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MATTERS OF MOMENT

REFERENCE was made in last HEADWAY (in the article on France under the general heading "The World in 1930") to the state of tension existing between the French and Italian Governments. As indication of the seriousness of the views held on this point in some quarters may be instanced a letter addressed by Mr. Wickham Steed to *The Times* since that issue of HEADWAY appeared, suggesting that some nation whose disinterestedness was beyond question should consider whether the whole situation should not be raised at Geneva under Article XI of the Covenant, the Article, that is to say, which provides that the attention of the Council may be called to any situation which threatens international peace or the good understanding between nations on which peace depends. It would be obviously an event of the first importance to have a difference of opinion between two of the Great Powers of Europe thus brought before the League. French opinion, however, does not much favour the idea, on the reasonable ground that though relations between France and Italy are undoubtedly strained, the conflict is mainly psychological and there is no single issue in dispute which calls for the intervention of the League to facilitate its solution. While Mr. Steed is undoubtedly right in holding that appeals to the League should not be left till too late to be effective, it is equally true that the League should not be invoked lightly, particularly where there is no definite function for it to discharge.

A Little Naval Holiday

FORTUNATELY the tension between the two countries has been considerably relaxed as result of the acceptance by France of the Italian proposal for a cessation of shipbuilding by both sides while a discussion of the political differences between them is in progress. What Signor Grandi, the Italian Foreign Minister, proposed was that there should be an indefinite naval holiday till the political negotiations had been carried through successfully or, presumably, till they had broken down altogether. M. Briand's acceptance consisted only of an agreement not to lay down any more ships before December 31. As France had already laid down the vessels of her 1930 programme the acceptance does not mean much, for apparently both countries will continue to build what they had anyhow been meaning to build, pledging themselves only not to increase their programmes by eleventh-hour additions. However, the agreement such as it is, seems to have enabled an awkward corner to be safely rounded and the new conversations between France and Italy are likely to be carried on in an improved atmosphere. The presence of M. Briand and Signor Grandi at Geneva in September should enable a good many difficulties and misunderstandings to be smoothed out through personal contact.

A European Figure

THE resignation of Sir Arthur Salter from his post at Geneva is almost as notable an event as the resignation of the Secretary-General (of which there is happily no prospect) would be. No man has done more to establish the reputation of the League in business circles than Sir Arthur, and it is notable that most of the most successful business enterprises he carried through—the Austrian and Hungarian Reconstruction Schemes, the Greek and Bulgarian Refugee Settlement Schemes—had a distinctly humanitarian side to them. Sir Arthur showed, in fact, that putting men and women on their feet could be thoroughly sound business. Altogether Sir Arthur Salter must be ranked as one of the most remarkable administrators, both national and international, of the day. In the British Civil Service he helped Sir Robert Morant to organise the National Insurance Scheme 20 years or more ago. During the war, as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Inter-Allied Maritime Council, he occupied a position of astonishing responsibility, for he had the pooled merchant fleets of all the Allied Powers under his hands. When the League of Nations was formed he joined it as head of the Financial and Economic Section, but left it temporarily to become the first Secretary-General of the Reparations Commission. In 1923 he resigned that post to go back to the League at considerable financial sacrifice. He is leaving Geneva now, not to take up any other post, nor (as has been inaccurately suggested) to take up political work. His present intention is to devote himself for several months at least to writing and study, and it may be predicted with confidence that he will not accept any of the lucrative City posts which he could have at any moment for the asking—or without it. Whether he will be able to resist the calls of public service is another question.

The Future of the Saar

ON June 30, the last French soldier in the Army of Occupation marched out of the Rhineland. That meant the completion of almost the last stage in the liquidation of the war. But not quite the last. The Saar still remains, and as it will for a time be a centre of discussion, and, perhaps, of controversy, the essential facts about it are worth recalling. The Saar was, by the Treaty of Versailles, removed from German sovereignty for 15 years in order that France might have the product of the Saar coal mines while her own mines, destroyed during the war, were being restored. The Saar Valley was to be governed by a Commission appointed by the League Council, and the mines were to become the property of the French State. But all this was till 1935 only. In that year the Saar inhabitants are to choose by plebiscite between German rule, French rule and a continuance of League rule. If they choose to return to German sovereignty, as they certainly will, Germany is to buy back the mines from France at a figure to be fixed by an impartial authority. We have now got to 1930, and almost everyone agrees that it would be better to settle up the Saar now, at the same time as the Rhineland, instead of waiting till the full 15 years, fixed by the treaty, has run. Un-

fortunately, the Franco-German discussions on the question have come to nothing. France is anxious somehow to keep a hold industrially on the Saar, and in particular on the mines, and she thought she could secure this as condition of agreeing to the return of the territory to Germany now instead of in 1935. But, so far, Germany has declined to accede to the French demands, and the conversations have been broken off.

The Disarmament Director

THE position of Director of the Disarmament Section in the League Secretariat is so important that any change in the tenure of that office calls for examination. The first head of the Disarmament Section was Señor de Madariaga, now Professor of Spanish at Oxford, who was succeeded some three years ago by M. Erik Colban, till then head of the Minorities Section. Now M. Colban has left Geneva to become Norwegian Minister at Paris, and his place has been taken by M. Thanassis Aghnides, a Greek member of the Political Section of the Secretariat, who thus obtains promotion to the rank of Director. It will fall to him to organise both the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission in November and the general Disarmament Conference which it is hoped to hold next year. The appointment has not gone uncriticised, and a rather unsatisfactory impression has been created by knowledge of the fact that the German Government took exception to the nominee who was understood to be Sir Eric Drummond's first choice. Technically, of course, the Secretary-General can appoint whom he will, subject to the approval of the Council, but it is clearly necessary, particularly in regard to a question so important and difficult as disarmament, to put in office a man whose appointment is agreeable to the principal countries concerned. Now that he is definitely installed as Director (though subject still to the Council's assent), M. Aghnides can be sure that he will enter on his difficult task amid general good wishes.

Germany and the Mandate System

AMONG other subjects discussed by the Mandates Commission at its recent sitting at Geneva was Tanganyika, which derives special importance at the present moment from the fact that the British Government has recently announced its policy regarding what is technically known as closer union in East Africa, that is to say, the establishment of some definite economic, and some less definite political, link between the British colonies of Uganda and Kenya and the mandate territory of Tanganyika. No final details regarding this are so far settled, for a Select Committee of both Houses is to be appointed to consider the Government's plan. Meanwhile, the Mandates Commission is very rightly watching the proposals in order to satisfy itself that no step is being taken which shall be either in spirit or in letter inconsistent with the terms of the Tanganyika mandate. Germany is particularly interested in this matter, ostensibly because Tanganyika was formerly a German colony, but in reality probably for another reason more difficult to discuss publicly. Many Germans have always hoped that they may some day receive at

least one of their territories back under mandate, and for various reasons Tanganyika has seemed to offer the most promising prospect. Obviously all hope of this would be finally dispelled if Tanganyika were closely linked (a clause in the Tanganyika mandate actually provides for this contingency) with two contiguous British colonies. The difficulty is that while it is premature to talk of giving Germany a mandate now, it would be too late to talk about that at all in connection with Tanganyika when the closer union scheme had been adopted.

Geneva and Tokio

IN certain departments of its work, particularly in the field of humanitarian activities, the main purpose of the League of Nations is to bring backward countries up to the standards of more progressive, by providing machinery for the discussion and comparison of experiences and methods. That sounds well enough in theory, but the question is often asked, and rightly, whether anything of value is really achieved in this way. Those who have studied the League closely have few doubts on such a point, but any evidence that becomes available is of value. Thus it is worth while quoting from a leading article in one of the principal Japanese daily papers, the *Tokio Asahi*, where, in reference to the decision to extend to the Far East the League inquiry into the traffic in women and children, it is stated that the movement in Japan for the abolition of legalised prostitution has received considerable impetus from the action of the League of Nations. Such a tribute from such a source is striking, for the institution of the Yoshiwara in Japan is invested with a kind of romantic and semi-picturesque atmosphere, and is so deeply rooted in national tradition as to make it much more difficult to abandon the system in that country than in many others farther west. It is, therefore, the more satisfactory to have this testimony to the capacity of the League's influence to affect Tokio.

Those Trained Reserves

UNSATISFACTORY as the state of international relations in Europe in many respects is, particularly in the matter of disarmament, there is nothing to gain by exaggerating the dangers which appear to threaten. The time-honoured legend that there are to-day more men under arms in Europe than was the case in 1914 has at last been scotched by persistent reiteration of the hard fact that there are certainly some hundreds of thousands of men fewer under arms than there were when the war broke out. Now, however, a slight variation of the theme is gaining currency. Mr. Lloyd George, for example, in a recent address to the International Congregationalist Council at Bournemouth, declared that there were more men in Europe, Asia and America trained to bear arms to-day than before the war broke out. The truth of that assertion is incontestable, but what, after all, does it mean? The last war was a war, not of professional armies, but of populations. In most of the countries concerned practically the whole male population of military age was trained to arms. The vast majority of those men are still living and obviously you cannot

untrain them. But they are not serving in armies to-day. They are living, for the most part, peaceful and industrious civilian lives, and their existence cannot, in justice, be quoted as an evidence of the militarism of the nations or of any increasing danger of war.

Washington and Geneva

IT is a mistake to make too much of any tendency on the part of the United States of America to associate itself with the League. On the other hand, it is equally a mistake to make too little of it. And considerable importance does clearly attach to the decisions of the American Government to appoint a high official from the State Department, or Foreign Office, to be American Consul at Geneva. The ordinary duties of a consul at Geneva are not very formidable, and if Mr. Prentiss Gilbert were to be simply an ordinary consul the move would mean for him promotion in the wrong direction. But he is obviously to be something very different from that. He will, in fact, act as full diplomatic representative of his country in all questions affecting the League. That means not only questions such as opium or health or disarmament, regarding which America is directly associated with the League, but other League activities from which the United States is so far holding aloof. It may be assumed, for example, that Mr. Gilbert will keep Washington continuously informed about League, Council and Assembly meetings and the many diplomatic conversations carried on when Foreign Ministers congregate at Geneva. As an indication of the growing attention paid by the United States to the League and its work, the appointment of so experienced a diplomat as Mr. Prentiss Gilbert is significant.

Iraq as League Member

A DEFINITE step in the progress of Iraq (Mesopotamia) towards membership of the League of Nations was taken on June 30, when a new treaty between Great Britain and Iraq was signed. The treaty is designed to regulate the relations between the two countries if and when Iraq has successfully applied for membership of the League of Nations. It had already been agreed that the application should be made in 1932, and Great Britain's support of it is no longer made conditional (as it was in the abortive draft treaty of 1927) on the maintenance of the present rate of progress in Iraq. One or two Baghdad papers have conceived the curious idea, for which there would seem to be no adequate foundation, that Iraq's application for League membership would be opposed by France and Italy. That is most unlikely. But the application is a question on which the Mandates Commission is entitled to say a word. At present reports on Iraq have to be rendered annually, and the Commission considers and criticises the administration there. That situation cannot be changed quite automatically. The Commission has consequently appointed a sub-committee to investigate the whole question and report. It is to be noted that by the first clause of the new treaty Great Britain recognises Iraq as a completely independent State.

CHINA AND THE LEAGUE

WHY THE CLAIM TO A COUNCIL SEAT IS PRESSED

By C. KUANGSON YOUNG, Ph.D., *Special Commissioner in Europe of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese Government*

HEADWAY is glad to give Dr. Young, who writes in his private capacity and on his own responsibility, an opportunity of stating China's case for election to the League Council this year.

IT is an indisputable fact that even the National Government of China, faced as it now is with the Northern Rebellion, has not yet been able to bring peace and unification back to China, after almost 15 years of unrest and regionalism. Throughout this whole period, and in spite of the seemingly hopeless sectional divisions, there is one compensating fact that reveals the strength of China as a nation—the national consciousness of the people as a unit, as an entity. The civil wars have been fought by generals with mercenaries; there has never existed the sort of animosity between the inhabitants of the various sections of the country that was brought about by the American Civil



DR. KUANGSON YOUNG

War. And a united China is the wish of all the Chinese people.

Chinese national consciousness crystallises in a consistent and uniform Chinese foreign policy, whatever be the channel through which it is expressed. When expressed, it represents the consensus of opinion of all Chinese. Internationally, therefore, China must needs be regarded as a single unit, with a single purpose. That single purpose—that Chinese foreign policy—is the acquisition of a position in the society of nations commensurate with her importance by virtue of her territory, population and potential economic power, if nothing else. The instrument that expresses the policy and purpose of the four hundred millions must be internationally recognised as the official organ. This instrument is the National Government.

A Seat This Time

It will be extremely difficult to refute the claims of the delegates of the National Government of China when put forward to be voted re-eligible this year for the non-permanent seat on the League of Nations Council, three of which will fall vacant in September. In the minds of many delegates who will be present at the Assembly by whom the question of re-eligibility will be decided, there is certain to be one common query: "Is China in a position to take and discharge the responsibilities of membership on the League Council at the present moment?" and they may ride off on the convenient assurance that if "the National Government's authority had remained unchallenged during the last two years it would have been different."

The existence of a united national consciousness and foreign policy destroys the validity of this argument. Even granting that China, geographically at any rate, is divided, under the present circumstances, between the North and the territories under the direct control of the Central Government, the extent of these territories that are within the pale of Government authority—their wealth, population and power—alone justifies the recognition by the League of the importance of that part of China represented by the National Govern-

ment; and, as such, it should be given active participation in the work of an international organisation whose avowed object is peace and understanding among all the nations, among all the peoples.

Two Years' Work

The foreign Press in China, in continually giving publicity to isolated instances of disturbance and unrest, has failed to give a true picture of the broad aspect of China's national life and work. The National Government itself, facing almost insurmountable difficulties during the last two years since its establishment, has on its credit side achievements in financial communications and industrial rehabilitation which can comfortably balance the defects and mistakes any new political system may fall heir to. It cannot be over-emphasised that even if the Chinese Government were controlling a limited area of the whole country and representing only that section of the Chinese people living directly within its authority, the representatives of that Government would represent more territory and people than many of those who are now sitting on the Council, as well as of others who are aspiring to a seat. Even if China were divided into two or three autonomous units, each unit would have just as valid a claim to be on the Council as the British Dominions.

Active Participation.

For the League of Nations to achieve effective work and reap fruitful results in the Far East, the active participation of China in the execution and deliberation of League affairs is absolutely necessary. By active participation it is evident that more than a membership in the Assembly is meant. China's active participation in reality will not be forthcoming unless China is given her proper status of equality.

Brazil and Spain withdrew from the League because their *amour propre* was hurt in being refused to a permanent seat on the League Council. China and Poland felt justified in applying for the same position. China was satisfied with a compromise of a non-permanent seat on the Council. In taking even that away from her the League has injured its own cause in China, for it has given the enemies of the League ground for more adverse criticisms, it has driven the neutrals into doubt, if not hostility, and deprived advocates of the League of their reason for advocating it.

The visits of M. Avenol and Dr. Rajchman of last year have allayed, to a certain extent, the fear prevalent for a time in China that she might be compelled to follow Brazil and Spain. China realises that by taking that unfortunate course she would gain nothing, but neither, on the other hand, would she lose anything, while, for the League, it would mean the slipping away of the Far East. Whatever be the unsettled political and economic conditions in China, it is impossible for the League to ignore a population that constitutes



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Chinese Foreign Minister

one-fourth of the human race and a territory larger than the whole of Europe.

There are two other possible difficulties, but they are far from being insurmountable. First, none of the non-permanent Council seats that will fall vacant this fall is within the geographical division wherein China lies. But though "like succeeds like" has been followed as a convenience, it is not a hard-and-fast rule; for in 1923 China herself was succeeded by a European nation on the Council.

Secondly, China this year must apply for re-eligibility, this being decided by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly. The passage of this vote entirely depends upon the ability of the delegates at Geneva, and their home Governments, to see the importance of China and the advisability of her election to the Council.

One practical argument against China that seems irrefutable is her failure to pay her financial quota to

the League. The National Government has, through its Foreign Minister, acknowledged legitimate indebtedness of the previous defunct Governments. As soon as circumstances warrant, it will undoubtedly repay the arrears due to the League. Its good faith cannot be better demonstrated than by its payment to the League last August of China's share of the first half of 1929.

The apparent indecision of China's future—a confederation, a federal union or a centralised polity—at the present moment is not an all-important factor. Neither are the present unsettled conditions. So long as there is a Government recognised internationally and able to control the most important, and, in fact, a majority of the Chinese provinces, the League must accord to it attractive terms for active participation in reality. So long as there is national unity and consciousness among the Chinese, the 400,000,000 as a whole constitute a factor that the League can ill afford to ignore.

THE DANGER OF WAR ARE WE TAKING IT TOO LIGHTLY?

By C. DELISLE BURNS

IN spite of all the work done through the League of Nations, the danger of war is increasing. Nobody wants war, but many people, not only in Italy, but also in Great Britain and the United States, want the



Dr. Delisle Burns

sort of things which can only be had by risking war. The tendency towards a new war is to be seen to-day in economic policies which aim at the control of markets or of supplies of raw material; and such economic policies do not aim at war, but they usually end in war. Similarly, a tendency towards war is to be seen in the growing despair of any redress of grievances, when groups of people have complained for years against oppression. But the tendency towards a new war is to be seen most clearly

in the present growth of the efficiency of armaments.

Cigarettes among Explosives

Clearly, it does not follow that war is inevitable. If one says that there is a danger of fire because people are smoking cigarettes in a chemical works it does not follow that we should practice fire drill or increase the fire brigade. The proper policy is to stop smoking. But advocates of League methods are so certain of their own virtue that they do not notice the smokers in the chemical works, or, if they notice, they are too polite to eject the smokers—they only ask them to join the Union. Perhaps it is good to increase our membership, but that policy may weaken our effectiveness. In any case, I am not complaining, nor do I underestimate the value of the work already done by the advocates of peace. I argue, however, that our influence is not nearly powerful enough to resist and overcome the ancient, deeply-set, romantic and half-conscious tendencies which are now at work to cause another great war in five years. The drift of the tide is that way, in spite of surface speeches of goodwill and vague notes about the amity of civilised peoples. What is done in Paris and Rome and London is more important than what is said at Geneva.

The particular tendency towards a future war which is most obvious to-day is the growth in the efficiency of armaments. The League of Nations has entirely failed to overcome this tendency, and, in fact, by politely ignoring it or leaving the discussion of it to military and naval "experts," the ineffectiveness of the League in this matter has increased the danger of war. It is well known to all members of the Union that the financial burden of armaments is very great. That is to say, we are paying in taxation, drawn from our resources of life, for the preparations which are regarded as necessary for a future war. All great States are hard at work preparing for that war. The amount spent at present in such preparation is as great, allowing for the change in money values, as it was in 1909—four years before the last great war! Therefore—to estimate the danger of another war by reference to the extent of the preparations for it—the present danger of a war in 1935 is about the same as the danger of war was in 1909. And we know that 1909 was followed by 1914. Will 1930 be followed similarly by 1935? Those who make preparations for war evidently think so. Now, either they are right and we shall have a great war in 1935, or they are wrong and we are wasting our money on armaments. But by going on with their expenditure we are doing what we can to make them right and not wrong. That is to say, the assumption underlying the preparation for war is itself one of the chief causes of war.

Efficiency in Killing

That, however, is not the most important point. The mere amount that we and the French and the United States are spending on a new war is not half so important as the fact that we are getting more for our money. For the same amount as we spent in 1909 we are getting in 1930 much more power of destruction. We in Great Britain, for example, boast that we have decreased our naval expenditure, but we are steadily increasing our expenditure on bombing aircraft. And that is so in all nations. If we could merely resist the increase of expenditure on aircraft and poison gas, that would be a far more effectual "reduction of armaments" than sinking a few obsolete battleships. But the increase in the efficiency for destruction is rapid—and bombs do not grow on trees. It is not a natural and inevitable development that we should all be able

to kill more effectively in 1930 than we were able to kill in 1918. During the ten years of the League's life good young brains and energy have been devoted in all great States to the "improvement" of bombing aircraft and poison gas. Indeed, if half the amount of brains and energy had gone into the organisation of peace that has been spent during the past ten years in the preparation for war peace would be secure.

1909 and 1930

But look more closely at the situation in 1930 as compared with 1909. In 1909 improvements in the type of armaments were made by the great armament firms; and an armament firm sells its improved instruments of slaughter wherever it can. So in 1914 we started about equal on both sides, in the matter of machine-guns and the rest. All "civilised" nations could buy the same destructive forces, all improvements were public. Since 1918, however, the governments and not the armament firms have been supporting research in types of armaments, and no government gives away or sells its secrets. True, we now have, among all civilised nations, more effectual spy systems by which each State bribes the citizens of other States to sell their own country. But that is only a little pleasantry on the part of members of the League. Each government manages to keep some of its discoveries to itself—or, which is just as bad—is believed to do so. The result in 1930 is that the general staffs of the chief States are much more uncertain than they were in 1909 of the forces which their possible opponents will be able to use against them! Now, read the documents about the eve of the war in 1914. The "experts" in each nation then were pressing their government to act quickly lest they might be taken at a disadvantage. And that was a world of land armies!

The War of 1935

As the war of 1935 approaches can you not imagine the pressure on the governments, exerted by their general staffs, to get in the first blow in a world of bombing aircraft and possibly unknown new poison-gas? The world is much more "jumpy" now than it was in 1909, and the "jumpiness" increases with every year of secret preparation of new devices for destruction. But, obviously, what is happening now is not merely an increase of the amount of armaments but an improvement in the type of armaments. This improvement in type is one of the chief dangers of war; and the League has done nothing at all to counteract it; indeed, some advocates of peace actually assume that it cannot be counteracted. That, to my mind, is complete nonsense, but no one even examines the facts, for we put as "experts" on disarmament committees admirals and generals—not scientists and industrialists. Admirals and generals know all about using arms, but nothing at all about making arms; and so what we are doing is to ask "experts" how to stop using bows-and-arrows, while we are merrily preparing to use muskets.

A Divided World

Preparation for future war, however, is not merely a making of new killing-machinery. Policy accompanies the rebuilding of the slaughter-house. Here, too, something more is needed on the part of advocates of peace besides polite speeches to the same audience as attends all lectures. Knowledge of 1909 is necessary in 1930. The war of 1914 was the result of tendencies operative in 1909 and the following years. Now in 1909, you will remember, Serbia wanted to buy new types of armaments from Krupps and had almost closed its contract. The French Government, however, induced the Serbian Government to break its contract with Krupps and to get its guns more cheaply, with the able assistance of the French banks, from French armaments

firms; and so Serbia was swung into the Russo-French system of preparation for war. Exactly the same policy is now going on: Nations which depend for their type of armament on one other nation cannot afford to be separated from that nation. It is called "defence by mutual assistance." It divides the world into groups, not necessarily of allies, but of mutually dependent armament organisations. Even some selected secrets can be shared, of course quite unofficially, and without committing the government concerned, by visits of members of general staffs. And such visits, although they are not mentioned at Geneva, are quite well known to "possible enemies."

Such is the evidence of tendencies towards future war. These are the facts to which the advocates of peace must give such brains as they possess. The war of 1935 is not inevitable, but it is quite futile to make plans about what you are going to do if and when it breaks out. The policy of peace is to prevent such a crisis arriving as will result in war; and the only way of preventing the crisis arriving is to overcome now the tendencies towards that crisis. It is not "aggression," but drift, which causes war.

HONOURING SIR ERIC

THE respective merits of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are a matter for argument, and those who argue such a question are rarely unbiased. But even Cambridge men must admit that a happy inspiration came first to the other University when it decided to present the Honorary Degree of D.C.L. to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations. The degree was actually conferred at an *encenia* on June 26, and the Public Orator eulogised the new graduate in a Latin oration in which he observed that Sir Eric was with one consent chosen when the League



Sir Eric Drummond, D.C.L.
(marked with a cross)

was born, to fashion its framework, so to speak, with his own hand; that grave dangers would beset a league for peace unless there were one who could produce among the elder statesmen who assemble in accordance with the Pact of Geneva the habit of thinking not each of his own State but each of the world as a whole; that Sir Eric was fulfilling a lofty office indeed and labouring for the peace and prosperity of humanity.

BRITAIN'S LEAGUE POLICY

FOREIGN SECRETARY'S EMPHATIC DECLARATION

THE fact that the luncheon regularly arranged by the Westminster Branch of the League of Nations Union in connection with the Union's Annual Council Meeting was attended last month by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Arthur Henderson, is an event of considerable importance. The fact that Mr. Henderson should have delivered the particular speech he did deliver is of greater importance still, for speaking with all the authority that attaches to the successor of statesmen like Lord Salisbury, Lord Lansdowne, and Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary put into admirably right perspective the relationship between a voluntary body like the League of Nations Union on the one hand and the Government as a whole, and the department primarily concerned with foreign affairs, on the other.

League Pioneers

After expressing his own personal appreciation of the work of the Union, Mr. Henderson continued, "It is you who have undertaken the great task of educating the people of Great Britain in the aims and objects, in the purposes and achievements of the League. It is you who form public opinion about the policies which through the League British Governments may attempt to carry through. We well know that no Government can go beyond what the public opinion of its people will support. Since our leadership and our authority at Geneva are great, since we are able to co-operate with the Dominions in promoting the policies for which we stand, it follows that the power of British public opinion on world affairs is great. I am happy to know how much the Union has been able to do to win general support among people of all parties for the League and I wish God-speed to your future efforts in that cause. I shall always be happy to receive your suggestions as to the policy which the Government should pursue, and you may be sure that I shall consider those suggestions not only with care, but in the spirit in which they have been made. We may not always agree as to the methods which should be pursued, but I am certain that we shall not differ as to the purpose which we have in view.

Peace as the Basis

"What," asked the Foreign Secretary, "is the guiding principle of the foreign policy which we are attempting to pursue? What is the guiding principle that directs the action of the Department over which I have the honour to preside? The answer is simple. The guiding principle upon which all our policy is founded is the maintenance and consolidation of international peace. That is the principle on which we act, and we have tried to give effect to it in various ways. To every question that has arisen in relation with other countries, whether those countries be the great nations of the West or the weaker nations of other continents, we have sought to bring a spirit of understanding. In some cases our efforts have been successful; in other cases our success is not yet complete. But we hope and we believe that in every case we have done something to serve the cause of peace. No less important, we have endeavoured to build up the institutions, the machinery and the authority of the League. Our policy is not only a policy of peace, it is a policy of peace through the League of Nations. We are convinced that without its permanent institutions, without the international law which is being built up on the foundation of its Covenant, war can never be abolished. It is for that reason that we have sought to strengthen the League and to increase its powers for the prevention of war.

"I will not recite to you all that we have tried to do. You remember that at the last Assembly we signed the

Optional Clause. Our signature has since been given the approval of the House of Commons and thus has binding force. You will remember, too, that at the last Assembly we proposed so to amend the Covenant that it should be brought into harmony with the Kellogg Pact. Our purpose was to wipe out that right of private war which under the Covenant still remains. You will remember that we proposed an enquiry into the status of the Secretariat of the League, an international conference for the limitation of the manufacture of dangerous drugs, a conference for concerted economic action among the Governments of the world. There is still fresh in your memory what has been done for international disarmament by the Conference held in London at the beginning of this year.

This Year's Programme

"Those were all beginnings which we hope this year to carry further. We are hoping this year, if the House of Commons will give us its consent, to accept in common with the Dominions the General Act. That Act has already been accepted by some Governments, including—by the decision of last week—the Government of France. If we can secure its general adoption by the Governments of the world, we shall have built up a complete system of arbitration for international disputes.

"We are hoping also at the next Assembly definitely to accept the amendments of the Covenant which we proposed a year ago.

"Your President, Lord Cecil, is at this moment in Geneva sitting on another League Committee which is preparing definite proposals concerning the status and the organisation of the Secretariat of the League. In our view it is essential that the Secretariat should be a strong, contented and independent international Civil Service, and we are hoping that this year's Assembly will adopt the proposals which will achieve this end.

On with Disarmament

"Above all, we are hoping for further progress on the difficult but vital matter of disarmament. We know only too well that the difficulties are immense. No one who took part in the proceedings of the London Conference can doubt how great they are. But nothing that is worth while is ever easy. Difficulties exist to be overcome. We are encouraged by the results of the London Conference. We believe that a general disarmament treaty for the limitation and reduction of armaments of every kind can and must be made. We propose to spare no efforts to that end. It is now eleven years almost to the day since pledges were given to the German people that their disarmament would be followed by the disarmament of the victorious Powers. The time is ripe for action which shall give at least a first measure of fulfilment to those pledges.

"The questions that arise in Geneva take many different forms. One day we may be dealing with a dispute between two neighbour nations. Another day we have questions about the application of treaties for minority protection. Another day we have questions about the economic relationships of States, about international transit, about social and technical matters of many kinds. But in every item that comes on our agenda, however trifling in appearance it may be, there is always one fundamental question involved—what should be done to strengthen the League, and the Covenant upon which the League is built? How can we increase the power of this new international machine? How can we give reality to its constitution? How can we add to the authority which the Assembly and the Council wield? How can we ensure that when they

speak, the nations—even in a moment of excitement or of passion—will give heed? How can we give living power to the Articles of the Covenant and reality to the rights and obligations which they create?

"On this fundamental and all pervading question I am certain that you and I can stand on common ground. In all circumstances and on every issue we stand for the policy that will strengthen the League. We stand against every policy, whatever its intention, that will

weaken the League or undermine its constitution. We stand for everything that makes for closer and more effective international co-operation. We are determined to spare no effort to bring the League and all it may mean for the progress of mankind into the living consciousness of the citizens of our land. With this determination we will strive to make our nation, and the whole Commonwealth of British Nations, leaders in the cause of peace."

THE LEAGUE'S SERVANTS IS THE SECRETARIAT TREATED FAIRLY?

THE Secretariat of the League of Nations means the men and women who do the work. There are about 600 of them altogether, from the Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, down, by way of Assistant Secretaries-General, Directors, Members of Sections, typists, to the messengers and cleaners. Delegates to the Assembly and Council and committees come to Geneva now and then. The Secretariat is there always. Its members live at Geneva and work solidly on at the office

The difficulties about service at Geneva are well understood. They were, indeed, the subject of very frank speeches in the course of last Assembly. There is not sufficient security of tenure—engagements for the higher posts are for seven years only and may or may not be renewed at the end of that period—to attract men and women with a life's career to think of; there is no adequate pension scheme, and in addition promotion is blocked by the practice of bringing in



Sir Arthur Salter



Dame Rachel Crowdy



M. Erik Colban

six days out of seven every week. It is in fact a civil service, the only international civil service in existence, and, as Mr. Henderson said in the address to the League of Nations Union Council reported elsewhere, it is essential that it should be a "strong, contented and independent" international civil service. Those three adjectives are well chosen. The Secretariat must be staffed by men and women equal in ability to those in any Foreign Office in the world. They must be men and women who believe in their work and are satisfied with the conditions under which it is carried on. And they must regard themselves as the servants of the League, owing loyalty and obedience to it.

Unless all those conditions are being fulfilled there is something wrong with the Secretariat and the League is bound to suffer. And there has been some evidence lately that all of these are not being fulfilled. Let us test the Secretariat for a moment in the light of the three adjectives used by Mr. Henderson. Is the Secretariat as strong as it should be? Misgivings on that point are created by the fact that some of the ablest officials have lately left, or are on the point of leaving, and there is some anxiety as to whether they are being replaced by successors of equal capacity. To single out individuals for special mention may seem a little invidious, but the fact that Dame Rachel Crowdy, Sir Arthur Salter and M. Erik Colban, the Director of the Disarmament Section, are all, for different reasons, severing their connection with the Secretariat within the next two or three months is sufficient indication of the seriousness of the losses to be faced.

outside men—diplomats or others—to fill the best posts, such as those of Under-Secretary-General or Director of Section. The reason for that is in a sense flattering to the Secretariat, for the habit is due partly to the fact that national governments now attach so much importance to the League that they are eager to get one of their own citizens appointed to one of these higher posts, and protest with some vigour if they think their country has not got adequate representation in the Secretariat.

In one sense this is all wrong. The Secretariat most emphatically does not consist of representatives of different countries, but of individual men and women chosen from any and every country on the ground of their personal fitness for a particular position. Once appointed they are bound in honour to consider themselves servants of an international institution and not representatives of their own country concerned primarily with advancing its interests.

Unfortunately in some quarters that conception seems difficult to grasp. There has recently been sitting a committee (Lord Cecil being the British member) appointed as a result of a decision of the last Assembly to propose means of improving the status and standard of the Secretariat. Its report, which is just published, recommends abolition of the seven-year engagement system for all officials below the rank of Directors, an ordinary indefinite engagement being substituted; the institution of an adequate pension scheme; and the appointment of a maximum of five Under-Secretaries-General in addition to the present three. The object of

the last proposal is to meet the quite reasonable views of the smaller States who object to the idea that the Great Powers should always have a prescriptive right to the highest posts in the Secretariat. It is not suggested that all the five new posts shall be necessarily filled forthwith. The permanence of the engagements of ordinary members of the staff will mean that normally there will be progressive promotion within the Secretariat up to the rank of Director, or, for that matter, beyond. The age of retirement is fixed at sixty.

Minority Proposals

These proposals, as has been said, have not been carried unanimously. There was a minority, led by the German and Italian delegates, which desired that there should be no Assistant-Secretary-General (at present French), but that that official should be put on the same level as the German, Italian and Japanese Under-Secretaries,

and was anxious that the Under-Secretaries as a whole should form a kind of council or committee which the Secretary-General would be bound to consult. Neither of these proposals was adopted, and the Committee's report as a whole was carried by 10 votes to 2.

Though these proposals deal, in one sense, with purely domestic conditions inside the League Secretariat, they are in reality essentially a matter of public concern. For the Secretariat is something unique. There has never been anything like it before. The world had never dreamed of the existence of an international civil service consisting of men and women of thirty or forty countries loyally serving not their own governments, but an international institution existing to see justice done and fair play maintained between all the governments. Unless this civil service is in fact, in Mr. Henderson's words, "strong, contented and independent," the League can never do its work as it should.

FACTS ABOUT FLYING LEAGUE COMMITTEE'S STRIKING STATISTICS

ONE of the most important of the League of Nations' technical activities concerns travel by sea, land and air. Travel by air is so new a development that even in the League's early days, recent though that time still is, not a great deal of attention was paid to the matter at Geneva. Now the situation is different, and facts and figures just compiled by the League's Transit Section in connection with a study of civil aviation make a remarkable impression.

The figures were got out in connection with a meeting of the Civil Aviation Committee last month, presided over by Senator de Brouckère, of Belgium. Civil aviation cannot be discussed properly without involving a discussion on military aviation as well, for the simple reason that a commercial air-liner can be perfectly well utilised for bombing purposes after alterations which can be effected in the course of a few hours, or, in case of necessity, without alteration at all. In this latter connection some startling statements occur in a section of the League report on Air Navigation reproducing a paper by Brigadier-General Groves, who quotes a statement made by the British Air Ministry to the effect that the aeroplanes of one European power (obviously France) could drop within the first 24 hours of a war as great a weight in bombs as was dropped in England by the German Air Force during the whole course of the last war. Attack on that scale could be continued almost indefinitely, and since the statement quoted was made four years ago, when the striking power of the country in question was far less than it is now, the conclusion emerges that the complete destruction of London would be an entirely practical proposition, unless the British defences were equal to warding off all attacks. That is altogether too much to be hoped for.

Bad Business

Facts equally arresting but less disquieting are contained in the section of the report dealing with civil aviation pure and simple. From these it appears that the great majority of the air lines in Europe are running at a heavy financial loss, being kept going only with the help of Government subsidies. These subsidies, it may be observed, are given for two reasons, first, with the idea of encouraging the air travel companies till the time comes when they are able to run unaided on a business basis; and secondly, in order that each country concerned may have available in time of war a certain number of machines and trained pilots, even though trained in the first instance for civilian flying only.

English students of the report will discover with some surprise that the British air lines receive higher subsidies than any others, the amount being about 20 francs per kilometre-ton in the case of European lines and from 90 to 100 for Empire air-lines. The corresponding subsidies are—in France, 17 francs, in Germany, 14 francs, in Italy, 12 francs, and in the United States about 11 francs. The principal Dutch company receives only 3 francs, and four lines, one in Colombia, one in Persia, one in Bolivia and one in New Guinea, are said to be making ends meet without any subsidy at all.

A 2-day Journey in an Hour

The facts about the Colombia line are particularly interesting. Colombia is, of course, a South American Republic, and the rates charged are four or five times as high as the average for European lines. The reason why that is possible is that in a country where ordinary land transit is fatally impeded by forests and rivers and mountains the air line covers in one hour a distance that takes two days by boat and rail, while on another route a journey of eight days by land can be completed in eight hours by air.

The report discusses among other things the comparative safety of various methods of transit. It appears that it is 100 times as dangerous to travel by air as by train,* and 16 times as dangerous to travel by air as by car. In safety comparisons there is little variation. One passenger is killed for every 2,331,815 miles flown in Great Britain, one for every 2,441,405 in the United States, and one for every 2,551,035 in Germany, Great Britain being, therefore, rather surprisingly, a little the least safe of the three countries. In the United States there is now one privately-owned aeroplane for every 11,000 persons, whereas in Europe the proportion is only about one-eighth of that. One reason why air travel pays so badly is that aeroplanes fly, on an average, more than half empty. The Paris-London lines show a far better record than that, and Great Britain heads the list for the punctuality with which its air lines keep to their advertised schedules.

The actual discussions of the Committee were concerned mainly with the co-ordination of air travel, the elimination of customs difficulties, and the arrangement of through-tickets by rail and air or boat and air, with international guide-books and time-tables for combined travel, as well as the planning of more efficient and extensive air postal services.

* Other statistics make the difference in safety between train and aeroplane much greater than this.

ASSEMBLY DELEGATES: MUST THEY DO AS THEY ARE TOLD?

By A FORMER DELEGATE

THE names of the British delegates to the League of Nations Assembly were published in the last issue of HEADWAY, but insufficient emphasis has so far been laid on the fact that Miss Susan Lawrence is the first woman to be appointed as full delegate by any Government, with the exception of a Miss Ciurlionene, who sat for Lithuania last year but, so far as the records go, took no active part in the proceedings either in plenary session or in any committee. It is safe to predict that Miss Lawrence will be considerably less mute. She will only hold the office of full delegate after Mr. Graham leaves Geneva.

The question of the powers of individual members of an Assembly delegation has been appropriately raised in certain quarters. The position is interesting and im-

portant and is worth defining. Broadly speaking, a national delegation hangs together very much as members of a Cabinet hang together. When, that is to say, a decision of any importance is taken, all members of the delegation are expected to defend it. On the larger questions on the Assembly agenda the British Cabinet takes broad decisions some weeks or months before the Assembly opens, and these are regarded as instructions which the delegation as a whole must follow. One delegate at least is always a member of the Cabinet, and he is, therefore, in a position to convey to his colleagues in the delegation the Cabinet's intentions.

Subject to this general guidance, delegates hold several meetings in London before leaving for Geneva at all. Any points which it is known will arise at the Assembly are then discussed, and general agreement arrived at regarding them. After that, come the delegation meetings at Geneva itself. These are of two kinds, the meetings of the British delegation alone, and others in which delegates from the British Dominions join. The Dominion delegates are, of course, under no obligation to take the same line as the British delegates, and they by no means always do so.

At Geneva the individual delegate necessarily enjoys a certain degree of freedom, and must take minor decisions on his or her own responsibility. The reason for that is obvious. Most of the Assembly work is devolved on six commissions, or committees, and each country is represented on each committee by one delegate. It may often happen, therefore, that a comparatively junior delegate has to decide rapidly some point that arises in committee discussions. It may have been considered already by the delegation as a whole, in which case no difficulty arises. If it has not, it is always open to the delegate to ask for an adjournment

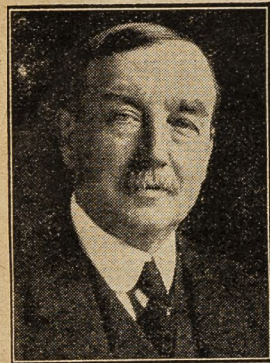
of the discussion on the point, in order that he may confer with his colleagues. Quite conceivably, indeed, the point may be so important as to necessitate a reference either to the Minister in charge of some department in London (for example, the Treasury) or even in special cases to the Cabinet as a whole. The Corfu incident of 1923 and the Geneva Protocol of 1924 may be instanced as questions on which Cabinet directions were required unexpectedly by the British delegation at Geneva.

As to speeches in the Assembly itself, a delegate's degree of freedom has never been clearly defined. Speaking to such an audience, and with the Press of the world listening to every word, the individual member of the delegation must clearly set some guard upon his speech. He is not required to suppress his individual

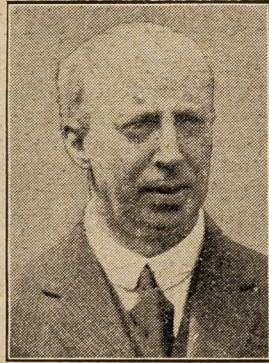
opinions so long as they accord in the main with those of the government he represents, but it has always to be remembered that delegates speak in the Assembly primarily as representatives of governments, and not as private individuals. The League Council itself has, in fact, discussed this question, and laid down a broad rule on the lines of the principles indicated in the preceding sentence, adding what is, of course, manifest to anyone, that when it comes to recording an actual vote, the delegate who does that acts as the accredited representative of his country and as nothing else.

A few cases can be quoted, though not a great number, of delegates who have mounted the Assembly platform to enunciate views which represented their own strong personal opinion, and not necessarily the considered policy of their governments. Dr. Nansen quite frequently did that, but it might be almost said of Dr. Nansen that the moment he took a definite line that line became the policy of Norway simply because it was his. A better example to quote is that of Mr. G. N. Barnes, who was a member of the British delegation at the first Assembly. Mr. Barnes felt strongly about the conflict between Poland and Soviet Russia and the part various Allied Powers had taken in urging the Poles to aggressive action. His views were not shared by Lord Balfour (then Mr. Balfour), who was the head of the British delegation, but Mr. Barnes was allowed to speak freely what was in his mind on the understanding that he made it clear that he spoke for himself alone.

On the whole, the system works reasonably well. Debates might be more exciting if all delegates cast off their fetters and gave unchecked expression to their inmost thoughts. But that would make the League Assembly a successful debating society rather than a successful Parliament.



Mr. Henderson



Mr. Graham



Lord Cecil



Miss Lawrence

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THE ONLY WAY

TWO articles in the current issue of HEADWAY, one of them from the pen of Dr. Delisle Burns, and one a review of a book by a Swedish officer, raise quite frankly the question of the possibility of a coming war. Dr. Burns speaks, a little vaguely, it is true, but with sufficient explicitness to be arresting, of 1935 as the year that may well be critical. That year has in fact always been in the minds of the prophets of ill (not that Dr. Burns himself is to be counted among the professional purveyors of evil forebodings). By 1935 Germany was expected to have recovered from the more immediate effects of the war, and by 1935 the safeguard assured to the French in the shape of their occupation of German territory would have come to an end. For those among other reasons 1935 might well see the opening of a new Armageddon.

So much for the possibilities. As things have turned out, France has voluntarily deprived herself of one of her safeguards already, for her troops evacuated the Rhineland on June 30 of this year, as result of the agreements reached last year at The Hague when the reparations difficulty was to all appearance cleared up. To that extent the field might seem to be set for Armageddon already. In actual fact the French evacuation works just in the opposite way, for it has certainly reduced rather than increased the likelihood of trouble between the two countries.

It is safe indeed to assume that if the contingency of war in Europe has still to be reckoned with it is not the direct relations between France and Germany that will provoke it. Germany in signing the Locarno Treaty quite definitely, and to all appearance quite sincerely, accepted the existing frontier between herself and France as final and abandoned all intention of trying to change it. But conditions on Germany's eastern frontier are still such as to give rise if not to fear of war, at any rate to constant uneasiness and friction, and those are the conditions in which the seeds of war most readily germinate. The whole of Eastern Europe, indeed, is full of those discontents which militate most fatally against the establishment of settled peace. There are frontier disputes and tariff disputes between Poland and Germany, the eternal quarrel between Poland and Lithuania over Vilna, difficult relations between Russia and Poland, Russia and Rumania, and farther south the constant unrest which always simmers in the Balkans, particularly between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Mention of Yugoslavia at once suggests the constant tension between that country and Italy just across the Adriatic, and the irritation and alarm created at Rome by the Franco-Yugoslav alliance. That is one of several factors which are causing many quite sober-minded persons to speak of war between France and Italy as something that may perfectly easily happen.

Now there is no need to fall into premature alarms about what may happen in five or seven or ten years' time, even though we extend our gaze beyond Europe and dwell with some just disturbance of mind on the conditions revealing themselves in China and India and Egypt.

But if there is no reason for alarm, there is equally no ground for any complacent satisfaction in the general condition of the world or any easy belief that peace is safe enough now that the League has been in existence for ten years and the Kellogg Pact has been signed and ratified by over sixty nations. There is a profound truth in the concluding sentence of Dr. Delisle Burns' article, to which reference has already been made, when he says that it is not aggression but drift that causes war. To borrow another simile, the prospect of averting another war depends on the activity the nations display and the success they achieve in building up a dam against war before the flood again threatens them. That task cannot be postponed or treated lightly. The work of organising peace needs to be undertaken with the same energy, and ought to command the same abilities, as the task of organising war has done for generations.

What does that mean in relation to Geneva? It means, in one sentence, making the League of Nations as efficient as it is possible to make it. There is literally no other method which commends itself to the intelligence of mankind. No other organisation has been proposed, no other agency has been sketched out, capable of doing the work the League of Nations is at any rate endeavouring to do. It may be objected that so far as Europe is concerned M. Briand has just proposed a rival organisation. That is partly true, but M. Briand himself has insisted that he has no idea of creating any body which should at all rival or compete with the League, and the majority of the replies from other Governments have either definitely disapproved or gravely questioned the plan for a separate European organisation.

The watchword, therefore, must be the strengthening and consolidation of the League. That can be achieved along many lines, and progress along each of them is essential. In regard to the extension of membership of the League, not much can be done. The nations outside must take their own way of approach and their own time as well. The best way to influence them will be to improve the League itself. The more it shows itself worth joining the more ready they will be to join it. Improving the League will, in fact, be the main subject of discussion at the Assembly next month. There will be before the Assembly, to begin with, proposals for reorganising the Secretariat with a view to ensuring that it shall be staffed with the ablest men and women possible, so selected as to command the confidence of the Governments of all League countries, and working under conditions which relieve them of undue anxiety about their security of tenure and their prospects of promotion. To those who know the enormous importance of the work of the Secretariat anything that tends to make that institution more efficient will be recognised as a definite step towards the consolidation of peace.

An attempt simultaneously is to be made to improve the League Covenant by bringing its provisions against war to the same level of absolute prohibition as the Kellogg Pact embodies. Whether that is in effect an improvement is a question on which opinions differ, but however the decision goes the aims of all concerned will be the same, to make the League Covenant the most effective instrument possible for its purpose. And thirdly, discussion of the Briand scheme will be conditioned by the overruling desire to get the aims of the League carried out as regards Europe in the most efficient way possible, either by the creation of a new European body parallel with the League, or, what is much more probable, by developments within the League itself. These tasks are enough in themselves to make the Assembly of 1930 notable.

THE WORLD IN 1930 POLAND FACING A HARD TASK

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE.

LAST month the principal State in the West of the Continent of Europe, France, was dealt with in this series of articles. This month attention may profitably be drawn to the principal State in the East (for Russia is Europeo-Asiatic rather than purely European), namely, Poland.

There are few States whose study is more necessary, for Poland holds a strategic position of the first importance, and her relations both with her present allies and her former enemies may have a profound influence for good or ill on the peace of Europe. In addition to that Poland is faced with certain internal problems, which are likely to tax the statesmanship of her political leaders to the uttermost.

The best way to understand Poland's difficulties is to look at the map. Her frontiers touch those of seven other States—Germany, the Free City of Danzig, Germany (East Prussia) again, Latvia, Lithuania, Soviet Russia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia. About the two latter little need be said, Poland's relations with both countries being cordial (particularly with Rumania, with which a definite military alliance exists). But about each of the others (except Latvia) a good deal must be said, because between Poland and Germany, Poland and Danzig, Poland and Lithuania, and Poland and Russia difficulties of different degrees of magnitude exist.



Poland is a State that owes everything to the Great War. In 1914 what had once been Poland—as long ago as the end of the eighteenth century—consisted of a piece of Tsarist Russia, a piece of Austria and a piece of Germany. Those several fragments were joined together by the peace treaties, and make up the resurrected Poland of to-day. That means that Poland in 1930 consists of territory that for a century was Russian, of territory that for a century was Austrian, and of territory that for a century was German. Three languages, three systems of education, three systems of law, three systems of administration—it was no light task to weld all these into the machinery of a single State. Even now, after ten years, the work is not completed. Till it is, Poland can never possess the strength that comes from unity.

Poland, moreover, was generously treated at the Peace Conference in the matter of territory. She was given areas which Germany thinks it an outrage to have to surrender, and areas, particularly the Vilna province, which Lithuania insistently claims. That is enough in itself to ensure Poland the standing hostility of those two countries. The territory she has gained at Austria's expense is not coveted by Austria, but much of it—namely the Ukraine—is inhabited by a race quite different from the Poles, which has never yet settled down peaceably under Polish rule. Poland, therefore, among other troubles, is suffering markedly from territorial indigestion. She may in time digest her acquisitions, but it will be a slow process at the best.

At present, unfortunately, Poland is having a difficult time with three out of her six immediate neighbours. There has been a commercial war between Germans and Poles for five years, and there is no normal trade between the two countries. There is, theoretically at any rate, no trade at all between Poland and Lithuania, because Lithuania has closed the frontier as a protest against Poland's occupation of Vilna. Trade with Russia is never normal for anyone, and Poland has as many difficulties as other States with the Soviet Government as trader. A glance at the map will show how vast a stretch of the Polish frontiers is closed to the ordinary trade relationships between neighbours.

Friction with Germany

With Germany there are other difficulties, over the treatment of the large German minority in the territories—Posen and Upper Silesia—transferred from German to Polish rule, and over the position of Danzig, which was severed from Germany and made into a Free City that Poland might enjoy a free and secure access to the sea. The effect of that severance was to cut off East Prussia from geographical association with Germany altogether, and the separation is accentuated by the fact that even Danzig does not now adjoin the main mass of Germany, because there is a strip of Polish territory between the two. This strip is called by the Germans the "Polish corridor," and most Germans insist that it must become German again. At the northern end of it the Poles have in the last few years built the port of Gdynia which Danzig is beginning to fear as a serious competitor. That is one more reason for bad feeling between Poland and Danzig, and consequently between Poland and Germany, for Danzig is 90 per cent. German.

As to Lithuania, the ten-year-old dispute over Vilna is all too familiar to anyone who has studied the history of the League of Nations during that period, for the League has been endeavouring at intervals ever since 1920 to effect some sort of reconciliation between the two countries. But Lithuania so far has resisted all such attempts. She maintains that Vilna belongs to Lithuania, and that it was seized lawlessly by the Poles; and as a protest against Polish occupation of the city she has closed the common frontier between the two countries to all traffic of any kind whatever. It is a question which of the two countries that hurts most. The Lithuanians believe it hurts the Poles more than it hurts them, and they may possibly be right. In any case the unrelenting hostility of Lithuania, small country though it be, is an unwelcome addition to the hostility of Germany and the doubtful relationship with Soviet Russia.

The government of Poland is a curious affair. The country is in reality ruled by one man, Marshal Josef

Pilsudski, who in the old days conspired against Tsarist Russia for Polish freedom, organised the first Polish legions in the Great War, conducted a foolhardy offensive against the Bolsheviks early in 1920, saved the Polish capital, Warsaw, from capture by the Russian forces later in the same year, and now, though holding no other rank nominally than that of Minister of War, decides the policy of the country, makes and unmakes governments, and has Parliament summoned or suspended as he chooses.

That is a thoroughly unhealthy state of affairs. The Polish Parliament, or Sejm, ought to be sitting at this moment. It is not sitting because members were not

voting as Pilsudski wanted them to vote, so he has had the session adjourned altogether till the autumn. It is a little surprising that he has not abolished Parliament altogether, but he seems to prefer to preserve it. Consequently there exists a dictatorship in effect side by side with a Parliamentary system in theory.

In spite of all that Poland has pulled itself together very strikingly considering the difficulties it has had to contend with. Fifth both in area and population (30,000,000) among the countries of Europe, it seems destined to play a rôle of considerable importance, and it is all the more essential therefore that its leaders should show themselves equal to their responsibilities.

M. BRIAND'S PLAN WHAT THE GREAT POWERS THINK OF IT

SINCE the memorandum of the French Government on a European Federation was published, HEADWAY has kept its readers adequately posted with the development of official and unofficial opinion in regard to the proposal. There are now available the replies of practically all the European States to the proposal. It is impossible to deal with them here, but the comments of the three Great Powers, Great Britain, Germany and Italy, obviously have an importance of their own, for the views of these nations will necessarily exercise great influence over the coming discussions on the Briand plan.

The main points in the three replies in question may be summarised as follows:—

British

1. His Majesty's Government understands that the fundamental purpose of the French Government is to divert the attention of the peoples of Europe from the hostilities of the past and from the conflicts of interests alleged to exist between them, and fix their attention instead upon the more important common interests which they share. With that purpose His Majesty's Government is in the fullest sympathy.

2. His Majesty's Government also agrees that it is mainly in the economic sphere that closer co-operation between European States is urgently to be desired. These questions should be considered from the widest point of view, not merely one by one nor in respect of isolated interests.

3. His Majesty's Government is not confident, however, that the establishment of new and independent international institutions [i.e., a European Conference, Council and Secretariat, such as the Briand memorandum suggested] is either necessary or desirable. The creation of new machinery might create confusion and rivalry, and there would appear to be no difficulty in adapting the Briand proposals so as to bring them fully within the framework of the League of Nations.

4. In view of the importance of a general discussion of the French suggestions by all members of the League, His Majesty's Government hopes the French Government may think it desirable to place their memorandum on the agenda of the next Assembly.

German

1. The German Government welcomes the French initiative and will gladly co-operate in the solution of the problem. It emphasises the importance of a bold reform of conditions recognised as untenable, and of a real pacification of Europe based on the foundations of justice and equality.

2. The German Government agrees with the French that the problem should be attacked on its political side first, in the conviction that success will depend on the application of the principles of full equality of status, equal security for all, and the "peaceful adjustment of

the natural vital needs of the nations." Russia and Turkey should be included.

3. Closer economic co-operation should not be made dependent on the creation of greater security. On the contrary economic understanding will itself make for an increase of feeling of solidarity and security.

4. Ways and means must be found to facilitate exchange of goods between predominantly agrarian and predominantly agricultural areas of Europe. Efforts to produce a more satisfactory situation in regard to tariffs should be continued.

5. There must be no weakening of the League of Nations and the whole Briand scheme must be carefully examined from that point of view.

Italian

1. The Italian Government expresses general sympathy with the objects of the Briand memorandum.

2. Any Federal Union of Europe must be brought into line with the activities of the League of Nations, but Russia and Turkey should not be excluded.

3. The League must be protected against anything that may weaken its efficiency or diminish its authority and prestige. The creation of a European continental group might have this effect. As to the constitution of the proposed Federal Europe, it should have only one organ, a Council on which every European State should have a place.

4. The Federal Union, if it is to be kept in harmony with the League, must, like the League, base itself on limitation of armaments, guarantees against aggression, and the peaceful settlement of international disputes. The first step towards the development of that system is the execution of those disarmament undertakings which, so long as they remain unexecuted, threaten the whole system of security.

General Conclusions

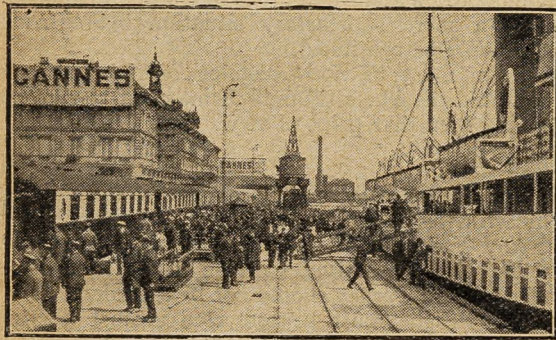
It will be seen, therefore, that, broadly speaking, the German reply suggests, though in very veiled language, that the new Federal Union must consider some revision of the Peace Treaties ("the peaceful adjustment of the natural vital needs of the nations"); the Italian reply lays most stress on disarmament; while the British urges strongly that there should be no new separate organisation at all, but that M. Briand's aims should be accomplished within the framework of the League of Nations. The most important clause in any of the three replies is that in which the British Government suggests that the whole question should be placed on the agenda of the League Assembly this year, so that it can be sent in due course to the Sixth Commission of the Assembly (the political Commission) and be fully discussed both by European and non-European representatives. It is not so far clear whether the French mean to accede to this proposal.

TO THOSE GOING TO GENEVA HOW TO COMBINE PLEASURE WITH PROFIT

By AN OLD TRAVELLER

A GOOD many readers of HEADWAY will be going to Geneva in this month and next, and some of them, even though they may have been there before, may be glad of a suggestion or two on how to get to the League city most comfortably and how to spend time there most profitably.

As to comfort on the journey, there is both physical comfort and mental comfort to consider. The reflection that you are spending more money than you can well afford makes for considerable discomfort. That suggests a word or two on choice of routes. To get direct from London to Geneva you must travel by Paris, changing there from one station to another, as there are so far no through trains from the coast. Since there is only one route from Paris onwards, any financial saving must be effected between London and Paris. You have there a choice of five routes—Dover-Calais, Folkestone-Boulogne, Newhaven-Dieppe, Southampton-Havre, Tilbury-Dunkirk. Of these, the first two are by day, the last two by night, while on the Newhaven-Dieppe route



Landing at Calais

[By courtesy of Southern Railway]

there is one day service and one night. Fares come in this order: Dover (dearest), Folkestone, Southampton, Newhaven, Tilbury (cheapest).

Which Train to go by

But here comes in the question of connections in Paris. There is a day train Paris-Geneva at 11.10 and night trains at 8.29 and 10 p.m. (or, as the Continental time-tables put it, 20.29 and 22.00). The journey takes about ten hours. This means that the 10.0 from Victoria via Newhaven-Dieppe and the 11.15 from Victoria via Dover-Calais will catch the 8.29 p.m. (20.29) for Geneva; the 2.0 from Victoria will catch the 10.0 p.m. (22.00), provided the Boulogne-Paris train is punctual; the 8 p.m. from Victoria via Newhaven or the 9 p.m. from Waterloo via Havre will catch the 11.15 a.m. for Geneva, though the Havre route is not really to be recommended as it leaves only 55 minutes for getting across Paris. That is enough if the boat train is punctual, but it means some anxiety. By the Dunkirk route you leave St. Pancras at 10.30 p.m. and reach Paris at 10 a.m., leaving a rather larger margin for catching the 11.10.

Money and Mal de Mer

Most people travel by the 10 a.m. Newhaven-Paris or the 11.15 a.m. Dover-Paris (both from Victoria; in the case of the 11.15 seats *must* be booked beforehand, and go on by the night train—either the 8.29 or the 10.0 from the Gare de Lyon—to Geneva. Those who dislike the sea and have long purses naturally choose

the Calais route. Those who both dislike the sea and dislike spending have to balance one unpleasant sensation against another, the difference in time being about 2½ hours and the difference in money (on a 2nd class return ticket to Geneva), £1 5s. An alternative for those who object to night travelling is to take the 2 o'clock or 4 o'clock from Victoria, stay the night in Paris and catch the 11.10 to Geneva the next morning.

So far so good. Now as to places in the train. They can be reserved the whole way, either 1st or 2nd class, provided you give several days' notice. Except in the case of the 11.15 from Victoria this is not essential, but if without booked seats you had better get early—say half-an-hour early—to the station. Don't load yourself with too much hand luggage. The registration system works perfectly well. You can register a suit-case or small trunk at Victoria for something under 2s. and never bother about it again till you get to Geneva Station—nor, indeed, even there if you are going to a



Geneva Station

[By courtesy of Swiss Federal Railways]

hotel, for you can give the hotel-porter your receipt and your key (for the Customs examination) and he will put the whole thing through for you. But one word of caution here. What I say is certainly true of the Calais and Boulogne routes, but I believe the French customs officials at Dieppe sometimes want to look at registered luggage. It is wise to enquire as to that.

Luggageless Freedom

The advantages of thus ridding yourself of heavy luggage and keeping only what you can carry easily are many. In the first place, you save porters and their tips at (1) British port; (2) French port; (3) Paris arrival station; (4) Paris departure station; and (5) Geneva station, if you like to leave the registered luggage to the hotel-porter. You also save time at the French port, for you can make straight for the Customs Office (to find it, simply follow the crowd) get your hand luggage passed and go on to get a place in the train while people with heavier luggage (not registered) are waiting for their porter to arrive with it. This is most important if you have not reserved a seat in the train or want to secure a lunch-ticket from the restaurant-car attendant. An official called the "garde-place" will probably offer to find you a seat and will expect a tip of 2 or 3 francs. No tip, of course, for the restaurant-car ticket.

As to this lunch. It is now pretty expensive on the Calais-Paris trains and is not served till the train starts, round about 3 o'clock (I am speaking of the 11.15

service from Victoria). If there is half-an-hour to spare, as there is when the boat is punctual, there is a good deal to be said for taking the table d'hôte lunch in the station buffet. It is good, cheap, and quickly served. But secure your seat in the train first.

Getting Across Paris

Now comes arrival at Paris. You have to get from the Gare du Nord (if from Calais, Boulogne or Dunkirk) or the Gare St. Lazare (if from Dieppe or Havre) to the Gare de Lyon. That means a taxi, unless you know the Paris Underground very well, and in any case Paris taxis are so absurdly cheap that it is much the wisest plan to take one. The dial shows what you owe and on the journey to the Gare de Lyon a tip of about 1fr. 50 (3d.) is enough. There are always loungers at the Paris termini who want to call a taxi for you, and probably if you are a stranger it is as well to let them do it and tip them a franc.

At the Gare de Lyon you will want some dinner.



Geneva

[By courtesy of Swiss Federal Railways]

There is a good buffet in the station (up the stairs close to where the taxi sets you down) with a table d'hôte dinner at a fairly reasonable price. Or, of course, you can choose something à la carte. Next comes an unexpected little formality. You have to have your ticket stamped (timbré) before you can get on to the platform. The best way is to ask for the Geneva train, which starts from a bay a long way down the station. Just by the barrier where they punch the ticket there is a window where you can hand it in for stamping first. Nothing to pay.

The Journey by Night

Whatever you do, get to the Geneva train early, for you have to travel all night and it is important to secure a corner, or better still a whole side to yourself. There are, by the way, second-class sleeping cars (about 30s. extra) on these night trains. If you are going to content yourself with an ordinary second-class compartment it may be better to avoid a Geneva carriage altogether at a rush period. On the same train there are probably two or three carriages marked Evian-les-Bains, or Divonne-les-Bains. All these go as far as Bellegarde, the last French station (only some twenty odd miles from Geneva), and you can just as well travel in one of them if there is more room in it, and change into a Geneva coach in the morning at Bellegarde, where the

train stops for some twenty minutes or longer. By the way, you can hire pillows and blankets at 3 francs (6d.) each at the Gare de Lyon. You will see a barrow full of them on the platform.

But what about passports, you will have been asking long before this. Well, very little about them. You must have one, of course, and it must be valid for France and Switzerland. No visas are required for these countries for British subjects. At Victoria, when you show your ticket at the head of the platform, simply say "British passport" (to show that you do not need to fill up an alien's form), and at Dover or Newhaven show the passport as you pass from the platform to the boat. At Dieppe it will be stamped by the French authorities. On the Calais route this is done on the boat (find out where as soon as you get on board, otherwise you will find yourself at the end of a long queue) and they hand you a ticket to give up on landing. Then the passport can be put away till the Franco-Swiss frontier. The French authorities look at it there—at Bellegarde—in the train, and at Geneva you show it to a Swiss officer as you pass out of the station. Customs examination of luggage at the French port, at Bellegarde (in the train) and at Geneva.

Rooms at Geneva

So there you are. What have you done about rooms, whether pension or hotel? You can get a list from the Association des Intérêts de Genève, Place des Bergues, Geneva (they will also give you a nice little book about the sights of the city), and there is accommodation to suit every range of pocket. Almost all Swiss rooms are clean. To engage rooms only and take meals at restaurants is by no means economical, for Geneva restaurants are not cheap. Neither are taxis, by comparison with French. And remember, of course, from the first that while a French franc is worth 2d., a Swiss franc is worth 10d. In other words, one Swiss franc is equal (roughly) to five French.

And now arises the question what to do at Geneva. If you are travelling on your own account, *i.e.*, not with a conducted party, you will no doubt want to see the League Secretariat and the International Labour Office, and if the Assembly is in session (it begins this year on September 10) you will probably want to attend at least one sitting of it. The best way, of course, is not to travel on your own account at all but to join one or other of the League of Nations Union parties leaving London on September 6 and September 13 (full particulars on application at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1), because in this case all the travelling is smoothed out by experienced guides and arrangements are made for attendance at the Assembly and other diversions at Geneva.

Getting into the Assembly

But you may be going independently after all. If so you can simply go to the International Labour Office (take a tram—it is a long way out) and you will find someone there to show you what there is for the casual visitor to see. At the League Secretariat that convenient arrangement does not prevail. But if any member of the League of Nations Union makes application at the Geneva office of the Federation of League of Nations Societies, the address of which is No. 8, Rue de la Cloche (close to the Kursaal), he will be given any information or assistance he may need. Apply, generally speaking, at the same address for Assembly tickets, but if you know your Geneva dates already write forthwith to Captain Lothian Small at the head office of the Federation, 41, Rue Juste Lipse, Brussels, so as to get an early place on the list of applicants. For lectures and so forth see the daily announcements in the *Journal de Genève*.

THE "CO-OP." AND THE LEAGUE A POWERFUL FACTOR FOR WORLD PEACE

By SYDNEY R. ELLIOTT (Editor, "The Millgate")

THERE are more than 10,000 co-operative stores up and down the country. They claim the custom of nearly six and a half million consumers. They are the shop windows of a mighty democratically owned business, conducting a wholesale and retail trade of £350,000,000 each year and controlling capital resources worth £200,000,000.

This Co-operative Movement, as it is called, possesses factories and farms, banking and insurance organisations, newspapers and foreign estates. Within it, and financed by its trade, are social, educational and political agencies which have played, and are playing, important rôles in the drama of social change unfolding before the eyes of modern Democracy. These facts may have no great significance for readers of HEADWAY, but what is significant is that, despite the criticisms to which the "store" may be subjected, the Co-operative Movement, both on its trading and idealistic sides, is seeking consciously to promote the cause of world peace.

Working men and women in every quarter of the globe have followed the co-operative lead given by the Rochdale pioneers in 1844. They have built up powerful trading and social units in pursuit of the aims animating British co-operators. And, since 1895, these national co-operative movements have been striving to combine their operations in the International Co-operative Alliance, whose thirteenth congress opens at Vienna on the 23rd of this month.

Across the Abyss

Until 1914 the International Co-operative Alliance was a weakling among international movements. When hostilities broke out, however, it discovered new reserves of power and sprang at once into first place in the democratic international. It was the one world organisation, definitely working-class in origin, which did not collapse before the onslaught of jingoism. From its headquarters in London, it maintained communication with each of its constituents during the dark years, 1914-1918, and, on the dawning of peace, harnessed all its resources to the task of restoring devastated co-operative properties throughout Europe.

At its first post-war congress, held at Basle in 1921, the Alliance set up committees of inquiry into international co-operative trading, banking and insurance. It also established an International Women's Co-operative Guild through which the "women with the basket" in many countries join forces in common effort. In 1924 an International Co-operative Wholesale Society was formed. At this moment it is considering the creation of a Central Buying Agency in London. The International Co-operative Wholesale Society does not itself engage in trade, but it has influenced the growth of direct inter-co-operative trading in Europe to nearly £60,000,000 per annum. Its work, too, has stimulated other co-operative activities which are bringing an ever widening area of commerce under democratic control.

Trading Links

For example, the British Co-operative Wholesale Society—a federation of retail societies which undertakes wholesaling, production, banking and insurance—has, since the end of the war, granted hundreds of thousands of pounds of credits to co-operative organisations abroad. Since 1919 it has maintained relations with Russia despite many political excursions and alarms—not because British co-operators are Communists, but because, firstly, they are enterprising business

men and, secondly, they believe that the inclusion of Russia in the comity of nations is essential to the achievement of world peace.

The Co-operative Wholesale Society, too, has provided banking facilities for Danish co-operators and has financed the operations of co-operative producers' organisations in Australia and New Zealand. As I write, the Scottish C.W.S. has completed a second credit transaction of £100,000 with the Russian Centrosoyuz, as a result of which tweed mills in the Borders, recently working short time, are fully employed; and a trade entente between Scottish and Swedish co-operators is likely to initiate new developments in the manufacture of linoleum.

Unite or Compete?

The International Co-operative Alliance to-day embraces over 100 national co-operative unions in 39 countries as far apart as Argentina and India. Through its agencies nearly 60,000,000 individual co-operators possessing £850,000,000 of capital and with a trade turnover of £5,000,000,000, are learning how to pool their economic power for the benefit of mankind. They are hammering out policies for the razing of trade barriers and the substitution of scientific organisation of world markets for the blind competitive struggle which perpetuates poverty and precipitates conflict between nations.

More than that, in accordance with the resolution of the 1927 Economic Conference of the League of Nations (at which the International Co-operative Alliance was represented), organised consumers are endeavouring to develop new and fruitful collaboration with the primary producers of the world. Already, as I have noted, the British Movement has taken the lead in promoting trade with overseas producers. Now the Alliance has entered into friendly negotiations with the Canadian Wheat Pool—surely a first step towards those relations between producers and consumers which, declared the Economic Conference, "result in the establishment of prices which are advantageous to both parties."

Eyes on Geneva

Naturally and inevitably this widespread economic force has formed a vital, if loose, partnership with the League of Nations. The International Labour Organisation, directed by M. Albert Thomas, who obtained his early training in administration and statesmanship as a leader of French co-operators, seeks, with the Alliance, to limit the destructive hardships of industrial competition between States.

In 1920 the I.L.O. suggested to its member States that they "might nominate as one of the technical advisers whom they are entitled to attach to their delegates a representative of the co-operative societies." In 1922 a co-operative section of the I.L.O. was established with Dr. G. Fauquet, another leading French co-operator, at its head. Thus two mighty reforming movements have reached some measure of unity.

At Vienna the International Co-operative Alliance will indicate its desire to have a larger voice in the deliberations of the League of Nations. The difficulties now preventing that need not concern us here. But the meaning of this desire is clear. Co-operators believe that their interests and the interests of the League are identical. Their demand is for wider opportunities of service, under the direction and inspiration of the League, to the cause of international peace.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE VARIED FORTUNE AT THE LABOUR CONFERENCE

IF, as seems probable," said an article in last month's HEADWAY, written before the International Labour Conference had concluded, "the 7¼ hours limitation is accepted by the Conference and ratified by the Governments concerned, every country will be compelled to limit its hours of work to about ¼ of an hour less per day than the existing period in Great Britain." The reference was, of course, to the proposed Convention on Hours of Work in Coal Mines, and it was explained elsewhere in the article that, owing to a difference between British and continental methods of calculation, 7¼ hours "bank to bank" (the continental system) is equivalent to 7¼ hours by British reckoning.

Unfortunately, the prediction contained in the paragraph quoted was not fulfilled. Up to the end of the Geneva discussions there was every reason to suppose that it would be, for a vote taken on the general principle of the Convention showed a majority of 75 to 33 in favour. That left a comfortable margin above the two-thirds majority required. When, however, it came to the final vote of all, the German Government representatives abstained from voting on the ground that their views regarding overtime had not been met, and as certain other delegates followed their example, the decisive vote of all was 74 to 49, being just short of the statutory two-thirds majority. So far as Germany itself was concerned the proposal its representatives were arguing, namely, for the acceptance of a maximum of 60 hours overtime in a year, was not unreasonable, for at present overtime is permitted in Germany up to 180 hours and, indeed, in certain circumstances, up to 240. The 60 hours, therefore, would have formed a drastic reduction on the existing figure.

British Workers and Overtime

Other delegates, however, particularly the British workers' representatives, were adamant against any overtime at all, and the clash between their attitude and that of the German Government involved the loss of the whole Convention so far, at any rate, as 1930 is concerned. That can only be regarded as profoundly unfortunate, even though the Convention was so moderate a measure as to make little difference in existing practice in most countries. The matter will, however, come up again, for it was unanimously decided to place it on the agenda for the Conference of 1931, it being hoped that further informal discussions in the interval might make general agreement a year hence possible. It is to be noted that though the Convention itself only directly affected a limited number of European countries (nine in all), it was discussed and voted on by 51 nations, the largest number, incidentally, that has ever been represented at a Labour Conference before. All those countries were members of the League of Nations, and, in addition, Turkey and Mexico sent observers.

Protecting the Native

If the Convention on Hours in Coal Mines was not adopted, two other Conventions, those on Forced Labour and Salaried Employees, were. The Forced Labour Convention, which in the end was adopted by 93 votes to none, but with several abstentions, including those of the French, Portuguese and Belgian Governments, has considerable value in setting a definite standard for the administration of undeveloped territories. The principal provisions of this Convention were discussed in the July HEADWAY, where the part played by Mr. Roland Vernon, of the Colonial Office, the British Government representative, in piloting the Convention

through the committee and the main conference, was noted. The outstanding feature of the Convention is that it condemns forced labour root and branch, and pledges its signatories to eventual abolition of the practice. There is to be a transitional period of five years, at the end of which the whole situation will be surveyed afresh. Even in this transitional period compulsory labour for private purposes is prohibited altogether, and it is hoped that by the end of the five years even forced labour for public purposes will be prohibited likewise.

The French fought to the end for the right to put their conscripts on to civilian labour instead of on to military service, but they were beaten by one vote and, as a result, declined to sign the Convention. The Portuguese and Belgian Governments followed the same course. This, it must be observed, is another Convention which has a very limited application, *i.e.*, only to those States which have colonies in uncivilised countries, but it was debated and adopted by the whole Conference of 51 States. There is some advantage in that, in that it involves the passing of judgment on a Convention by a body the vast majority of whose members have no direct interest in the question, and who may, therefore, be expected to take a detached and impartial view. On the other hand, the reproach that such States are largely ignorant of the existing conditions in colonies and dependencies will not lie, because the Forced Labour Convention was prepared by a small committee of experts, who examined every aspect of the problem from every angle.

The Counter Hand

The third Convention, that on Salaried Employees, as they are called, was also adopted by a satisfactory majority. The object of this Convention is to extend to workers in shops and offices (but not in theatres, hotels or restaurants) the protection in the matter of hours extended to manual workers by the Washington Hours Convention. This Convention, again, will not make a great deal of difference, though it may make some difference, in the existing practice in Great Britain, for though in this country the legal maximum of hours for salaried workers is 74 as against the 48 fixed as maximum in the new Convention, actually the number of hours worked in the week is very much less than that. In many continental countries, however, the adoption of the Convention would mean an actual reduction in the hours during which shops are kept open, though the effect of the Convention in that respect is a good deal diminished by the number of exceptions and reservations that have been admitted. Family businesses, for example, where paid assistants are not employed will be unaffected. The important point, however, is that the principle of limited hours of salaried employees should have been established. A start has been made and the Convention can be tightened up from time to time when the moment seems favourable.

Taken as a whole, the Labour Conference, despite the disappointment caused by the non-adoption of the Mines Convention, must be regarded as successful. Two Conventions is quite a good crop if they are of any importance at all, and certainly those on Forced Labour and on Salaried Employees cannot be regarded as anything but important, particularly the former of them. It must be hoped that in regard to the mines the adjournment till next year will result in a better Convention being adopted than could have been hoped for if this year's draft had gone through.

BOOKS WORTH READING

THE WAR OF 1935

That Next War. By K. A. Bratt. (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.)

The next war, if there is to be one, will be much too serious an affair for us to ignore any book of any consequence that may be written about it. The book may be good or bad—this one is in many ways good—but it cannot well be too dull to read or too unimportant to consider. So we turn to Major Bratt, who is a former Swedish officer, with a certain sense of expectancy, and to in point of fact find in his reflections on the war of to-morrow a good deal of food for reflection.

For Major Bratt is concerned not merely with what the war of to-morrow may be like, but how it can be avoided. As to what it may be like, we are getting perhaps a little too much accustomed to having the terrors of aerial and chemical warfare depicted for us in lurid colours. The picture goes beyond our experience and our imaginations are not entirely equal to it. We still think of war in the terms of 1914-1918 and fail to realise how utterly different and how inconceivably worse it will be. It may be well therefore to have our minds a little stimulated by a sketch of the kind of preparation that ought to be made everywhere—at any rate in any town of any size—for the defence of the population. The authority quoted is a Swiss professor, who at a conference on poison gas warfare in 1929 "considered it necessary to prepare vast and deep protective underground chambers (ordinary cellars would not avail against bombs). These chambers must be furnished with electric fans and the necessary air-filters. Electric cables and gas and water pipes must be buried deeper in the ground. The inhabitants must also be provided individually with a simple gas-mask. A comprehensive system of auxiliary organisations must be created with special equipment for combating gas and fire and for purposes of first aid."

It may be some mitigation of this prospect to reflect that the experience of such conditions is likely to be brief, for, according to various high authorities quoted by Major Bratt, a conflict between two air forces will result in the complete annihilation of one of them, leaving the opposing country exposed, practically without defence, to the attacks of the surviving force. The war would therefore be a short affair.

So much for the nature of the war. Now as to the probability of such a war beginning. Major Bratt thinks the chances are all too good. He points to the factors making for strife, notably the imperialisms prompted by competition for new markets. (His charges against armament firms need more evidence than he cites to support them, and his criticism of modern diplomacy rather suggests that his acquaintance with modern diplomats is small.) And he devotes a special section to the six principal danger-points he sees in the world. It is not made entirely clear what they are, but the list would appear to be

Fascism,
Bolshevism,
Franco-German Relations,
Minorities,
Asiatic Nationalism,
Industrial Imperialism.

That each of these six gives ground enough or anxiety no one will doubt. No one, indeed, can cast an eye round the world and not descry war-peril after war-peril on almost every frontier if war is to remain in the future what it has been in the past, the normal and recognised method of settling international disputes. Well, it is no longer the normal and recognised method. We have

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at any rate got that far. Another and better method has been devised. The trouble is that no one can yet be certain that two nations will be content with that method when the crisis comes.

And here Major Bratt goes both right and wrong. He very justly lays stress on what he calls "war-psychosis"—the temper that seizes a populace in the face of war-rumours and war-dangers and warps judgments which if they kept cool would find a reasonable way through. What the writer does not allow for is the effect of a body like the League of Nations in preventing a crisis from bursting suddenly on a State. With all the new machinery for discussion and investigation now existing it would be very difficult for nations to be swept off their feet as they were in the last fortnight of July, 1914. That is so much further gain.

Not that it must be thought that Major Bratt belittles the League of Nations. On the contrary his ultimate hope is in a developed League. He sees two possible forces in the world making for peace. One is the international tendency of capital, represented by the increasing number of cartels—steel-cartels, coal-cartels, oil trusts and the rest—which know nothing of frontiers and carry on their operations in a dozen or score of countries. To them a war would be fatal and that consideration makes them factors for peace.

The other force—and to this the author attaches greater weight—is organised labour. Labour has always had an essentially international outlook and contacts between workers of different countries are constantly multiplying. For that and other reasons Major Bratt is right in contending that the disintegration of the workers' international solidarity in 1914 provides no solid ground for assuming that the same thing would happen again. It is probable on the whole that it would not so happen. At any rate what the Swedish writer hopes for is an organised general strike against any attempt to settle a dispute by other than peaceful means.

He wants more, however, than that. His constructive proposals culminate in the idea of a League of Nations developed far in the direction of federalism and possessing an international force—by preference an aerial force—capable of suppressing an outbreak of war the moment it appears. These are controversial suggestions, and to many of his readers Major Bratt will be unconvincing on these points. But it is possible to be fruitfully suggestive without that, and the general effect of this book is in fact to impress on anyone who studies it the necessity of working as hard at the organisation of peace as men have worked for centuries at the organisation of war.

ENGLAND AND EUROPE

The Drama of Europe. By Stanley de Brat. (Stockwell, 7s. 6d.)

A recapitulation and interpretation of European history. The recapitulation, which begins with Ancient Greece and ends with the Russian Revolution and the Treaty of Versailles, is a good example of compression carried out without sacrifice of clarity. The author's main purpose is to give a spiritual interpretation to history, but his conviction drives him to conclusions that at least 50 per cent. of his readers will violently challenge. When he observes that Foreign Office Committee "permits" for imports into Germany "prolonged the war for 3½ years longer than it need have taken" and proceeds to argue that Great Britain has a world-mission to maintain the command of the sea through the retention of the Right to Search, M. de Brat brings his curious but interesting medley of history and religion to a still more curious culmination.

REAL POLITICS

Problems of Peace, Fourth Series. (Milford, 8s. 6d.)

This book cannot really be reviewed, and it does not need it, for it is the fourth of an annual series and its predecessors have established a reputation for it in advance. "Problems of Peace" embodies each year the addresses given at the Institute of International Relations at Geneva, and when it is mentioned that among the lecturers are Prof. de Madariaga, Prof. Brierly, Prof. Delisle Burns and M. Henri Rolin, and among the subjects The Monroe Doctrine and the League, the Unpreparedness of Public Opinion, and the Freedom of the Seas, enough has been said to indicate that the volume is abundantly worth reading from first page to last.

A TRIBUTE TO NANSEN.

The Nation and Athenæum has very wisely reprinted as a 3d. pamphlet the two articles on Dr. Nansen contributed to its columns by Mr. Noel Baker, M.P., in May and June of this year. No living Englishman knew Dr. Nansen as intimately as Mr. Noel Baker, and of the appreciation contained in these articles it may be said without hesitation that it is in every respect worthy of the great Norwegian it commemorates. Higher praise than that could not be given to Mr. Noel Baker's work. (Copies obtainable from the L.N.U.)

READERS' VIEWS

"THE FUTURE OF EMPIRE"

SIR,—While duly appreciative of the friendly references made by your reviewer to this book of mine, I would, in justice to my argument and the grave issues with which it is concerned, ask permission to reply briefly to several of his criticisms. His complaint that I ignore the value of the League of Nations' beneficent work is unjustifiable. On the contrary, I applaud all that it has done well—and it is not little—and if I do not go into details the reason is that the League occupies only a minute part of my book, and moreover my express purpose as a critic was to point out wherein it is lacking and can be improved.

Passing over the attempt to convict me of "inconsistencies," which it would be easy to rebut, I come to the more serious accusation that I show "too much personal bias against the French." Against the French as a people I admit no bias, personal or otherwise, but if your reviewer means bias against political France as personified by the statesmen who more than any others wrecked the peace by giving to the treaties forced upon our late enemies the malign character which they bear, who undertook the illegal invasion of the Ruhr district against British protest, who have done their best to

EDUCATIONAL

BADMINTON SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol. Recognised by the Board of Education. Chairman of Advisory Council: J. Odery Symes, Esq., M.D. Headmistress: Miss B. M. Baker, B.A. The school estate of 11½ acres is situated in a bracing position, on high ground, close to the country and within easy reach of Bristol. Individual timetables. Preparation for the Universities. Junior Branch. Frequent school journeys abroad, and to Geneva while the Assembly is sitting, increase the interest of the girls in languages and international affairs.

CARISBROOKE SCHOOL, Durdham Down, Bristol.—Matric. and Oxford Local Exams., inc. Domestic Science. School Hall. Boys under nine. Girls six to nineteen.—Principal: Miss Mary Stevens, L.L.A. Tel. 5051, Bristol.

HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, etc.

BRITANNY.—"Bird House," St. Jaent de la Mer. Small, comfortable hotel in peaceful, bracing, seaside spot. Inclusive, £2 weekly. Winter 30/-

HUMANITARIAN AND HEALTH HOLIDAY CENTRE from Aug. 2nd to Sept. 6th, 1930, Southbourne-on-Sea, Hants. Large mansion, several acres beautiful grounds, meatless diet on New Health Lines. Tennis, Croquet, Dancing, League of Nations Lectures. 10% reduction to League of Nations Union members. Illustrated Prospectus from Mr. F. de V. SUMMERS, Rectory House, Martin Lane, Cannon Street, London, E.C.4.

ESPERANTO

LEAKEY'S INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO, 4d., of all booksellers or British Esperanto Asscn., 142, High Holborn, W.C.1.

militarise Europe, and who tried to evade the payment of their country's debt to Great Britain, I, as an Englishman, gladly accept the charge.

Certainly the reviewer's illustration of my "bias" are very unfortunate. He quotes my use of the word "nefarious," but why did he not quote the context, which runs: "the nefarious pre-war intrigues of two of our Allies" (*i.e.*, Russia and France)? Has he not read, or at least heard of, the Siebert and other diplomatic documents (some French) showing how down to 1914 the French and Russian Foreign Ministers were scheming for the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine and the possession of Constantinople respectively, and how in the pursuance of its ambition the St. Petersburg Government systematically bribed the Paris Press, with Mons. Poincaré as the intermediary?

As for my expression "vile practices" (which is also quoted), your reviewer might have surmised that the words relate to the fact—likewise officially documented—that the French military authorities not only set up brothels where their troops were stationed in the Rhineland, but actually *required* the German authorities to provide girls for them. I know that it is daring in any writer on war and after-war questions to appeal to morality, but I insist in applying to incidents like those just named the epithets "nefarious" and "vile."—Yours faithfully,

Headington, Oxford, W. H. DAWSON,
July 20, 1930.

WALES TO THE WORLD

SIR,—Your readers all over the world will be interested to know that now, in its ninth year, the Welsh Children's Wireless Message has been in 1930 a greater success than ever. This year responses have reached us from 48 different countries, and from a larger number of Ministers of Public Instruction, including the Education Minister of the Republic of China. It is becoming more and more the custom for the annual message from the Children of Wales to be read on May 18 in the schools of countries in the five continents.

In Europe this year the Message has been very much helped by the series of International Goodwill Day Journals published in France, in Germany and in Holland—in French, in German, and in Dutch. Belgium took the French and Dutch versions, Switzerland the German and French, while a Japanese edition was also issued by the Japanese League of Nations Association, always to the fore in work amongst the rising generation. In Wales the "Goodwill Day Journal" took the form of the May issue of a well-known Welsh magazine for children, with a large circulation.

Incidentally, the Welsh Children's Message has done much towards the popularising of the 18th of May as the World Peace Day for children. That date was first suggested as the World's "Goodwill Day" as far back as 1900 by European members of the International Council of Women.—Yours, etc.,

GWILYM DAVIES.

Welsh League of Nations Union,
July 14, 1930.

MEASURING NAVIES

SIR,—May I write a few lines in reply to the letter of M. Dorothea Jordan in your issue of July. I am not a naval expert but I have known many of them in the past. They think in terms of war and they know that offence is the best form of defence. It is not impossible to come to such an agreement as she suggests. It would be more correct to say that it has hitherto been found impossible. Many people hope that some day it will be possible. The League's Preparatory Commission can

do no more than try to come to the best possible agreement to which all the Powers concerned will agree. We may be quite sure that all the circumstances she mentioned have been taken into account, but, unfortunately, the grim spectre of a possible future war and lack of mutual trust have hitherto overshadowed other considerations.

You can measure Navies in terms of numbers and tons and guns, but there are no such simple terms in which you can measure goodwill, faith and fear.—Yours, etc.

J. D. ALLEN,

Vice-Admiral, retired.

July 8, 1930.

[The question to which this letter is an answer was whether it was not possible to evolve a formula for the measurement of naval needs giving due weight to each country's length of coastline, overseas possessions, dependence on sea-borne supplies, etc.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

WHERE THEY DISARM

SIR,—We have recently been reminded of a live sample of genuine disarmament, achieved by the new President of Mexico, in reducing his military budget by one-third, and devoting the millions thus saved to educational and engineering purposes. Now comes another Latin American Power, Chile.

As a consequence of the settlement of the old dispute with Peru, Chile is planning to reduce her army so that only the indispensable personnel for instruction purposes will be left. The annual contingent assigned to compulsory military service will be reduced so that only 30 per cent. of the eligible will be called.

In the old world the Scandinavian lands are finding it quite possible to pursue the same policy of disarmament. If the smaller peoples find themselves able to prosper by disarmament why not the greater Powers?

You can only learn to sing by singing. You can learn to disarm by disarming, as has been amply proved by the success for over a century of that most noteworthy, but so seldom noted, Rush-Bagot arrangement, by which the U.S.A. and Great Britain agreed to dispense entirely with warships and forts on our Northern border. Notwithstanding these forceful facts and the flying fleets of the future making futile the forts, military and naval, of the past, we find the world's leading nations fooling away more money than ever before in history on these proved futilities.

As to "security" from invasion, if the honour of all civilised nations, pledged to "outlaw war," is not "security" what security can there be against fleets of airplanes capable of dropping oceans of poison-gases and high explosives from heights invisible?—Yours, etc.,

EDWARD BERWICK.

Pacific Grove, Calif.

June 29, 1930.

A SYMBOL OF PEACE

SIR,—Shades of (is it not?) George Macdonald! Do let us have the two inimitable lines quoted correctly:—

"Two men looked out from prison bars;
The one saw mud, the other stars."

Yours, etc.,

Croydon,

July 7, 1930.

B. P. W. F.

[The writer of the letter in the last HEADWAY containing these lines rendered them

"Two men looked thro' prison bars,
One saw mud, the other saw stars."

—Ed., HEADWAY.]

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS

SUPPLEMENT TO



HEADWAY, AUGUST, 1930

THE LEAGUE, BRITAIN AND AMERICA

THERE is a real need from time to time for the governing body of the Union to withdraw its attention from the busy routine of daily work and from the excitements of the day, in an endeavour to view the world situation as a whole. That, in short, is what the Executive Committee and the General Council of the Union endeavour to do every two or three years, when framing a comprehensive statement for the Union upon International Policy. The last occasion when a Statement covering a wide field of foreign policy was adopted was in December, 1928. That Statement made history. It aroused, it is true, a good deal of contention and a good deal of discussion. But these lively exchanges of view did good in the end; for they brought before the minds of thousands, if not millions, of British citizens the need of having a really *practical* British programme in regard to the League of Nations. There is no doubt that the 1928 Statement led to two results of importance. In the first place, it led to the acceptance of the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice by all the Governments of the Empire. In the second place, it brought international disarmament, then a flagging cause, within the sphere of practical politics, helped to bring about the London Naval Conference, and (what is more important) to create a body of opinion dissatisfied with the issue of the Conference and demanding tangible results from the League's Preparatory Disarmament Commission. In other words, the League of Nations Union secured a victory in the realm of arbitration and did much to save Article 8 of the Covenant from becoming a dead letter.

What then are to be our next objectives in our effort to bring about the "full development of the League of Nations"? The new Statement on International Policy, adopted by the General Council of the Union at its annual meeting on June 27th, contains nine sections. They deal with the peaceful settlement of all kinds of international disputes; the defence of international order; the reduction of armaments; the rights and duties of minorities; economic co-operation; improvement in conditions of labour; slavery and forced labour; education and the League; and, lastly, the social activities of the League. The Statement can be obtained from the Head Office of the Union or from a branch secretary. We cannot here describe its full contents, but we wish particularly to draw attention to the principles set forth in its preamble, to which the practical proposals of the rest of the document are, for the most part, related.

"The London Naval Conference," it is asserted, "has brought to light some of the difficulties of reconciling the desire of America to avoid political commitments with the insistence of European Powers upon the importance of prearranged mutual assistance between nations for the defence of international order. Appreciating both these points of view, Great Britain has a leading part to play. . . . It should be a fundamental object of British foreign policy to sustain and encourage cordial co-operation between the British Empire and

the United States of America in the interests of peace, without weakening in any degree the loyal attachment of the Empire to the Covenant of the League of Nations." How is Great Britain to play that leading part?

The constructive proposals of the Union's Statement leave us in no doubt upon one point, and that is that cordial co-operation with America does not mean *waiting* upon America. Now one of the most difficult of all the obligations of League membership, which is stressed at the beginning of the Union's Statement and which is further developed under the section on "the defence of international order," is, that which makes it a real duty of a State Member to join in common measures to defend another Member, which is the victim of aggression. However exaggerated the insistence upon "security" of France and other Continental Powers, this much at least is certain: that Continental opinion is profoundly sceptical about Britain honouring her pledge in this respect. The confusion of British public opinion on this subject, as demonstrated by the newspapers at the time of the Naval Conference, gives some ground for this suspicion. It is the plain duty of the League of Nations Union to attack this confusion in the popular mind, and at least to clarify the issues. It is a difficult and unpopular task, at a time when a powerful section of the Press are concentrating the attention of their readers upon the ideal of making the British Empire self-sufficient, to emphasise our solidarity with other nations and to show that this may, and under some circumstances ought to lead to sacrifices on our part, in order to prevent or arrest any outbreak of war. But the difficult course is often the right one, in public as in private life; and it is abundantly evident that we shall be crying for the moon in our endeavour to get the great air and military powers to reduce their armaments, unless we *do* regard the League to which we and they belong as a single great organisation for stifling any nation's attempt to secure selfish advantages by force. It is, therefore, natural that the Union should desire the Council, the executive body of the League, to have every practical means at its disposal for preventing war quickly. It is right that all the resources of Member States, including financial loans, should be ready to reinforce the credit of a fellow Member attacked. Two Conventions for this purpose will be considered by the next Assembly of the League. We hope that they will be vigorously supported by the British Government and people; we trust that they will really help to clear the ground for a general reduction of armaments, just as any definite promise of help to a nation threatened with attack should be conditional upon its having loyally co-operated in the reduction of armaments. Will such a policy as this embroil us with America? We do not believe it. There is only one way to ensure American co-operation, in a crisis, to preserve the peace; and that is to appeal to the good sense of the vast body of American opinion (which is peaceful at heart) by the *force of example*.

"THE FIRST HUNDRED THOUSAND"

APPEALS have come and appeals have gone, but this is not just an ordinary appeal. This is a bold attempt to do away with the complicated and intricate methods which branches all over the country are required to adopt in order to raise sufficient money for the central organisation to live, and to provide in its place one single simple system as the financial foundation of the Union. Here are two plain facts that all who wish the League to be powerfully supported by British public opinion must face, and face now.

The first is that experience has abundantly proved that there is a minimum sum required to enable the central Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union to fulfil its necessary duties; to co-ordinate the work of branches; to exert a rightful influence upon other national organisations, religious, educational, political or social; to publish the literature and find the speakers required for the advocacy of our cause; to contribute worthily to the World Federation of League of Nations Societies, and to provide for the administrative needs of a great organisation. What is that minimum? It must, as the General Council of the Union has several times decided, be somewhere in the neighbourhood of thirty thousand pounds per annum.

The second fact is that Headquarters officers and branch workers need every moment of their time for the Union's great work of education, publicity and public leadership; but the fact that they are constantly harassed with lack of money, constantly obliged to sacrifice precious hours and days in scraping money together, must greatly limit the efficiency of their work. There are times when the Union has frankly had to sacrifice almost all its other activities to begging. If that is not to be the case again—and everybody admits it to be utterly unsatisfactory—what is the solution?

The solution surely lies in something approaching the endowment system. Therefore, after carefully examining all the alternatives, the Executive Committee put before the General Council of the Union at its meeting at Westminster on June 26 the proposal that the Union should concentrate its efforts upon building up a sufficient number of Foundation Members to provide at least the essential revenue for its central and local organisations. The proposal is to allot to every county the task of securing a certain proportion of the hundred thousand "£1 members" which would suffice to meet this need. By spreading the task over the whole country it is made not too onerous in any one part. And is it an impossible task? Surely not. Eight hundred thousand people and more have joined the Union since its inception. And what of the readers of HEADWAY, this monthly organ of the Union? They total alone nearly a hundred thousand. If each reader of "Headway" within the next twelve months would either raise his or her own subscription to £1 per annum, or find one friend who would subscribe that amount, the Union's financial problem would be permanently solved. If, as you ought to be, you are thankful that the League of Nations has lived, worked and developed with such a measure of success for over ten years, make this your thank-offering. If you want to insure yourselves, your children, your friends and your country against the dangers of an international conflict, make this your insurance premium. If you have not forgotten the great sacrifice of British lives given in the War for justice's sake, make this your War memorial.

Readers will be glad to learn that the Secretary of the Union, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, is steadily recovering from the effects of his serious operation.

OVERHAULING THE SHIP

WE refer in previous columns to two important decisions of the annual meeting of the General Council of the Union in London, on June 26th and 27th. The meeting, over which Professor Gilbert Murray, Chairman of the Executive Committee, presided throughout, was considered on all hands to have been one of the most businesslike and successful in the Union's history. The spiritual needs of the Union were not overlooked; a remarkable sermon was preached by Dr. Herbert Gray at a special service held at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, after the first day's work of the Council; that morning, at the desire of Roman Catholic members of the Union, Mass had been offered for it at Farm Street Church. The luncheon arranged by the Westminster Branch, on June 26th, was taken as the occasion of an important pronouncement by the Foreign Secretary, and a reception was offered by the Lord Mayor of London at the Guildhall on the following evening, when the guests were received by Lord Grey, Mr. Syrett (representing the Lord Mayor) and Mrs. Syrett, and by Professor and Lady Mary Murray.

Two resolutions affecting the internal affairs of the Union may here be mentioned. One was the adoption of carefully prepared Standing Orders to regulate the procedure of the Council. They received their first trial at this annual meeting and have already proved to be of great value to the Chairman. In the second place, the Council adopted certain recommendations of the Reorganisation Committee designed to promote greater efficiency within the Head Office, and also better relations between the Executive Committee and branches.

Office Efficiency.

Apart from the special section of the office, under Mr. Mills, concerned with industry, commerce and the International Labour Organisation, all the remaining sections, with their corresponding committees, which are numerous, will be divided into three groups. Major Freshwater, the Deputy-Secretary of the Union, is to be responsible for all that concerns administration and finance. Public meetings, press and publicity work had for some time been Mr. Eppstein's charge; he is further to be specially concerned with the political and parliamentary activities of the Union. The Education and Intelligence Departments and Library are to be under the care of Captain Thomas, who retains also his duties as Overseas Secretary. In other words, the Deputy-Secretary and three Assistant Secretaries, who are to be constantly in conference with one another, are, under the direction of the Secretary, to ensure the smooth working of the whole machine. It was further recommended that a member of the Executive Committee, who could normally visit the office for a little while every day, should be appointed Deputy-Chairman.

Closer Contact.

To achieve the second main object of the Reorganisation Committee, the Executive is to have a special sub-committee to deal with all questions affecting the relations of branches and headquarters; and a permanent "Regions Committee," representative of the National Councils of Scotland and Wales and of the ten English Regions, is to be constituted. "We recommend," adds the report, "that it should be a regular practice for some member of the Executive to attend every annual meeting of the Federal and County Committees." This is an excellent ideal, but not always easy to arrange. Any applications for the services of members of the Executive Committee, in this connection, should be addressed to the Head Office.

OVERSEAS NOTES.

International Federation

The Federation of the League of Nations Societies is holding its fifth International Summer School at the University, Geneva, from September 3 to 12, 1930. The course of lectures is more particularly designed for young men and women who are about to enter the teaching profession. Facilities will be given to members of the School to see the League's Assembly in session. The fee for attending the School is ten Swiss francs per course. Further information may be obtained from the League of Nations Union.

Mr. Victor E. Patton, of the American League of Nations Association in Geneva, has been appointed by the Secretariat of the Federation to receive and assist visitors to Geneva. His address is 8, rue de la Cloche, Geneva.

New Zealand

In the Eighth Annual Report of the New Zealand League of Nations Union note is made of the fact that New Zealand has taken two important steps forward during the year in its relations to the League. In September, the Optional Clause of the World Court was signed and, for the first time, New Zealand has sent delegates to the International Labour Conference.

South Africa

The Annual Report of the Durban League of Nations Union shows that the work of the International Labour Office is exciting keen interest, especially among Native organisations, and at Party Conferences references to the League indicate that, even in domestic politics, the League is beginning to exercise some influence.

The decision of the Prime Minister to head South Africa's delegation at the Assembly of the League in Geneva has given universal satisfaction.

U.S.A.

The League of Nations Association has announced the result of the fourth national competitive examination on the League of Nations. The first prize of a trip to Europe goes to a seventeen-year old girl in the Bennett High School of Buffalo.

The League of Nations Association (Mid-West Office) is making arrangements whereby people interested in the League may visit Geneva during the Assembly.

Japan

The Tenth Annual General Meeting of the League of Nations Association of Japan, held on May 16, was attended by many notable people. Viscount Shibusawa, President of the Association, made the introductory speech. He is 91 years old, and this was his first public appearance for some time. Viscount Ishii, former Ambassador to France and member of the Privy Council, was elected Honorary President. A declaration relating to the conclusions of the London Naval Conference and two resolutions—(1) on a Treaty of Conciliation and Arbitration between Japan and U.S.A., and (2) on the acceptance of the Optional Clause—were passed by a unanimous vote.

As regards the activities of the Association, there are now 12,303 members, which shows a net increase of 5,365 new members in the past year.

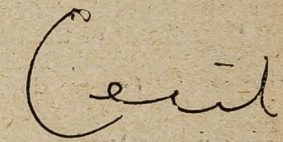
Anglo-German Friendship

Information has been received from the Portsmouth Branch of the Union about the "Feriengemeinschaft" (Holiday Friendship Centre), which was started in Cologne in 1928 by a small group, who banded themselves together to bring about in happy association and in beautiful surroundings a closer understanding between nations, especially between England and Germany. The first centre was at Diez, a picturesque town near the Rhine, and the second at Herrsching in Bavaria.

NOTES AND NEWS

THANK YOU!

"I want, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Union, to offer our most cordial thanks to all those branch workers who have undertaken the weary and ungrateful task of collecting subscriptions. This sacrifice which our collectors make is well worth while. The whole power of the Union depends upon our being able, both at home and abroad, to show that our great membership is a real and not a nominal one. I hope that many more volunteers will join their ranks, so that those who forget to renew their financial support to the Union may in future be a negligible minority."



Joint President, League of Nations Union.

That Furtive Shilling

"I give some copies of the News Sheet to my Collectors every month," says Admiral Allen, of the St. Albans Branch, "so that they can leave a copy with the shilling members when they call to collect their subscriptions. It draws attention to the fact that the collector has called and ensures that every shilling member gets a copy of the News Sheet at least once a year."

Notes from Wales

During the summer months great activity has been shown by the North Wales Counties in the organisation of Pageants and Fetes, in the movement to Capture the Castles for Peace as one form of our celebration in Wales of the Tenth Anniversary of the League. In all there have been four celebrations at the castles of Harlech, Beaumaris, Gwydir and Criccieth, and at the time of writing we are looking forward to the last week of July, when the movement will reach its climax in the capture of Carnarvon Castle. A symbolical pageant has been specially prepared for this historic event.

The successful candidates in the Geneva Scholarships Competition in 1930 are all boys and preparations are being made for a party of five to leave for Geneva under the care of the Rev. Gwilym Davies on September 1. The standard attained in the examination this year was very high.

The replies to the Annual Wireless Message from the schools of Wales have exceeded in number and variety the replies in any previous year. More than forty-eight different countries who replied have contributed to the magnificent collection of pictures, scripts and letters, and a plan is now being evolved whereby these replies can be distributed among the schools of Wales. The wireless stations of France, Germany, Spain, and Roumania, and many of the other principal stations throughout the world broadcast the message simultaneously and "wireless" replies were sent out by some of the countries.

Honouring the Union's Leader

In response to pressing appeals from many members of the League of Nations Union, Lord Cecil has now agreed to allow his admirers to arrange for his portrait to be painted. An Organising Committee to arrange this is in process of formation, with Sir John Stavridi as its Chairman. It is clear that a certain amount of money will have to be collected and the best possible artist

commissioned for the task. The Head Office of the Union will gladly forward to the right quarter letters from any members who may wish to contribute.

To See History in the Making

Two parties are being organised by the Union's Headquarters to visit Geneva during the forthcoming Assembly of the League. One party leaves London on September 6, the next on September 13. (Inclusive fee, which covers six days' accommodation and 2nd class travel from London to Geneva and back, £10 10s.)

Dramatising the Assembly

Children often learn more by object lessons than by books and speeches. Hence the great value of Model Assemblies, to which we have often referred before. Sunday School leaders will like to know of the great success of the Model Assembly organised by the Intermediate Department of the Greengate Congregational Church Sunday School, Plaistow. The subject for discussion was: "Can we do without our armies and navies?" and a very thorough discussion it was. Germany, Austria, Canada, Spain, France and Great Britain were all represented.

Other People's Point of View

The advantage of having nationals of different countries to speak at branch meetings is realised by many organisers, but all are not so fortunate as the Committee of the Shelford Branch, who were able to bring together at their garden meeting on June 5 Mrs. Coggin (a Danish woman), Senor Don Mascaro (a Spaniard), Mr. Paul Martin (a Canadian), and Herr Erdmann (a German), to give their own views upon the League of Nations.

A Week at Cambridge

A delightful week will be spent in Cambridge by those who attend the Nineteen-Thirty Summer School which is being held at Trinity College from August 30 to September 5. A week-end Conference for teachers will be held from August 29 to September 1, and a number of teachers have already enrolled for both.

The fee for the Teachers' Conference is 2½ guineas, and for the Nineteen-Thirty Summer School 4½ guineas. For the full period, including both the Teachers' Conference and the Summer School, the fee is £5 7s. 6d.

The Teachers' Conference is only open to teachers or other persons who are concerned primarily with education. Full particulars may be obtained from the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Worcester Schools and the League.

School children from all parts of Worcestershire assembled on the Cathedral Promenade, Worcester, on July 5th, when the Mayoress, Lady Deerhurst, distributed prizes to the winners of the Essay Competition organised by the Worcestershire Federal Council. The Dean of Worcester presided. "All the boys in the school," said one Head Master, "wrote an essay on the subject after having read about it." About 200 essays in all were written, so that the scheme has undoubtedly achieved its object of arousing interest and spreading knowledge. Certificates, designed by Miss Greaves of the Worcester School of Art, were awarded to the schools from which the winners came.

The Ready-made Audience.

Each group of the Chelsea Branch has its own committee and organises meetings, not only of a general character or in places of worship, but for the staffs of the big shops in the district. Thus, M. Genissieux spoke on "France and the League" at a successful meeting organised for the staff of Messrs. Peter Jones, Ltd.

The Parent, the Child and the League

It is not desirable that children should be taught at school to have a vital personal concern for the success of the League and should find that their parents are utterly opposed to it, or vice versa. Where schools possess that excellent institution, a Parents' Association, it is a good thing to keep the Association well informed of what is being done about the League in the school, particularly if there is a Junior Branch. Hence we are particularly pleased to record the successful meeting of the Parents' Association of two schools at Teddington, in which there are Junior Branches, on June 13, in the beautiful garden of Mrs. Price. Mr. Holman, a member of the local Education Committee, took the Chair, and Captain Flint was the speaker.

A League Book for School Libraries

A number of local Education Authorities have placed the book "Ten Years' Life of the League of Nations" on their requisition lists and have authorised its purchase, or have themselves ordered it for school libraries. All copies ordered from the Union's Head Office for this purpose are supplied at the reduced price of 5s. 6d., post free.

Council's Vote for 1930

The following branches have completed their Council's Vote quotas for 1930:—

Boar's Hill, Boroughbridge, Bulwell, Cockburnspath, Cowes Chapel St. Leonard, Dalston, Greystoke, Eccles, Highley, Isle of Scilly, Maldon, Queen's and District, Ringstead, St. Ives (Cornwall), St. Mark's (Bristol), Walton-on-the-Naze, West Moors.

A New Union Publication

No. 285.—World Peace and American Policy. By Alec Wilson. Cloth bound. 1s.

Total number of persons who have at any time joined the Union and who are not known to have died or resigned:

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	230,450
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	587,224
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	665,022
Jan. 1, 1929	...	...	...	744,984
Jan. 1, 1930	...	...	...	822,903
July 10, 1930	...	...	...	861,685

On July 10, 1930, there were 2,953 Branches, 900 Junior Branches, 3,289 Corporate Members and 660 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION MEMBERSHIP

Foundation Members £1. Registered Members 5s. Ordinary Members 1s. minimum.

Foundation Members are entitled to receive HEADWAY, the journal of the Union, monthly by post, and as much as they desire of the pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union. Registered Members are entitled to receive HEADWAY monthly by post, and occasional important notices. Ordinary Members subscribing not less than 3s. 6d. a year are also entitled to receive HEADWAY by post. All Members are entitled to the free use of the Union's Lending Library.

Those who are able and willing to help the Funds of the Union are begged, if possible, to become Foundation Members.

Corporate membership, for churches, societies, guilds, clubs, and industrial organisations, HEADWAY and pamphlets, £1 (not applicable to Wales and Monmouthshire).

Applications to Local Secretary, or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegrams: Preenat, Knights, London. Telephone: Sloane 6161.

Particulars of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire may be obtained from the Secretary, Welsh National Council, League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.