these works, most of which are pre-war, consult the big encyclopaedias, e.g. the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed., 1929, 24 vol., more particularly under the sub-heading "Defence" in the article on each country.

Dictionaries

In addition to linguistic dictionaries in all languages, the following special military dictionaries may be consulted in the library.

English-French.


**English-German.**


**English-Italian.**


**French-German.**


**ITALIAN-FRENCH.**

II

ORGANISATION OF DEFENSIVE FORCES

PRESENT POSITION AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT.

(General works.)

Series of courses given at London University on land, naval, air, and chemical warfare.

Taking as a basis the lessons taught by the Great War, the author analyses the tactical and technical changes which it has brought about.

The evolution of the various arms and future possibilities.

The author considers the question whether it is possible to distinguish between offensive and defensive armaments, and concludes that there are no purely defensive armaments in the strict sense of the term.

Gives a detailed analysis of the part played by tanks during the Great War. The author considers that they can only be of service in combination with an armed force, and is opposed to the “mechanisation” of the British army without due regard for the improvement of the troops.

Studies the means of defence, more especially of small nations, according to the experience of the last war. Emphasises the importance of the machine-gun in warfare. In favour of an “army of machine-gunnery”.

Examines the British French and German, post-war doctrines concerning army organisation.

“If the mobilisation of the army is going to involve the mobilisation of the whole nation, this will make it more difficult for Governments to contemplate perilous adventures.”

The problem of swift adaptation to the military and industrial requirements of a war.

The author examines carefully the question how security can be obtained at lower cost, and arrives amongst others to the following conclusions. That a fighting ship
of about 6,500 tons is sufficiently large to fulfill all the requirements so far as tactics and strategy are concerned. That limitation of cost per ton in shipbuilding is desirable and practicable, that within the assigned limits of size and cost per ton there should be a complete freedom of design.


After an analysis of maximum tonnage the author declares in favour of warships having a tonnage of not more than 6,500 tons and a price limit fixing a maximum per ton.


Development of the military organisation and technique of the various armies, as a result of the teachings of the Great War. Survey of the position of the principal military powers and of Germany in particular.


Certain chapters deal with the part which would be played by the various arms in the event of conflict.


The author is in favour of a professional army strengthened by the armed organisation of the nation which, in his opinion, would represent the country's best means of defence.


Studies the importance of the air arm, which is insufficiently developed, the bulk of the credits being allocated to capital ships which, owing to their great vulnerability to air attack, would play a secondary part in the event of a conflict.

The following works deal chiefly with future developments.


Remarks on the technical innovations which would play a dominating part in a future war.


A part of this study deals with the arms which would be used in case of war.


After a study of the characteristics of the submarines and their role during the Great War, the author examines the improvements needed and their role in the future.


Contains chapters dealing with the "Psychology of armaments", the new strategy and aerial warfare.


The author considers the forms which a future war might take from the military, naval and air standpoints.

Fuller, General J. F. C. The mechanisation of warfare. (In Inter-Parliamentary union : What would be the character of a new war? London, P. S. King & son, 1931. p. 49-76.)
Owing to the increasingly important part played by mechanical factors, the civilian population would, in growing measure, be equally exposed to danger.

A series of studies by specialists of different countries on the military, economic and financial character of a possible conflict, “war potential”, chemical warfare and the future of the laws of war. (Also French and German edition.)

The author shows that increased expenditure does not produce satisfactory results from the military point of view, because new technical devices, which will be a decisive factor in future warfare, are not taken into account. Written chiefly from the standpoint of naval defence (criticism of the utility of capital ships) and air defence (the development of military aviation would make it possible to economise on other arms).

Special attention is given in certain chapters of this work to the part which would be played in a war by poisonous gases, aircraft, tanks and submarines, and the author concludes that at the present time military expenditure is not being devoted to the most essential engines of war.

Lefebure, V. *The decisive aggressive value of the new agencies of war.* (In Inter-Parliamentary union : What would be the character of a new war? London, P. S. King & Son, 1931. p. 96-117.)

---

Post-war developments in the matter of armaments tend, it is argued, to confer a decisive advantage on the aggressor and to introduce a factor of instability into the problem of armaments.

Sketch of a European war, where the author also describes the technical aspect of a conflict which would result in the destruction of Europe.

Contains a special chapter dealing with the scientific aspect of a future war, and indicates the use that would be made of bombing aeroplanes and poisonous gases.

Study of the problems of military organisation (implement of war and personnel) followed by a plan for military reorganisation.

Explains the new aspects of a possible conflict: the rapidity with which hostilities would be opened; the absence of a clearly defined front and the mobility of the positions of the opposing forces.

Contains chapters on the part science would play in the event of war.

Shows the importance of war material and the part which would be played by the civilian population, and explains the mechanism of economic mobilisation. The influence of these factors on the duration of a possible conflict.


After analysing existing implements of war, the author considers the possibility of their development, with special reference to ultra-violet rays, bacteriological warfare, long-distance lighting, etc.


Considers the question of industrial mobilisation in time of war, which would eliminate any distinction between combatants and non-combatants.


Contains a study of the change made by the technique of war in the value placed on conscripted armies. Advocates the use of small units composed of selected volunteers provided with all technical equipment.


---

THE ARMED FORCES OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES.


Brief survey of the organisation of German armed forces.


Discusses the problem of the period of military service with special reference to French requirements and the question of a professional army.


The problem of surplus troops.


Study of the composition of the Japanese navy and of Japan's naval policy.


Outline of the organisation of the Czechoslovak army.

Decroze, R. Désarroi militaire. Art. in Revue des vivants 5 : 60-72, juillet 1931.

In favour of the co-ordination of the French armed forces.

* This chapter includes only a small selection of works on the military organisation of various countries which have not found a place in other parts of this publication. If the desired information on the armed force of a country is not contained in this publication, see also the bibliographical part of the Armaments Year-Book of the League of Nations, which gives a list of military budgets and army and navy registers of the various countries, in the Library.
Survey of the naval forces of the Baltic States.

Organisation of the regular army and the territorial army. The defence forces of the British army.

The new French constructions.

Official publication of the War Office relating to the organisation of the Army and the Air Force.

Includes a detailed description of the organisation of the Polish army and compares the Polish defence forces with those of other States.

Survey of the organisation of the U.S.S.R. army.

Studies the organisation of the Japanese army and the chief problems relating to national defence (access communications, aviation). A special chapter is devoted to the Japanese attitude towards the question of disarmament.

---

Studies certain aspects of military organisation in France, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The author examines the military requirements of the British Empire and the necessary expenditure. He is in favour of a co-ordination of the defence forces (army, navy, air force). Difficulty of reducing armaments in the present unsatisfactory state of security.

Work of various authors dealing with military law, army organisation, war material, training of officers and troops. Chapter on Switzerland and disarmament with special reference to the position of Switzerland from the point of view of international law.

Brief outline of the organisation of the Soviet army and militia.

The author analyses the military organisation of France, Italy, Poland and the U.S.S.R.

The naval competition between Great Britain and the United States at and after the Versailles Peace Conference. American public opinion and naval armaments. The position in the Pacific. The author is in favour of a navy only as a nucleus for defence and not as the only means of defence.


“The British army cannot be confined within a national framework like the other European armies”; “the forces which ensure the safety of the British Empire constitute an indivisible whole.”


This work, which deals mainly with the history of co-operation between the British army and navy, includes in its final chapters a survey of the existing means of defence of the Empire.


Contains several chapters on post-war Franco-Italian relations with special reference to French and Italian armaments and their influence on neighbouring countries.

Russia... 1918 k 1928 let krasnoi armii; album diagramm. Moskva, izdateleto “Voennyi vestnik”, 1928. 79 p.

Ten years of the Soviet army. Collection of diagrams showing the organisation of the Soviet army and the military budget of the U.S.S.R. Comparison between the Soviet army and the armies of other Powers.

Russia’s armies. Art. in Headway 13: 145-146, August 1931.

Russia’s armed forces do not seem to constitute a menace to the success of the Disarmament Conference.


Bulgarian problems of defence and foreign policy.

United States. Navy Department. *Annual reports of the Navy department for the fiscal year... Washington, Government printing office.*

Annual reports reviewing the organisation of the American Army. (Last published volume, 1931.)


Annual reports reviewing the organisation of the American army. (Last published volume, 1930.)


Survey of the organisation of the Czechoslovak army.


Soviet naval policy in the Black Sea and its international repercussions.
Survey of the development of the Italian army, air force and navy.

The author pays special attention to the army of to-day as reorganised since the war, and gives particulars of the various branches of the army, militia and military training.

General introduction, analysis of the organisation of the French army in accordance with the law of July 13th, 1927.

Studies the organisation of the U.S.S.R. army, navy and air force.

*What the army wants — Reform plan drafted*. Art. in Japan weekly chronicle: 37-38, 46, July 9, 1931.
Brief survey of the proposed reform of the Japanese army.

Study of the organisation of the Soviet army and of the present establishment of the armed forces.

Analyses the Swiss militia system.

The following works deal with the military aspect of geography:

Geographical survey of the British Empire and of the military and economical factors which ensure its defence.

Geographical survey of the British Empire from the point of view of defence; distribution of population and sea communications.

Geographical survey of the various regions of the world from the point of view of their defence.


LIST OF PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS
RECEIVED BY THE LIBRARY DEALING WITH MILITARY QUESTIONS.*

Contains articles and information of interest to the army, the navy and the air force of the United States. (Library has 1931 and following years.)

*Does not include the official bulletins of the War Ministries of the various countries, the official lists of the officers of the active army, the naval lists, etc., which the library received in large numbers. These are mentioned in the bibliography annexed to the *Armaments Year-Book* of the League of Nations. For more detailed information regarding these publications, application should be made to the library.
Deals with all questions of interest to the British army (tactics, military policy, disarmament). (Library has 1930 and following years.)

Bellona. Warszawa. (bi-monthly.)
Contains articles on all questions (military, political, economic) of interest to the Polish army. (The Library has 1921 and following years.)

Articles dealing with military questions (armaments, tactics, organisation, history). Annexed to each number is a military bibliographical review analysing articles on similar questions in various periodicals. (Library has 1923 and following years.)

Désarmement. Genève. (monthly.)
Gives extracts from ministerial statements, parliamentary debates, articles in the press and in reviews, etc., in order to give comparative information to all desiring to follow the disarmament problem. French, English and German editions. (Library has 1931.)

Deutsche Wehr. Berlin, G. Stalling. (weekly.)
Articles on all technical and international political questions of interest to the German army. (Library has 1929 and following years.)

Esercito e Nazione. Roma, Ministero della guerra. (monthly.)
Contains articles on all questions dealing with national activity and likely to be of interest to the Italian army. (Library has 1926 and following years.)

Forze Armate. Roma. (semi-weekly.)
Contains information and articles on all military, naval and air questions, and more particularly on the armed forces of Italy. (Library has 1923 and following years.)

La Guerra y su Preparacion. Madrid, Ministerio de la guerra. (monthly.)
Contains studies and information from various countries on all questions (also political and economic) of military interest. (Library has 1923 and following years.)

Journal of the Royal United Service Institution. London. (quarterly.)
Contains articles and information on all military, naval and air questions, and cognate political questions. (Library has 1923 and following years.)

Krasnaia Zwezda. (L'étoile rouge.) Moscow. (daily.)
Central organ of the Soviet armed forces. Contains articles, information and decrees concerning the army, air force and the navy of the U.S.S.R. (Library has 1930 and following years.)

Luftwacht. Berlin, Mittler & Sohn. (monthly.)
Contains articles on civil and military aviation and air defence. (Library has 1929 and following years.)

Marine Rundschau. Berlin, Mittler & Sohn. (monthly.)
Articles on various questions relating to the organisation of navies and to naval policy. A record of important naval events. Bibliography of books and articles in periodicals. (Library has 1930 and following years.)
Militär Wochenblatt. Berlin, Mittler & Sohn. (weekly.)
Deals specially with military technical questions.
Gives a survey of events of military importance in
the various countries of the world, and summarises the
contents of the most important articles in the military
reviews. (Library has 1930 and following years.)

Militärwissenschaftliche Mitteilungen. Wien, Bundes-
ministerium für Heeresw. (bi-monthly.)
Contains studies of military interest and special
information regarding military life in Austria. (Library
has 1931 and following years.)

Memorial de Ingenieros del Ejército. Madrid. (monthly.)
Articles on military, naval and air technical questions.
Sometimes contains interesting articles on technical
questions connected with the limitation of armaments.
(Library has 1924 and following years.)

Naval and Military Record and Royal Dockyards
Gazette. London. (weekly.)
Deals with the development of navies (more particu-
larly the British navy) and disarmament problems.
(Library has 1926 and following years.)

Revista del Ejército y de la Marina. Mexico, Secretaría
de guerra y marina. (monthly.)
Contains articles on technical questions and military
organisation concerning the army, the air force and the
navy. (Library has 1930 and following years.)

Revista Militar. Buenos Aires, Círculo militar. (monthly.)
Articles dealing to a great extent with military tech-
nical questions. A list of reviews gives a summary of
the subjects dealt with in the most important military
reviews, especially those of Spain and Latin-America.
(Library has 1925 and following years.)

Revista Militar. Lisboa. (monthly.)
Deals with all questions of military interest. (Library
has 1924 and following years.)

Rivista Militare Italiana. Roma, C. Voghera. (monthly.)
Contains articles on technical questions and military
organisation. (Library has 1927 and following years.)

(monthly.)
Contains articles and information on military aviation
and more particularly French military aviation.
(Library has 1923 and following years.)

Revue Maritime. Paris, Société d'éditions géographiques,
maritimes et coloniales. (monthly.)
Contains studies on all questions concerning the
navy and military aviation. Regularly publishes an
account of the French and foreign navies and gives infor-
mation on naval armaments, military budgets, new con-
structions, etc. (Library has 1920 and following years.)

Revue Militaire Française. Paris, Librairie militaire Ber-
ger-Levrault. (monthly.)
Contains articles on all military questions concerning
the French and foreign armies, and on questions connected
with military problems (geographic, economic, etc.).
Review of French and foreign military reviews. (Library
has 1928 and following years.)

Rivista Aeronautica. Roma, Istituto poligrafico dello Stato,
Libreria. (monthly.)
Contains articles on all questions connected with civil
and military aviation. Bibliography of the contents of
foreign aviation reviews. (Library has 1927 and follow-
ing years.)
III

MILITARY AVIATION
AND ITS REGULATION


Report by the Committee of Experts on Civil Aviation, convened at Brussels on February 7th, 1927, to examine the possible economic effects on civil aviation of the limitation of air armaments. In its findings, the Committee recommends the adoption of any measures calculated to remove civil aviation from the orbit of military interests.

* * *


Study of the problem of the attack and defence of towns. The author considers that, contrary to the present tendency, aviation should be developed with a view to defence rather than attack.


Study of the different forms which an air conflict would assume, according to the various levels at which the power of the contending air forces might stand.
Survey of the air policy of the great European Powers and the United States, with special reference to the military importance of this policy.

The various elements of an air force and how to estimate them.

Description of the air arm and its possibilities.

Statement by the President of the French "Ligue aéronautique" as to the necessity for setting up an air force to ensure French security. There are chapters dealing with the air defence of the colonies and the political importance of the French air force as a means of alliance.

Detailed study of the development of British aviation to 1929.

Possibility, in the opinion of the author, of distinguishing between civil aviation having a combatant value and that not suited to military operations.

Haefliger, General v. Protection and defence against the new methods of warfare. (In Inter-Parliamentary union: What would be the character of a new war? London, P. S. King & Son, 1931, pp. 208-225.)
Studies more particularly the means of defence against an attack by air.

The author has collected the opinions of a great number of statesmen, lawyers, scientists, etc., on the question of the legitimacy of the use of aircraft for purposes of war.

After studying the essential factors of an air force (material and personnel), the author describes the general organisation of aviation in France and abroad. The last chapter deals with the part played by aircraft in chemical warfare and aerial combats, and the co-operation of aircraft in land and naval operations.

Is air disarmament necessary, and is it practicable? A socialist point of view.

Le Ripercussioni dei progressi realizzati nella costruzione aeronautica sull' impiego delle forze aeree. Art. in Rivista aeronautica 7 : 283-292, agosto 1931.
The present tendencies in construction would lead to increased weight of bombing aeroplanes.
Gives particulars of the new types of British aircraft represented at the 1931 Air Display.

Anti-aircraft defence.

The importance of aviation in the event of future conflicts.

The use of military aircraft as a means of exercising economic pressure and of hampering the enemy’s trade.

The effect of air attacks on towns and arsenals. According to the author, the development of air forces and their employment as a moderating influence would bring about greater security and would assist world disarmament.

The military importance of aviation and, in particular, of British aviation. The difficulty of limiting disarmament shown by the example of the limitation imposed on Germany under the Peace Treaty.

Studies a country's means of defence against the air peril. Military measures (aerial anti-aircraft defence, anti-aircraft defence on land); civil measures (protection of towns, transports, industries from the air peril). Proposals and criticisms.

In addition to the works mentioned, the library possesses a large number of books dealing with the part taken by the military aviation of the various Powers during the Great War (e.g. Raleigh, W., "The war in the air", in the "Official History of the War". Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1922, 489 p.). An interesting exchange of views on this question is given in:

Analysis of the part played by aviation during the Great War, and its subsequent development. In the author's view, the importance of aviation is greatly overestimated, and the expenditure out of all proportion to the results obtained. Great Britain would lose nothing by developing defensive aviation and anti-aircraft defence alone and renouncing aviation as a means of attack. This work, which has been commented on at length, has elicited a reply from:

in which the author defends the part played by aviation during the Great War, and its importance from the point of view of the defence and cohesion of the British Empire.
The following publications deal chiefly with dirigibles and their military importance.


* * *

The following works deal chiefly with the juridical aspects of aerial warfare.


Consultation of legal experts on the following question: "Is it possible to define the rules of international law for the protection of the civil population beyond the range of artillery fire from bombardments of all kinds, or to make those rules more effective?" The present position of international law, and possible improvements.


The problem of regulating the question of bombardment by aircraft.

* See also manuals of international law relating to the laws of warfare mentioned on pp. 58-60.
IV

CHEMICAL WARFARE AND
THE MOVEMENT FOR ITS SUPPRESSION


Contains the text of the Protocol for the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and bacteriological methods of warfare, together with the reports of the conference and the minutes of committees relating to the drafting of this Protocol.


Contains the report of the League of Nations Committee for the study of chemical and bacteriological warfare, which gives particulars of its effects and of protective measures against this means of warfare. "There are no conceivable limits to the power of the chemical arm, to its efficacy and variety, any more than there are limits to pharmacology or any other branch of chemistry."


A brief general study of gases used in warfare. The technique of gas warfare. French and German chemical industries and gas warfare.


Contains the reports and resolutions adopted on the following questions : utilisation of private buildings for the protection of the civil population. Efficacy of collective and individual protection. Purifying treatment of contaminated food and water. First-aid and instruction corps. Study of special clothing. Detection of yperite.


Digest of the statements made during the International Conference held at Frankfort o-M. 1929; deals with the nature of chemical warfare and the problem of protection.


Contains data concerning the chemical composition of the various gases, their harmful effects and protective measures.

History and technique of chemical warfare. The question in international law. The use of gases in a future war and its disastrous effects on the civil population. The difficulty of limiting by convention the use of so important a weapon as poison gas.


After an interesting sketch of the historical development of chemical warfare, the author enumerates the principal gases used in war. Description of methods of attack and defence in gas warfare. Smoke-screens and their technique.


Analyses the chemical composition of the various gases, their effects and the problem of protection.


Description of the use of poison gases in the Great War. Probable development of gases and their influence on methods of warfare. Chemical warfare and disarmament. The possibility of manufacturing and converting chemical products for military use.


The use of chemicals as a weapon by various nations. Poison gas as an inevitable method; the terrible possibilities in the case of future conflicts. The League of Nations and chemical warfare. Detailed bibliography.


Studies in particular the means of defence against chemical warfare.


An exhaustive study of chemical warfare—means of attack and defence—followed by a detailed enumeration of the poison gases known at the present time. Study of their composition, their use and the existing means of defence against them; or, in the case of certain gases, of the fact that no effective means of defence have yet been discovered.


Gives details of the composition and preparation of the principal explosives, explosive powders, and chemical warfare gases and of the protective measures against them.


General study of chemical warfare and its effects.


Study of means of defence against the aero-chemical danger. Individual and collective protection. Although
the author considers the use of gases as a weapon is inevitable in any conflict, he thinks that there are adequate means of defence against all of them. Organisation of the "Violet Cross", an international organisation for the protection of civil populations against chemical warfare.


Studies the effects of chemical warfare.


Study of the use of gas in the Great War and in any future conflict. Criticism of the view which belittles the effects of gas warfare by exaggerating the efficacy of the means of defence.

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The following works deal more particularly with the question of chemical warfare in international law as regulated by the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, the Washington Convention of 1922, and the Protocol signed Geneva, 1925:


Analyses the activities of the League of Nations in the field of prohibition of poisonous gas. Advocates international control on the same lines as have been adopted in regard to opium and other dangerous drugs.

Giannini, A. ...Le convenzioni contro la guerra sotto-marina, chimica, batteriologica. Roma: Anonima romana editoriale, 1928. 23 p. (Associazione italiana per la Società delle nazioni. Pubblicazioni, v. 1, no. 7.)

Contains the Treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, concerning the use of submarines and asphyxiating gases in war-time (1922) and the Protocol for the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and of bacteriological methods of warfare (1925).

Korovin, E. La guerre chimique et le droit international. Art. in Revue générale de droit international public 36 : 644-668, novembre-décembre 1929.

The stages of chemical disarmament.


Includes a draft Convention and a detailed bibliography.


Deals more particularly with the Chemical Warfare Committee set up by the International Law Association and the draft Convention against the manufacture of poison gas drawn up by that Committee.

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The following works deal with chemical warfare with special reference to its medical aspects.


Official publication of the United States, giving the number of killed and wounded through poison gas in the Great War, more especially in the American army. Study of the effects of the various gases.

Official British publication grouping gases according to their action. Gives the symptoms and method of treatment of poisoning.


In the form of a diary kept by an ambulance the authors describe the use of chemicals on the French front during the Great War. Various cases of poisoning are enumerated.

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**SUPervision of the trade and Private manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of implements of war**

*Publications issued by the League of Nations.*

(Arranged in chronological order.)

**Trade.**

*Historical survey : text of the draft convention for the control of the international trade in arms, munitions and implements of war.* C.758.M.258.1924.IX.(C.C.O.2.)

*Proceedings of the Conference for the supervision of the international trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war.* (Geneva, May 4-June 17, 1925.) A.13.1925.IX.

*Convention for the supervision of the international trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war.* A.16. 1925.IX.

*Statistical year-book of the trade in arms, ammunition and implements of war.* 7th year, 1931.

Annual publication (since 1924) containing, by countries, tables showing the imports and exports of arms, ammunition and implements of war according to the class of goods. (With particulars of quantities and value.)
Manufacture.

Supervision of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war. A.47.1926.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1926.IX.8.)

Report of the Committee of Enquiry for drawing up a preliminary draft convention concerning the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and implements of war (1926), with preliminary draft convention.

Special commission for the preparation for a draft convention on the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.


3rd and 4th Sessions. December 5-7, 1928, and August 26-29, 1929. A.30.1929.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1929.IX.5.)

General Works.

Carnegie, Colonel D. The private manufacture of arms, ammunitions and implements of war. Art. in International affairs 10 : 504-523, July 1931.

The author discusses why the supervision of the manufacture of arms and implements of war has not been extended to the manufacture of chemical products; the problem of the nationalisation of the manufacture of war material is also discussed.


Studies the development of the movement in favour of a prohibition to export arms and ammunition. The texts of the various international acts and resolutions submitted to the American Congress on this matter are given as an annex.


Report submitted by a Committee of Experts.

Delaisi, F. The importance of a war industry for a particular country, international ramifications of war industry. (In Inter-Parliamentary union : What would be the character of a new war? London, P. S. King & son, 1931. pp. 180-207.)

Studies the industries which could be converted into war industries.


Examines the present development of war industries.


Evolution of the question of the supervision of the trade in and private manufacture of arms.

Studies the links which in the author's view exist between the industries manufacturing war material of the different countries.

    Outline of the question of the trade in arms since the war. The Peace Conference, the work of the League, etc.


    Detailed study of the organisation of the armaments industry and the traffic in arms.

Sandiford, R. Fabbriacazione e traffico delle armi e munizioni. Roma, 1928. 7 p.

    The traffic in arms examined more especially from the point of view of national defence.


    Advocates nationalisation of the armaments industry.


    Organisation of the armaments industry. The problem of an international regulation of the manufacture of and trade in arms.


    Views expressed before the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, with regard to the prohibition to export implements of war to belligerent nations.


    Depositions of a large number of witnesses before a Sub-Committee of the Senate, throwing certain side-lights on activities of the armaments industry.
VI

THE LAWS OF WARFARE AND THEIR EVOLUTION

GENERAL WORKS


Hudson, M. O. *The development of international law since the war.* Art. in American journal of International law, 22: 330-350, April 1928.

A review of the evolution of the problem of neutrality and laws of warfare since the World War.


Enunciation of the general principles of the law of naval war, followed by numerous texts of treaties and laws on the subject.


The writer analyses the work done after the war with a view to regulating the laws of war.


*The general treaties of international law are partly devoted to laws on warfare. We may mention the following more important works:*


*International Peace Conference (1899).*


Partly translated into English in:


Contains the texts of numerous documents (message from the Emperor Nicholas II, documents relating to the regulation of the laws of warfare, etc.).


Contains the records of the meetings of the Conference and its committees, also the final texts of the conventions and declarations relating to the laws of warfare.


A study by the Russian delegate of the political aspects and the results achieved.


A study of the works concerning the law of warfare and the question of the limitation of armaments.


A series of impressions covering the whole activity of the Conference, by an eminent journalist.

*International Peace Conference (1907).*


Volume I contains the minutes of the plenary meetings and the texts of the conventions and declarations relating to the laws of warfare. Volumes II and III contain the records of the committee meetings.


The author, a delegate at the Conference, gives a detailed analysis of its work arranged according to subjects.
This daily publication issued during the Conference gives a vivid impression of its setting and its work. Contains the records of the Conference, interviews, leading articles, caricatures, etc.

The following publications deal with the Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907.

A series of five volumes published by the "Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law". Four volumes contain the English translation of the proceedings of the Conferences (minutes of the meetings, texts of the Conventions, etc.). The fifth volume gives a very complete index of both persons and subjects, forming an excellent guide to the documents of the Conferences.

A collection of texts with detailed commentaries.

The author, who took part in the latter as a delegate of the United States, deals with the work of these Conferences. (French translation: Les Conférences de la paix de la Haye de 1899 et 1907. Paris, A. Pédonne, 1927.)


London Conference (1908-1909) held with a view to laying down rules for naval warfare (contraband, blockade, continuous voyage, destruction of prizes, assistance to the enemy, transformation of a ship, transfer of flag, definition of enemy). This document contains the programme of the Conference, the texts of the memoranda and the records of the meetings (French text).

Contains a collection of documents relating to the preparation and work of the London Conference. (English text.)

Original copy of the "Red Book" of the Conference.

The following works deal more particularly with the London Conference and its results.


Hols von Ferneck, A. *Die Reform des Seekriegsrechts durch die Londoner Konferenz 1907-08.* (In Handbuch des Völkerrechts... hrsg. von Stier-Somlo. 1914 Bd. 4, 3. Abt.)

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For more general works showing the application of maritime law during the Great War, see:


In addition to other literature regarding this question, the Library possesses complete collections of the jurisprudence of the various States concerning maritime prize and prize codes.

*Washington Conference (1921-1922)*


Contains the text of the treaty on the use of submarines and asphyxiating gases in war-time, and the minutes of the plenary meetings and records of committees concerning this subject. (In English and French.)

For commentaries on the activities of this Conference in the field of international law see works of Buell and Ichihashi, referred to on p. 114.

*International Commission of Jurists (1922-1923)*


Report and rules relating to the control of wireless telegraphy in war-time and to aerial warfare, prepared by a committee of jurists, including representatives of the United States, British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, which met at The Hague from December 1922 to February 1923 to consider whether the rules of international law corresponded to the new methods of attack and defence, and to propose any necessary modifications. (French text.)


Gives the English text of the work of the Committee of Jurists which sat at The Hague from 1922 to 1923.

A commentary on the work of this Commission is given by:

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

(Historical and general works.)


For works dealing with the question of the freedom of the seas, more particularly from the point of view of its influence on naval disarmament, see chapter IX (Naval disarmament), p. 123-126.

RENUNCIATION OF WAR.

Concerning the General Pact for the Renunciation of War (Briand-Kellogg Pact), see the publications mentioned on pp. 129-131.
VII

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
AND DISARMAMENT

THE COVENANT.

Articles 8 and 9 of the Covenant deal with armaments questions. For the interpretation of these articles the principal commentaries are:

— 1st suppl. 1931. 1 v.


For events leading up to the Covenant, see:


* * *
The minutes of the Commission on the League of Nations at the Peace Conference and of the plenary meetings of the Conference at which the League of Nations was discussed are reproduced in:


There is no complete published collection of the Minutes of the Peace Conference. The best source available at present is:


This very rare publication, of which only forty copies were printed, very few of them being in Europe, is in the Library. It contains, in addition to the writer's diary and numerous other documents, the records of the meetings of the Commission on the League of Nations, of meetings of the Supreme Council, and of certain plenary sessions of the Peace Conference.

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**WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.**

A good survey of the work of the League of Nations in respect of the disarmament problem is given by the


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In the part entitled "Historique des événements principaux, Chapitre B", quotes the League documents on disarmament. Also contains information on the constitutional organisation of the League of Nations (Assembly, Council, Committees, Secretariat, etc.) and gives the names of delegates, officials, etc., with biographical notes.

**Publications issued by the League of Nations.**

A general account of the work done within the framework of the League of Nations is to be found in the

Report to the Assembly of the League of Nations on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly.

This publication of the League of Nations has appeared each year since 1920. The Secretary-General reviews the work of the Council, Conferences, Committees and Secretariat of the League of Nations; it devotes a special chapter to the reduction of armaments.


The following publications give a general survey:


The first part of this work deals with the efforts to establish principles for a reduction of armaments and the various phases of the question of security up to 1927. The second part deals with various special questions
relating to the disarmament problem, such as the supervision of the trade in and private manufacture of arms, chemical warfare and the right of investigation.


This work gives an analysis of the draft convention and a review of the activities of the League of Nations before and after the draft convention was drawn up.


Gives a general account of the work undertaken by the League of Nations up to the end of 1929. Chapter II: the organisation of Peace and Disarmament.

For more detailed studies of the work of the League of Nations consult the following publications:

PERMANENT ADVISORY ARMAMENTS COMMISSION DEALING WITH MILITARY, NAVAL AND AIR QUESTIONS.


Reports.


* This list does not include periodical publications such as the Armaments Year Book, etc., or publications dealing with questions of security, military expenditure, trade in and private manufacture of arms and war material, which are to be found under these special headings.
Deals with the right of investigation in countries subject thereto under the Peace Treaties of 1919.

Deals with the right of investigation in countries subject thereto under the Peace Treaties of 1919.


18th Session (1925).
Examines the draft questionnaire on the private manufacture of arms, munitions and implements of war.

19th Session (1926).
Deals with the request of Germany for admission to the League of Nations.


**Naval Sub-Commission.**

Deals with the extension of the Washington Naval Treaty to non-signatory Powers Members of the League of Nations.

Deals with the Rome International Conference to which all naval Powers (Members and non-Members of the League of Nations) were invited to consider the extension of the principles of the Washington Treaty on the limitation of naval armaments.

**Air Sub-Commission.**

**Meeting** (1921). Report in Minutes 14th Session of the Council, 1921, p. 177.
Deals with aeroplanes and aviation material which should be defined as war material.

--- 75 ---

Deals with military aviation material.

**TEMPORARY MIXED COMMISSION ON ARMAMENTS.**

Constitution (February 25, 1921) of a Temporary mixed Commission to examine the question of the reduction of armaments and the private manufacture of munitions of war. Official journal 2 : 143-149, March-April 1921.

**Reports:**


Report to the third annual Assembly (1922). Rapporteur: Lord Robert Cecil. A.124.1922.IX.

Summarises the work of the first five sessions of the Temporary mixed Commission and the methods of reducing armaments, the manufacture of and traffic in arms, chemical warfare and a treaty of mutual guarantee.

6th, 7th and 8th Sessions of the Temporary mixed Commission (1923). Report A.35.1923.IX.
Deals with the draft Treaty of mutual assistance and mutual guarantee.

9th and 10th Sessions of the Temporary mixed Commission (1924). Report A.16.1924.IX.
Deals with the question of the supervision of the international trade in and manufacture of arms, ammunition and implements of war, chemical warfare and regional agreements on the limitation of armaments. (See also p. 46.)
Co-ordination Commission.


Committee of the Council for the Work of Disarmament.


Minutes and Reports.


Deals with the composition, working and programme of the Preparatory Commission.


Deals with the preliminary draft Convention on the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and implements of war.

Report of the Committee of Enquiry appointed to draw up the preliminary draft Convention on the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and implements of war. A.47.1926.IX.

4th and 5th Sessions of the Committee of the Council (1926). Minutes C.740.M.279.1926.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1927.IX.2.)

Deals more particularly with the possibility of convening the Council and Committees in case of emergency and with M. de Broque's report on the sanctions contemplated in Article 10 of the Covenant.


Deals with the procedure for applying Article 11 of the Covenant (measures for safeguarding peace).

Right of Military Investigation and Control.

Organisation with a view to the exercise of the right of investigation in the four States subjected to investigation by the Treaties of Versailles, Saint-Germain, Trianon and Neuilly. C.541.(1)M.189(1).1924.IX.

Rules adopted by the Council for the exercise of the right of investigation provided for by the Treaties of Versailles, Saint-Germain, Trianon and Neuilly. C.729.1926.IX. (L.o.N. P. 1926.IX.17.)

Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.


Minutes and Reports.

1st Session of the Preparatory Commission, May 18-26, 1926. C.425.M.158.1926.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1926.IX.7.)
2nd Session of the Preparatory commission, September 22 and 27, 1926. C.740.M.279.1926.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1927, IX.2.)

Sub-Commission A. Report C.739.M.278.1926.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1928, IX.16.)

Contains the report of sessions 1 to 3 held at Geneva in 1926; deals with military, naval and air questions and, in particular, gives definitions of armaments, the limitation of armaments and various military terms, analyses of various methods of limitation and replies regarding the methods of publicity in respect of armaments, the distinction between civil and military aircraft, etc.

Sub-Commission B.


Contains the report of sessions 1 to 3 of the Sub-Committee (Geneva, 1926) and of the Mixed Commission. Deals, in particular, with the supervision of war potentials, the rapidity of preparation for chemical warfare, methods of comparing the position of armaments in various States by comparing their military expenditure, etc.


Contains the report of 4th session (Geneva, March 16, 1927) in which the report of the Committee of Experts on Civil Aviation was discussed. (See also p. 38.)

Report No. III. C.P.D.40. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1927, IX.4.)

Contains the report of the 4th session (Geneva, March 17, 1927) in which the report of the Committee of Experts on Budgetary Questions was discussed. (See also pp. 138-139.)


4th Session of the Preparatory commission November 30-December 3, 1927. C.667.M.225.1927.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1928, IX.2.)


6th Session (first part) of the Preparatory commission April 15-May 6, 1929. C.195.M.74.1929.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1929, IX.3.)


(With text of the Draft Convention annexed.)

For text of the Draft Convention see also C.687.M.288. 1930.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1930, IX.8.)

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Communications from the Governments regarding the position of armaments, published up to October 1st, 1931 (in chronological order):

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. C.413.M.169.1931.IX.
BELGIUM. C.436.M.183.1931.IX.
FRANCE. C.440.M.187.1931.IX.
BRITISH EMPIRE. C.476.M.203.1931.IX.
NETHERLANDS. C.483.M.206.1931.IX.
GERMANY. C.524.M.219.1931.IX.
SWEDEN. C.541.M.224.1931.IX.
AUSTRIA. C.549.M.225.1931.IX.
DENMARK. C.555.M.226.1931.IX.
ITALY. C.557.M.227.1931.IX.
JAPAN. C.558.M.228.1931.IX.
ESTONIA. C.564.M.230.1931.IX.
POLAND. C.602.M.240.1931.IX.

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Armaments truce.

Report of the Third Committee to the Assembly. A.93. 1931.IX.

Report and resolutions regarding armaments truce and information on the position of armaments in various countries.

GENERAL WORKS.*


The author deals with the necessity of disarming. Economic necessity: armaments may be an obstacle to post-war economic recovery; political necessity: armaments must inevitably lead to fresh conflicts. Analysis of the methods to be employed to achieve results in the different spheres: land, naval and air armaments, chemical warfare, traffic in and manufacture of arms. Study of the problems raised by budgetary limitation, right of supervision, etc.


Arguments in favour of a general reduction of armaments, which reduction alone can create a sense of security.


After a survey of the obligations to disarm entered into by the different States, the author examines the various criteria of armaments and the question of supervision.

* For naval disarmament, see pages 113-126.


Communication from M. de Jouvenel dealing with the necessity of reducing the military expenditure of the different Powers, and with the re-arming of Germany which would be the result of any failure of the movement towards disarmament; followed by a discussion of disarmament and the Franco-German problem.


A study of potential war strength leads the writer to the conclusion that any material disarmament would be impossible because implements of peace can always be converted into implements of war. Analysis of war material, in particular chemical and air arms.


Contains a special chapter analysing the economic and military reasons in favour of disarmament.


Discusses the different aspects of the problem of disarmament and of a permanent supervision of potential war strength.


Gives figures and arguments in favour of disarmament.
Political, military and economic reasons for disarmament. Work outside and within the League of Nations. Epilogue by Lord Robert Cecil, analysing the draft Convention.

Study of the work of the League of Nations in regard to disarmament and security.

Examination of the disarmament problem before and after the Treaty of Versailles and of the work of the League (with special reference to the Preparatory Commission) and other bodies to reduce armaments.

Vol. I contains a systematic series of studies by experts, covering the chief aspects of the disarmament problem (land, sea and air disarmament; history of disarmament; disarmament from the economic standpoint, from that of international law, etc.). Vols. II and III reproduce important documents on the disarmament question. Vol. II contains documents from 1816 to 1919 (among others, the disarmament clauses in the drafts for the League Covenant). Vol. III gives the text of minutes and documents on the League's work from the beginning to the end of 1925.

Summarises the problem of security since the war and emphasises the danger to peace of armaments on a large scale.

Analysis of the reduction of armaments before the World War and since the creation of the League of Nations.

Study of the problem of disarmament at the Hague Conferences, at the Paris Peace Conference, at the Washington Conference and before the League of Nations.

After giving a brief introduction to the problem of disarmament as it now stands, and stating the arguments for and against, the author gives a selection of articles dealing with these problems. Very detailed bibliography on disarmament (general publications in favour as well as against).

After a short introduction concerning the problems raised by the defensive policy of the United States (land, naval and air armaments) and arguments for and against, the author gives a detailed bibliography of works on this question followed by a number of articles concerned therewith.

Study of work done on disarmament from 1920 to 1925 and of the questions that arose: supervision of armaments by the League, supervision of the manufacture of and traffic in arms. Analysis of the various possible army organisations. Argues in favour of the militia system.


Studies the military expenditure of the principal Powers and particularly of Germany. The author proves that it would be impossible from the economic point of view and undesirable from the political point of view for Germany to strengthen her armaments.


Part 1 by E. A. Korovine: The question of disarmament in international law.

Part 2 by V. V. Egorov: Disarmament at the League of Nations (1920-1929), the U.S.S.R. point of view. With detailed bibliography of Russian works.


After examining the work of the League of Nations up to 1924, the author states that a reduction in armaments would create a feeling of security.


After an historical study of the disarmament movement, the author deals more particularly with the question as raised before the Peace Conference and in the different drafts of the Covenant of the League of Nations.


The writer, who is an expert on the question of chemical warfare, lays down a "science of disarmament" and studies in detail, *inter alia*, potential war strength, limitation as applied to existing arms, supervision of the development of new warlike implements, implements of chemical warfare.


Analysis of the problems raised by military and air disarmament (effectives, material, supervision). Possibility of establishing a comparison between the two existing systems, professional army and national army. Naval disarmament (history of, and reparations problem) and its relations with blockade law and the freedom of the seas.


A condemnation of "the régime of international anarchy in the matter of armaments" and a plea for a permanent organisation to supervise armaments, in accordance with Article 8 of the Covenant.

After investigating the expenditure on armaments and the methods of disarmament, the author emphasises the importance of international supervision of aviation.


The former Director of the Disarmament Section in the League Secretariat studies the tendencies and methods of the movement for disarmament and the various difficulties to be overcome and surveys the way in which the movement has developed in the different countries.


Survey of the work done up to 1927.


After giving a survey of the present position of armaments in each country (with comparative tables), the author analyses the various problems raised by a reduction in armaments and gives reasons for the German opposition to the draft convention.


The writer discusses the negotiations since the Treaty of Versailles, the treaties concluded for the purposes of disarmament and the draft convention, which, according to him, are a complete failure and confer entire freedom on Germany as regards disarmament. Comparison of the Treaty of Versailles and the draft convention drawn up by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission.


Survey of the League's work for disarmament down to the 5th session of the Preparatory Commission (1928). Contains a chronicle of the principal events in this field. Analyses the views of the different countries.


One of the leading German pacifists criticises the work of the Preparatory Commission and emphasises that the importance of disarmament resides not so much in the limitation of effective as in the limitation of war material.

...The Reduction of armaments. New York, American Association for international conciliation 1923, 150 p. (International conciliation. July 1923, No. 188.)

Reproduction of a certain number of League documents relative to the limitation of armaments.


In favour of a general reduction of armaments on the basis of the reductions made by the Paris Peace Treaties for Germany and her allies.
Warszawski, J. Zagadnienie rozbrojenia w prawie międzynarodowym i w stosunkach międzynarodowych. La question du désarmement dans le droit international et dans les relations internationales. Varsovie. Edition du Séminaire de droit public de l'Université de Varsovie, 1930. 209 p. (French and Polish text.)

After an historical introduction to the question of disarmament, the author studies the work of the League of Nations up to the constitution of the Preparatory Commission.


Survey of the disarmament question at the Peace Conference (1919-1920) and of the League's work on disarmament and security down to the 6th Assembly (1925). Numerous documents and statistics (Armies of the Powers, 1914 to 1924, etc.), and other useful information, e.g. brief description of demilitarized zones.


Contains studies of the various problems raised by a reduction of armaments and the question of the effectiveness of large units (with tables showing the length of the coasts of various Powers).

COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT CONVENTION.

The following publications deal particularly with the draft Convention prepared by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.


Study of the draft Convention and of the Italian standpoint.


The draft Convention and the problem of the limitation of gun calibre.

Bernhard, G. The crux of the disarmament question. Art. in Nation (London) 48 : 430, December 27, 1930.

Criticism of the draft Convention from the German point of view. Reply by Viscount Cecil in:


In favour of modification of draft Convention as in its original form it would not mean deduction but only stabilisation of armaments.

Cecil, Viscount. ... Lord Cecil describes the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. [London], (League of Nations union, pamphlet No. 290, January 1931.)

Speech by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood analysing the draft Convention.
Criticises the draft Convention.

Study of the draft Convention, more particularly from the U. S. point of view opposing budgetary limitation.

Very detailed analysis of the draft Convention and criticism from the German standpoint.

Analyses the draft Convention and describes the technical difficulties circumvented by the draft.

Compares the disarming of Germany in the provisions of the draft Convention which would stabilise armaments instead of reducing them.

Study from the German standpoint of the clauses in the draft Convention concerning air armaments.

After giving a summary of the results of the conferences on naval disarmament, the author examines especially the draft Convention underlying the important rôle which the United States (which is not directly interested in several questions) could be called upon to play during the Disarmament Conference in the quality of arbitrator.

The writer summarises the work of the Preparatory Commission, examines the various points in the draft Convention and goes on to define and explain the American delegation's point of view.

Quidde, L. Das Ergebnis der Vorbereitenden Abrüstungskommission. Art. in Friedens-Warte 31 : 104-114, April 1931.
Analysis of the Preparatory Commission's draft Convention and of the major outstanding problems.

Lecture describing the German view of the draft Convention and the unilateral disarmament of Germany.

Analysis of the draft Convention.

Compares the provisions of the draft Convention with the military provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

Reproduces articles concerning disarmament and press extracts (has been published since 1931).

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In addition to these specialised periodicals, several of the military periodicals mentioned on pp. 33-38 contain articles devoted to the question of disarmament.

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Extracts from speeches in favour of disarmament made on July 11th, 1931, by leaders of the three chief British political parties.


Study and criticism of British post-war naval policy, with special reference to questions of organisation and construction. In one chapter there is a critical analysis of the various methods of naval disarmament.


A series of articles by prominent Canadian statesmen emphasising the need for making a success of the Disarmament Conference, followed by a study of the work done by the League in the matter of disarmament.

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DISARMAMENT AND PUBLIC OPINION*.

This chapter contains opinions on disarmament which have been expressed in different countries.

Désarmement. Genève. (monthly periodical.)

Gives documentary extracts from Government reports, Parliamentary debates, press and magazine articles, etc. for the purpose of providing students of the problem of disarmament with comparative data. French, English and German editions. [Published since 1931. Library has complete collection.]

*Does not contain newspaper articles. A selection of Press summaries on the subject of disarmament is in the Library at the disposal of delegates.

The author emphasizes the work already accomplished in the matter of security and the impossibility of postponing disarmament until a greater measure of security has been attained.


Contains some interesting chapters setting forth the view of the French Section of the Workers' Internationale on the disarmament question.


The German view of the legal obligation in the Treaty of Versailles on all signatories to disarm.


Calls for a reduction of armaments to the level of German armaments.


American political interests and the question of disarmament as discussed by the Washington Conference.

Bureau international de la Paix. [Publications.]

Among its various publications, we may mention:

Texte des résolutions adoptées par le XVIIIe Congrès universel de la Paix (Bruxelles, 5-10 juillet 1931) — Désarmement. 1931. 7 p.


Studies the work done and the methods pursued by the League of Nations with a view to arriving at a reduction of armaments.

Quidde, L. Mémoire sur le désarmement. Art. in Mouvement pacifiste: 91-114, septembre 1927.

Analysis of the obligations arising out of the Covenant and the Treaties of Peace, and of the work of the League.


Series of articles dealing with British naval requirements and the question of the defence of the Empire (Singapore, etc.) The author is in favour of naval restriction, as Great Britain can no longer hope to retain absolute supremacy at sea.


Resolution adopted at the Seventh Assembly of the International Conference of War Veterans Associations (Prague 1931), concerning the necessity for a reduction of armaments.

The consequences of the failure of the Disarmament Conference.

*China and disarmament.* Art. in *Chinese nation* 1 : 844, February 4, 1931.

The Chinese point of view as laid before the Preparatory Commission.


Analysis of disarmament obligations; different means of reduction of armaments; text of French memorandum annexed.


Text of the resolutions proposed at a Preliminary meeting for submission to a Conference which will be attended by the heads of important organisations from many countries. (Paris, November 1931.)


Statement of the French view of the question of disarmament.


Great Britain should be at the head of the disarmament movement.


National or professional army?—Analysis of the French military budget—Security and reduction of armaments as dealt with by the League—A French point of view.


Examines the Council's questionnaire and makes proposals for a method of reducing armaments together with budgetary limitation.

Deutschland und die Abrüstung. Friedens-Warte 31 : 97-128, April 1931.

Special number on disarmament, giving the German view.

Disarmament: *all parties agreed.* Art. in *Spectator* : 73-74, July 18, 1931.

Public opinion in Great Britain and disarmament.

The Disarmament Conference. Art. in *Japan weekly chronicle* : 689-690, June 25, 1931.

A Japanese point of view.


Series of articles and letter on the essential questions of British naval policy in which the author regrets that existing international agreements hinder the development of the British navy.


Emphasises the decisive importance of the Conference.
International Federation of League of Nations Societies. 


The following publications comment on this resolution:


Analysis of a resolution in favour of disarmament adopted by the Federation of League of Nations Societies at the Budapest Congress in May, 1931.


The work of the Federation of League of Nations Societies in regard to disarmament.


Text of the draft resolution on disarmament adopted by the Federation of League of Nations Societies and study of this text from the German point of view.


Necessity not only of limitation but of a reduction of armaments; security not a preliminary condition of reduction. As annex, text of resolutions voted on disarmament.

Text of the resolutions adopted at the IVth Congress (Vienna, 1931).

Kinkaid, T. C. *Present problems of naval reduction.* Art. in United States Naval institute proceedings 57 : 949-954, July 1931.

Directs particular attention to the question of the tonnage of large units, in the form which this question would take at the future disarmament negotiations.


The manifesto of the Carnegie Foundation regarding the disarmament obligation of the Powers signatories of the Versailles Treaty.


Criticism of the French Chamber's attitude to new construction.


Speeches in favour of disarmament delivered by the leaders of the three chief British political parties at the public demonstration at the Albert Hall on July 11th, 1931.


Extracts from the opinions of British statesmen and soldiers in favour of disarmament.

Léoncin, L. *Le désarmement du Danemark peut-il servir d'exemple?* Art. in Paix par le droit 41 : 15-16, janvier 1931.

Outline of the reorganisation of the Danish army.


Summary of the measures taken by the Greek Government between 1926 and 1931 with a view to disarmament.


The United States and the British Empire for and against disarmament.


Summary of the work for disarmament with special reference to the work of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. (With the texts of resolutions adopted by post-war inter-parliamentary conferences.)


Combats the opinion that the safeguarding of Swiss neutrality would prevent a reduction of armaments.

Now, Mr. Hoover, disarm! Art. in Nation (New York) 133 : 28-29, July 8, 1931.

The United States and disarmament.

The Political foundation for disarmament. Art. in Round table : 713-737, September 1931.
Summary of the political problems involved in a reduction of armaments.


Comments on the French memorandum on disarmament (July 15th, 1931) in favour of disarmament by stages in proportion to guarantees.


Deals, from the American standpoint, with the question of a limitation of armaments and naval parity between the United States and Great Britain.


Collection of articles which have appeared in English dealing with the various aspects of the question of disarmament and the attitude of public opinion in the various countries.


Criticism of the French Memorandum.


Criticises the French attitude in respect of the limitation of German armaments and the general reduction of armaments.


Part of the above has been translated in:


U.S.S.R. The Soviet union and peace, the most important of the documents issued by the government of the U.S.S.R. concerning peace and disarmament from 1917 to 1929. London, M. Lawrence [1929]. 280 p. The above contain the text of the draft, the U.S.S.R.
Government's declaration on disarmament and the report by the delegation to the XVth Congress of the U.S.S.R. Communist Party.

Souchon, L. *Le mémorandum sur le désarmement*. Art. in Revue hebdomadaire 40 : 139-152, 8 août 1931.

After studying the French Memorandum, the author recommends the postponement of the Conference.


Advocates general and simultaneous disarmament.


Studies the question whether the obligations of membership of the League is compatible with unilateral disarmament as contemplated in Denmark.

A reply (followed by an answer of Prof. Wehberg) is made by:

Möller, A. *Svar til Professor Wehberg*. — Antwort an Professor Wehberg. Art. in Nordisk tidskrift for international ret 2 : 40-44, fasc. 1, 1931.


International insecurity makes a reduction of Swiss armaments impossible.

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VIII

DISARMAMENT OUTSIDE THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS

PRELIMINARY PERIOD.


The part relating to limitation of armaments has been published in English in:


Contains the texts of numerous documents (message from the Emperor Nicholas II, memoranda on the limitation of armaments and of military expenditure, etc.).


Contains the records of the meetings of the Conference and its Committees, with reference also to the problem of the limitation of armaments.

Contains speeches dealing also with the question of the limitation of armaments. (Volume I: Minutes of the plenary meetings; Volumes II and III: Records of the meetings of the Committees.)


A series of five volumes published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law. The first four volumes contain the English translation of Conference documents (minutes of meetings, texts of conventions, etc.). The fifth volume gives a very detailed index of the names of persons and subjects and forms an excellent rapid guide to the documents of the conferences.

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Gives a general survey of the movement towards the limitation of armaments before the war and quotes political and economic arguments in favour of such limitation.

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In the first part of this work a detailed study is made of the question of disarmament prior to 1914.

Meester, Général W. A. T. de. _La limitation internationale des armements_. La Haye, Organisation centrale pour une paix durable, 1917. 84 p.

Proposals made in view of a peace conference. Also contains a survey of the disarmament question up to the war.

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Expounds the pre-war history of disarmament in great detail. Analyses the discussions due to the action of governments, parliaments or to private initiative, at a number of congresses or conferences (Hague Conferences, Institute of International Law, Interparliamentary Union, debates in the parliaments of the major military Powers). Studies the different methods of armaments limitation and the chief obstacles to disarmament (influence of war industries, etc.). The Appendix reproduces textually a number of documents, etc.

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Analysis of the various proposals for the reduction and limitation of armaments.
DÉLÉGATION À LA CONFESSION DE LA PAIX. ...Observations présentées par la délégation autrichienne allemande sur l’ensemble des conditions de paix avec l’Autriche allemande. 1919. 171 p.

For Germany:

GERMANY. PEACE CONFERENCE DELEGATIONS, 1919. Remarques de la délegation allemande sur les conditions de paix. 1919. 121 p.


For Hungary:


For the proceedings of the Peace Conferences, see references in chapter VII, p. 70.

With regard to the exercise of the right of investigation provided for by the Peace Treaties, see:

GERMANY. AUSWÄRTIGES AMT. MATERIALEN ZUR ENTEFFNUNGSSNOTE. Berlin, Reichsdruckerei, 1925. 2 vol.


Roques, P. *Le contrôle militaire interallié en Allemagne.*
Inter-allied military control in Germany.

*With regard to the activity of the League of Nations concerning the right of military investigation and control, see p. 77.*

**Moscow Conference (1922).**

*Moscow. Conférence pour la limitation des armements 1922.*

Diplomatic correspondence concerning the conviction of the Conference held at Moscow in December 1922, at which the following countries were represented: Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, U. S. S. R. Organisation and composition of the delegations. Minutes. Final Protocol of the Riga meeting (March 1922) annexed.


**Toupine, A. La Conférence de Moscou sur le désarmement.**
Europe nouvelle 5 : 1647-1648, 30 décembre 1922.
An explanation of the points of view of the U. S. S. R. and the Baltic States.

**U. S. S. R. The Soviet union and peace, the most important of the documents issued by the Government of the U. S. S. R. concerning peace and disarmament from 1917 to 1929. London, M. Lawrence, 1929. 280 p.**

One chapter contains comments on the Moscow Conference.

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**Conference of the Republics of Central America (1922-23).**


Gives the text of the convention for the limitation of armaments concluded February 7, 1923, between the Central American Republics and the minutes of plenary sessions and committees relating thereto. (English and Spanish text.)

**Fifth Pan-American Conference (1923).**


Gives the text of the resolution on reduction and limitation of military and naval expenditure. (Spanish text.)

Conferencia Internacional Americana. 5a. Santiago de Chile, 1923. *Actas de las Sesiones Plenarias... Santiago de Chile, Imprenta universitaria, 1923. 741 p.*

Gives the minutes of the debates concerning reduction and limitation of military and naval expenditure. (English and Spanish text.)

U. S. Delegates to the 5th Pan-American Conference.

Gives the full text of the resolutions adopted and extracts of debates with a good index.

Brazil and the disarmament question before the 5th Pan-American Conference.

IX

NAVAL DISARMAMENT *

The Washington Conference (1921-22).


United States official publication. Contains the minutes of the plenary meetings and the records of Committees, with the texts of treaties and resolutions appended (Text in English and French).

Among the numerous publications** commenting on the Washington Conference, the following works are selected as being specially representative and dealing also with the events leading up to the Conference. Being written by authors of several nationalities, they show some of the characteristic differences in the various points of view.


* For works on naval disarmament not listed in this chapter, see general works on disarmament, pp. 83-88.

** See also the works mentioned at the end of this chapter as commentaries on the London Conference, most of the introductions to which deal with the Washington Conferences of 1921-22 and the Geneva Conference of 1927.


Official publication of the United States Senate, giving the minutes of the plenary meetings and the records of Committees.


In favour of general negotiations through the League of Nations and against the system of tripartite negotiations.

Degouy, Admiral. La conférence navale de Genève. Art. in Correspondant 99 : 52-65, 10 octobre 1927.


Kawakami, K. K. The hidden conflict at the three-power naval conference. Art. in Current history 27 : 106-111, October 1927.

The Japanese point of view at the Conference.


Written during the Conference and pointing out the risk of straining the relations between States if a Conference were held without sufficient preparation.


Statements of numerous witnesses before a subcommittee of the Senate, giving glimpses of certain undercurrents during the Conference.

The Planned Anglo-French Naval Compromise (1928).


Documents relating to the preparatory work of disarmament and the limitation of naval armaments.
Collection of official documents.

Studies the progress of naval disarmament from 1921 to the end of 1929.

Combats the argument that naval armaments are necessary for the protection of trade, whereas they may be a weapon of rivalry between Powers.

The London Naval Conference (1930).

Contains the treaty signed on April 22, 1930, the minutes of plenary meetings, memoranda submitted by the United States, French, United Kingdom, Italian and Japanese delegations on their position at the Conference, the reports of the first Committee and the letter addressed by the President of the Conference to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations on April 21, 1930. (Text in English and French.)

Contains in addition to the documents issued by the British Foreign Office preliminary material and documents issued during the Conference by various delegations.

The British official point of view on the problem of the London Conference and its results is contained in the following documents:


Comments on the London Conference.

After tracing the history of the disarmament movement and describing the work accomplished since the war by the League of Nations and outside it, the author deals in detail with the London Conference—preliminaries, discussions and results—and states the French point of view.

Technical results of the conference.

The author describes the development of naval disarmament, dwelling particularly on the work of the London Conference, and states the Italian point of view.

Feo, V. de. La Conferenza navale di Londra. Art. in Gerarchia 10: 444-451, giugno 1930.
Analysis of the policy of the various Powers at the Conference.

Analysis of the work of the London Conference and of the importance of its results affecting Germany.

"Pertinax" criticises the results of the London Conference from the French point of view, and studies the problem of security as raised at that Conference.

Gerothwohl, M. Protagonisti e tesì navali in conflitto a Londra. Art. in Gerarchia 10: 791-807, ottobre 1930.
Analysis of the composition of the delegations taking part in the Conference—more especially of the Italian Delegation—and of the points of view which they upheld.

Studies the problem of disarmament since the war up to the London Conference and analyses the negotiations which led to the convening of that Conference.

The work of the Conference with special reference to the Franco-Italian question.

The author gives a survey of armaments since the Washington Conference and studies the question of security and sanctions, as raised in London.

The naval requirements of France for ensuring communications with her Colonies.

Lecture given at the Royal Institute, followed by a discussion in which various naval experts represented the points of view of the British Labour Government and the opposition.

The former Director of the Political Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, who was a member of the French delegation to the Conference, compares the methods of the London Conference with the methods of the League of Nations, and examines the reasons which made the Three-Power Agreement possible.


The question of security as it arose at the London Conference.


Contains many tables showing the navies of the Great Powers. The writer combines in one chapter certain arguments for the scrapping of capital ships.


A study of the development of naval disarmament, bearing chiefly on the London Conference.


Survey of the problem of disarmament within and apart from the League of Nations.


The development of the question of naval disarmament since the Treaty of London.


A series of articles for and against the ratification of the Treaty of London by the United States, written by various experts, such as Henry E. Stimson, Charles F. Adams, Marc L. Bristol, Joseph T. Robinson, giving a good idea of the various American points of view.


The leading ideas of the London conference.


The importance of submarines for the defence of the weaker countries and the stand taken by France in favour of that arm.


Analysis of the work of the Conference.


Hearings of numerous naval authorities before the Naval Committee of the Senate, giving a good idea of the American point of view.
The works which follow deal more particularly with the Franco-Italian negotiations:

**Great Britain. Foreign Office.** Memorandum on the result of the negotiations with France and Italy for the reduction and limitation of naval armaments; February-March 1931. London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1931. (Cmd. 3812).

Memorandum containing as an annex the text of the bases of agreement.


Comparison of French and Italian naval forces at the beginning of 1931 and account of the negotiations undertaken with a view to a Franco-Italian agreement.

**La Bruyère, R.** L’accord naval. Art. in Revue politique et parlementaire 38 : 18-25, 10 avril 1931.

The Rome naval agreement and its relations with the Treaty of London—a French point of view.


The Franco-Italian naval agreement and the question of limitation of land armaments.


The Rome Naval Agreement analysed in its relation to the Washington Conference: an Italian point of view.

**Stone, W. T.** The Franco-Italian naval dispute. Art. in Foreign policy reports 7 : 151-160, June 24, 1931.

Study of the basis of the negotiations and the reasons for their failure. In the last chapter the author emphasises the importance for the Disarmament Conference of the negotiations which showed that all the Powers, with the exception of the United States, were in favour of a reduction of the tonnage of capital ships to 25,000 tons. (Comparative statistics of French and Italian naval forces as an annex.)

**FREEDOM OF THE SEAS AND DISARMAMENT.**

The following works deal with the question of the freedom of the seas, more particularly from the point of view of its influence on naval disarmament.

**Bernus, P.** La liberté des mers. Art. in Esprit international 3 : 368-392, juillet 1929.

The English and the American policy.

**Borah, W. E.** Seeherrschaft und Freiheit der Meere. Art. in Nord und Süd 53 : 197-204, März 1930.

The necessity of reaching an agreement on the question of the freedom of the seas in order to bring about a reduction in armaments.

* For works dealing with the question of freedom of the seas from an historical and general point of view, see in chapter, “The laws of warfare and their evolution”, p. 66.
  British and American views.

  Conferences and discussion in which various British naval authorities took part: proposals regarding an adaptation of the principle of the freedom of the seas to the changes brought about by the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Briand-Kellogg Pact.

  Necessity for revising the principles of international law in relation to maritime trade in times of war.

  The question of air attacks on the merchant marine.

  A series of articles dealing with English and American views on the problem of the freedom of the seas.

  A proposal for a basis of agreement defining the principle of the freedom of the seas.

  The proposals made by President Hoover and General Smuts regarding the freedom of the seas.

  Definition of the doctrine of the freedom of the seas.

  From the Treaty of London to the Briand-Kellogg Pact: from the Briand-Kellogg Pact to the London Conference—American and British views.

  The question before and after the war. The author is in favour of a naval disarmament agreement followed by a Conference for revising the laws of maritime warfare.

  British and American views at the Naval Conferences of Geneva and London.

  A new solution of the question of the freedom of the seas has been rendered necessary by the changes brought about by the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Briand-Kellogg Pact.
Rodgers, W. L. Political reasons making undesirable an international agreement as to the freedom of the seas. Art. in American journal of international law 23: 739-744, October 1929.

A statement on the method of conducting a possible future war would not be effective, since the political and economic conditions of such a conflict cannot be foreseen.


Freedom of the seas and definition of the aggressor.


In favour of the freedom of navigation in wartime except in the case of a measure of international constraint taken to compel compliance with international engagements.

Young, G. Free ships or free seas? Art. in New republic 61: 45-46, December 4, 1929.

Immunity of food transports.

X

DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY

STAGES TOWARDS SECURITY.

Draft Treaties of Mutual Assistance and Guarantee.

Report of the Temporary Mixed Commission for the reduction of armaments, regarding a draft treaty of mutual assistance. With text of the drafts of treaties of mutual assistance and mutual guarantee annexed. A.35.1923.IX.

Replies from Governments regarding the draft treaty of mutual assistance. A.35.1924.IX. (A.35 a, b, 1924.IX.)

Among the commentaries dealing with the development of security under the League of Nations, we would mention:


Deals with the question of guarantee up to the third Assembly (proposals and speeches of Lord Robert Cecil).

*Geneva Protocol (1924).*

Arbitration, security and reduction of armaments. Extracts from the debates of the fifth Assembly including those of the first and third Committees. Reports and resolutions adopted by the Assembly and the Council. C.708. 1924.IX. (C.C.O.1.).

*Protocol for the pacific settlement of international disputes.* Annexed to the resolution adopted, on October 2nd, 1924, by the fifth Assembly of the League of Nations and opened for signature on behalf of the Members of the League and of other States. C.606.M.211.1924.IX.

Among the numerous works commenting on the Geneva Protocol, we would mention:


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*Locarno Agreements (1925).*

Official publication giving the texts of the notes exchanged and agreements signed, in French and English:


These agreements are discussed in the following publications:


*General Pact for the Renunciation of War (1928).*

Official documents containing particulars of the preparation, framing and conclusion of the Pact:


Among the numerous works dealing with the Pact, we mention:


Interpretation of the Covenant. The Pact of Paris and its relation to the Covenant of the League and the Locarno Agreements.


Study of the problems which would be raised by adapting existing international law to the Briand-Kellogg Pact. Annexes numerous reference texts.


A French translation of this work has been published in "Académie de Droit international, Recueil des Cours 1929, vol. 24".


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Series No. 2. A.11 (a). 1931.V. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1931.V.5.)

Consult as commentary:

Committee on Arbitration and Security (1927-1930).

Minutes:

1st Session of the Committee on arbitration and security, December 1-2, 1927. C.667.M.225.1927.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1928.IX.2.)

2nd Session of the Committee on arbitration and security, February 20-March 7, 1928. C.165.M.50.1928.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1928.IX.6.)

As annexes the memoranda of the rapporteurs regarding arbitration, security and articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant. (Prague, January-February 1928.)

3rd Session of the Committee on arbitration and security, June 27-July 4, 1928. C.358.M.112.1928.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1928.IX.3.)

As an annex the texts of the General Act and three Model Bilateral Conventions of Conciliation, Arbitration and Judicial Settlement and three Model Treaties of Mutual Assistance and Non-Aggression.

A Commentary of the General Act is given by:


4th Session of the Committee on arbitration and security, April 28-May 9, 1930. C.357.M.149.1930.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1930.IX.3.) (Draft conventions annexed.)

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Financial assistance.


For the preparatory work in regard to financial assistance, the following League documents should be consulted:

Report of the Committee on arbitration and security. A.20. 1928.IX. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1928.IX.9.)

Financial assistance to States victims of aggression. C.P.D. 133. (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1928.IX.14.)

A survey of the work which resulted in the framing of the Convention is to be found in:


Special Committee appointed to frame a Draft General Convention to improve the Means of preventing War.


Report by the Third Committee to the Assembly. (Geneva, September 24, 1931) A.77.1931.IX.

General convention to improve the means of preventing war. A.78.1931.IX.
GENERAL STUDIES ON THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY.


Disarmament is a matter of increasing military and economic security.


Development, since the foundation of the League, of the question of security, which is bound up with the questions of arbitration and disarmament.


The prevention of war as provided for in the League Covenant and the Briand-Kellogg Pact. Detailed analysis of Article 16 of the Covenant (the question of security, the difficulty of applying effective sanctions).


After studying political combinations (Volume I)—alliances, permanent neutralities, the balance of power—the author analyses (Volume II) various means of maintaining the integrity and independence of States (Article 10 of the Covenant, Treaty of Mutual Assistance, Geneva Protocol, Locarno Agreements, Kellogg Pact, treaties of neutrality and non-aggression). Volume III deals with the question of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, with special reference to the relevant articles of the Covenant, the Geneva Protocol, the Locarno Agreements and the General Act. Lastly, Volume IV deals with the question of disarmament.


Historical account of the question of security and its development by the League. Inter-connection between the problems of security and disarmament.


Makes a special study of the connection between disarmament and the problem of security.


Draft convention with commentaries, prepared under the auspices of James T. Shotwell.

Steed, W. *Le désarmement est-il possible ?* Art. in Esprit international 5: 397-413, 1er juillet 1931.

Disarmament only possible if the idea of neutrality is abandoned in the event of a breach of the League Covenant and the Briand-Kellogg Pact.


The development of the problem of security in Western and Eastern Europe, more particularly from the point of view of this question as dealt with by the League of Nations up to 1926. Numerous documents are annexed.
INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS.

In order to make the principle of sanctions acceptable, it must be included in an international system from which private warfare is excluded.

Studies the military measures which may be taken under the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Detailed study of the problems connected with the establishment of an international police force, which, in the author’s opinion, would facilitate national disarmament.

Contains a study of the problem of sanctions as provided for in international law and in the Covenant of the League of Nations, followed by a scheme of economic sanctions.


Analysis of the question of international sanctions under the provisions of the League Covenant. Economic and military sanctions. American policy and the problem of sanctions.

Development of the problem of sanctions.

Examination of the problem of military sanctions in abstracto; analysis of the origin, present position and application of military sanctions under the Covenant; organisation of military sanctions under the structure of the League.

Several chapters are devoted to the question of military sanctions under the League Covenant.
XI

DISARMAMENT
FROM THE ECONOMIC POINT OF VIEW

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS
OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The following publications give a general survey of budget expenditure for national defence:

For the years 1920-1923, see:
League of Nations. Statistical enquiry into national armaments. (Part II: Budget expenditure on national defence 1921-1923). A.20.1923. IX.

For more general information on military expenditure within the framework of public finance, see:


Report of the Committee of Experts on Budgetary Questions with regard to the following questions:

Definition and classification of expenditure occasioned by national defence; methods of limitation of expenditure; diversity of methods of budget accountancy (draft model return annexed).

Report by the Committee of experts on budgetary questions. C.182.M.69.1931.IX. (Ser. L.O.N. P. 1931.IX.3.)
Study of the methods of publicity and of the limitation of expenditure on armaments as provided for in the draft Convention. Also contains extracts from previous reports of the Committee of Experts on Budgetary Questions.

ANALYSES OF MILITARY BUDGETS.

The author studies the influence of military expenditure on the state budgets and emphasizes the difficulties of an international comparison in this respect.

Cot, P. Le contrôle des dépenses militaires. Art. in Cahiers des droits de l'homme 31 : 82-84, 10 février 1931.
Study of the difficulties of Government, parliametary and administrative supervision.

Analysis of the 1931 military budget of France.

Study of the British defence organisation and of the sums necessary for its upkeep. Analysis of the expenditure on British defence before and since the war. Compares the military budgets of Great Britain with the military budgets of the United States and France.


Suggests a scheme of budgetary limitation based on a gradual reduction in accordance with a pre-arranged plan and spread over a number of years.


Examines the possibility of comparing the different countries' armaments expenditure and the question of budgetary limitation, with many comparative statistics showing the percentage represented by military expenditure in the total budget of the various States.


Study of Germany's military expenditure and analysis of the different parts of the budget in which these sums appear. Comparison between the figures of before and since the war.


Survey of the expenditure occasioned by national defence in France and analysis of the different headings under which these sums appear.


Analysis of German military expenditure.


Analysis of the French military budget.


Scheme for a budgetary limitation of the Chinese armies.

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**ARMAMENTS AND NATIONAL ECONOMY.**

Angell, N. *If we disarm, does it mean more unemployed?* Art. in *Headway* 13: 124-125, July 1931.

Disarmament would not create unemployment, the money spent on armaments being drawn from the wages fund of other industries and thus leading to unemployment in these industries.


Demonstrates the economic advantages of investing the sums utilised for armaments in other industries.


Necessity of disarmament from the economic point of view.

An improvement in economic relations between States would promote general disarmament.

Disarmament and the worker. Art. in New leader 20 : 6, July 31, 1931.

Proposal by a committee of the Independent Labour Party concerning the employment, in case of disarmament of the workmen at present engaged in military industries.

Disarmament or war? Art. in Economist 113 : 105-106, July 18, 1931.

The ill-success of the attempts towards reducing armaments lies at the root of international unrest.


Studies the causes and the political and economic consequences of the increase in armaments and shows that organised disarmament would not lead to increased unemployment.


Gives a general survey of the movement in favour of the limitation of pre-war military burdens and puts forward political and economic arguments in favour of limitation.


Detailed study of the development of preparations for war, not only from the military but also from the economic and financial standpoints, between 1870 and the beginning of the Great War. Deals particularly with German pre-war armaments and compares them with those of the other great military Powers.


The author analyses the effect of military expenditure on the economic situation of the country and adds numerous statistics in support of his arguments.


Deals in a few chapters with the influence of military expenditure on national economy.


Study of the problems which would be raised by disarmament in different branches of industry and of the possible solutions for preventing consequent unemployment.


Comparison between military expenditure and debts contracted abroad (with comparative tables).


In a chapter "The Financial Effects of Disarmament" the author analyses the great economic advantages of disarmament and indicates the losses incurred in different forms by the national economy as a result of armaments.
XII

DISARMAMENT AND THE GENERAL
DISARMAMENT MOVEMENT

The previous chapters have given a selection of works dealing with different aspects of the disarmament question. In addition, there are numerous publications of various kinds (records of congresses, reports of meetings, extensive pacifist literature) partly devoted to the disarmament question and discussing it in a more or less general manner; it is impossible to give a complete list in this work. The Library possesses a large number of these works, a small selection of which is given below.


The three first volumes of this vast encyclopaedic work examine particularly the mechanism of warfare, on which depends the method of organisation of combatant forces. The subsequent volumes deal with the influence of armaments on the finances and productive power of the different countries, as well as the connection between armaments and social movements. The author concludes that the nature of modern warfare would render a decisive victory impossible and would lead to the economic impoverishment of both parties.


Summaries of various countries’ attitude to the problem of disarmament.


Analyses the causes of armed conflicts. General disarmament would increase the feeling of security.


Contains two articles by W. I. Hull and Sir W. Dickinson “The Churches and Disarmament”, stressing the important part which the Churches will be called upon to play in the campaign for disarmament.


Collection of articles written by one of the leaders of the pre-war pacifist movement, analysing the moral, political and military aspects of disarmament.


Speeches on disarmament delivered at a Conference of Churches. (London, 1931.)
HOW TO USE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS LIBRARY.

A SHORT GUIDE

Published for the Purposes of the Disarmament Conference

The League of Nations Library collects all documentary collections information concerning the various fields of activity in which the League is engaged. It possesses the following collections:

Main Collection of Books. — Works on politics in different countries, international politics (including disarmament), international law, law, geography, economic, financial, military and social questions, health, communications and transit questions. In the present guide only a certain number of books relating to disarmament and military questions are mentioned. For others the catalogue should be consulted.

Reference Books. — A very complete collection of general and special encyclopaedias, dictionaries, year-books published by various Governments, biographical dictionaries, directories, etc.

Laws. — A complete set of the collections of laws published by almost every country in the world; this enables the reader to find the text of any law of older or more recent date.

Official Gazettes. — This collection of official gazettes regularly received from all countries of the world permits information to be obtained as to all the most recent treaties and legislation.


Pamphlet drawn up at the request of the Association suisse des Pasteurs antimilitaristes containing arguments in favour of disarmament.


Describes a future war, which would endanger the lives of whole populations. Against conscription and the military training of youth.


Disarmament and the renunciation of war.


Contains chapters on disarmament and the danger of future chemical warfare.


Periodical publication in which the question of disarmament has occupied an important place. Its columns contain important discussions between partisans and opponents of the disarmament movement at this time.
Government Documents. — This collection includes army regulations, army lists, navy lists, etc., records of parliamentary debates, and the texts of bills (e.g., finance bills) and reports submitted to the legislative bodies of various countries, official bulletins of the different ministries (including official bulletins of war ministries in various countries), statistics, etc.

Archives. — A complete collection of the documents published by the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Pamphlets. — The Library receives numerous pamphlets on all subjects that may interest the League of Nations. Pamphlets on disarmament form a special collection.

Maps. — The Library possesses a collection of atlases and maps arranged by countries. The large general atlases are kept in the reading-room, where they may be consulted.

Periodicals. — This collection consists of about 1,500 of the best military, legal, political, economic, financial and social periodicals. For those not mentioned in the guide, the complete list of periodicals taken regularly by the Library should be consulted. In the case of some of these, the numbers for the current year are kept on the shelves in the reading-room. For other periodicals and for issues of previous years, application should be made to the Loan and Information Desk in the reading-room.

Daily Papers. — A number of representative daily newspapers are taken by the Library. The latest issue may be consulted in a special room, where a list of all the daily newspapers to which the Information Section subscribes will also be found.

The Library also places at the disposal of delegates a collection of recent press summaries on the subject of disarmament.

The Library endeavours not only to form very complete collections, but also to be a centre of study and research able to give technical information based on the material it possesses.

The Political and Legal Reference Service of the Library keeps specifically in touch with the Conference as regards questions of politics, disarmament, military matters, international law, etc. For questions relating to economics, public finance, budgets, etc., application should be made to the Library's Economic and Financial Reference Service.

For general purposes, the Loan and Information Desk should be consulted.

(a) Books. — Author, title and subject cards are arranged alphabetically in one file. A list of subject-headings under which works on disarmament and military questions are classified is at the disposal of the Conference.

(b) Articles in Periodicals. — Two catalogues of articles to be found in 1,200 periodicals dating from 1920 onwards.

(a) Catalogue of subject cards, arranged alphabetically;

(b) A catalogue of subject cards arranged logically.

(c) Treaties and Laws.

(a) Catalogue by countries;

(b) Catalogue by subjects.

(d) Index to Political Events. — This gives dates and documents concerning important events in foreign politics. Classification by countries and, under each country, in chronological order.
The library is open daily from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m.

For the use of the Library by persons not belonging to League organisations, application should be made to the Loan and Information Desk, which will give particulars of the special rules in force on the subject.

Circulation of books. — To trace a book, look up the call-number in the catalogue (left-hand corner of the card). Direct access is given to the shelves in the reading-room, and readers are therefore allowed to take the books for themselves. As regards books kept in stacks, e.g., governmental documents and periodicals of previous years and maps, which are kept in a special room, an application form should be handed in to the Loan and Information Desk.

Reservation of books. — If readers desire to have certain publications reserved for them, they are asked to leave them with the Loan and Information Desk and to sign a form for the purpose.

Lending. — The Library does not lend publications for home use. Members of the Conference who desire to take publications into the Conference rooms must apply to the Loan and Information Desk, where they will be requested to sign a borrower’s form.

Photographs. — The Library’s photostatic equipment enables any texts to be rapidly reproduced. This is particularly useful when a newspaper article, an extract from a book, a law, a statistical table or a diagram has to be copied. For all information as to photographic reproduction, application should be made to the Political and Legal Reference Service.

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1. Political and Legal Reference Service.
2. Loan and Information Desk.
3. Main Catalogue.
4. Index to Articles in Periodicals.
5. Index to Treaties and Laws.
6. Index to Political Events.
In order to make its documentation more readily accessible to Governments or to others concerned who are unable to consult it on the spot, the Library issues the following publications:

* The "Monthly List of Selected Articles" quotes a number of articles (resulting from the regular indexing of about 1,200 periodicals) relating to the various activities of the League. This is of great value to anyone desirous of rapidly obtaining information as to the most recent articles on the League or on international law, political, military, social, health, economic, financial or communications and transit questions. Special chapters are devoted to disarmament and military questions (Chapter I: League of Nations [political activities], and Chapter II: political questions [armaments, disarmament]).

* "Chronology of International Treaties and Legislative Measures" (monthly) published by the Legal and Political Reference Service of the Library and based on an examination of the official journals of almost all the countries of the world. This chronology provides the latest conventions, treaties and legislation (laws, bills, decrees, etc.). Chapter II is devoted to military questions and contains international agreements on the subject and laws concerning credits for military purposes, recruiting, army organisation, etc.

"Monthly Survey of Political Events." This gives a survey of events in foreign policy and certain domestic political matters, (e.g., elections and changes of Government) that may be of special interest to the League Secretariat. This publication is based on extracts from newspapers and communications from telegraphic agencies; the chapter entitled "Disarmament" mentions the chief events that take place in this connection (parliamentary debates, Government statements, budgetary votes, etc.).


Various bibliographies: the most recent of these (which appeared in 1931) is the "Annotated Bibliography of the Principal Works on the League of Nations."

* "Brief Guide to League of Nations Publications", revised edition, 1930, which analyses the publications of the League with a view to facilitating their use.

The Library places all these publications at the disposal of readers. Those marked with an asterisk are on sale with the authorized agents for League of Nations publications, and with the Publications Service of the League of Nations.
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