

**THE LEAGUE OF  
NATIONS.  
SECOND EDITION**

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The League of Nations. Second Edition by Sir Frederick Pollock

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**SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK**

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# THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

BY THE

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SECOND EDITION.

Fiat iustitia ne pereat mundus.

*Leibnitz.*

"We fought to gain a lasting peace, and it is our supreme duty to take every measure to secure it. For that nothing is more essential than a strong and enduring League of Nations."—*The King's message to the League of Nations Union, October 13th, 1919.*

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## PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.



THE purpose of this book is to give a practical exposition of the Covenant of the League of Nations, with so much introduction as appears proper for enabling the reader to understand the conditions under which the League was formed and had to commence its work. If here and there I have been tempted to wander from the strait way, the digressions are not long enough to call for any special apology.

No systematic attempt has yet been made to deal with the bibliography of the subject, which is indeed growing so fast that such an attempt would be premature. I have therefore not thought it useful to print a general list of authorities which would be imperfect at best. At the heads of chapters, however, especially the introductory ones, I have given references to authentic documents and to other publications which seemed fitted to assist the reader in verify-

ing the facts or undertaking fuller research. These references make no pretence to completeness and imply no judgment of any kind on works not cited; among those I have not seen or not used there may be many quite as good as those I have myself found profitable. I trust however that the selection, such as it is, may be helpful (*a*).

For like reasons I do not profess to appraise the individual merit of the statesmen and authors whose labours prepared the way for the establishment of the League. A justly proportioned view is hardly possible in our time.

Some general acquaintance with the notorious events of recent years is assumed; I see no middle course between taking so much for granted and writing a history of the war. For my part I have no higher ambition than that, when the time is ripe for a definitive record, this volume may save the future historian some trouble.

When the present edition was called for it became necessary to take account of the activities

(*a*) At the last moment I call attention to an interesting paper in the "Bulletin de la Société autour du Monde" for Dec. 1921 (9 Quai du Quatre-Septembre, Boulogne-sur-Seine), which might escape most readers here: E. Tonnelat, *Opinions allemandes sur la Société des Nations*.

of the League in the meantime. Contrary to the not uncommon belief, or affectation thereof, that the League has been idle, these have been so various that I should have despaired of the task but for the help generously given by the officers of the League of Nations Union in London and of the League itself, to whom I return my best thanks for the communication of official publications and other valuable information. It will be understood that only very brief statement is compatible with preserving the general object and scale of the book. Subject to that condition, I have aimed at bringing the facts down to the end of 1921, with a few later additions (*b*).

The time is not ripe for saying anything of the Washington Conference and its results, except that if the United States had not refused to enter the League of Nations the like or even better results could have been attained much more simply. But, even as it stands, the League is already powerful for good if Governments will honestly use the means it provides. As Sir A. Balfour lately said:—"If the League of Nations reaches its full strength and stature, if

(*b*) Disarmament on land is now being considered by a Commission of the League sitting in Paris, which expects to report in July.