



# La Voix de l'Humanité

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et de la « Ligue pour la Défense de l'Humanité »



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## Draft of the Constitution of an Universal League of Nations

The open discussion of this draft, which comes from a private source, is intended to offer the Swiss Committee for the preparation of the Union of Nations suitable material for its definite « Proposal for the Organisation of an Universal League of Nations », which « Proposal » will be forwarded to all correspondents who send in their views on this Draft. Communications should be addressed to the editorial office of the « Voix de l'Humanité », 3 Jumelles, Lausanne.

### Introduction

Both belligerent parties in the present war have repeatedly declared that they do not aim at conquests; that they are striving towards the realisation of a peaceable « Society of Nations »; that they recognise every nation's right freely to dispose of themselves, and are prepared to respect the economical independence of all nations. The « Swiss Committee for the preparation of the Union of Nations » believes that both parties are in a position, and are honestly willing, to draw the conclusions to which these declarations lead; therefore it attributes the cause of the continuation of the present war solely to the impossibility of a direct and open expression of opinion among the warring nations, which is due to the mistrust existing on both sides. In order to overcome this difficulty the Committee publishes for the benefit of all countries this Draft of a Constitution of the World-Union of Nations, with the intention of showing that the practical realisation of the principles to which both sides have declared their agreement would render possible a lasting, secure and peaceful community of life among different nations.

All who are striving towards the attainment of these aims, and thereby towards a speedy termination of the war, are invited to communicate their agreement with these aims, or any improvements they may have to propose. Those who are indifferent or adverse to a discussion of these practical and impartial proposals show, whatever they may say to the contrary, that they attach no importance to an union of nations and lasting peace.

Our Draft is the outcome of the following lines of thought.

1. The possibility of a community of life among the nations, reposing on equal rights and actual guarantees, and on the assurance of security and freedom for all, must be regarded as the necessary condition for the speedy termination of the war, and as a basis for ultimate peace. It is a mistake to expect that a world peace leading to a union

of nations could be obtained by any other means.

2. The belligerents must therefore give up all demands which could be satisfied only by the crushing of the opponent. They must not regard the outcome of the war as a « judgment in favour of right », but must follow the dictates of reason which would attach more importance to the obtaining of a lasting peace than to the satisfaction to be derived from military or material success.

3. The constituting of a really legalised and efficiently protected organisation of the community of nations, which should break the ban of militarism and imperialism, will by lawful and evolutionary development conduce to bring about the right of nations to self-determination and contribute to their democratisation. It will do this more rapidly and with greater security than all attempts at changing forcibly either frontiers or forms of government, which attempts tend to prolong sanguinary strife, insecurity and paralysis.

4. The organisation of the community of nations must at least comprise what is necessary for the security of a permanent and undisturbed foundation of such a community. It must not be hampered by anything which can be dispensed with; on the other hand, it must strive towards the introducing of a voluntary community of labour on the part of all nations in every field of human activity that makes for civilisation. The new order of things must guarantee the complete cultural and economical freedom of the individual states, and must therefore, with regard to questions of this kind, be restricted to tendering suggestions and promotion. It must, moreover, awaken and strengthen a new spirit and attitude, in lieu of the more intellectual and materialistic forms of activity characteristic of recent times — a spirit which before all shall further the cause of psychic moral values.

5. As between individual states, so in regard to nations which are not at the outset incorporated in the Universal Union of Nations, the principle of the preservation of the present status of possession and the abandonment of all attempts at conquest, must be maintained. Therefore military force should be employed only when the existence of the Union is threatened from without or within.

6. The establishment of the League of Nations must result from the initiative taken by the legislative bodies of the belligerent countries. The stimulus towards such initiative should come from a movement embracing all Neutrals and aiming at the realisation of these fundamental ideas.

### Draft of the Constitution

#### Fundamental articles

1. The aim of the Universal League of Nations is the permanent regulation of a community of life among the different nations, in order that their cultural and economic independence and their free development may be ensured; also their protection against any threats and intimidation.

(Note. The term « Universal League of Nations » is employed to designate an union of all the nations of the world, not a mere union of individuals or States: it is also in opposition to an European Union etc.)

2. The organisation and laws of the League must be so framed as to entice all nations of the world to become members of this union; yet the League should function, without taking into account the number of nations that have become attached to it, so soon and so long as its existence and activity appear to be assured.

3. The decision in regard to the eligibility of the various nations for incorporation in the League is vested in the World Council, which would have to consider the cultural, political and economical conditions of the nations involved. Nations with whom the right of vote was limited to about 10% (? 20%) of the total population, could be accepted only as « colonies ».

Against the decision of the Council an appeal for reconsideration would be allowed. The grounds for such appeal would be determined by a special resolution on the part of the Council.

4. All nations which become incorporated in the League acknowledge thereby its organisation and constitution as contained in the *Fundamental Articles* of the League here set forth. The elimination or alteration of old regulations, or the creation of new, would be valid only on the unanimity of all members of the League.

(Note. The condition regarding the unanimity of votes as to resolutions about regulations seems to be necessary for the present, in order that all fears as to a possible attempt at coercion may be dispelled. When the present mistrust shall have disappeared, it will always be within the power of the Council to modify this condition in the event of such modification being necessary for the further development of the League.)

5. Resolutions which, although not adopted unanimously, yet have the support of the majority of the members of the Council, are to be regarded as « free regulations » of the League if, and so long as, they do not come into conflict with Fundamental principles. « Free regulations » are



binding only on such members of the League whose national Parliaments have ratified them.

6. Every « free regulation » must be so framed as to offer the possibility and modalities of withdrawal from it on the part of any nation that has assented to it at any time.

7. In the formation of resolutions concerning such « free regulations » as are in force only representatives of those nations may take part who have adopted these regulations.

8. In the carrying out of « free regulations » organs and institutions of the League may be called into service, provided all the financial expenditure incurred by the treasury of the Union in connection therewith be refunded by the nations who have adopted the respective regulations.

9. In the event of a member State of the Union refusing, or not being in a position, to fulfil the obligations it has undertaken, the World Council is to adopt all possible measures calculated to bring such State to the fulfilment of its obligations. (E. g., confiscation of customs duties, or coercive administration.) The Council would determine the requisite course of procedure.

10. If single provinces should desire separation from the State they belong to, the Council is bound to carry such claim out in so far as it can be shown by a regular system of voting :

1. that more than 75 % of the inhabitants having the right of election to the Council are demanding separation and reconstitution ; moreover that this majority is striving in the same direction towards separation and reconstitution ;
2. that the satisfaction of such demands is necessary to remove hindrances to the cultural and economical development of the provinces in question ;
3. that through such desired reconstitution no rights and claims of the Union shall be impaired ;
4. that provinces desiring separation be willing, and in a position, to take upon themselves, in accordance with their means of taxation, their corresponding share of the financial obligations of the State from which they wish to separate.

The sanctioning of such demands for separation shall be withheld if the State affected can prove :

1. that the satisfaction of such demands would necessarily endanger the interests of its other provinces ;
2. that it is in a position and prepared to grant to the aggrieved province the very privileges which that province by its action is trying to obtain.

The decision as to the demands of separation rests solely with the World Council.

Article 10 shall come into force in the tenth year of the League's existence.

(Note. By this means all unified nationalities shall have the possibility of a legalised separation from a State-control which does actually impede their development. Precautions shall guard against any abuse of this possibility of relief. Article 20 provides for this. The lapse of time will give all States an opportunity, after the war fever is over, so to treat the nationalities incorporated within them that they shall have no justification for appealing to article 10.)

11. The Union guarantees for its members their frontiers, under reservation of the possibilities mentioned in article 10 ; further, their constitution, in so far as it does not conflict with the constitution of the Union ; also their sovereignty in so far as this is not affected by the above-mentioned reservations.

12. The individual States are pledged, in the event of disagreement among themselves, not to have recourse to their own self-defence, but to submit to the Union authorities, in the last instance to the World Council.

13. If a member State is threatened by attack from a State not belonging to the League, the Council is to be immediately informed thereof, and its directions are to be carried out unhesitatingly.

14. If disturbances should arise within an individual member State the Council is bound, as a result of an appeal made to it in regular order, and in accordance with the conditions prescribed for

the adoption of Fundamental Articles, to send troops to restore order. All costs and consequences resulting therefrom fall to the State that has demanded such intervention.

(Note. The motion for intervention can (see article 68) be made by any member of the Council and by the heads of departments, yet only by unanimity of the Council can it be adopted. If, therefore, not all of the Council delegates of the country in which disturbance has arisen are in agreement, intervention cannot follow.)

15. In the event of military action on the part of the League all individual States must carry out the demands and directions of the commanders appointed by the Council. If action on the part of the latter was necessary through no fault of theirs, they have the right to demand from the League compensation for any expenses and damage that may be incurred.

16. The individual States have the option of limiting or annulling the immigration, residence, or settlement, of foreigners. In no case, however, must subjects of one federal State be placed at greater disadvantage than those of any other federal State. In regard to subjects of States which remain outside the League, such limitations require the consent of the World Council.

(Note. The possibility of making demands in connection with all that appertains to physical, spiritual and material welfare is extended in order to prevent undesirable immigration, without of necessity excluding any nation or race. In this way the protection of the rightful interests of all nations can well be combined with the maintenance of universal peace.)

17. The Council aims at introducing a universal language for all official intercourse. Such language, after the sanction of the Council has been obtained, is to become an object of compulsory instruction in all schools of the States belonging to the League. Two years after the introduction of the world-language, at the latest, every official of the League must possess a knowledge of the same. Likewise the use of the world-language for all meetings and for all information provided by the League and its organisations must be declared obligatory.

18. Entry into the League binds the federal States to guarantee to all their citizens lawful and complete freedom of language and religion in their private life. In administrative districts in which, according to the last census taken, more than 20 % of the settled population speak a language other than the language of the country, the use of world-language is to be considered tantamount to the use of the official language in all official institutions, or those maintained out of the public funds (e. g., schools, courts of justice, official announcements etc.). Until the third year after the introduction of the universal language the pre-existing relations are to be maintained.

19. The Council is bound to take all suitable measures for keeping all subjects of the federal States instructed in the objects and achievements of the League ; to inform them of, and give explanations as to, the transactions and resolutions of its authorities, and to ensure the mutual knowledge and understanding of its citizens.

20. The Council has the right to punish those who publicly, by word, writing, or sketch, insult or threaten the institutions and organisations of the League or the nations connected with it. More precise enactments in this matter the Council will have to frame.

(Note. In order to guard against any repression of healthy and profitable criticism — which repression might result from this method of protection against international hatred or animosity — it has been proposed to introduce professional « courts of honour » in all countries. These tribunals should pass judgment in all cases of breach of article 20. After their decision, according to the seriousness of the case either on the appeal of the offended party, or officially through the World Council, the matter may go before the federal tribunal.)

21. The Council will encourage and promote among the federated nations, the reinstatement or creation of « free regulations » concerning, among others, the following questions :

- a. Industrial hygiene ;
- b. Labour, accident, and old-age insurance ;

- c. Sick and unemployed relief insurance ;
- d. Poor relief ;
- e. The securing of a minimum income for all inhabitants of the Union ;
- f. Eugenics ;
- g. Prohibition of alcohol ;
- h. Prohibition of Prostitution ;
- i. Female and child factory labour ;
- k. Promotion of federal matches of gymnastics and sports ;
- l. Improvement of the protection of literary and artistic authors' rights.

22. The appropriation of public and State funds for enterprises undertaken for profit in places outside the home country is forbidden. Exceptions to this rule are valid only with the World Council's sanction.

23. Every federal State is pledged to forbid its members by law to sell abroad at cheaper prices than at home.

24. The League has the right to impose penalties on whomsoever in international commercial relations has been guilty of unfair competition.

25. Customs, commercial, and other economic treaties may be freely concluded by every nation, and are to be safe-guarded by the League. Yet such treaties must serve no political ends and in no way place one federal state at a disadvantage to another.

26. The League has the right, with the sanction of all its member States, to introduce agreements and arrangements in regard to means of communication for the whole region over which the League extends ; further to take over the direction of railway and sea connections, of automobile and aerial enterprises, etc. ; but this would fall to a separate department of the administration.

27. All land and sea routes within the range of the Union, and between its individual States, must always stand open at all times to all the federal countries. Any stoppage of such routes could be adopted by the World Council only in the interests of the whole Union.

28. The « Colonial Office », commissioned for the purpose, will guard the interests of nations who shall be received into the Union as « colonials ». The World Council, while acting as a guardian toward its ward, will leave such nations conscientious freedom in their right to self-determination. The Colonial Office will have to elaborate the regulations requisite for the execution of its economical, political, cultural, military, and financial objects, and will submit them to the World Council for sanction.

For the first 10 years after the Union's Constitution has come into force all institutions and officials of the « colonial » countries are to be kept as they were up till August 1st, 1914, in so far as the Union's activity is not disturbed thereby.

(Note. As « colonies » in the sense to be adopted by the Union's organisation only a small number of the lands described as « colonies » at the present day would come under consideration. (See article 3.) The attitude adopted towards the question of colonial possession must be regarded as a test of sincerity in the matter of abandoning all attempts at governing by force, and at world-domination, without which resignation no permanent peace is possible. The real economic needs of all nations will be better assured on such lines than by the application of force. All national sensitiveness must be removed in the imperative interests of humanity as a whole.)

29. All federated individual States have in all colonies fundamentally equal rights in commercial traffick and in settlement. The League will be justified in issuing orders relative to the systematic cultivation of the whole of its territory, and to the granting of equal access, for all its members, to the colonial products, so as to facilitate the securing of a minimum income for every necessitous citizen.

30. The receipts of the countries under the administration of the « Colonial Office » are to be employed only for their own use and for the needs of this Office, as well as for the improvement of those countries' relations with the federal States. The receipts must in no wise be appropriated for the general objects of the League.



21. The general expenses of the League shall be covered by contributions of the federal States in proportion to the number of their electors to the World Council. As to the creation and amount of a League Reserve Fund the Council shall decide.

32. The supplying of any goods required by the League authorities is, in the case of several equally favorable offers, to be distributed among the offering countries in proportion to the amount of their contributions to the League's general expenses.

33. So long as all the States of the world have not become members of the League, the foreign affairs of the federal States are to be conducted for them by the « Foreign Office » of the League.

34. No single federal State shall be justified in concluding treaties of a political nature. All existing treaties of this description must either be dissolved by giving notice, or else must, within a term to be fixed by the World Council, be adapted to the legal requirements of the League, whereupon the Foreign Office shall take them over.

35. The federal States are free to maintain commercial representations in any country. Should the laws of the League be in any way infringed by any action of a commercial representative the political representation of the League in the country in question will be bound to intervene.

36. International conventions other than those made in published State treaties are void.

37. The League shall maintain a federal army and navy so long as there be any need for defensive precaution against non-federal States. Should this necessity cease, the « federal defence department » section of the Constitution must be abolished by means of measures to be taken by the World Council.

(Note. It is recognised on all sides that in that new and better world towards which we are striving there can be no room for militarism, and that its abolition is the inevitable preliminary to a lasting peace. But all proposals for gradual disarmament must fail on account of the general mistrust now prevailing among nations. So long, therefore, as all the nations have not entered the League, military power will be indispensable to guard the League against attacks from without, as well as — at least during a certain period of transition — to maintain internal order. However difficult it may seem to many lovers of peace to adopt this point of view, the creation of federal armed force will be unavoidable — an army and navy under the control of the World Council. Just as the life and property of single citizens are better protected by State laws than by self-defence, the rights and freedom of all nations will be better safeguarded by the organised institutions of the League than by the armed lawlessness of their present mutual relations.)

38. The training and administration of the League's armed forces will be the task of a Federal Defence Department, to be appointed by the World Council, and which will have to deal with the whole range of affairs at present conducted by the War Offices and Admiralties of the various countries. This Department must submit to the Council, for eventual sanction, any regulations connected with its work.

39. The Council nominates the military and naval commanders, as well as their proxies, all of whom are responsible to the Council for their measures, in accordance with the law relating to the responsibility of the federal authorities.

40. The League's armed forces are to be employed solely for defensive purposes. They must not leave federal territory or coast defences unless it can be proved that an attack is threatening.

41. Every member State is pledged to contribute contingents to the League's military and naval forces in proportion to the number of its electors to the World Council. As to number, length of service, and fitness of the contingents the Federal Defence Department will issue regulations. The method of selecting men for the contingent is left to, and the amount of taxes to be paid for exemption from service on it is to be appropriated by, the single States.

42. All expenses for the up-keep of the federal defences are to be met by the federal treasury, more especially the costs arising in regard to

maintenance, accommodation, clothing, equipment, arming, hygiene, pay, compensation (in cases of illness or invalidity contracted during service), transport, and communication with the home-country for all who been called up for training or service.

43. The official language of service in all units of mixed nationality shall be the world-language, at latest from the third year after the date of the introduction of that language.

44. The League has the right to take over, for the use of its Defence Department in the exercise of its functions, all necessary buildings and land against a reasonable compensation to the proprietors. It has moreover the right to erect for the same purpose buildings and works and to demand the necessary expropriations from the States concerned. Furthermore it is justified in forbidding, through the intervention of the State to which they belong, the erection of buildings and works, and to order the removal of such as exist, in case such action is shown to be necessary in the interests of federal defence. It is the World Council's business to issue the requisite regulations in this matter.

45. The individual States are to prohibit their subjects from possessing fire-arms of high calibre and explosives. Exceptions are to be made only with the express sanction of the Federal Defence Department.

46. The manufacturing, stocking and delivery of fire-arms of long range, and of explosives used for military purposes, is permitted to the League alone.

47. The individual States are not allowed to maintain military troops. The police organisations, military, and fire-brigade necessary for the maintenance of internal security and order, must remain purely local organisations, and must not be provided with fire-arms of long range.

(Note. The strength of the police troops permissible in each country can be so standardised that interference in the internal order of the various nations, except in unusually difficult cases, may be avoided by the Federal Defence Department. On the other hand, the relation of such strength to the federal defences must be so small that the very idea of resistance to the latter should be impossible.)

48. The World Council is bound to work out proposals for the introduction of compulsory civil service for both sexes, and to see that such proposals are accepted in all member States.

(Note. The introduction of auxiliary civil service, not being indispensable as a safeguard for the League, must be left to the individual States. In consideration of the great importance of such service, however, in the interests of the citizen's hygiene, and to compensate for the coming discontinuance of military training, the League ought to be justified in incorporating in its Constitution an obligation to propagate the introduction of that service — the more so, because its adoption would involve a considerable burden upon national economy, and therefore the countries that now stand in competition with one another would be more likely to adopt it simultaneously rather than one after the other.)

49. All individual member States are free to draw up their own treaties with other States as to settlement, judicial relations, poor-rights, extradition, and other legal matters. The League will afford protection to such treaties; but they will be valid only if no other of the federal states shall thereby be at a disadvantage. Similar treaties with non-federal countries require the sanction of the World Council to become valid.

50. All similar legal treaties already existing are to be made conformable to the federal regulations within a period to be fixed by the Council, and, where necessary, notice thereof is to be given.

51. Against the decision of the Federal Criminal Court, Divorce Court, and Court of Administration (see article 88), appeal in the last instance to the World Council is permissible.

(Note. This breach of the principle of the separation of powers appears to be permissible, because the Council is the only federal authority elected by the confidence of all the members of the League. It could also be proposed, as an alternative, to grant the Council, in its capacity as supreme judicial organ, merely the right to refer a decision back to some other branch of the federal courts.)

52. The Council shall endeavour to obtain, as speedily as possible, uniformity in regard to all legal matters in all branches, for the totality of member countries. However, no State can be constrained to revise its laws unless they stand in contradiction to the Fundamental Laws of the League.

53. As soon as subdivision appears to be necessary on account of growth, the League shall be divided into three sub-groups: West (American continent with colonies); Central (the European States with their territories and colonies in other parts of the world); and East (Eastern Asia and colonies). It should be left to each nation to decide to which of these groups it shall belong. The division of the League should be carried out solely from a purely technical point of view and should affect neither the unity of the federal organisation, constitution, and regulations of the League, nor the equality of rights and duties of the individual States. Each branch of the Union must maintain official representations with the other two branches. The federal Foreign and Defence Departments, which would then have only a limited mission to fulfil, would be concentrated in the Central branch until they became finally dissolved.

54. The World Council will form a temporary committee which shall aid in the restoration of the districts damaged or destroyed by the war. Submissions of this committee will determine what sums are necessary, in all the lands affected, for the restoration of an economic existence to those citizens who can be proved to be incapable of such restoration by their own un-aided efforts. The necessary sums will be assessed among the individual States in proportion to the amounts of war-profits taxes raised by them. The restoration committee will, further, exercise control over the application of the funds brought forward, and will publish an annual public account of the same.

#### Second Part:

#### Federal authorities

55. In all matters connected with the carrying out of the aims described in Article 1 of this Constitution, which will be accepted, now or later, by the nations who have joined the League, the exclusive right of legislation and administration as also of supreme legal judgment and execution belongs to the World Council.

(Note. In accordance with article 51, for all resolutions in regard to Fundamental Laws unanimity is indispensable, whereas for « free regulations », on the other hand, the assent of the home parliament must be obtained, so that a satisfactory corrective may be thereby provided. Hence a superior council to keep watch over the doings of the World Council would be superfluous. In no case must the governments of the single States be considered as constituting such a council, since they function solely as the representatives of their own peoples and might disturb the League's activity in the equal interests of all members. The governments will have a sufficiently large and grateful sphere of activity in providing for the administration of their own countries.)

56. The World Council will be composed of delegates from among all the nations incorporated within the League. For every 300,000 (400,000) citizens having the right of electing delegates, there shall be one member elected to the Council. Any number above 150,000 shall be regarded as equivalent, in the matter of voting, to 300,000.

(Note. Assuming that the total population of the world amounts to about 1700 millions, and deducting the colonials and all minors, as well as those who, in accordance with article 59, have no right of vote, we have a number of voters extending to about 300 millions. Thus the Council would consist of about 750 to 1000 delegates. Should this number seem to be too high, the solution proposed in article 53 might be considered.)

57. The voting for the Council must be equal, free, and direct, for all who have the right to vote. It must proceed on the proportional system by means of lists.

The framing of regulations for the taking of votes must be left to the separate States. The laws promulgated for this purpose by each country require the assent of the Council.

58. Demands for the recounting of the votes



for the Council should be laid, in the first instance, before the scrutiny authorities of the country where the voting took place. If such demands remain unanswered longer than 4 weeks, or if those making the demands are not satisfied with the decision of the authorities, they can lodge an appeal before the federal scrutiny office, provided such appeal be accompanied by a signed request from at least 30,000 of the voters of the country in question.

59. All inhabitants of both sexes in a country that has been incorporated within the League are entitled to vote for the Council, provided they can show that they are citizens of one of the federal states, that they have attained their majority, and possess the rights of citizenship according to the laws of the country in which they are domiciled, and that they satisfy the requirement stated in Article 60.

60. Proof of a certain minimum of education will be required for the right of voting for the Council. The Council will issue details concerning the requirement.

(Note. Only a representative body elected as the result of equal and direct voting can secure to the masses permanent participation in the League. Such representation alone, thanks to the co-operation of people of all classes in all countries, who share the same ideas, will be able slowly but surely to remove the danger which, arising from national differences, threatens the peace of the world. The fostering of the national spirit will follow as the result of popular representation within the individual states; it will then come to fuller consciousness, and will be kept within healthy limits. The demand for an education-census appears to be justified, since only in this way can the ignorance of the masses be prevented from arresting the development of the League. Herein, too, lies no special hardship for the individual states concerned, since it rests with them, by their own efforts and within a reasonable time, to come up equal to other nations now in advance of them.)

61. Eligible as members of the World Council are all who have the right of vote for the Council, provided they have attained the age of 30.

62. The Council will be re-elected every five years.

63. The Council will elect a president and vice-president every year. (Re-election for the third time at most will be allowed.)

64. The Council's meetings will be public.

65. The presence of the absolute majority of all the members of the Council is indispensable to make the deliberations valid.

66. The seats of the federal authorities will be decided by the Council.

(Note. We propose a temporary decentralisation of the federal offices in certain neutral towns suitable for the purpose. For instance, the Council together with the Federal Defence Department (i.e. Land-defence) in Berne; Commercial Department, Zürich, Basle or Amsterdam; Home-Department, Stockholm; Colonial Department, Copenhagen; Foreign Department, Hague; Naval Defence Department, Christiania; Department of Justice, Hague. The technical difficulties connected with such separation should be smoothed over by a willingness to recognise the advantages of active labour in common. In any case the uniting of all the federal departments in one particular city would raise difficulties equally great.)

67. Until the carrying out of article 17 of this Constitution (i.e. the introduction of the universal language) the English, French, and German languages shall be employed for transactions. All motions, propositions and resolutions are to be drafted, read, and published in these three languages.

68. Motions or proposals for alteration, elimination, or creation, of statutes can be considered only if  $\frac{1}{4}$  at least of the Council members support such appeals. In regard to all other matters, motions and questions may be lodged by any member of the Council. Also the heads of federal departments are empowered to make proposals in all matters.

(Note. The question as to whether popular stimulation, initiative, and the referendum are expedient is to be considered. We regard them as dispensable.)

69. Votes on matters requiring complete unanimity can also be made by means of written, officially verified declarations. In other cases this may also be done, as an exception, provided no councillor raises objection.

70. The Council passes resolutions with the

complete unanimity of the members present, except in cases mentioned in article 4.

71. The President, or Vice-president, have the same right of vote as the other councillors. In equal voting the President or Vice-president has the casting vote.

72. As to convocation, duration and schedule of meetings of the Council, a committee of elders (« Seniorenkönvent ») will decide. This committee will be constituted of those delegates of all nations who, at the time, have served longest on the Council. The Council *must* be convoked whenever a written motion, with reasons for convocation, is sent in by at least one-fourth of the members.

73. Councillors shall receive a stipend for their presence at the meetings, as well as return travelling expenses. All such monies and expenses shall be provided by the federal Treasury.

74. The Council chooses and pays the secretaries who are responsible for the drafting, translating and publishing of its deliberations, and for the necessary correspondence.

75. A business-committee will see to the execution of a business order for the deliberations of the Council.

76. From among the Councillors best fitted for this purpose, committees for the superintending of the work of the federal Departments will be formed. They will also report on the work accomplished, and the Council shall decide as to their order of business.

77. For the preparation and carrying out of the Council's resolutions, as well as for the control of its executive work, the Council will form six departments, the heads of which, as well as the managers of sub-sections, must be trusted experts chosen by the Council. The engaging of other necessary officials for the various federal offices rests with the said heads and managers.

78. The payment, terms of engagement, insurance, and pensioning, of the federal officials is a matter for the Council and will be settled by means of special regulations.

79. The directors and officials of the federal Departments cannot belong to the Council at the same time, nor can they engage in any other work, or occupy another position.

80. The heads of departments are responsible to the Council for the business of their departments, and for their subordinates. Any infringement on their part of the federal laws, or of the engagement contracts, will be laid before the Administrative Court. The Council will draw up special regulations in regard to the accountability of the officials.

81. All orders and enactments issued by the head and the sub-section managers of a department require the sanction of the Council to make them valid. In specially important cases such sanction may be obtained after the issue of orders.

82. In the first 20 (10) years after the Constitution of the League has come into force, only subjects of countries which have not engaged in the world-war shall be called to the office of directors and managers of the various federal departments. Exceptions will be allowed on the unanimous voting of the Council.

83. The departments are the following :

1. *Home Office*, with sections for

- a) Education ;
- b) Press ;
- c) Art and Literature ;
- d) Social politics and reform ;
- e) Hygiene ;
- f) Corporal Development.

2. *Production and Trade*, with sections for

- a) Agriculture ;
- b) Industry and Manufactures ;
- c) Trade ;
- d) Consumer's interests.

*Means of Communication :*

- a) Railway World Bureau ;
- b) Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone Service ;
- c) Shipping Office ;

- d) Automobile traffic bureau ;
- e) Aviation bureau.

*Finance Office, consisting of*

- a) Federal Finance Administration ;
- b) Federal Book-keeping ;
- c) Federal Money Administration ;

3. *Colonies*, with sections for

- a) Education and instruction ;
- b) Production, Trade and Commerce ;
- c) Colonial defence.

4. *Foreign Department*, with sections for

- a) Public law ;
- b) Intelligence service.

5. *Federal Defence*, with sections for

- a) Land defence ;
- b) Naval defence (with sub-sections for all branches of military direction, training, and administration) ;
- c) Federal monopoly administration for arms and explosives.

6. *Justice :*

- a) Judicial council for the other five departments ;
- b) Federal Tribunal for offences against federal laws. (See article 51.)
- c) Private appeals against decisions of the various departments ;
- d) Court of Arbitration in lawsuits between federal States, and in actions by such States against decisions of departments. (See article 51.)
- e) Court of Administration for cases of concurrence of jurisdiction in the departments, and to judge cases of misdemeanour on the part of federal officials. (See article 51.)
- f) Federal Advocacy for the prosecution of laws, and the execution of the sentences delivered by the federal criminal court ;
- g) Election scrutiny board, to examine the ballot *ex officio* or on appeal. (Will be called up whenever necessary.)

To introduce the League, in the first instance an inter-parliamentary conference should be called in a central place in a neutral country. To this conference those members of the representative bodies of all nations should be invited who in principle are ready to help constitute the League.

The task of the members of this conference shall be to arrive at a provisional understanding as to the Constitution and Statutes of the League, if for such understanding there is a probability of obtaining a favorable majority in the home parliaments.

As soon as these parliamentary majorities shall have obtained from their States agreement as to the Constitution and Statutes of the League, all hostilities towards other nations who have entered the Union must cease. Direct negotiations with former enemies will be legitimate in so far as the federal statutes shall not be adversely affected thereby.

The interparliamentary Conference will be constituted as a « Provisional World Council » as soon as it is of the opinion that the number of nations ready to enter the Union is sufficient to guarantee a successful working and the durability of the same. The task of the « Provisional World Council » will be to proceed with elections in accordance with the federal constitution, in all countries that are prepared for the Union. Furthermore, the seat of the World Council, and all necessary arrangements for its meeting, must be decided upon by the Provisional Council.

After the elections to the World Council have been carried out, this body must immediately meet and the Provisional Council will then be dissolved.

It is permissible that any State declare its adherence to the League to be *conditional*, i.e. that it will make it dependent upon the entry into the Union of some other State. This declaration however, must be subject to a time-limit which must elapse before the meeting of the definitively elected World Council.