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HUMAN WELFARE AND THE LEAGUE



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No. 155

6th Edition. June 1930

HUMAN WELFARE
AND THE
LEAGUE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTORY

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THE League of Nations was made, after the Great War of 1914-18, by a few far-seeing statesmen of different nations who realised the folly of leaving the people of every country to pursue their own ends without paying any attention to one another, until there came a time when two of them clashed, and there was no way to settle their difference but by the cruelties of war. The nations joined together in a League to work side by side at all the problems—and there are more every day—which are not the concern of this or that country, but of the whole world alike. Clearly the most important of these is to keep the world at peace; and so people are apt to think of the League as something which is kept at hand, like a fire-extinguisher, to use when war threatens to break out, but lies idle all the rest of the time. Fortunately, outbreaks of war are not so frequent that the League has to spend its whole time in dealing with them. Anyone who went to Geneva to study the work that is done there would find that it included a great number of tasks which seem to have no connection with preventing war. But he would be wrong if he forgot that the League exists as much to make it easy for the nations to help one another as to stop them from fighting. Indeed,

the two things are inseparable. The real cause of war in the past has been that the nations have not learnt to see their common interests and work for them together. By this work they come to understand and share one another's points of view, and often they are engaged in clearing away difficulties of the kind which have led to wars in the past.

A whole section of the League's work is devoted to problems of human welfare. Clearly these problems affect all the world alike. We are all human beings, whatever our language, our colour, or the country we live in; and the world is full of evils from which people in every nation suffer, and which can be stamped out only if all the nations tackle them together. Such evils are the trade in deadly drugs and the traffic in women and children; and the many diseases which no one has yet discovered how to prevent. The fair treatment of workers is a question that concerns all the nations equally. Other questions, such as the treatment, after the war, of refugees and prisoners who have not been sent home, have had to be settled by agreement among all the nations of the League, because they were too difficult for any one country to deal with alone. The body of officials at Geneva, and the men and women whom the League has sent out to carry on this work, have no mean record to their credit. We have a just cause for pride in the knowledge that an Englishwoman, Dame Rachel Crowdy, was for ten years at the head of this 'Humanitarian Section.'

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CHAPTER II THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The White Slave Traffic, as it is often called—the trade in women and girls who are decoyed or induced to leave their own country to supply the needs of houses of ill-fame abroad—is extremely difficult to put down just because it is so universally condemned. It is carried on by the most cunning methods, and the persons engaged in it are very careful to cover their tracks. It is most necessary that the laws against it should be equally strict and equally well enforced in every country. Otherwise, the trafficker will simply make his headquarters in a country where the law is easy to evade and direct his operations from there in such a way that other countries can do nothing to stop him.

It began to be seen a long time ago that this was a matter to be dealt with by agreement between as many countries as possible. There were societies in most countries at work trying to track down and stop the traffic, and to rescue the women who had been made its victims. In 1899 an International Bureau was set up in London to enable these societies to work together. Five years later fifteen countries officially agreed to take steps together against the traffic. They all undertook to have a watch kept at railway stations and seaports; to enquire into the history of women of foreign countries found in houses of ill-fame, find out why they had left their own country, and if possible have them sent home again; and to

inspect offices and agencies which professed to find employment for women and girls abroad. But these fifteen countries were only a few of those in which the traffic was carried on; elsewhere it went on unchecked. In 1910, however, they went a step farther and made the traffic a criminal offence, and several other countries joined them.

So matters stood when the war broke out. Until it was over no one had any time to spare for questions like this. But when the League of Nations was made, the White Slave Traffic was one of the evils with which it was expressly asked to deal, and at the first meeting of its members the state of affairs was discussed. It appeared that not much attention had been paid to the agreement of 1910, and that the traffic was spreading. The League enquired what each separate country had done in the matter, and what more it meant to do; and when it had collected this information it called a Conference, in 1921, at which men and women from thirty-four different States met together to consider what measures it was best for them all to take. One of the important changes which they made was to alter the name 'White Slave Trade' to 'Traffic in Women and Children.' This meant that any regulations which they agreed to make applied as much to the natives in their colonies as to white women and children. They also agreed to increase the penalties against the traffic and to extend the offences for which people could be prosecuted, and this has already had good results in checking the trade.

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The League then formed a Committee of fourteen persons with expert knowledge of the problem, including a number of women. This Committee collected a great many more facts, and from all the information which it now had it could decide on what particular points it was necessary for anyone dealing with the question to be kept up to date. It drew up a form for an annual report which it asked all Governments to send in, so that the League might know how the work was going on. Then it discussed special points, such as the need of keeping watch on board steamers, and of supervising contracts for theatrical engagements abroad—a ruse which is often used to decoy unsuspecting women from their homes.

The next step taken by the Committee was to invite Germany and America each to send someone to take part in their discussions. It was clear that, although these countries had not joined the League, the question was as important to them as to anyone else, and the advice of their delegates would be useful to the Committee. Germany at first refused,* but the United States sent Miss Grace Abbott, Director of the Children's Bureau at Washington, who took a very active part in the Committee's work.

This work is to thrash out special points and agree upon some plan of dealing with them which it thinks all the countries in the League ought to take up. Then it makes a list of its suggestions, and each year, when the repre-

* After Germany had joined the League, Dr. Gertrude Baumer was appointed to the Committee.

sentatives of all the States in the League meet at Geneva, this list is presented to them. They discuss it together and decide whether or not they will follow the suggestions of the Committee.

For instance, the Committee decided that the women police had done very valuable work in this field, and suggested that the countries who do not already have women police should introduce them. One of the delegates from Great Britain, Dame Edith Lyttelton, made a speech on this subject which was received with loud applause. 'If you will allow me,' she said, 'I should like to put before you one or two reasons why women throughout the world are pressing for the employment of women in the police forces. It is not simply a kind of vanity, a desire to do the same things as men. It is because they know they can exercise a very great preventive influence. Believe me, women know best how to deal with women; they know the temptations and difficulties of women, and they know also that, underlying all that, there is their essential goodness of character, their power of self-sacrifice and, above all, their powers of patient, silent endurance. For this reason we women of the world ask that women shall deal with these subjects. If all of you would go back to your Governments and ask all of them to try the appointment of women police, a different influence would be found spreading through the world with regard to these questions.' It was then agreed that all the delegates should ask their countries to institute women police.

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Germany has adopted the system. At the 9th Assembly, 1928, the Australian Delegate, Mrs. Macdonnell, and the British Delegate, Lord Cushendun, spoke emphatically on a motion calling attention to the great value of women police as a preventive measure.

The League next organised a very remarkable enquiry into the actual extent of the trade. Governments opposed to reform—and such Governments exist—were apt to say, 'We do not believe that there is any traffic in women and children. There is no evidence of it; why should we take measures against an evil which may be imaginary?' So the League Committee caused a body of men and women, all expert social workers, to investigate the underworld in 27 countries of Europe and North and South America. These devoted enquirers, in order to escape suspicion, lived as though they themselves were members of that tragic world. They gained the confidence of traffickers, and obtained information which no police headquarters could get. Finally, in 1927 and 1928, they published two reports which shocked the conscience of civilisation. For they prove beyond question that trade in human beings does go on, on a considerable, though not a vast, scale. It shows how the traffickers make great profits, and how wretched and degraded is the life of the victims. And it points unmistakably to conclusions which were voiced by Dame Edith Lyttelton in the League Assembly. She said, 'The experience of people who have examined this subject is that in those places where

licensed houses are abolished, the traffic in women and children also dies down. Another point which is brought out by the report is the very great importance of raising both the age of consent and the age of marriage. A third point is the enormous influence of what is called the "third party," the man or woman who profits. I should like to appeal to all the delegates here to use every influence for the investigation of the measures taken by means of legislation to punish these traffickers.'

At the 9th and 10th Assemblies, 1928-29, the Delegates of several countries, notably Germany, Czecho-slovakia and Poland, spoke of the good results of the abolition of licensed houses. The League proposes to extend the previous investigation of the experts to countries not hitherto covered, particularly those in Asia.

A new and quite different piece of work was given to the Committee in September, 1924. It was asked to take over the work of an International Association for the Protection of Children which used to exist at Brussels. So its name was changed to the Committee on Traffic in Women and Protection of Children. When it is discussing child welfare questions, experts on child welfare join in its work, instead of those who assist it in studying the traffic in women. The Child Welfare Committee has already held a number of enquiries. Some are still going on, and on others it is making suggestions to the League. It has recommended, notably, that all countries should put into practice the Inter-

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national Labour Organisation's Convention, which fixes the minimum age for the employment of children at 14, and that children should be kept at school up to that age, so that there should not be a dangerous gap between school and work; that films should be really strictly censored, and the harmful ones forbidden, while educational films should be encouraged; that cinemas should be hygienically built; and that all towns should contain open and covered playgrounds and swimming-baths. The Committee has made a special study of the physical and mental effect of the cinematograph on the young; and of the protection of blind children. It also recommends that the age of consent to marriage should be reasonably high, and suggests agreements by which the nations should unite to punish men who at present can evade the law by deserting their families and going to another country. It is enquiring into the effect of Juvenile Courts on crime among children, and of alcoholism upon child welfare; into the case of the illegitimate child; and into the large problem of children brought up in an environment of moral and social danger.

CHAPTER III

THE TRAFFIC IN OPIUM

Opium and the other dangerous drugs serve two purposes. First, they are narcotics; they deaden pain. So that morphine and heroin, made from opium, and cocaine, made from coca-leaves, are necessary to medicine and science. It is impossible to forbid their manufacture until effective substitutes have been

invented. Their other use is deadly, for they are habit-forming; he who starts taking them for the sake of the dreams they bring often becomes their slave, and will do or pay anything to obtain the doses which are surely driving him to madness and death. 'Pay' is the word that matters. Money pours into the pockets of those who supply addicts, and to secure this money there has grown up, alongside of the production of drugs for medicine, a highly-organised business of making and selling illicit drugs. The problem before the world is to limit narcotics to the amount needed for medicine, leaving no surplus for abuse.

The drug-habit takes two main forms. One is opium-smoking, an old custom, widespread in the East and especially in China. Opium is made from the dried juice of poppy-seeds, and poppy is cultivated in Europe and Asiatic countries, such as Turkey, Persia, India and China. Poppy is easy to grow, and smoking-opium is easy to prepare; in countries which have weak governments it is most difficult to control the cultivation of this profitable crop. So there is always a great supply of opium, some of which goes to make legal drugs for medicine, but the great bulk either to smoking-dens or to the chemists who manufacture for smuggling. For the second form of addiction is the taking of derivative drugs, extracted by modern chemistry from opium and coca-leaf. These manufactured drugs are far stronger and more deadly in their effects than opium-smoking; and they have taken hold not only of the East, but of the

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West, especially since the War. It is easy to see how wide-world a problem drug-control is, even when the production side only is considered. The raw material of opium comes from Europe and Asia; that of cocaine from South America and Java; smoking-opium is made in the East; manufactured drugs in the chemical factories of Europe, Japan and the United States.

The first steps to check the traffic in drugs were taken before the War. Forty-two nations signed the Hague Convention of 1912, by which they agreed to control drugs by regulating the channels of trade. 'Prepared opium' or opium prepared for smoking was only to be exported to countries where smoking is permitted, like Straits Settlements or the Dutch East Indies, and in these smoking was to be gradually suppressed. Little has been done as yet about this last promise. The distribution of manufactured drugs was to be controlled by an export and import licence system. Export was only to be allowed to importers licensed by their governments to sell dangerous drugs. This Convention had not been put into force when the War broke out, but by September, 1929, 57 States had joined it, and 37 had put the import and export certificate system into force.

The other great pre-war advance was the stopping of the Indian export of opium to China. The Indian government had long forbidden its own people to smoke opium, but it continued to grow the best smoking-opium, and to send it to China and other countries like

Straits Settlements with a large Chinese population. However, China determined to prohibit opium-smoking, and made an agreement with India by which between 1907 and 1917 the export from India was entirely cut off. India lost several million pounds a year by this measure.

After the War control of the traffic in opium was entrusted to the League of Nations by the Covenant. The League was evidently the right body to deal with a problem which is both international and continuous. It is, for instance, almost useless for any country to prohibit manufacture if its next-door neighbour allows it; such piecemeal regulation can only result in a brisk smuggling trade. Also a paying business like drug traffic, if rooted out of one place, crops up in another. It needs steady watching. So that the League was taking an essential step towards control when it set up the Advisory Committee on opium, which meets regularly at Geneva, and includes representatives of the government departments dealing with drug control from a number of countries, as well as some unofficial experts.

The first thing the Committee did was to try to encourage the nations to carry out the Hague Convention. If this were done, and the system of import licences strictly applied, it would give some guarantee that drugs were only being sold through reputable firms. Even under this system, however, there was not enough check upon the amount of drugs sold. If a chemist were licensed he might import any quantity and

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still be within the letter of the law, and it soon became clear that many people must be importing much more than they sold to hospitals as medicine, and letting their surplus go to drug-addicts. The Opium Committee enquired into the amount of drugs produced in the world, and the amount needed for science, and although the facts are hard to discover, it was estimated that only about one-twelfth of the legal production is really needed. All the rest is sold at enormous profits to ruin the victims of the fatal craving.

Besides abuse of the lawful channels, there has grown up an enormous smuggling trade. Two things have contributed to this. Firstly, the Chinese Civil Wars. After the Revolution of 1911, and particularly after the Great War, China fell into distraction and chaos, with War Lords controlling different provinces and fighting each other. The law forbidding opium-smoking and the growing of poppy was disregarded in many parts; by 1928 it was said that only one province of China was free from opium poppy. Nor was this the worst. As smoking was put down in the early years of prohibition the drug-smugglers began to introduce morphine and other manufactured drugs, for which they created an ever-growing market. From the 'civilised' world, Europe and Japan, poison is being poured into China far more deadly than the older evil. Apart from the disorganisation of China, the traffickers all over the world were dealing in substances which are ideal for smuggling. Drugs are worth selling in small quantities; for instance, a pound of heroin,

made in Switzerland for £5, fetches £150 from addicts in Egypt. It was reported in 1930 that a country had asked for permission to send 4 tons of heroin through France to the East. The permission was refused, as the drug was certainly destined for illicit purposes. Had it been sold in Egypt it would have been worth £1,200,000 to the smugglers. With such enormous profits it is not surprising that the smugglers are able to hide their merchandise in the most elaborate ways. Drugs are sent as face-powder and scent; as butter and glue, in false-bottomed herring-barrels, in hollow brass bedsteads, in the upholstery of furniture, in patent medicines. It is said that in Harbin, a town in the middle of Chinese Manchuria, you can buy the cheapest motor-cars in the world. For cars are driven up from the coast with drugs in the chassis, in the seats, in the spare tyres, and their hidden cargo is so valuable that it is not worth while to drive them back empty; they are almost given away. Also the smugglers are able to spend large sums in bribing customs officials; on one occasion an official at Shanghai refused an offer of £25,000 to pass a number of tins of heroin marked 'Aspirin.' Such offers are not always refused.

In any case, even if the traffickers are found out, the penalties in many countries are absurdly small. In 1929 at the League Assembly, it was pointed out that the drugs with which Egypt was being flooded had largely been traced to Vienna, where the greatest penalty for traffic was a week's imprisonment. No criminal who is

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making thousands of pounds is likely to be alarmed at a possible week in prison; and it is the experience of the League that when a country tightens up its drug laws, the smuggling firms flit to somewhere where the regulations are slack.

This terrible picture of a prosperous trade battering on the ruin of men has gradually become visible as the League has collected information and caused the police of the different countries to work together. And step by step the Opium Committee is hemming in the smuggling of drugs. When it was sure that the Hague Convention was not preventing the traffic, the League held two conferences at the end of 1924. The first was attended by eight States owning territories in the Far East, and dealt with opium-smoking. It was baffled by the condition of China, a vast country totally unable to prevent its people from smuggling opium into neighbouring lands. The Conference had to be content with laying plans for action when China should be united once more, and with passing a Convention providing that opium-smoking where it was allowed should be a government monopoly with a view to limiting smoking and stopping smuggling. This rather mild Convention has, however, been followed up. In 1928 Great Britain asked for an enquiry into conditions of opium-smoking in the Far East. The League Council appointed three impartial experts, a Swede, a Belgian and a Czech, and they toured the East in 1929. The information they collected will be invaluable to governments which mean to suppress smoking.

The second League Conference of 1924 was long and stormy, for it tackled the problem of manufactured drugs. The United States, which took part, proposed that the production of drugs should be reduced to the medical needs of the world. It would, however, at that time have been useless to make an agreement on these lines, as there was no hope of the opium-producing States, like Turkey and Persia, joining in. So the Conference made a Convention aimed at controlling the quantity of the trade in drugs. Each country was to calculate how much drugs it needed for medicine, and its exports and imports. A Central Board at Geneva was to receive the reports of all the countries, to estimate for countries which do not do it for themselves, and to report if the flow into any country is too great. There was some delay in obtaining the adherence of the States to this Convention, because it meant for many countries alterations in their laws, but in 1928 the League Council appointed the Central Board, and the Convention began to work.

A further step then became necessary. For it is clear that in order to limit the trade in drugs to the medical needs of the world the amount manufactured in chemical works must be limited, too. Otherwise, the less scrupulous manufacturers will, as indeed they do, make extra drugs for addicts. For some years after the Conferences of 1924 various people suggested schemes for limitation to the League Opium Committee, which worked out, for instance, a model code of laws on drug control

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for the use of States which might want ideas on how to strengthen their own systems. Then in 1929 the Committee made a very striking report, actually giving the names of firms which were deeply engaged in supplying drugs for addiction, although they could not be punished because they kept just inside the laws of their countries. The League Assembly, horrified by the revelations of the Opium Committee, asked it to devise a plan by which the governments could agree to limit the actual amount of drugs made by the factories, while avoiding the risk that the criminal manufacturers would go and set up works in countries where the law was weak. The Opium Committee in 1930 devised a scheme to keep track of drugs from the hospital back to the factory, allowing exactly for the needs of the countries and leaving no room anywhere for the leak to the smuggler. A Conference of States is to meet before the end of 1930 to consider this scheme, and if it is adopted and honestly carried out by all the chief States, it will become extremely difficult to manufacture drugs for illicit purposes.

It is not easy to realise the obstacles in the way of solving the drug traffic problem without some idea of conditions in the different countries. India is the most progressive opium-growing State. All opium in the British-ruled provinces is grown in a government area; and the opium is made in a government factory at Ghaziphur. The Indian-ruled States are also being included in the central system. By this means India is able to control the amount

produced. She cut off the export to China between 1907 and 1917. In 1926 she decided to reduce her exports even to States where smoking is legal; and this export will be ended by 1937. The particular trouble in India is opium-eating. In a country of vast and poverty-stricken population, with far too few doctors, opium is the common household medicine, and its sale is allowed. A horrible custom has also grown up of giving opium-pills to babies to keep them quiet, especially in manufacturing towns like Bombay, where the women go out to work. So that, in spite of the prohibition of smoking, India's opium consumption is high.

China both grows and smokes opium in spite of a nominal prohibition law. In addition, she is being flooded with manufactured drugs from Europe and Japan. This traffic embitters the anti-foreign feeling in China; for some Chinese think it a deliberate attempt to destroy their nation by the foreign powers. But it cannot be stopped till the Chinese government is strong enough to enforce its own laws.

In some Far-Eastern countries such as Malaya, Straits Settlements and Dutch East Indies, opium-smoking is allowed as a government monopoly in regulated smoke-shops. The profit goes to the governments, which, in some cases, depend for a large proportion of their revenue upon it. These governments are pledged to reduce opium-smoking, but so far have not been able to do so.

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Persia grows a great deal of poppy, and is the chief source of smuggled opium. Her government is weak, and the poppy is grown in provinces where the law hardly runs. The Persian delegates used to tell the League that they could not reduce poppy-growing because it was the crop on which the poor peasant depended for his livelihood—it did not fear drought, and being light could be carried on donkey-back to market. The League, however, sent a Commission of Enquiry to Persia which exploded this myth. For the Commission reported that the Persian peasant was better off in a land of famine growing corn than poppy; sometimes he starves, because his only crop is poppy, and he cannot exchange it for food. It is the landlord who dictates the crop and receives half of it in rent, and the merchant who sells to the smuggler, who makes the profit. But landlords and merchants are powerful people in Persia, and they may make it very hard for the government to carry out even the mild measures of control agreed to under League pressure.

Egypt does not make drugs, but is being demoralised by an enormous traffic run by foreigners who can with difficulty be reached by the courts. The drugs come from Switzerland and Austria, and it is estimated that three in a hundred of the people are addicts, including young men in every village.

Of the European countries, France, Germany and Switzerland have factories which supply the smugglers, and drugs are sent through commer-

cial centres like Vienna, Trieste, Athens and the great ports of Holland and France.

The work of the League of Nations has proved many things about drug control. First, that the problem is very great and very difficult. Smuggling is enormous, and although the governments co-operate much more than formerly, the illegal traffic is far from being scotched. Second, the legend that stopping opium production means taking the bread out of the mouths of farmers is disproved. Both Indian and Persian evidence show that the peasants are better off growing corn than poppy. Third, it is absurd to pretend that drug control is interference with individual liberty. Drugs are as safe to have about as arsenic or high explosive; and any society in which means of destruction are not controlled, is not free, it is barbarous. The demand for drugs is not created by the people, who neither need nor want narcotics till they have become victims of habit. It is created by the smugglers, by the men who make vast sums out of sale to addicts, and who use every conceivable means to persuade, trick or force weak people and children into the beginning of drug taking. In many cases drugs are supplied free to an addict if he will introduce a new customer to the dealer. The extent of the drug traffic is determined not by natural human frailty, but by the profit of the traffickers. And if by League work drug smuggling can be rendered too unprofitable and too dangerous to be worth while, the problem of drug control will be on the way to solution.

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CHAPTER IV THE HEALTH OF THE WORLD

The evils of disease are even more world-wide than those which we have already discussed. There are countries which do not suffer seriously from the drug traffic: there are one or two which can claim that within their borders the White Slave Trade is unknown. There is no corner of the world where disease does not make its way, and no country where there are not men and women at work trying to cure it, and what we now believe to be even more important—to find out how it comes and destroy its causes. All these workers can help one another by sharing the knowledge and experience they have gained, and it is a great part of the League's work to make it easy for them to do this. But the first time it was called in to join in the fight against disease, it was to meet one particular urgent need. Something had happened which convinced everyone who did not believe it before that disease is not a question to be left to the countries which suffer from it most.

This was in May, 1920, when Poland appealed to the League to help in checking a very dangerous epidemic of typhus. Poland was a new country, which had only existed for a year since the Peace of Versailles was made. It was poor and had suffered terribly in the war; and its newly set up Health Ministry was quite unable to cope with the disease. There was no village in East Poland without its typhus case, and the epidemic threatened to spread through the whole country, and thence, perhaps, all

over Europe. The League sent a body of doctors and nurses, under a British chief, Dr. Norman White, to help the Poles in their distress. They took their lives in their hands, for there is no inoculation against typhus, and it is usually fatal to people brought up in countries where it is unknown. A monument which has been set up at Baranowizce to 185 members of the League mission and the Polish Health Services gives some idea of the risks they ran. They took with them food, clothing, soap and hospital and disinfecting equipment, in motor lorries which could distribute the supplies quickly where they were most wanted. From north to south of Poland they set up a line of sanitary camps on every road and railway. No one could pass this 'sanitary cordon' without being quarantined and disinfected, and those who already had the disease were taken into the League hospitals.

The money supplied for this work, £200,000, was not nearly enough to carry out all the work that might have been done, and when in 1921 a stream of refugees from Russia began to pour into Poland, the 'sanitary cordon' broke down and typhus again began to spread west. To prevent this altogether would have needed far larger funds than the League had been able to raise, but it continued to do invaluable hospital and relief work.

A plan was made to go into Russia itself, and set to work to kill the typhus germ at its source by thoroughly cleaning up some of the large towns which had always been centres of in-

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fection. This work was very promising, but it could not be properly carried out because the countries who had agreed that it ought to be done found that they could not give the money to pay for it. However, training centres have been set up in Poland and Russia, where doctors can go and study the best ways of preventing or stopping epidemics.

The work in Poland was hardly over when there began the stream of refugees into Greece, which is described in another chapter. Here, again, people with all sorts of diseases—cholera, typhus, smallpox and typhoid—were crowded together so that it was impossible to protect them against infection. The Greek Government asked for help from the League, and two doctors were sent at once. One inspected the sanitation of all the refugee camps. The other organised a vaccination campaign, which was so successful that, although disease was not altogether stamped out, the number of deaths was reduced enormously.

Although in this country we have still much to learn in the way of cleanliness, we are lucky enough to be free from the peculiarly horrible diseases which are spread by vermin. But the 'Great Plague,' of which we read in history books at school is still a reality in Eastern countries. From time to time waves of plague spread all over the East, causing thousands of deaths. The conditions which lead to these outbreaks are not yet altogether understood, and until they are it will not be possible to prevent them. But it is possible to check them by

proper care in disinfection. After Dr. White's work in Poland was over, he made a tour among the seaports of the East, with the object principally of studying the way in which the spread of infection by ships, which touch at one infected country and carry disease to many others, can be prevented. This concerns not only the countries which suffer from plague, but all the others whose ships may be the cause of spreading it. They all have to agree on the measures that must be taken to stop it. On his return, Dr. White suggested that an office should be set up somewhere in the Far East where the problems of these epidemics could be studied and information about them collected and passed on. That office was opened at Singapore in February 1925. From it news of the state of epidemics in the East is sent by wireless all over the world. In particular it is picked up by ships, which are thus warned in good time when they are approaching a port where there is danger of infection. 'The death of a ship's rat in Melbourne, in Australia, has to be cabled to Europe and back again in a morning, and broadcast over the Pacific Ocean before sunset—for the rat carries the flea, and the flea carries the plague, and the plague may decimate a continent if it gets loose.' No picturesque invention this: but a plain fact. The Assembly of 1925 proposed to set up another office of the same kind on the West African coast. At present the League is considering the possibility of setting it up in Algiers, where it would serve the whole of Africa.

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A great deal of the League's health work seems somewhat uninteresting by the side of the typhus campaign. But this does not mean that it is not extremely useful. The League cannot itself set a staff of doctors to work to discover the causes of cancer or malaria, or any of the other scourges from which the world suffers. But what it can do is to see that all those who are doing this work get the full benefit of one another's discoveries. Its Health Organisation remains international, and operates through existing national and international bodies. It stimulates, not supersedes them. It is continually publishing information collected from all over the world. It has brought together experts on various subjects to discuss their work. Sometimes it has been found that doctors in two countries were in the habit of publishing their results in ways so different that one could hardly understand the other, and they agreed to adopt a method that meant the same thing for both. Then the League has arranged for doctors to work side by side in one laboratory, so that they could agree upon a single method of testing for certain diseases. It has organised tours of Public Health Officers, collected from nine or ten different countries at a time, who visit a number of foreign countries and study their sanitary methods. Then, when they find something is better done abroad than they have been doing it at home, they can go home and introduce the new method.

A very good example of how the League can spread international knowledge about health is

its work on malaria. The mischief done by malarial fever is incalculable. In some countries it is a fatal disease, but usually it is a chronic fever which lowers the health, energy and intelligence of whole nations. Why do people live wretchedly in hovels on the very sites of the brilliant cities of old Greece? Because malaria sapped the vitality of the race, so many historians believe. And malaria is far more widespread in Europe now than it was before the war. It spread especially along the Russian waterways, with the movements of refugees. The League tackled this problem by holding a conference on malaria, of which the cause (infection by mosquito-bite) and the cure (quinine) are known. The conference revealed that there is not as much quinine made in the whole world as is needed to cure the world's malaria. So there will probably have to be further action to work out the best way of making sure that the world shall have enough quinine. Then the League sent a small party of doctors to visit a number of countries suffering from malaria to see how it was being dealt with. This Malaria Commission has made most interesting reports. It points out that it is impossible in most countries to kill out mosquitoes. Sometimes this happens through indirect causes; for instance, London used to be a fever-town, but as it was built the marsh on which it lies was drained and the mosquitoes destroyed. Holland suffered terribly from fever, but although it is still malarial in places, it has many fewer cases since the canals and dykes drained it. In some

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countries the Government wages war on mosquitoes. Palestine is one where such a campaign has had great success. There health inspectors supervise the wells, oil the surface of all stagnant water, visit the houses regularly, and, if a mosquito has been seen, search till they track down the water where it has bred and destroy the eggs. In other countries, the League Commission says the best cure for malaria is prosperity; where better cultivation is practised, where better houses are built, above all, where the women become house-proud and keep their homes swept and clean, the fever mosquito dies out. Thus work such as is being done in Italy for the reclaiming of land and the improvement of farming is curing whole districts of malaria. It is probably the first time since the discovery of the cause of this disease that there has been any effort to compare methods of stamping it out. But from now on every country will be able to profit by the experience of others.

Other Conferences have discussed sleeping-sickness and tuberculosis in Africa, and a special enquiry of doctors from many parts of Africa worked at research on sleeping-sickness as a result. The Health Section acts, in fact, as a sort of 'pool of information.' Doctors and scientists all over the world give their knowledge to it and in return receive the knowledge of others. No one now need waste time working out an experiment because he does not know that someone abroad has found the answer already; and everyone has an opportunity of

learning about up-to-date methods and applying them in his own country.

Other departments of the League are always asking for the help of the Health Section. Of course, its advice was needed when the Opium Committee wanted to know how much opium the world needed for medicine. It has been asked to collect statistics on the abuse of Alcoholism. The International Labour Organisation (whose work is described in another chapter) called it in to give advice on the protection of workers against diseases like anthrax, which are contracted in the course of particular kinds of work. The Child Welfare Committee has asked for its help on the problem of infant mortality.

Countries which have not played a big part at Geneva, or are outside the League altogether, have been deeply concerned with its work for Health. Russia, as we have seen, was the scene of a typhus campaign. Greece, and more recently Bolivia and China, have asked for help in setting up a Public Health Service. In the case of China a programme of co-operation with the League in setting up model hospitals, training medical personnel, reorganising quarantine services has already been started, and offers a striking example of the close association between East and West in the non-political field of Health. A conference on infant mortality, held at Montevideo, in Uruguay, raised the deepest interest in South America. The United States has helped the Health Section with very generous gifts of money, and has

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welcomed a party of Public Health Officers to her country. So that in its work for health, perhaps more than in anything else, the League has united all the countries of the world in a common cause.

CHAPTER V SLAVERY

One of the promises made by all the nations when they join the League is 'to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control.' It is obvious that in any country where slavery exists this promise is not being kept, and that it is the League's duty to put an end to it. We are apt to think of slavery as a thing of the past; and it comes as a shock to learn that not only slavery, but, in certain parts of Africa, the practice of capturing and selling human beings, still goes on. It was one of the crimes which increased during the war, when the world was too busy to attend to them.

In the Assembly of 1922 a British delegate, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, called attention to the news that big slave-raids had been taking place in Abyssinia, and asked the League to hold an enquiry into the question of slavery in general, and find out if it was still practised in other countries. The League asked every nation to give what information it had on the subject, and the replies which it received showed that there were many places in which the natives were very far from being justly treated.

Meantime, Abyssinia asked to be allowed to join the League, and was told that she could only

do so if she would give assurances that the slave-raids on her borders were put down. This promise was given, and there is no doubt that the Regent of Abyssinia is sincerely anxious to keep it, and is doing what he can, although he is under the disadvantage of having very little control over the unruly chiefs in the distant parts of his country. In fact, this particular crime can be stopped fairly soon provided a real effort is made.

So far so good; but meanwhile it has become clear that slave-raiding is by no means the greatest danger to the native. It means terrible cruelty; but it only goes on in a comparatively small district—round the Red Sea—while there are other forms of oppression which threaten the natives of all semi-civilised countries. Many native tribes have slaves; and they may sometimes be very well treated. But the cruelty of slavery consists in the fact that when a slave is ill-used he has no defence. Then some places have customs which amount to the same thing as the purchase of slaves, but are disguised as the adoption of children for a payment, or the marriage of girls for a dowry. Or a man may offer to pay off a gambling debt by giving his work without pay; his master arranges that he shall never be able to pay off the debt, and he finds himself a slave for life. These are ways in which natives make slaves of one another. Much more cruel is the system of 'forced labour' by which white men practically make slaves of natives. It is sometimes necessary to compel natives to work at such essential

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tasks as keeping the tracks through the jungle clear, or the sanitation of villages. Again, for great public works such as the building of railways natives have sometimes to be drafted to a distance from their homes. But, of course, this is only justifiable if they are paid for their labour. In some colonies of white nations, however, they are forced to work for private employers, often on most unfair contracts, which they are made to sign without understanding them, and taken far from their homes for years at a time. Where they are treated like this they might just as well be called slaves.

Certain persons who had the interests of the natives at heart urged, therefore, that the League should take all these 'disguised forms' of slavery under its notice. They were strongly opposed by others, who argued that the slave-trade alone, because it involves taking slaves from one country to another, was really international, while the other questions were for the separate nations to settle for themselves. Largely owing to the work of the British Delegation, the wider view won, and in 1924 a number of experts were asked to hold a thorough enquiry into slavery in all its forms, and recommend the measures they thought necessary to stop it.

That report was presented to the 1925 Assembly, and contained very detailed suggestions as to the means by which the different forms of slavery could be put an end to. As regards the slave-trade, they suggested that Abyssinia and her neighbours should work out

between them a scheme for preventing it, and in particular that each of these countries should allow the subjects of the others to cross its frontiers freely, or enter the water near its coasts, when in pursuit of slave-traders, so that the pursuit need not be held up while one country handed over the job to the next. They also suggested that arrangements should be made for sending home the slaves who are rescued from traders.

Various laws are recommended to give protection against the disguised forms of slavery. As regards the freeing of slaves, the difficulty arises that many slaves, if they were simply cast loose, would be without even the food and shelter which they receive from their owners. Those who are not unkindly treated often wish to remain as they are. The Committee, therefore, advises that, while slaves should not be freed against their will, there should be no slaves before the law. That is to say, any person who wishes to claim his freedom can do so by merely saying that he wishes to leave his master, and in cases which come before the law courts master and servant are treated as equals. So that in time slavery may cease to exist, they suggest that after a certain fixed date in the future no person should be allowed to become a slave.

As regards forced labour, the Committee strongly urged that it should be absolutely prohibited for private purposes or for any but essential public works, and that indirect methods of forcing natives into private employment should be severely checked.

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The Convention which was finally adopted by the Assembly in 1926 embodies a considerable part of these suggestions. The countries which sign it agree to do away with slavery in their possessions as soon as possible, and those concerned promise to join in an effort to put down the trade. They will punish persons found guilty of it with the severest penalties that their laws contain. They accept the principle that forced labour should only be allowed for 'public purposes,' which means work considered necessary by the Administration of the territory. In an undeveloped country such work may cover making or mending roads, building railways, portage, etc., for the Government, and sanitary work. (In British possessions sanitary work, which really is keeping the villages clean, is not considered to be forced labour but a communal duty which should be performed by the inhabitants, and only has to be made compulsory because they do not understand its importance.) The countries which sign the League Convention also undertake to put a stop to forced labour for private purposes 'as soon as possible.' So long as it is permitted they agree that it must only be used in cases of pressing necessity, must be properly paid, and that the natives shall not be taken away from their homes. Further, that no forced labour of any kind can be imposed except when the consent of the Government responsible for the territory has been obtained; this is British practice, and is plainly a certain safeguard for the people. It is a step gained to have these

declarations, but they do not include a promise to take definite action to forbid forced labour for private persons, and this was a disappointment to those interested in native welfare who had hoped to see it made illegal by the Slavery Convention. The League Assembly felt that only the International Labour Organisation could carry this matter farther, as it is specially concerned with workers and their conditions, wherever they may be. The Assembly therefore asked the International Labour Organisation to go into the whole question 'with a view to international action,' meaning that the League hoped all the knowledge of native conditions of labour already possessed by the International Labour Office would be used, with such additional information as it might specially collect, to draw up an agreement which would give native races at least certain rights and some legal protection when they are compelled to work. This will be done in an International Labour Convention, which lays down the exact regulations which each country ratifying the Convention must actually put into its laws. Already Colonial Administrators from nine different countries have been called in to advise the International Labour Office on this matter. A special committee meets from time to time to consider points connected with Native Labour. All these experienced administrators have declared plainly that forced labour for private purposes must be abolished, and that every kind of forced labour should be done away with, although this may take time.

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It is one thing for a Government to sign a Convention, and another thing, if that Government's central authority happens to be weak, to enforce it, to see that it is carried out. During 1929 evidence accumulated to show that the League Slavery Convention was not being properly carried out in certain parts of the world. The Tenth Assembly went into the question, and decided that the Secretary-General should collect all possible information from governments, and should report to the next Assembly. Meanwhile Liberia, which it had been alleged was a hotbed of slavery, applied to the League for a Commission of Enquiry of three persons chosen by America, the League Council and the Liberian Government, to decide on the spot whether there was anything in this 'campaign,' and report to the next Assembly.

In the meantime it should be said that it is a great thing to have forced labour, and native labour in general, which many nations declared was their private affair, openly discussed at Geneva, where the backward rulers must feel the influence of the enlightened ones. It is a great thing that the nations have agreed to accept international regulations on the subject, even if as yet they only go a little way. The Slavery Convention is a first step, the proposed 'agreement on labour conditions' is another, and though the road to social justice stretches far ahead the face of the peoples is set in the right direction.

At the end of March, 1930, the League's Slavery Convention had been ratified by 31

States. Notable absentees are still China, Persia, Abyssinia, a number of Central and South American States, and France.

CHAPTER VI

THE LEAGUE AND THE WORKER

At the same time that the main League of Nations was being planned out in Paris at the Peace Conference, the lines were laid down for its industrial side, called the International Labour Organisation. A section of the Peace Treaty (Part XIII) was entirely devoted to constituting the Organisation, describing its objects and what it would have to do and exactly how it was to work, and to making regulations for its Office, to be set up in the same place as the rest of the League. The International Labour Office is managed by its own Governing Body, and has a staff of Civil Servants just as we have in our Government offices, only they belong to about thirty-four different nationalities instead of one. The staff works under its own Director, and is an independent part of League machinery, except that the money for its upkeep, and for the cost of the work for which it is responsible, is annually voted by the League Assembly. All the countries which are Members of the League belong also to the International Labour Organisation; up to 1926 the Organisation actually had one more member, for Germany was admitted in 1919, although she did not come into the League until seven years later. At the beginning of Part XIII of the Peace Treaty all the coun-

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tries which signed the League Covenant made a solemn declaration generally known as the Preamble. This states that 'conditions of labour exist involving . . . injustice, hardships and privation to large numbers of people.' To change this they say there is need to regulate hours of work, to pay an adequate living wage, to protect women and children who work, and also all who are engaged in dangerous trades, to provide against accidents and old age, and to recognise the workers' right to form trade unions.

One must not forget that this right was, for long years, denied in England, and that even after industrial workers obtained it agricultural labourers were still not at liberty to organise. This right to combine for trade purposes is called 'Freedom of Association' in the Preamble. This is a very wide term, and can be used to cover all the forms of organisation which differ from country to country. This freedom has not yet been gained by workers in all the States belonging to the League, in spite of the declaration of the Governments who signed the Peace Treaty.

As regards conditions of labour, hours, wages, factory inspection, etc., in our own country, we have painfully learned the lessons of the terrible years which followed 'the industrial revolution,' and for the last forty or fifty years we have steadily gone ahead in the matter of protecting the worker, making or amending industrial laws to protect our workers. Some other nations' standard is much the same as it

is here, but others are far below it. Particularly in the East, where industry is developing rapidly, there are still in some countries much the same terrible abuses which we read of as being the accepted practice in our mines and factories eighty years ago; in 1919 these conditions were almost general in the East, but India, Japan, and—as regards child carpet-weavers—Persia have all improved their industrial conditions, and, helped and encouraged by the International Labour Organisation, are introducing up-to-date labour laws. Whether in the East or in Europe, bad labour conditions affect us directly, not only on moral grounds, but also because, so long as employers in backward countries are not obliged to treat their workers fairly, they will be able to undersell the goods of countries with a higher standard. By using child labour, by enforcing night-work, by working a twelve- or fourteen-hour day seven days a week, by saving money which might be spent on building healthy factories and on precautions against accidents, a bad employer can produce cheap goods and capture the market from the employer who understands that the health of his workpeople is something in which he has no right to economise. While any one nation continues to sweat its workers, the employers in every other will be afraid, because of its competition, to make reforms which perhaps they quite sincerely desire. The object of an International Labour Organisation is to set up a world standard of labour laws. When all the countries acknowledge the same minimum

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standard in regard to their working conditions no one of them need fear unfair competition from the rest. The work of the 'I.L.O.', then, is really a levelling-up of the conditions of labour between the more advanced industrial countries and those that are more backward.

In addition to the Preamble, from which we have quoted, there are guiding principles set down in Part XIII of the Treaty, giving a lead in some detail as to what methods the countries should follow in regulating their industrial conditions. This goes by the name of 'The Labour Charter.'

The steps which must be taken to bring about levelling-up of these are decided upon at a Conference held once a year, to which each country sends representatives, not only of its Government, but also of its employers and workers. The Conference adopts Conventions regulating labour conditions, and the Governments are bound to bring these Conventions before their Parliaments.

In England it is the Government and not the Parliament which decides whether the Convention shall be accepted and therefore become the law of the land. But some member or members of Parliament have up to now always asked for a debate in the House before the decision has been taken. In other countries Parliament itself votes for or against ratification. The total number of Conventions ratified reached 250 in January, 1928.

The first of the annual Conferences met at Washington in November, 1919. It had been invited there by President Wilson. It agreed on a number of Conventions intended to raise the conditions of the workers in all the countries which ratified them and so made them part of their own law. One of the most important of these was the Eight-Hour Day Convention, which limits the hours of work in factories to eight hours a day, or forty-eight hours a week. Equally important was the Maternity Convention, by which a woman worker in a factory would be entitled to leave work six weeks before the birth of her child, and would not be allowed to return for six weeks after; during this time she would be paid enough to keep herself and her child in healthy conditions. Other Conventions prohibit the employment of women and young persons at night and in unhealthy processes, and fix the minimum age for child labour at 14 years. Another deals with the prevention of unemployment.

When the Commission for Labour Legislation was planning out the Organisation at the Peace Conference, it was settled that the Second Conference should be a special one and should deal with merchant seamen's conditions. This met at Genoa in 1920, for the Office had not yet gone to Geneva; its first few months of work were done in London.

The Seamen's Conference adopted a Convention which fixed the minimum age at which children should be employed at sea, another which provided that shipwrecked sailors should

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receive unemployment pay, and one by which free employment bureaux must be set up in all important ports. It is obvious that a trade like the sailor's, which takes him first to one country and then another, can only be successfully regulated by rules agreed upon together by all the countries concerned.

The next year, at Geneva, Conventions were adopted concerning work on board ship. It was settled that no lad under 18 could be employed in the stokehold, and that no 'young person' could be taken for work at sea without a medical certificate of fitness.

In 1926 there was another special Seamen's Conference. A Convention laying down what should be contained in 'Seamen's Articles of Agreement' was agreed upon, and another, badly needed for most foreign seamen, that they must not be left behind in any port when their engagement runs out, but must be taken back to the country or port where they signed on.

In 1921 the I.L.O. considered the problems of workers on the land, who have not in general received as much attention as factory workers. Special recommendations were made about night-work of women and children and maternity provisions in agriculture; about insurance and the prevention of unemployment, matters in which even in this country the farm-worker is not provided for as is his fellow-worker in the town; about living-in conditions of farm-workers, and about special training for agriculture such as is given now for many industries.

These Recommendations are guiding principles by which each nation may frame its own labour laws. Thus they differ from the Conventions, which are actually labour laws, and which must be embodied as they stand in the national law of the country which ratifies them. The 1921 Conference adopted seven Conventions. The first established the right of agricultural workers to form trade unions. The second concerned workmen's compensation in agriculture, and the third the minimum age for employment of children on the land; practically there is no law on this in any country—the employment of children in agriculture is, in general, only controlled by the school-leaving age.

At this same Conference, besides the question of boys at sea, there was the Convention on the use of white lead in painting: this is forbidden for indoor painting by the Convention, and may only be used for outdoor work under regulations laid down in detail. Fourteen countries have ratified this Convention, but here, although our delegates voted for it, Great Britain is not one of them.

The 1922 Conference was taken up with the question of emigration, and that of 1923 with factory inspection—very important this, for without efficient inspection to see that they are carried out, the best laws are no use. In 1925 four Conventions were adopted, one forbidding night-work in bakeries, and the rest dealing with different aspects of Workmen's Compensation. The 1926 Conference discussed questions

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relating to the care of emigrants on board ship.

The workers' recreation has not been forgotten; in 1924 governments and public bodies were urged to give assistance in the way of public halls, playing fields, transport, etc., and some of the suggestions put forward have already borne fruit.

Workmen's Compensation questions, both in regard to accidents and occupational diseases, were taken in 1925, and a third Convention, called 'Equality of treatment,' provides for workers who go to another country getting the full benefit of their insurance systems. Prohibition of night-work in bakeries was the subject of another much-discussed Convention.

There was a short Conference in 1926 before the special one for seamen, and this was to make it compulsory for every emigrant ship to carry an official inspector. Most British shipping companies do this, but it is desirable to have a uniform rule. Protection for women and girls on the voyage was the subject of a Recommendation.

The 1927 Conference dealt with Sickness (which we call Health) Insurance. There were two Conventions adopted: one includes industry and commerce, out-workers and domestic servants, the other workers on the land. A Convention on methods of minimum wage-fixing came before the Conference in 1928, and was adopted by 81 votes to 18, both the British Government and British worker voting for it. Our Trade Boards and Agricultural Wage-

Boards have done much for minimum wages rates here, but there are few countries which have gone as far as we have, and it would help our unemployment to get a general agreement to affect unorganised and ill-paid workers in other countries.

In 1928 there was a first discussion on Prevention of Industrial Accidents.

In 1929 this subject was brought forward more fully. A Draft Recommendation was adopted embodying principles and rules for the prevention of accidents in industrial establishments. Subsidiary Conventions and Recommendations dealt with special cases in industry in which accidents are liable to occur. A Draft Convention was adopted affording protection against accidents to workers loading and unloading ships. There was a first discussion on forced labour, and on the hours of work of salaried employees.

It is easier to realise what the work of the International Labour Organisation may mean to the world if we glance at the conditions in some of the countries which are still backward.

In China children of eight years old or even less are still sent to work in match factories, where, from four in the morning till eight at night, they have to fill boxes of matches. Our potteries used to have similar child labour less than 100 years ago. In the Chinese silk factories the day is sometimes 16 to 17 hours, and a normal day is from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m. Through

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this long day women and children work at unwinding the silk from the cocoon in unventilated rooms, full of steam from the boiling water in which the cocoons are soaked. The children's work is to stir the cocoons about until the silk is loosened for the women to unwind. Some are so small that they have to stand on stools to reach the tables. Even smaller children may be seen in the factories, babies lying on the floor because their mothers have nowhere to leave them during their fourteen hours of work. In the cotton mills children of nine are put to tend machines with no safety appliances, and horrible accidents sometimes happen.

The International Labour Office itself had sufficiently influenced the Chinese Government of three years ago for a provisional factory law for children to be passed, and but for the Civil War in China it might have been applied before now.

In Persia the carpet factories employed children of five, in stuffy, crowded rooms. They sat all day weaving carpets, on a narrow plank without a back, hung up in the air so that they could not get down until they were lifted. This constant work in one position from which they could not move caused the children to become deformed; their legs were permanently bent, for no surgical treatment could straighten them. If they lived they were badly deformed as adults.

This state of affairs was reported to the International Labour Office, which reminded the

Persian Government that it was a member of the League, and therefore also of the Organisation, and said that it could not be aware that such things were going on in their country. As a result of the suggestions of the Office, Persia has made regulations by which eight hours is the limit for the children's work, has forbidden the employment of children under ten, and has provided healthy conditions in the children's factories.

In the ten years since the International Labour Organisation of the League came into being, 27 Draft Conventions have been adopted; these are all passed by one of the Conferences held each year. There have already been over 380 ratifications of these Conventions; each ratification means that in the country ratifying the Convention must be enforced as part of the law of the land. Often a Convention may need more than one law to cover all its provisions. Over 600 Labour laws have been passed in different countries to carry out these international agreements we call Conventions.

CHAPTER VII PRISONERS OF WAR

We have been dealing with problems at which the League has been working since it first began, and will have to go on working until they are settled for good and all; and that, in some cases, like that of disease, means for ever. There remain to be considered one or two tasks which fell to the League in the general clearing up of

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the world after the confusion of the War. The first of these concerned the prisoners.

The prisoners in most of the countries who fought in the War were, of course, allowed to go home as soon as fighting was over. But those who had been captured in the Russian campaigns of 1915 and 1916 were less fortunate. By the time the War came to an end the Revolution had taken place in Russia, and the Bolshevik Government had too many difficulties to deal with among their own people to concern themselves with foreign prisoners. It is true the Government had announced that prisoners might go where they pleased, but they had made no arrangements for sending them to their homes. The prison camps were scattered all over Russia, some in the farthest parts; the whole railway system had broken down; the prisoners had simply to set out on foot across a foreign country in the grip of famine and disease. Many of them, weakened as they were already by the terrible conditions under which they had been imprisoned, died of sheer exhaustion long before they reached the frontier.

In 1920 the League of Nations took up the prisoners' cause, and sent Dr. Nansen, the great explorer, to Russia to seek them out and send them home. The Red Cross were already at work, and Dr. Nansen helped to finish what they had begun.

The first thing to be done was to get a boat service going and to start trains running again between the centre of Russia and the coast. The train service had to be arranged by means

of an agreement between Germany, Russia, Poland and the small Baltic States. Dr. Nansen bought a small fleet of ships and food for the prisoners on their journey, and soon had a regular line of ships plying across the Baltic.

The prisoners in Eastern Siberia had to be brought home by sea from Vladivostok, all the way round China and India, through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal, across the Mediterranean and up the Adriatic to Trieste. It says something for Dr. Nansen's management that they were brought that long journey at a cost of £1 per head. The prisoners from the South were taken across the Black Sea and thence to Trieste. Dr. Nansen also succeeded in speeding-up the exchange of prisoners between Bulgaria and Greece and between Hungary and Rumania.

By the end of 1922, 427,886 prisoners had been rescued and sent home. Some of them had been suffering terribly from want and disease for as long as six years, and their families had, of course, had no news of them during that time. Dr. Nansen reported to the League in September, 1922, that the work was finished, and the following striking tribute was paid him in the Assembly:—

'Everything was lacking, but Dr. Nansen's fertile genius improvised all. There were no ships—the transport crisis was at its height; Dr. Nansen found ships. The mistrust of the Soviet Government had to be surmounted. Dr. Nansen secured its good-will. The International

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Committee for Relief Credits could only furnish limited sums. Dr. Nansen secured so much help, so much good-will, that mere lack of money could not stop him.'

CHAPTER VIII

THE RELIEF OF REFUGEES

Revolutions and wars in the East have meant that thousands of unfortunate people had to suffer an even worse fate than that of the prisoners of war. The prisoner had a home waiting for him, and all he needed was the means to get there. The refugee has had to leave his home and all his possessions and fly for his life; his only object is to get out of a country where he is no longer safe, and where he is to find shelter or means of livelihood he knows not. Since 1920 a million and a half men, women and children have been in this plight.

In November, 1920, the first multitude of refugees fled from the Bolsheviks out of South Russia to Constantinople and other neighbouring countries. Each country did its best to cope with the refugees who came to it, but they soon found that unless they joined together the problem would be too much for them. In February, 1921, they asked the League to send someone to help them, and Dr. Nansen, who was already at work on behalf of the prisoners in that part of the world, was appointed High Commissioner for Refugees.

The League also called a Conference of delegates from the countries concerned, together with members of the Red Cross and other

societies who had been doing work among refugees. They decided to find out the professions and occupations of the refugees, and discover what work could be found for them in the countries which had taken them in. Among other suggestions they recommended that, now that the worst disturbances in Russia were over, those who wished might be helped to go back there.

Dr. Nansen had first to attend to the centres such as Constantinople, where the refugees were collected in such crowds that there was really no room for them. His aim was to spread them among the countries which he had persuaded to take them in and give them, at least for a time, some work by which they could make a living.

In Constantinople by this time the refugees were not Russians only. In 1922 they were followed by 75,000 Turks who had fled before the Greek Army, and, when the fortunes of war changed and the Turkish Army advanced, by 150,000 Greeks and Armenians. 'The future was black indeed,' wrote Sir Charles Harington, who was in command of the Allied armies there. 'Funds were exhausted. Happily, the League of Nations was making itself felt, in the only right way, by getting the refugees away. Other countries have opened fields for the Russians, and many thousands have availed themselves of the chance, and recently many have gone to America.'

Money was Dr. Nansen's chief trouble. The League could not give him much, but he was

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untiring in his efforts to raise funds from charity. He collected enough to supply bread for two months to 10,000 persons, and the British Government gave £20,000 worth of supplies. Even so, many refugees were still starving. Dr. Nansen went on with his work of preparation, and induced various countries to take them in. In particular, Bulgaria agreed to receive 5,000 children.

The question of those who wished to return to Russia was particularly difficult. They had fled from the Bolshevik terror, and were not likely to go back if they were simply to suffer further persecution. Yet a large number had said that if only they could be sure of safety they were anxious to return home. The Bolshevik Government had by this time proclaimed a general pardon to persons within the country who had resisted it. It now assured Dr. Nansen that, provided the returning refugees were approved by it, they should have the benefit of this pardon.

Some 4,600 refugees were taken in in camps in Egypt, Cyprus and Yugo-Slavia in May, 1922, and those from Egypt and Cyprus were soon all placed in employment in Bulgaria.

Practically all the refugees were able to leave Constantinople safely. The work of feeding them and getting them sent away to work, to their friends, or back home again had to be done at a time when the Turks were feeling by no means friendly towards the Allies. Moreover, most of the countries with which Dr. Nansen was dealing had already declared that they had

no room for more refugees; and most of the refugees were penniless. But explorers seem to thrive on difficulties; Dr. Nansen certainly had a way with them for which both the League and the refugees are grateful.

From time to time certain countries have found the strain of supporting refugees too much for them. Greece, Rumania and Poland have threatened to turn out their refugees; Dr. Nansen persuaded them not to do so, and instead arranged for gradually lightening the burden by having the refugees sent elsewhere.

In 1924 the League realised two things about the Russian and Armenian refugees: in the first place, that they were permanent refugees—people without a country, and then that in the main their problem was to find work, or have it found for them. So the Assembly asked the International Labour Organisation to take over both Russians and Armenians, and a Refugee Service was set up in the International Labour Office, with an Advisory Committee, with Dr. Nansen as Chairman, to give all the help it could.

Knowledge of the state of employment all over the world was a great advantage to the Office, but few European countries needed workers, so many themselves having large bodies of unemployed. To have 400,000 people scattered about thirteen countries to deal with seemed at first an impossible task, all the more when, partly as a result of their sufferings during many years, there were among them a high proportion of invalids. Indeed, invalids,

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aged people and children too young to be employed, were at that time nearly one-third of the whole number. Also the refugee has to try to get a living in a strange country, without the help or the facilities which any civilised country provides for its own people. He has to seek work with no one to testify as to his fitness for it, to speak to his experience of the same kind of work, or to witness to his personal character. And among this great army a number of people had never before done any work, skilled or unskilled, but none the less must be fitted to obtain it. And, as few could be given work in the countries to which they had originally fled during the war, work had to be found elsewhere, perhaps at the other side of the world, and therefore the refugee worker had to be taken great distances. A census showing the trades and occupations of the unemployed refugees had to be carried out, under great difficulties, in each country which harboured them. During the I.L.O.'s four years of work, permanent work was found for about 50,000 in over thirty different countries. Shipping and railway companies had to be persuaded to grant reduced transport rates, and Governments in need of labour induced to take the workers. Many have been settled in Canada, South America and France. The French authorities in Syria are settling some 40,000 on the land; about 10,000 have already been established in agricultural settlements, and are already self-supporting. This is only a beginning, and, although the unemployed Russian and Arme-

nian refugees have been reduced to something like 200,000, there are still an enormous number to be put on a permanent self-supporting basis, and until this can be done they are not only suffering great hardships, but they form a floating population dangerous to themselves and to the countries which cannot offer them means of support.

We have already seen that the refugees in Constantinople were not all Russians. Up to now we have only described Dr. Nansen's work among the Russians and Armenians. The Turks were provided for mainly by their own Government, but the Greeks remain to be dealt with.

In the second half of 1922 the Turkish army advanced westwards over Asia Minor and occupied land on the coast where numbers of Greeks had always lived, and more had come to settle since the Greek Government took over the land after the War. There is no love lost between Greeks and Turks, and when these Greeks knew that the Turkish army was approaching their homes, their one thought was to escape back to their own country. So began the 'Tragic Trek' of Greek families, many of whom had been contented, prosperous farmers, on foot or in rough carts, some with only light summer clothing, making westwards with what speed they could out of the reach of the Turks.

Dr. Nansen's aid was summoned at once. His first action was to have 200 tons of flour sent to Smyrna, where the city had been burnt down and the people were crowded on the shore

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waiting to get away. Next he had 10,000 of the Turks who had left their homes when the Greek army was advancing sent back again from Constantinople.

General Harington was in Constantinople when the stream of Greek refugees began to arrive, and he wrote a moving description of it:—

'Greek refugees from Asia Minor began to arrive by thousands, bringing with them many cases of smallpox. It seemed as if nothing could save us from epidemic. Smallpox cases were being shipped in open boats and told to land. I saw one myself with seventy cases on board, of which twenty-four died before help could be given. The situation became very serious. There appeared to be no machinery capable of dealing with it. Many camps were formed. The death-rate was appalling, reaching some 1,500 a week. Slowly but surely the Near East Relief and the League of Nations machinery have surmounted this task. Its procedure has been admirable. The first step was to stop more Greek refugees from coming here, and then set up effective machinery for dealing with those here—some 30,000.'

This was in Constantinople. In Greece itself the number of refugees equalled one-fifth of the whole population; that is to say, for every four persons already in the country one more was suddenly thrust upon it. They had no roof to their heads and hardly any clothes to their backs. They had to huddle on the seashore, which was just bearable in summer, with no

prospect of anything better when the winter came. An appeal was made in this country for clothing, and parcels of clothes were rushed out in time to save many lives.

In these conditions it would have been surprising if epidemics had not broken out. Cholera, smallpox, typhoid and diphtheria raged till the League sent its Epidemic Commission to carry out a vaccination campaign.

The biggest piece of work done by the help of the League among these refugees, however, was their settlement in model villages. 15,000 of them were settled in a colony of fifteen villages. They lived in tents until huts could be built, and until the harvest they were fed by the League. Most of them were farmers, but other industries have been started, such as charcoal-burning, embroidery work and carpet weaving. Many of these refugees had become self-supporting by the end of the first year. The experiment was then being carried farther. The Greek Government handed over to the League about 1,200,000 acres of land where refugees could be settled in work which would both be useful to the country and enable them to support themselves. Each family was set up with a house, a few tools, a mule, ox, or buffalo for ploughing, and a pony or donkey, a plough and a harrow; and wagons for carrying supplies and grain were shared among a number of families. They have been supplied with seed and also with vine roots from California, specially prepared to resist the disease which attacks vines in Greece, and with

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mulberry trees to feed silkworms. In some districts roses are grown to make attar of roses. A flourishing tobacco industry has been started, and on the coast fishing villages and even one small port has been built. By May, 1927, about 150,000 families were settled on the land, and more than half the refugees were given a decent start. But by this time more money was needed to complete the work, especially in providing for town-dwelling and industrial refugees. So the League in September, 1927, authorised a fresh loan to Greece, in part to be used for other purposes, in part to continue the settlement.

There has seldom been a more wonderful piece of constructive statesmanship than the Greek refugee settlement. Had nothing been done, many of this million and a half would have died of cold and hunger, and many more sunk to a state of miserable demoralisation. But as it is, with extraordinarily small cost—£51 a family—the people have become self-supporting, land is coming into prosperous cultivation, marshes are being drained, roads made, and villages built. Of course, the main credit belongs to the refugees themselves; they are fine people, brave, industrious and intelligent. They have made the very most out of the help given them, and are already repaying the advances made them. The League will hand over the little remaining work to the Greek Government by the end of 1930.

Meanwhile the League has been called to the aid of refugees in yet another country, Bulgaria. Here the numbers are smaller—only 120,000—

but it is as wrong for one human being to be allowed to starve where he could be saved as for a million. Many of them had had to leave Greece to make room for the Greek refugees from Asia Minor. They were wandering about homeless and adding to the disorder from which the country was already suffering. Accordingly Bulgaria asked the League for a loan to be spent in finding homes for them. The League was willing enough to help, but everything could not be arranged without a good deal of discussion. Time passed, and if the work could not be set going before the time of the autumn sowing, six months would be wasted waiting for the spring. So, when it seemed certain that the League Council would approve the plan, though they had not yet done so, the Bank of England advanced a small loan to cover the autumn sowing. This is the latest of many occasions on which the Bank of England has shown its confidence in the soundness of the League's schemes. During September, 1926, the scheme was formally approved, and is now being carried out by a Frenchman, M. René Charron, chosen by the League.

In 1925 it seemed at last to have become possible for the League to help another group of refugees—in some ways the most unfortunate of all—the Armenians. The Armenians have for centuries been cruelly oppressed by the Turks, and during the War the Allies promised that when peace was made they should be set up as an independent nation in their own home in the Caucasus mountains. It was not found

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possible to carry out this promise, and the League has therefore felt a special responsibility for the thousands of Armenians who have been turned out of their homes. Many of them have settled down elsewhere, but many would prefer to go back to Armenia and some of the countries which have taken them in—particularly Greece, with all her own refugees to provide for—cannot really afford to keep them.

Every Assembly of the League has spent some of its time trying to find a way to help the Armenians. In 1922 the League asked the Allies, who were then making peace with Turkey, to arrange as part of the Treaty to set up a national home for them. This, however, was not done, and the League decided to take the matter in hand itself. As in the case of the Russian refugees, it consulted the International Labour Organisation, and together they investigated the state of Armenia, which has now become one of the Soviet Republics. They found that by proper use of the rivers it would be possible to cultivate a large quantity of land which is now almost desert; and as hardly anyone lives there now, there would be plenty of room for the refugees to settle there. Dr. Nansen, of course, was responsible for the scheme, and he proposed that an international loan should be raised to pay for settling on this land 10,000 Armenians from Greece and 15,000 from Constantinople. This money would cover the cost of draining swamps, where this was necessary, and digging canals, and it was proposed that the refugees themselves should be employed on this

work in order that they might begin earning at once. They were to be given the land on which they were to settle, and excused from taxation for the first three years, except for what was necessary to pay the interest on the loan. The scheme was examined and declared to be sound by the League Council.

The success of the scheme depended upon raising enough money to lend to settlers. Dr. Nansen found that no State was ready to negotiate with a republic dependent upon Moscow. Though he was tempted to throw the whole task up, in the face of the political passions of Governments, he persisted in every kind of endeavour to give these hopeless victims of war another chance, back in their own country. In 1928 he was able to announce that £100,000 had been promised from private sources, but no Governments came forward with further offers of assistance, and in 1930 Dr. Nansen was obliged finally to abandon the scheme.

In September, 1928, the League voted £12,000 for the annual expense of an Advisory Committee to help Dr. Nansen arrange for the assimilation of refugees, particularly Russians, in the countries where they were at present, and when repatriation was out of the question. At an inter-governmental Conference earlier in the year, many countries had already accepted an agreement guaranteeing certain rights to refugees.

There is one body of Armenians whose state has been as wretched as any, and who may yet be saved. These are the refugees in the Syrian

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mandated area, ruled by France. There are over 90,000, of whom many are absolutely penniless. As you drove into Beirut, the great port of Syria, you used to see an astonishing encampment upon the sea-beach. It was a sort of town, built of twigs and rubbish, pieces of paper and empty tins, and here, in the utmost destitution, freezing in winter, scorching in summer, Armenian refugees dragged out a wretched existence. They only continued to live at all with the aid of charity. Yet people of this race have been for centuries the cleverest craftsmen of all the Near East; they are fiercely industrious, intelligent, and loyal to each other. Given the faintest chance, they would support themselves. For eight years they were left rotting in refugee camps, with no chance at all. At last the International Labour Office and the French Government contrived, assisted by money from charitable societies and wealthy Armenians, to settle the refugees on the land, or the reasonable quarters in the towns. So much progress has been made that Armenians may even be settled in Syria from Greece and Bulgaria.

The story of the Armenians is tragic. They joined the Allies in the War; they were promised independence; they have been given death—a quick, brutal death at the hands of the Turks; a slow, shameful death through the neglect of the Allies. The debt of the victors could never have been paid in money, even if they were willing to give money. But they are not, they have repudiated their debt. The few

who may survive of this ancient race will owe their lives to the kindness of private people and the work of a great 'neutral.'

In September, 1928, the League recognised that the refugee problem would still take some years to solve, and entrusted it to an Advisory Commission, composed of representatives of the countries chiefly interested. It is hoped to wind up the work altogether in another ten years. We should pray that this may be done. That there are still any homeless refugees, eleven years after the Armistice, should make us all ashamed; for the refugees of the little nations pay the bill for the strife of the great.

This chapter cannot be concluded without a reference to the death of Dr. Nansen, May 13, 1930. 'Brave, just and compassionate' he was a friend to all whom he met and above all a friend to those who were most suffering. He was a soldier of peace, a champion of humanity, and the most devoted worker for the League of Nations. A great international figure, his ideals and his actions cannot but be an inspiration to men and women who are working towards making a better and braver world. He embodied in his own life that infectious spirit of adventure which he defined as a perpetual yearning to overcome difficulties and dangers and penetrate into regions outside the beaten track.

CHAPTER IX

THE RESCUE OF DEPORTED WOMEN AND CHILDREN

In the two towns of Constantinople in Turkey and Aleppo in Syria the League has done a piece

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of rescue work which, though it only involves a comparatively small number of persons, is interesting enough to deserve a chapter to itself. This is the rescue of women and children who were deported during the War by the Turks.

There are in Turkey, living side by side with the Turks, considerable numbers of Christian Greeks and Armenians. These people have always been ill-treated by the Turks, and consequently have no love for them. When the War broke out the Turks decided to take every precaution against this enemy within their borders. Their method was, in all the Greek and Armenian villages, to kill the men and the older women, and carry off all the younger women and children as slaves. They did all they could to turn their captives into Turks. The children were told that all their family was dead, that their village was burnt down, and that if they did run away there was nowhere for them to go. They were brought up as Turks, and the younger ones were even made to believe that they were Turkish. Some of them did settle down contentedly, but almost all remembered their homes with a longing like that of the Jews by the waters of Babylon.

Nothing could be done for them during the War. But as soon as it was over the British Army at Constantinople, and then the League of Nations, were asked to help in discovering them and setting them free. In April, 1921, the League appointed to manage its work three persons already living in Turkey. They were

Dr. Kennedy, a British missionary, and Miss Emma Cushman, an American lady, in Constantinople; and a Danish lady, Miss Karen Jeppe, in Aleppo. The Turkish Government and the Turkish people did all they could to hinder the work; they objected that until Turkey was formally at peace—which was not the case till February, 1923—the League had no right to interfere.

Still, the workers were not discouraged. At Constantinople they opened a house called Neutral House, where they collected Christian children who were being brought up as Turks in Moslem orphanages. Here they were kept and cared for till their families were discovered, or helped to emigrate if—as too often happened—no family could be found. Most pathetic stories are told of these children. They had been forbidden to speak their own language and obliged to say Moslem prayers. For weeks after they came to Neutral House they would keep this up. Then suddenly a child would be found in a hidden corner praying desperately to Christ in his own language, and be overcome with terror because he had been heard. It was a long time before they understood that they were safe.

At Aleppo it has been possible to do more than at Constantinople. Miss Jeppe had her difficulties at first. The French authorities there were afraid that by helping her they would only anger the Turks into a fresh outburst of cruelty. But she knew that there were thousands of women held captive not far from Aleppo, and that if they had any safe place to escape to they

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would stick at nothing to reach it. So she took a house and set to work to spread rumours in the neighbourhood that Armenian women would be taken in there if they could only get to Aleppo. The news had to be spread by secret means. One was by the washerwomen who went into the women's quarters, where not many outsiders go. Another was by the millers, who are all Armenian, but have been left unharmed because the Turks needed them to grind their flour. The women of Turkish households are seldom allowed out of doors, but they do go to the mills with grain to be ground. In these ways the news trickled through that on certain nights a chauffeur with a Ford car would be waiting at a lonely spot to take to Aleppo any Armenian woman who could make her way there. Or the women escape on their own account and make their way on foot to the House of Refuge, often bearing the marks of dreadful ill-treatment in their Turkish homes and hardships on their journey.

Once in Aleppo their troubles are over. They are cared for and taught a trade, so that if their families cannot be found they can earn their own living. Or they marry; for when an Armenian man wants a wife he sends his womenfolk to look for one, and many of them go first to the House of Refuge, which is known, Eastern fashion, as 'The House of the Many Pretty Girls.' 'There'll be no end to the weddings in the house,' said Miss Jeppe.

As for the children, many of them are simply bought back from the masters who have

already bought them as slaves. For a pound Miss Jeppe can buy a boy and set him free. Astonishing stories are told of the way these children cling to their own language, forbidden as it is. One boy, who had been sold at the age of six, was rescued six years later, and, when he was asked how he remembered so much Armenian, said: 'When nobody was listening, I talked it to the cows.'

In 1927 Miss Jeppe surrendered her post under the League, which had felt it necessary to end its subscription to her work. In any case, the larger part of the funds she used were subscribed by charities, and she is going to continue helping the Armenians as a private person, trusting that the subscriptions will continue.

Up to 1927 Miss Jeppe had rescued 1,600 women and children; and many since. The great majority of these found homes with relations and many have learnt a trade and become self-supporting. The average cost for the actual rescue, food, clothes, shelter and medicine was £11 5s., a small price to pay for a life saved from shameful captivity. But Miss Jeppe's work is like that of all people inspired with the genius of service: money is the least part of it. Other people can give money, she gives work and patience and adventurous imagination, a sense of fun which lightens tragedy, a love she never reckons, and could not, for it is immeasurable.

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CHAPTER X
CONCLUSION

The League of Nations delegates who meet at Geneva each September represent an enormous amount of power. Behind them are their Governments, who can make war or peace, who can help or hinder any work for the common good. And the ordinary spectator, looking down from the gallery at a meeting of the Assembly, is tempted to think, 'There they are, politicians and diplomats, busy and prosperous, sheltered by the circumstances of their lives from seeing the consequences of national policy. There's the Foreign Minister of a Great Power. If his Government goes to war on his advice, will he ever see the trail of wreckage that storm will leave behind; refugees fleeing from bombed villages, children dying of hunger, disease killing off the weakened people? He won't, most likely. There's an ambassador. Has he ever seen the inside of a really poor home? Can he imagine what it is to be a child working twelve hours a day? How can these men be expected to take up new ideas? How can they be made to use their power as it could be used?' The spectator is apt to forget that even frock-coats cover human hearts; that those hard-worked delegates can be roused by a record of achievement or by a demand for action. And the men and women who work for the improvement of the social conditions of the world have realised this. They know that if the League takes up a piece of work the Governments will co-operate. They know that their

aims are better understood than they used to be, when there was no common meeting-ground of the nations. For it is not only the Government delegates who become interested in international humanitarian activities, but the Press and the listening public, who carry knowledge to all the nations.

This is the vital thing, that the people should know and want to help the constructive work of the League. The League exists mainly to keep and to make peace, but all the work of its members will not keep peace if the nations feel that war is the greatest and most romantic of adventures. As the generation which remembers what war is really like dies out, the young people will only know that war demands courage, endurance and sacrifice, the qualities which they want to offer to a cause they believe in. The watchword of the Great War in Britain was 'service,' in Germany 'loyalty,' in France, 'death for the glory of our country.' Peace will not win the hearts of men till they realise that it, too, is a great and difficult adventure; that it, too, asks its servants to give themselves utterly. And the League is showing that the same generosity of spirit is needed for saving the nations as for their destruction. Every sober, practical scheme the League approves is wrought of fine elements; the dream of the pioneer, the disciplined intuition of the scientist, the courage of the doctor, the justice of the liberator, the patience of the reformer who endures failure after failure till the world moves one slow forward

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step. The League work makes life for many people freer, healthier, more prosperous. But it is not an easy task to heal the sickness of the nations. It is of all struggles the hardest and the longest, and the most worth while.

'It may be said with truth,' declares Dame Rachel Crowley, who has done more than anyone to 'make' the Humanitarian Social Section of the League's organisation, 'that you may reduce the cruisers of the world, you may cut down armies, you may disarm men, but unless you improve the social and the economic and the health conditions of the world, peace, once obtained, can never be maintained.'

*A list of recommended books and pamphlets
is on page 72.*

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

	s. d.
RECONSTRUCTION: Five Years Work of the League of Nations, <i>by</i> M. Fanshawe	5 0
TEN YEARS LIFE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: Compiled <i>by</i> J. Eppstein	7 6
WHAT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS: <i>by</i> H. Wilson Harris	2 6
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FROM IDEALS TO REALITY, <i>by</i> Jones and Sherman	5 0
HUMAN MERCHANDISE, <i>by</i> H. Wilson Harris	6 0
CHAMPIONS OF PEACE, <i>by</i> Hebe Spaul	3 0
MANDATES, <i>by</i> Freda White	3 6
ORGANISING PEACE, <i>by</i> Maxwell Garnett (Pamphlet 179)	0 2
WHAT THE LEAGUE HAS DONE, 1920-29, <i>by</i> M. Fanshawe (Pamphlet 195)	0 6
PEACE THROUGH INDUSTRY, <i>by</i> Oliver Bell (Pamphlet 281)	0
HEALTH (Pamphlet 174)	0 3
TEACHERS AND WORLD PEACE (Pamphlet 114)	0 6
HISTORY OF THE I.L.O., <i>by</i> The Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes	3 6
A LITTLE BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, <i>by</i> Miss Bradfield	2 0
A LITTLE BOOK OF THE I.L.O., <i>by</i> Miss Bradfield	2 0
SLAVERY, <i>by</i> Lady Simon	12 6

Note.—Short Memoranda on any matter connected with Human Welfare and the League can be obtained on application. The above books and pamphlets are on sale at 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. Books can also be loaned from the Library.

