

# **THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

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The League of Nations by Sir Frederick Pollock

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**SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK**

**THE LEAGUE  
OF NATIONS**



*BY THE SAME AUTHOR.*

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# THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

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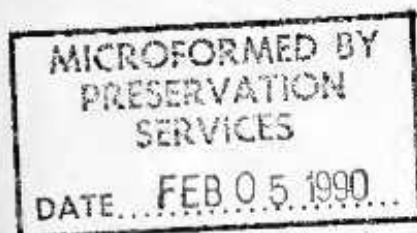
BARRISTER-AT-LAW, D.C.L., LL.D.

*Correspondent of the Institute of France; Associate Member of the  
Royal Academy of Belgium.*

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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4-10-20

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12715  
P6

**ROBERTO CECIL**

**INTER VIROS VERE PACIFICOS INSIGNI.**





## PREFACE.



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 has 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 verifying 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.

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.

F. P.

LINCOLN'S INN,

*November 30th, 1919.*

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NOTE.—In the course of November, 1919, the Senate of the United States refused to ratify the Peace Treaty with Germany save with various reservations to the Covenant. Those reservations were drawn without due consideration, being for the most part amplified statements of what is expressed or clearly implied in the text of the Covenant itself. The result was a deadlock involving at best regrettable delay, but down to the end of November the issue seemed likely to be a compromise of some kind compatible with the adhesion of the United States to the League. It must be plainly understood, however, that there can be no true League unless the members are pledged in principle to mutual defence and support against external aggression. "Covenants without the sword are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all." It will be a long time before we can afford to forget that saying of Thomas Hobbes.