

## III.—Where there is an Imminent Threat of War.

(a) Everything should be done to ensure that the Council shall meet with the greatest promptitude. In this connection the committee refers to the recommendations which it made in its previous report on these questions (document C. 677, dated the 4th December, 1926).

(b) Even before the Council meets it is desirable that the Acting-President should send telegraphic appeals to the parties to the dispute to refrain forthwith from any hostile acts. The nature of this appeal will necessarily vary with the circumstances of each case.

If, owing to exceptional circumstances, the Secretary-General considered that the Acting-President was not in a position to act, he might request the ex-President most recently in office who is available to take this step in the name of the Council.

(c) As soon as the Council meets it will no doubt verbally urge on the representatives of the nations in dispute the great importance of avoiding a breach of the peace.

(d) Further, the Council may take steps to see that the *status quo* is not disturbed in such manner as to aggravate or extend the dispute and thus compromise the pacific settlement of the dispute. For this purpose it may indicate to the parties any movements of troops, mobilization operations, and other similar measures from which it recommends them to abstain.

Similar measures of an industrial, economic, or financial nature may also be recommended. The Council may request the parties to notify their agreement on these points within the shortest possible space of time, the length of which will, if necessary, be fixed by the Council.

The details of these measures, and even their nature, obviously depend upon the whole of the circumstances of the dispute. It should be mentioned that in certain cases with which it has had to deal the Council fixed a neutral zone on either side from which the parties to the dispute were called upon to withdraw their troops.

(e) In order to satisfy itself of the way in which these measures have been carried out, and to keep itself informed of the course of events, the Council may think it desirable to send representatives to the locality of the dispute. The Secretary-General, duly authorized by the Council, would keep lists of experts—political, economic, military, &c.—on the basis of lists supplied by the States members of the League, and of applications for employment submitted to him. These lists, classified to categories, would be held by the Secretary-General at the disposal of the Council, which in case of crisis would thus have the names of suitable experts before it. The Council may also have recourse in this connection to diplomatic personages stationed in the neighbourhood who belong to States not parties to the dispute.

(f) Should any of the parties to the dispute disregard the advice or recommendations of the Council, the Council will consider the measures to be taken. It may manifest its formal disapproval. It may also recommend to its members to withdraw all their diplomatic representatives accredited to the State in question, or certain categories of them. It may also recommend other measures of a more serious character.

(g) If the recalcitrant State still persists in its hostile preparations or action, further warning measures may be taken, such as a naval demonstration. Naval demonstrations have been employed for such a purpose in the past. It is possible that air demonstrations might, within reasonable limits, be employed. Other measures may be found suitable according to the circumstances of each case.

## IV.—General.

(a) It should be pointed out that the very general terms of article 11—"any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations"—allow of any action which does not imply recourse to war against the recalcitrant State. The above-mentioned measures have only been given as examples. Circumstances might lead to an alteration in the order of their application.

(b) In taking any of these measures the Council will, of course, not lose sight of the distinction made in article 11 between paragraph 1, which deals with "threats of war," and paragraph 2, which deals with "circumstances which threaten to disturb the good understanding between nations."

(c) In any case contemplated above the members of the League not represented at the Council should be kept fully informed. Where necessary or desirable, their collaboration with the Council might be sought, either by sending a communication to each of them or by summoning a special meeting of the Assembly.

(d) In the case of disputes between member States and non-member States, or between non-member States, the Council will apply article 11 in the light of the above observations, bearing in mind the circumstances of each case.

(e) If, in spite of all steps here recommended, a "resort to war" takes place, it is probable that events will have made it possible to say which State is the aggressor, and in consequence it will be possible to enforce more rapidly and effectively the provisions of article 16.

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New Zealand, No. 134.

SIR,—

Downing Street, 4th July, 1927.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's despatch, No. 83, of the 28th April, transmitting a report, dated the 28th March, based on the reception at the Awarua Wireless Station of telephone transmissions between Rugby and New York.

2. With regard to paragraph 2 of the despatch the Postmaster-General states that the reports which have been furnished periodically have proved of considerable