



# HEADWAY

## A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

### The British Delegation

THE British delegation at the 10th Assembly of the League of Nations, which opens at Geneva on September 2, is to consist of the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald; the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Henderson; Lord Cecil; the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. W. Graham; the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hugh Dalton; Sir Cecil Hurst, Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office; Mr. Noel Baker, M.P.; Mrs. Hamilton, M.P.; and Mrs. Swanwick. The delegation, it will be observed, is larger than usual, but no larger than France and Germany habitually send. Neither the Prime Minister nor the President of the Board of Trade, moreover, expects to be able to remain more than a few days. Mr. MacDonald will go at the beginning, and, no doubt, take part in the opening discussions, while Mr. Graham will devote himself particularly to financial and economic questions. The personnel of the delegation has been generally approved and it is satisfactory to learn that the Foreign Secretary proposes to stay practically the whole time. This, it may be observed, is the first occasion on which two women have been appointed on the British delegation. Mrs. Hamilton will be a newcomer to Geneva, but Mrs. Swanwick was one of the delegates sent by the former Labour Government in 1924.

### Lord Cecil's Return

CLEARLY the most striking departure is the appointment of Lord Cecil by the Labour Government. This is the fulfilment of the undertaking given that this year's Assembly delegation should be, to some extent, non-party in character. In accepting the position offered him, Lord Cecil does not, of course, in any way identify himself with the Labour Party policy. But the policy the Government advocates is the policy Lord Cecil has always advocated himself, so that he is likely to find himself completely at one with his colleagues at Geneva. His special business will naturally be to take charge for Great Britain of the disarmament discussions, and, in addition to going as delegate to the Assembly, he will resume his old place on the Preparatory Commission. There could be no better augury for the success of the coming negotiations.

### The Russo-Chinese Trouble

A GOOD deal might be said and a little has, in fact, been said elsewhere about the quarrel between China and Soviet Russia. One aspect worthy of special mention is the promptitude with which Japan has turned to Geneva. Japan is, of course, closely interested in the situation in Manchuria, and it was stated at the moment the out-



break became threatening that the Japanese Government would certainly raise the matter under Article 11 of the Covenant should the need for such action arise. It is possible that this may have been done by the time these lines are in print, though the general impression appears to be that the situation is actually less alarming than it looks. There are, moreover, two other instruments besides the Covenant which affect the dispute. One is, of course, the Kellogg Pact, to which both China and Russia have adhered, and the other is the Four Power Pacific Pact signed by Great Britain, the United States, Japan and France during the Washington Conference in 1921. The fact that the United States at once took action under the latter agreement made it a little difficult for other Powers to set the League machinery moving simultaneously.

### King Fuad at Geneva

THE visit of the King of Egypt to the League Headquarters last month is of some interest in view of the fact that Egypt is among the countries which may soon be applying for membership of the League. As things stand at this moment it is not quite clear whether Egypt can fully comply with the conditions laid down in Article I of the Covenant, in that she is not in every respect completely independent, Great Britain having reserved the right to keep troops in the country and to make herself responsible for the protection of foreigners. American troops, however, have been stationed in Cuba without disqualifying that island from League membership, and both China and Persia, each of which has actually sat as a member of the Council, have been compelled to allow foreigners to be tried, as in Egypt, by special courts with foreign judges. However that may be, King Fuad's stay at Geneva deserves mention for personal reasons alone, for few reigning monarchs have so far troubled to visit the League's Secretariat. There is, indeed, no special reason why they should, for the Secretariat, particularly in its present quarters, has nothing much to show except the volume in which treaties are registered, and which is trotted out with rather monotonous pomp and circumstance on every available occasion. But the League's officials themselves are always worth meeting, and though Sir Eric Drummond and M. Albert Thomas were in England when King Fuad was at Geneva, their respective substitutes, no doubt, did what was necessary with complete efficiency. There is only one thing King Fuad did not see, the arms of the lady members of the staff, for strict instructions were circulated beforehand that no one with short sleeves would be admitted to the royal presence.

### Passports and Visas

IN the debate on the Address in the House of Commons, Sir Martin Conway raised once more the question of the abolition of passports and visas. This is a matter which the League of Nations has dealt with more than once, its Transit and Communications Organisation having called two International Conferences on the subject. It is also a matter on which a certain amount of nonsense is talked. It does no one any harm at all to be required to obtain a passport and show it on the well-known occasions where it is likely to be asked for, i.e., in

crossing frontiers. A passport, moreover, now that it has been reduced to convenient size on the recommendation of the League, is a useful thing to carry in the pocket when travelling in a foreign country for purposes of identification, particularly if any financial transaction, such as cashing a letter of credit, may be called for. A passport, moreover, is now issued for five years, so that its holder, unless he starts his journeys very young, is not likely to be called on to renew it more than a dozen times or so in a normal lifetime. The visa is another matter. That consists in the permission formally accorded by the Consul of a foreign country in, say, London, to an Englishman to go and travel in that country. For some time the visa was perpetuated for the sake of the fees charged for granting it. Now, however, they are rapidly being swept away and the Englishman travelling on the Continent can go to Belgium or Holland, Switzerland or France, Spain or Germany or Italy or other foreign countries, without any worry about visas at all. The sooner the remaining visas go the better.

### Safety First

IT is fitting enough that the League of Nations, which in one sphere is concentrating so largely on the question of national security, should also concern itself with individual security in various aspects. One of those aspects touches the fate of those venturesome spirits who risk their life and limb by entering what are technically known as mechanically-propelled vehicles. When many such vehicles assemble on the road it is desirable that their drivers should give signals to one another of their intentions, desirable further that these signals should be intelligible, and desirable further still that they should be intelligible not in one country but in all. That matters comparatively little in Great Britain, where a motorist who drives across the frontier drives into salt water, where signals are of small account, but if you are going, let us say, from France into Switzerland or from Czechoslovakia into Austria it is well that the obtuse foreigners you will encounter should know what your signals mean. Hence a Committee of the League's Transit Section has drafted a series of uniform international signals whereby a driver may denote his intention of stopping or of passing another car, or of turning right or left, or performing various other manoeuvres habitual to motorists. Since British automobilists do occasionally transport their cars to the Continent (where, incidentally, the obtuse foreigner insists on driving on the side of the road opposite to that which Nature obviously intended), it is reassuring to know that the international signals are precisely those already in current use in Great Britain. Most of them should, however, out of consideration for the wrong-headedness of the foreigner, be effected with the left hand rather than the right.

### Flying Through the Straits

A CURIOUS little question affecting primarily two non-members of the League, Russia and Turkey, and less directly one member, Italy, will come before the League of Nations Council at the end of August. It has reference to an alleged infraction of certain clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne (the peace treaty between the Allied

Powers and Turkey) over which the League of Nations has supervision. According to these clauses the entry of naval vessels or military aeroplanes into the Black Sea area is restricted, no external Power being entitled to send through the Dardanelles a force larger than the largest force possessed by any Power situate on the Black Sea. In the matter of aeroplanes Russia is the strongest of such Powers, having 21 machines in that area. Italy recently despatched a detachment of 35 machines towards the Black Sea. When they had arrived at the Bosphorus the detachment divided, 21, which was the permitted number, flying up the Straits, while the other 14 went round by a circuitous route but rejoined the 21 later. The Straits Commission, over which a nominee of the League of Nations presides, thought this was rather sharp practice, and has brought the matter before the Council so as to get a definite ruling as to what the Treaty really means. The discussion arising should be of interest.

### China's New Navy

IT is a little startling, in the midst of the discussions on reducing naval armaments, to find that China is in process of developing her naval strength, is sending a batch of cadets to be trained in Great Britain, and proposes also to purchase certain warships from this country. A good deal might be said about that, the most obvious point to make being that China, observing the whole civilised world heavily armed, can hardly be blamed if she deems it proper to follow their example. That is all the more reason why reduction on the part of the armed nations should be carried forward in time to forestall the desires of the unarmed States to arm. The comment may also be made that it is not entirely consistent for China to propose the abolition of conscription at Geneva and then set to work to increase her navy. There is, in fact, no inconsistency. China can quite well say that she is herself in favour of disarmament, but that if other nations refuse to come into line then she must do as they do. But in point of fact there appears to be nothing very serious to trouble about. What China is understood to be contemplating is merely the development of such naval power as may be needed for policing her rivers and dealing with pirates which notoriously infest her shores. There is nothing contrary either to the spirit or the letter of the League Covenant in that.

### A Flowing Tide

THERE are few questions under study by the League of Nations in the social field that provoke greater interest than the slow but steady movement for the abolition of licensed houses—i.e., houses where prostitution may be carried on under Government licence—in different countries. This is clearly a domestic question, regarding which every State must take its own decision, and the League's function is confined to the creation of an international public opinion adverse to the system. In point of fact, the licensed houses—which the recent report of the Committee of Experts condemned as definitely stimulating the traffic in women—have in the past few years been abolished

in a number of countries, notably Germany and Hungary. Several statements on the subject made at the last session of the League's Traffic in Women and Children Committee show the attitude of States whose views on licensed houses have recently changed, or are apparently changing. The French delegate explained that there was no French law regulating prostitution, the matter being in the hands of individual municipalities. The task, therefore, was to stimulate public opinion in favour of abolition. The same conditions prevail in Belgium, but the Belgian delegate said that abolition had already been achieved in Antwerp. The Japanese delegate said the Japanese Parliament had lately discussed, and had referred to a Committee, a Bill providing for abolition. The delegate from Uruguay said licensed houses in that country had been closed as the result of a law passed in 1927. A definite movement towards abolition is clearly in progress in many lands.

### A Question of Title

IT is curious at this time of day to find any discussion anywhere as to what the name of the League of Nations is or should be. The question, has, however, been raised in Spain as a sequel to the recent meeting of the Council there, the point at issue being whether the League should be called in Spanish "Sociedad de Naciones" or "Sociedad de las Naciones," i.e., Society of Nations or Society of the Nations. It was pointed out by a League spokesman who advocated the latter term that, though the title in English is "League of Nations," that is largely for phonetic reasons, and what is really meant is "League of the Nations," which is the form the title takes in French, Italian and Portuguese. A "the" more or less might seem to matter very little, but the point made is that the use of the article implies universality, and even though universality has not yet been attained, that is the permanent aim of the League, and its title cannot be varied to suit the changing circumstances of the moment. *La Nacion*, which is the official organ in Madrid, has announced that, for its part, it will regularly use the form "Sociedad de las Naciones."

### A Red Cross Milestone

THE celebration of the first ten years of existence of the League of Red Cross Societies calls for mention here if for no other reason than that Red Cross work is specifically mentioned in the League of Nations Covenant, Article 25, binding members of the League

"To encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world."

The important point about this is that it provided for the extension into peace time of that Red Cross work which, down to 1919, had been confined to the battlefield. Its appearance in the Covenant was due in part to the activities of certain individuals in Paris in 1919, and though the Article does no one any special harm the case for its insertion is



none too strong. It is worth considering whether in course of time Red Cross work in every country should not be linked up more closely than it is with the general health activities of the League.

#### Judges of the Court

THE question of Sir Cecil Hurst's nomination as Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice was raised in the House of Commons on July 16 by Mr. Mander, Liberal, supported by Mr. Holford Knight, Labour. Both speakers referred in terms of warm admiration to Sir Cecil Hurst, but declared themselves uneasy that a jurist so long in the service of his own Foreign Office, and so intimately associated with the drafting of international agreements, like the Treaty of Versailles and the Treaties of Locarno, should be placed in a position where he will be called on to interpret those very treaties, and where it is essential that no one shall ever be able to charge him with adopting a national point of view. It may be said at once that no one who knows Sir Cecil Hurst would ever believe him capable of failing in his duties as Judge in the latter respect. Mr. Henderson, the Foreign Secretary, replying to the points raised, confined himself to insisting that Sir Cecil Hurst was an eminently suitable person to be appointed Judge of the Permanent Court—an opinion which, so far as Sir Cecil's personality is concerned, will be universally endorsed—but expressed no opinion on the points of principle. They are points that are worth considering none the less.

#### A League Air Force?

IT may be recalled that at the last meeting of the League of Nations Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, a letter was read by the Chairman from a wealthy American, Mr. Clifford B. Harmon, who has created an International League of Aviators, and who proposed definitely to the Preparatory Commission the formation of a United Air Force, which should be at the disposal of the League of Nations if it were ever needed. Lord Cushendun objected to the reading of this letter on the ground that it represented an unwarrantable intrusion by a private citizen into the Commission's proceedings, but the President considered that its inherent interest and importance justified the course he had taken. Mr. Harmon now states that he is hoping to get the matter discussed at the League Assembly in September. It will be seen from an article on another page that Lord Cecil spoke in favour of a similar suggestion during the recent Council Meeting of the League of Nations Union at Brighton. We appear to be moving towards a serious discussion of this question.

#### A Question of Millions

TWO recent judgments by the Permanent Court of International Justice, though a little technical, are of considerable international importance. The question at issue was whether loans raised before the war by various countries (in the one case Serbia, and in the other Brazil) in French francs should be repaid, or have their interest paid, to-day in gold francs or in the depreciated paper francs. The borrowers contended that they simply borrowed francs at the value of the day, and were, therefore,

quite justified in paying them back now also at the value of the day, in spite of the fact that the franc to-day is worth only one-fifth of what it was. The lenders, on the contrary, say that they lent gold francs, and, therefore, must be repaid in gold francs. The Court upheld this view, declaring that the gold franc was taken as a standard of value, and though there is no question of paying actual gold to-day, the repayment must be on the basis of what the franc was when the money was borrowed, i.e.—to express the matter in sterling—at the rate of 25 francs to the £ instead of 124. It would seem to follow from this that English holders of pre-war French loans could require the French Government in the same way to pay interest and capital in gold francs and not in paper. A good many million pounds must be involved in this decision one way and another.

#### The Submarine

MR. DUFF COOPER has sent *The Times* an interesting letter on the suggested abolition of submarines, taking the general line that a submarine is not less humane than a battleship and asking in that connection "Why is it kinder to project ounces of lead into a man's stomach than to puff a whiff of poison gas under his nose?" He suggests also that you could not expect nations, fighting for their lives in the stress of war, to abide by the pledges they have given. To this Commander Kenworthy has replied in another letter, pointing out that almost the whole success of submarines, particularly in the later phases of the European war, was against merchant ships, a notably barbarous form of warfare, and that it was impossible for submarines to be built, or, at any rate, for submarine crews to be trained, secretly. It is extremely doubtful whether the abolition of submarines will, in fact, be achieved at an early date. On the whole Commander Kenworthy may be held to have successfully countered Mr. Duff Cooper's suggestion that abolition is not even worth attempting.

#### Germany at Oxford

THERE will be general satisfaction at the decision of the Rhodes Trustees to resume the old practice of awarding a certain number of Rhodes scholarships to Germans. Under Cecil Rhodes' will the famous scholarships were to go to men from the United States, Germany and the British Dominions, but during the War this arrangement was varied by Act of Parliament so as to exclude Germans altogether. With the lapse of time tempers have changed, and at a recent Oxford celebration, when the Prince of Wales went out of his way to greet a former German Rhodes Scholar whom he had known at Magdalen, the announcement was made that from now onwards a certain number of scholarships would once more go to Germans. The Trustees are to be congratulated on their decision.

## DOING IT DIFFERENTLY EVERY COUNTRY THINKS ITS OWN WAY BEST

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE

IT is a curious thing that different countries should so often do the same thing in different ways. There is a best way and a not quite so good way to do most things, and there ought to be no particular difficulty about looking all the different ways over, fixing on the best way and making it uniform.

Take so simple an everyday habit as travelling by Underground. Should the passenger pay a flat rate no matter what station he is going to, or should the fare be determined by the distance he travels? We have tried both ways in this country. The old Central London Railway, or Tuppenny Tube, used originally to charge twopence for any distance, short or long. Now you book to a particular station and pay the fare appropriate. But Paris prefers the other way still. There you pay a franc for a first-class ticket, and something less for a second, and armed with that you can keep travelling underground, changing at will from one line to another, all day if you choose.

#### The Fate of the Ticket

And when you end your journey finally what is to be done with the ticket? In London, of course, you give it up. So you do in Berlin or Madrid. But in Paris you throw it away. You must show it whenever it is asked for in the train, but once you are out of the train you are through with it. No one will offer to take it. On the contrary, a large wire basket is put up at the exit—erected no doubt by anti-litter enthusiasts—into which you are encouraged to throw the now useless bit of pasteboard as you leave.

But perhaps you prefer to travel above ground. In that case you will chance, in the course of your travels, on a variety of buses and bus customs. In London, most buses have outside seats as well as inside. So they have in Berlin. In Paris you have closed buses only. In Madrid you have neither outside seats nor inside, for in that capital there exist no buses at all, only trams. In Paris the buses have classes. A division half-way up separates the first-class, with red velvet seats, from the second-class with hard ones. In Paris, moreover, the rush-hour struggle for places is regulated. At the regular stopping-places there are fixed on the lamp-posts little docketts of paper slips bearing consecutive numbers. The first thing you do when you get there is to tear off a slip. The would-be passenger with the first slip—say, number 563—gives it to the conductor, who lets him on board and then calls out rapidly 564, 565 and so on, admitting each passenger who produces the properly-numbered slip till the bus is full. On the whole the system works well enough with Parisians, who are fully accustomed to it. Foreigners find it a little perplexing.

#### The Tram and the Train

As to other conveyances customs are more like our own. In Washington you pay the same fare for any distance and drop the money as you enter into a kind of glass box fixed on a pedestal inside the entrance door. Then you pass on into the car. Also in Washington, as in some English towns, motor-cars are forbidden to pass tram-cars that are setting down or picking up passengers. Train customs are more uniform, except

for such details as the unpleasant Continental habit of penning passengers in waiting-rooms and refusing them access to the platforms till the trains are due. The American sleeping car, with its rows of berths down both sides of an open corridor and its wash place which serves as smoking-room as well, gives the Englishman almost a shock. Also, of course, the Englishman travelling abroad for the first time is struck by the fact that the platforms everywhere are on the level of the lines, so that the passenger has to climb up to the carriage instead of stepping into it. Most carriages consequently can be entered only at each end, having no other doors into the corridor.

#### Short Ways with Baggage

Luggage is carried by train in a much more haphazard way in England than in most other countries. Here we simply get it put in the van at the starting-point and claim it at the end of the journey. There is nothing much to prevent us from claiming someone else's trunk and walking off with it. Almost everywhere else luggage has to be registered. A receipt, or ticket, is given for it and it will not be delivered up at the end of the journey till the ticket is produced. One advantage of that is that if you want to leave your luggage for a day or two you can. It will always be there when you go back with the receipt and claim it. In America the system has been elaborately worked out. Various forwarding companies work in association with the railroads, and when once you have got a numbered "check" from the agency which collects your trunk from your hotel in, say, Philadelphia, you can steer the baggage half round America without ever seeing it by the simple process of re-checking from point to point—and the hotel-porter will always put that through for you.

#### Papers at Drug Stores

So our little differences multiply. It would be easy to lengthen the list. In France and Spain and Belgium, and many other countries, you buy postage-stamps at tobacconists' as well as at the post office. In the United States you buy papers and magazines at the drug stores. In the United States, too, you can do various things with the telephone that are still beyond our reach here. For a small extra charge, for example, you can ring up for a particular person in a house or hotel and you will not be connected till that particular person is waiting to speak. When an expensive trunk-call is in question that makes a lot of difference.

These, of course, are only examples that come at random to the surface of the mind. Dozens more could be quoted—of the different ways people greet one another, the different ways they round off their letters, the different ways they dress, the different ways they behave in public (e.g., in their Parliaments) and in private. In some cases one way is definitely better than another. In some one way may be better for this nation and another for that. The pleasant habit, for instance, of drinking outside cafés is only possible in a country with a more dependable climate than ours. But the question we began with still remains. Why, when one nation has found a way that is obviously better than other people's, do other people not straight-away adopt it? Is it simply that we are all of us pig-headed?

[Readers with experience of foreign countries are invited to supply examples of other cases in which such countries "do it differently."]



## HENDON: 1929

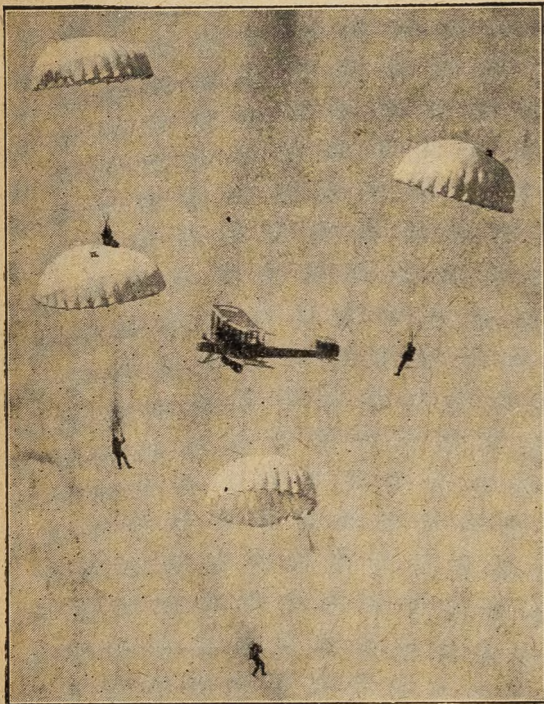
### JOY-RIDING ON THE WINGS OF DEATH

By ALEC WILSON.

WE travelled there by an extremely dangerous machine, a species of electric tape-worm that infests the bowels of great cities. We spent an hour and a half doing a twenty-minute journey, packed like the proverbial sardines. Had there been any failure of control, of insulation, or the like, we would have had less chance of rescue than an unopened tin of sardines in the kitchen range. When our rivulet of humanity joined, as tributary, the stream pouring towards the aerodrome, we were assailed by enthusiasts with placards:—

PREPARE TO MEET THY GOD.  
FLEE FROM THE WRATH TO COME.

But why these warnings only after we had escaped the dangers below ground? Ought we not to have been



warned of our possible fate before we had set foot upon an escalator?

Nevertheless, worshippers of the God of War certainly met him that afternoon. One could almost hear the R.A.F. introducing us to our host at his garden-party: American fashion: "Meet the God of War." We did not flee from the wrath to come: we knew it was under control, and we wanted to see what it looked like.

#### Death in Harness

Nor did we pay any greater attention to other placarded warnings from other enthusiasts:—

DISARMAMENT OR DEATH.  
NO MORE WAR.

We went on to enjoy Armament, at the summit of its man-killing modern efficiency, and Life, joy-riding on the very wings of Death himself. Just so, if the Archbishop of Canterbury could advertise a working exhibit of Hell—guaranteeing that all the damned were dummies, or at least that they would not be much hurt—might a quarter of a million of us take tickets to help Church charities.

Our confidence was justified. Death was thoroughly under control. A couple of hundred youngsters danced

with him, baited him, singed his whiskers, all over the sky for six hours—he never managed to catch one of them: at least, not during the display.

One ought to be able to revert to some modernised kind of picture-alphabet to describe Hendon; just as Hendon itself has reverted to a modernised knight-errantry. It has the glitter and glamour of a tourney in the lists: even the brilliant colour of heraldry with its symbols of identification has returned. But the knight to-day is mounted on Pegasus: when he moves off he "taxi" across the aerodrome, with an odd little lilt in the gait: from behind, one thinks of a back view of Queen Elizabeth taking the first steps of a minuet: and then Squadron Leader Smith, followed in quick succession by Squadron Leaders Brown, Jones and Robinson zoom up into the sunshine overhead and do obvious impossibilities. The R.A.F. is made up of our most unromantic next-door-neighbours: it is just a bit of ourselves: but it plays with death and the instruments of death as a juggler plays with his billiard balls.

#### The Eagles of War

As the planes rise, you see them like puffins, with legs dangling and feet well apart; then like a gaggle of geese, in the familiar V-shaped flight, but apparently flying backwards, the chassis looking like the bird's long neck. Then for a time they seem to be a disrupted bar or two of music, printed upon the sky just above the blue horizon. There is a pause. Here they come—a long line of them. In mid-air, first one, then another and another and another dip over, like tumbler pigeons, and hurl themselves down at their mark, 200 miles to the hour, stooping at their helpless prey as hawks might if hawks could be trained to do team-work by half-dozens at a time. You hear a muttered stammer, "tut-tut, tut-tut-tut," and each steel bird drops—a contemptuous dropping—as it swoops to the lowest point of its curving dive, before it swings up again with the vicious buzz of a nest of angry hornets. Playing at Death. More. Playing with Death. At any moment, a broken wire, a failure in nerve, a tiny error of judgment in pace or direction, and Death would win a game in the rubber, claiming as score the lives of a few of the lads who drive the war-eagles, and, perhaps, of a lot of us who look on. Yet none was afraid: not the ten score boys in the air, nor the crowd—a thousand for every boy of them—staring up from below. It was all under control; marvellously, but completely, under control—not a bit less so than the even more appalling possibilities of the Underground Railway.

#### Almost War

What was the effect of it all upon the onlooking multitude? Did any one of them come away without some moment of wonder what that "next war" would be like? For, of course, it was war, all complete except the killing—and except the gas. Even the R.A.F. cannot, or dare not, stage a gas attack. I can only report some of the reactions. Here is one of them: "Oh, Daddy, can I join the Air Force? And please, when can there be a war?" Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings comes justification of those who praise Hendon as a recruiting agency; and of those also who damn it as the supreme glorification of war. My own reaction was different; I remembered the Victorian equivalent of Hendon, the Naval reviews of the Jubilee years. Rows of ponderous, majestic, impersonal sea-castles that nobody could dive under, nobody could

fly over, and certainly nobody could get past; they were too big, and too strong, and there were too many of them. They made even a schoolboy feel extremely safe, living in an island behind them. Did anyone feel like this on July 13? I, for one, felt the essential truth of a passage attributed (in a pamphlet sold on the ground) to Mr. Philip Snowden:—

"An Air Force cannot defend. It can only attack. . . Both sides can do that equally well."

#### Irresistible Gas

I pictured the efforts of Smith, Brown, Jones and Robinson, up there, if a real raid of real enemy bombers had come over us that afternoon. They would have stopped a lot, but a good many would have got past; and whether stopped or not the gas bombs would have burst over us, or among us, and the result would have been much the same, so far as we on the ground were concerned. Nor should I feel any safer if the R.A.F. were ten or fifty times bigger than it is.

Nevertheless, I am dead sure those placard-enthusiasts are wrong in the psychology of their appeal. I do not believe the horrors of either Hell or War interest us much. For one thing, the appeal is to funk, and "Safety First" is about the last slogan to gain the ear of anybody—man, woman or child—in the air or on the ground, at Hendon. Yet Death in terrifying forms was imminent around us all that afternoon. Why were we not afraid? Why did the appeal to fear and horror fail of any effect?

#### Control and Confidence

Control! control! CONTROL! It was all under control. None of us but felt that, somehow, God is Master even over Hell, and that in the world we live in, a religion that depends on fear of Hell for its motive is no use to us. None of us came expecting to be fried by hundreds in the Tube on the way—none looked for ghastly tragedy through failure of the R.A.F., its machines or its men. Propaganda to divert passengers from the Underground Railway because of its risks would cut about as much ice as propaganda against Air Warfare at Hendon.

What, then, is the lasting "moral" of Hendon? If we take the dare-devil "stunts," carried through to the tick of the clock all day, as proof of the R.A.F.'s powers of control, what about the control of the R.A.F.? Or, indeed, of all armed force? *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* If the R.A.F. can superbly control the instruments of war, where do men look to obtain control over war itself? For if we do not control war, war will destroy our civilisation.

#### Referred to Geneva

With deep interest we find the answer to our question in the printed programme of the display. The "set piece" at the end staged the following event:—

"The British Government is in diplomatic correspondence with a Foreign Power in relation to the disputed boundary of a British overseas possession, and has referred the question to the League of Nations. Without waiting for the report of the League of Nations, the Foreign Power commits a definite act of aggression against this country, and intelligence reaches the British Government that, following up this act, the Foreign Power is despatching an expedition from the port against British territory."

The British Government was therefore released from its obligations under the League Covenant and the Pact of Paris; it had been controlled, by those obligations, from using the R.A.F. to decide that boundary question by force. The other party, bound by the same obligations, had broken them, thereby asking for trouble; and it gets it—"in the neck"—as per the "set piece" that followed.

Now, this is an accurate political picture of real possibilities in the world of to-day. I do not know that any other Power has yet used a display of this kind to illustrate how war may be controlled. In 1929 we do not show our own public or our visitors (as we did

in all previous years) the way in which we were ready to use our forces "as an instrument of national policy," nor even how a "gentleman may wallop his own niggers." We have shown, at Hendon, a sample of force as it may yet have to be used to do the police-work of the world in compelling people to observe their pledges—not only to us, but to each other.

#### If the League Sent Help

There was only one vital factor of the modern world absent from the staging of the Hendon finale. If the breach of Covenant and Pact, as described, had taken place in reality, it would, as described, have permitted us to use our force, but it would also have released other Powers to come to our aid. They would, in fact, be under an obligation (Art. XVI of the Covenant) to lend no assistance to the misguided Power that had broken the rules, but they would be free, if so minded, to bring their forces to help in the police service. Therefore, if next year's Hendon is to be a completely accurate working model, we would suggest to the authorities in



charge that they might add a new paragraph to their scheme:—

"The British forces available on the spot being insufficient to ensure immediate and complete cessation of these unlawful hostilities, the League Council arranges with other States—Members of the League—to render such further assistance as is convenient to them. A French squadron arrives to reinforce, followed by a German civilian Zeppelin, which has been requested to rush a large cargo of heavy bombs to the scene of action."

Doubtless the easiest way to get this stage effect would be to "fake" the nationality of the planes, and pretend that British machines were not British. *But why not the reality?* France and Germany are States—Members of the League with ourselves; why should they not be asked to send a real French squadron, and a real German Zeppelin, to arrive—like those flying boats from Southampton—just in the nick of time?

Here would be a tremendous advertisement of the new plan—so largely of our own British design—for stopping any successful resort to war in breach of the mutual undertakings we have all signed. Such an object-lesson in effective police-work would begin to make people feel safe once more.



## THE LEAGUE IN THE HOUSE WHAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT PROMISES

THE League of Nations figured so largely in the election programmes of the different political parties and the election addresses of individual candidates that the prominence League questions have already assumed in the new House of Commons is by no means surprising.

The King's Speech made specific reference to the consultation already in progress with the Dominion Governments regarding the signature of the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court, in which connection Mr. Baldwin raised the question of reservations. Sir Austen Chamberlain, in the course of the debate on the Address, urged the need for caution before arriving at conclusions on this subject. Mr. Runciman (Liberal), speaking officially for the Liberal Front Bench, advocated immediate signature of the Clause.

### The Hours Convention

The Washington Hours Convention was mentioned by several speakers in the course of the general debate on the Address, Captain Cazalet (Conservative) expressing approval of the proposal to ratify. In the same debate Mr. Shakespeare (Liberal), discussing unemployment, quoted the Greek Refugee Settlement Scheme as an example that might well form a model for similar experiments in this country. Mr. Roden Buxton (Labour) on the same day urged that the Mandate system should be extended to all undeveloped colonies as well as to the territories taken from Germany and Turkey in the late war.

In response to various questions in the first three weeks of the Session it was stated that the Government was considering the ratification of the Arms Traffic Convention; that the late Government had not appointed any Assembly delegates belonging to a party other than its own (Sir Willoughby Dickinson, however, was appointed substitute-delegate in 1925); that the Government gave general support to the recommendations of the League's Economic Conference; that a report on the abolition of slavery in Sierra Leone had been forwarded to the Secretary-General of the League and to the Permanent Mandates Commission.

### Foreign Affairs

The principal general statement on foreign affairs was made by Mr. Henderson in the course of the debate on the Address on July 5. He discussed various questions of foreign policy, notably relations with China and with Russia, and in regard to the League of Nations was involved in a little controversy with Lady Astor on the question of whether signature of the Optional Clause was to be dependent on the approval of the Dominions. The Foreign Secretary took the view that the Locarno Treaties and the Kellogg Pact would remain less effective than they should be if the Optional Clause was left unsigned. He added, moreover, significantly, "The Optional Clause is not the only step which we ought to take. Very far from it. I want to impress that on all sections of the House. It is a first step, whether it be signed with reservations or without reservations."

A valuable instrument for maintaining interest in the League on the part of members of the House of Commons is the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee, which has existed since 1919, and has just been reconstituted for the period of the present Parliament. It is of a strictly non-party character, and its meetings provide an opportunity both for contacts between M.P.'s and prominent League per-

sonalities, such as the more important members of the Secretariat, and for the free discussion of League problems. Mr. Harry Snell (Labour), who is Chairman of the Labour Party Consultative Committee, has been elected chairman, Mr. Ormsby-Gore and Mr. Runciman are vice-chairmen, and Mr. Shepherd, Lord Hartington, and Mr. Mander honorary secretaries. At the first meeting on July 16 an address was given by Mr. H. B. Butler, Deputy-Director of the International Labour Office.

### Interviewing Mr. Henderson

A deputation to a Minister does not form actually a part of the life and work of the House of Commons, but it is entirely relevant to add here a reference to the statements made by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Arthur Henderson, in receiving a deputation from the League of Nations Union on July 12. The Union's speakers were Professor Gilbert Murray, Lord Cecil and Mr. Norman Angell, who laid before the Foreign Secretary the views of the Union on certain specific points, particularly the Optional Clause, Minorities, and the Washington Hours Convention.

Mr. Henderson, in the course of his reply, mentioned that he had had considerable association with the Union in the past, and added, "as to the value of the work there is no shadow of doubt in my own mind. Not only is the Union of value in seeking, from a purely non-party standpoint, to represent opinion at the time of a general election, but I think a Government that wished to have the opinion not only of this country, but, say, of Europe interpreted with regard to great questions affecting international relations, if it had to turn to any outside organisation or machinery, would make a tremendous mistake if it went to any other body than the League of Nations Union."

### The Optional Clause

In regard to the Optional Clause Mr. Henderson confirmed the statement he had already made that it would be signed at an early date, and gave the assurance that if there had to be any reservations at all (out of deference to the Dominions) they would not be such as would conflict with the spirit and principle of the Clause. He was, he added, examining all papers connected with the General Act framed at the last Assembly with a view to determining his action regarding it.

He said that his first business as Foreign Minister had been to urge the Prime Minister to attend the Assembly, and he predicted that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald would make such a declaration at Geneva as would profoundly influence public opinion in Europe in the direction of some large scheme of general disarmament. It would, he said, not be Mr. MacDonald's fault if conversations with America had not so developed that before the Assembly opened an understanding would have been reached, not only with the United States, but also, it was hoped, with Japan, France and Italy on naval questions.

The Hours Convention, said Mr. Henderson, would be ratified at the earliest possible moment and the resultant legislation would take into account the London Agreement of 1926 as well as the Convention itself. The Foreign Minister also referred to the Arms Traffic Convention, and said he was taking steps again to communicate with other Governments with a view to general ratification.

Minorities, he said, had been discussed at the Madrid Council, which he had been unable to attend, but he was preparing himself for a further discussion of the question at the forthcoming Council Meeting at Geneva.

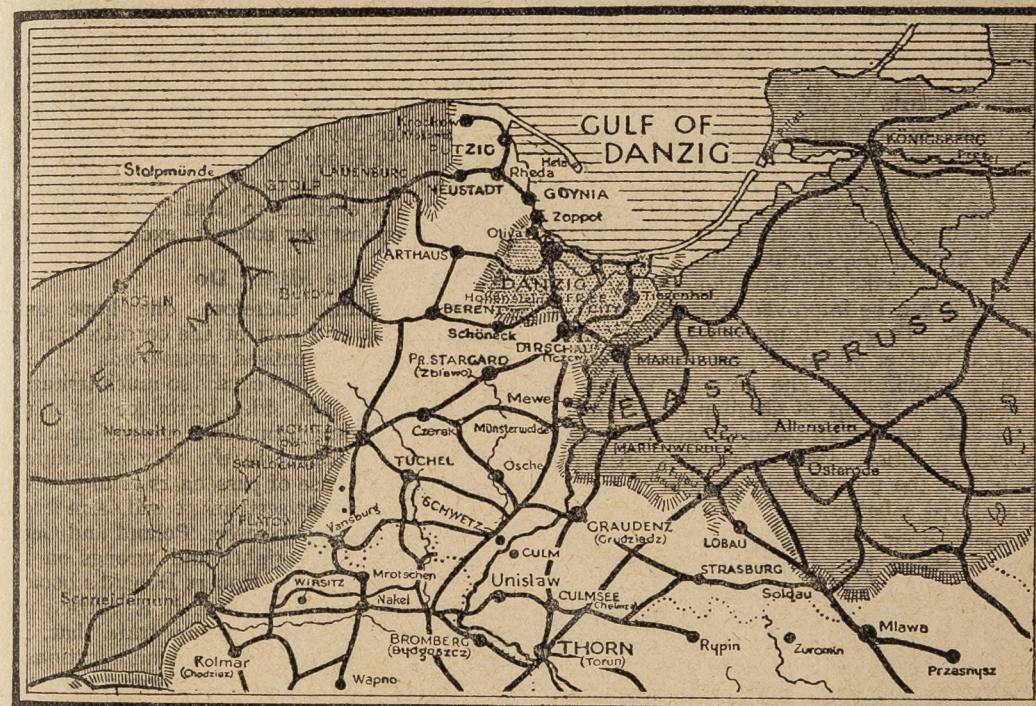
## AN UNCRACKED NUT GERMANY, POLAND AND THE CONTESTED CORRIDOR

WE hear a good deal from time to time about the Polish Corridor. It is one of those questions about which persons of apparent omniscience are apt to talk very learnedly without ever understanding the essence of the problem at all. And yet it is worth understanding, for the corridor is undoubtedly one of the critical points in Europe. It is a bone of contention between Poland and Germany, and no one has so far been able to suggest any solution that would not leave either Germany or Poland violently discontented and rebellious.

Now, Sir Robert Donald has written a book about the corridor—or so, at least, it would seem from the title, "The Polish Corridor and the Consequences,"\* though, in point of fact, it deals with a great many other questions besides. It cannot, unfortunately, be said to help much towards a dispassionate grasp of the situation, for Sir Robert shows himself from the first

formerly in Germany, and now a Free City, with its own little Parliament. All the white part is Poland, and the narrow passage between the part marked Germany on the left and the parts marked Danzig and East Prussia on the right is the corridor. It is a corridor which leads to the sea. It was given to Poland so that she might have free access to the sea, and at the end of it she has in the last half-dozen years built a quite prosperous port called Gdynia.

All this division of territory dates from the Peace Conference. Before the war, Danzig and the Polish Corridor were all part of Germany, so that East Prussia was not separated from the rest of Germany as it is now. The Peace Conference, in fact, was confronted with two irreconcilable claims. The Poles, who had been promised "free and secure access to the sea," claimed Danzig and the whole of East Prussia. The



page to the last an irreconcilable partisan. Everything the Germans have done and said is right, everything the Poles have done and said is wrong. Minorities are always suffering from unjust oppression. There is never a suggestion, even in regard to the Deutscher Volksbund in Upper Silesia, that they ever indulge in activities hostile to the State of which they have become citizens. When Sir Robert deals with the part the League has played in the matter he more than once goes astray in his facts.

### Look at the Map

All of which only supplies fresh reasons why the Polish Corridor question should be better understood. It can only be understood at all with the help of a map. A map taken, by permission of the publishers, from Sir Robert Donald's book is consequently printed on this page. The shaded portion to the left is part of Germany as it exists to-day. The shaded part to the right is East Prussia, still a part of Germany, but severed from it geographically. The dotted patch on the coast is Danzig,

Germans, on the other hand, demanded, naturally enough, that their territory should be left intact. There was a great deal to be said on either side. The case for giving a nation of 27,000,000 people some access to the sea was very strong. On the other hand, the case against driving a wedge clean through Germany was almost equally strong. In the end a compromise was decided on. The Poles did not get East Prussia or Danzig. But the Germans lost Danzig all the same, and they saw East Prussia cut off from the rest of German territory by the corridor conceded to Poland in the valley of the Vistula.

### The Status of Danzig

Danzig was considered to be essential to Poland because it is the port lying at the mouth of the great Polish river, the Vistula, and Poland's only trade inlet and outlet to the north. But the city is 95 per cent. German by population. Consequently, it was made self-governing, subject to certain rights which were granted to Poland in regard to the through railways, the use of the harbour and customs duties, Danzig

\* Thornton Butterworth, 12s. 6d.



being brought into the Polish custom system. Poland also has charge of Danzig's foreign relations, and is responsible for the defence of the city against outside attack. A League of Nations' High Commissioner lives at Danzig to settle disputes that may arise between Polish and Danzig authorities, and an appeal lies from him to the Council of the League.

The Polish Corridor is undeniably a source of grave irritation to Germany. Poland, of course, says it ought not to be a corridor at all, because if Danzig had been given to Poland, as she demanded, there would have been a broad band of Polish territory running to the sea, much too wide to be termed a mere corridor. As it is, the corridor varies in width from about 130 miles to as little as 20. There is a customs frontier between East Prussia and Danzig, another between Danzig and the Polish Corridor, another between the other side of the corridor and Germany. Passenger trains running from East Prussia to Germany are not inconvenienced very much, but the Poles rather unnecessarily insist that all windows shall be closed, presumably to prevent dutiable articles from being thrown out on to Polish territory as the train passes. That is the kind of annoying little regulation which irritates even English travellers thoroughly well disposed towards the Poles.

#### Irreconcilable Claims

Now, the whole of this arrangement is thoroughly undesirable. The very persons who proposed it would be the first to acknowledge that. The question is how can the position be improved. It is easy enough to see how it can be improved from the point of view of the Germans. To abolish the corridor and give Danzig back to them would make the situation ideal. It is easy to see how it can be improved from the point of view of the Poles. To give them complete authority over Danzig and part or whole of East Prussia would satisfy all their ambitions. The problem is how to adjust the reasonable claims of Germany and Poland as fairly as possible, and by an arrangement that would work tolerably in practice. Broadly speaking, it is fair to say that, bad as the present arrangement is, no one has so far suggested a better.

It so happens that the valley of the Vistula is predominantly Polish by population. Both on that ground and on the ground of the necessity for some direct access to the sea Poland may claim to be entitled to her corridor. If she is, she has certainly been given at its northern end about as little as is possible, for a corridor of 20 miles width is a very small strip when seen on a large scale map of Germany and Poland. Poland, moreover, must clearly have the fullest guarantees for the unfettered use of the port of Danzig. It is contended by Sir Robert Donald and others that she could have got this without any transfer of the port from German sovereignty. Whether that arrangement would have been workable in view of the relations which existed between Poland and Germany in 1919 and, unfortunately, exist still, may well be doubted. At any rate the Peace Conference thought the only fair course was to remove Danzig from the sovereignty of Berlin and restore it to its ancient status of Free City. When there was a Nationalist Government in Danzig that arrangement worked thoroughly badly. Since 1926, when the Socialists gained power, the position has greatly improved.

#### Poland's New Port

Poland, meanwhile, unwilling to rely on a single port, particularly one over which she had only limited control, has been making another port of her own, Gdynia, on purely Polish territory at the end of the corridor. It is an uneconomic proceeding. Vast sums have been sunk there for which there can never

be a direct return, but the Poles maintain that there ought to be an abundance of traffic for two ports, and that in the event of Danzig being held up by serious industrial trouble, or for any other cause, they must have a second string to their bow. It is obvious, incidentally, that the more Gdynia is developed the stronger the resistance must be to any suggestion that the corridor should be given back to Germany, because that would mean cutting off Poland from her own port.

So the corridor problem remains. The worst feature about it from the German point of view is that it leaves East Prussia severed from the rest of Germany. It is true that it is no more severed from it than Ireland is from England, indeed not as much, for there is land communication, even though it be across foreign territory, as well as sea communication. But the severance of Ireland from England is due to the dispositions of Nature, the severance of East Prussia from Germany is due to the dispositions of Germany's enemies at the Peace Conference. That is what makes the pill so bitter.

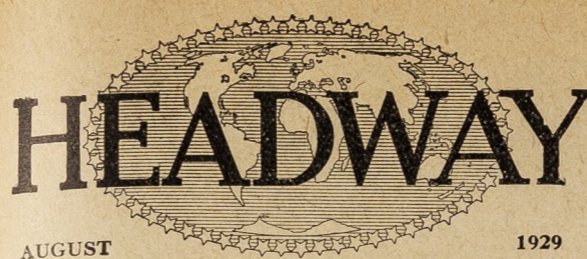
Enough has been written to make it clear that there is no short cut out of these problems. Apart from the fact that any change might turn out, when all the relevant factors were weighed, to be a change for the worse, few responsible politicians would care to start redrawing to-day the frontiers laid down for better or worse at the Peace Conference. No one, in any case, has the authority to do that. The territory Poland has to-day she is entitled to hold and no one can take it from her against her consent, except by war.

#### What the Poles Might Do

There remains, therefore, one hope only—unless indeed Danzig and part of the corridor can be made a kind of internationalised cross-roads. That is, that the frontier which now causes so much irritation should, by good will on both sides, be reduced to unimportance. The more customs formalities are multiplied, the more difficulties are placed in the way of communications, whether it be a case of passengers or of goods, the more hopeless the present settlement will seem and the more embittered relations between Poland and Germany will become. There are rights and wrongs on both sides. The great defect of Sir Robert Donald's book is that he fails to recognise that. But it is particularly to the interest of the Poles to demonstrate that, in spite of the change of frontiers, communications between East Prussia and the rest of Germany are as easy and free to-day as they were in 1913. Poland in the matter of territory has gained more or less what she wanted. It is essentially the path of wisdom for her to prove that the German grievances are imaginary. As things are they are by no means imaginary, but Poland could do much to make them so. A determined endeavour to lower customs barriers and simplify customs formalities, and a policy of resolute fairness towards German minorities, would take the sting out of most of the German propaganda against the corridor.

H. W. H.

An appeal to the people of Europe signed by a number of acting or retired officers in different armies and navies, among them Admirals Mark Kerr and Drury-Lowe and General Crozier, has been published in the Press of different European countries. It emphasises the appalling character of any future European war, particularly as the result of air attacks, and lays before the people two alternatives, "either increased armaments based largely on air forces with no guarantee for peace or protection, or a policy which tries by all possible means to prevent war. For such a policy immediate, general and drastic reduction of armaments is indispensable."



## U.S.E.

FRENCH journalists tell us that the principal subject at the League Assembly in September will be the United States of Europe. M. Briand is to make a notable speech on that topic and the expectation in Paris evidently is that the general discussion will largely centre round it.

This is very interesting. Any speech M. Briand makes at Geneva is always important, and if he has definite proposals to lay before the Assembly this year the importance will be greater still. But for that we must wait for a month or so. Meanwhile, a moment or two spent on this United States of Europe idea will not be unprofitable.

The natural question to put at the outset is: What does the proposal really mean? To that there is a variety of answers. A great many people who look forward to some kind of European federation have never seriously thought out the scheme at all. Others desire vaguely that Europe shall be organised rather like the United States of America, where a single central government controls an area considerably larger than Europe. Others, again, have worked out on paper entirely to their own satisfaction a United States of Europe notable chiefly for the fact that Britain in the west and Russia in the east are excluded from it.

Now all these plans, both those that are practicable and those that plainly are not, have this in common, that they spring from a conviction that the general state of Europe ought to be a great deal better than it is. That conviction most of us share. We look west and see France and Germany still regarding one another with antagonism and suspicion, each thinking of the other as its principal enemy. We look east and we see the States bordering on Russia all waiting in some alarm to see whether they are going to be attacked or not. We see Lithuania ostentatiously boycotting Poland, and Poland and Germany still vainly trying to reach some agreement that would enable them to link up again their almost completely severed trade relations with one another. We see the Minority problem causing trouble everywhere. We see Italy arousing constant apprehensions in the Balkans. We see Hungary held down, resentful, by a ring of former enemies. If a United States of Europe can remedy these ills the sooner it comes the better.

Or even if it can remedy other and rather lesser ills—for Europe's tariff wars are as disquieting in some aspects as Europe's unpeaceful peace. As long as Poland keeps out German goods and Germany Polish, either partly or completely; as long as countries like Austria are strangled by the erection of lines of tariff barriers across what used to be a great free trade area; as long as a country like Spain is injuring both herself and the traders of other countries by surrounding herself with tariff walls against all the world—so long will a United States of Europe commend itself as at least a possible cure for these economic distresses.

All that may be granted. A United States of Europe, if it could be called into sudden being by some magic

incantation, might very well reduce the antagonisms between one State and another, and might very well result in the creation of a great Free Trade area covering the whole continent, enabling peaceful commerce to develop unhindered by the obstacles of political frontiers.

All these and many other advantages—chief among them no doubt something like real disarmament—might accrue if a United States of Europe were in being. Why, then, is a United States of Europe not in being? For two reasons. In the first place the various States of Europe are not ready to unite. And in the second place, if they were they would find it very difficult indeed to decide what kind of unity to create. To take the first objection first, the old traditional differences between races and States in Europe are too fundamental for any sudden coalescence to be possible. If we are to develop anything in the nature of a European Council within the League of Nations it must be a plant of slow growth. Nations will only come together gradually. They can never be driven together.

As for the second objection, a United States of Europe involves, if the United States of America is to be taken as its model, a central government to which in certain respects the local governments—and that means in Europe the governments of States like France and Germany and Italy and Great Britain—are subject. Would M. Poincaré or Signor Mussolini consent to obey even a European Council on which France and Italy were represented in a matter which might involve peace or war on some vital question of national security? The hope need not be dismissed as altogether visionary. In theory the European Governments have accepted the decision of the League of Nations in advance on all vital questions that might cause disputes between countries. In theory the European Governments have forsworn war as an instrument of national policy, so that no war in the old sense, and, therefore, no question of actual national security, ought ever to arise.

But even if these matters might, in spite of old passions and old prejudices, be entrusted to a European Council, we should be hardly in sight of a real United States of Europe, with all national armies except local militia abolished; with a continental army and navy under European, not national, command, with a continental banking system and a continental currency; with abolition of all internal tariff frontiers between the North Cape and Sicily or between Bordeaux and Danzig—or perhaps Bordeaux and Vladivostock. No doubt even the most enthusiastic advocates of a United States of Europe would not ask for all this at once. We could have a half or a third of it and still be better off than we are. That is true, and in time we shall no doubt get first a third and then a half and, ultimately, it may be, the whole of it. On the other hand it may be found after mature reflection that a continent which contains a Great Britain connected politically with every corner of the earth and a Russia reaching to the Pacific Ocean cannot wisely be organised on a continental scale.

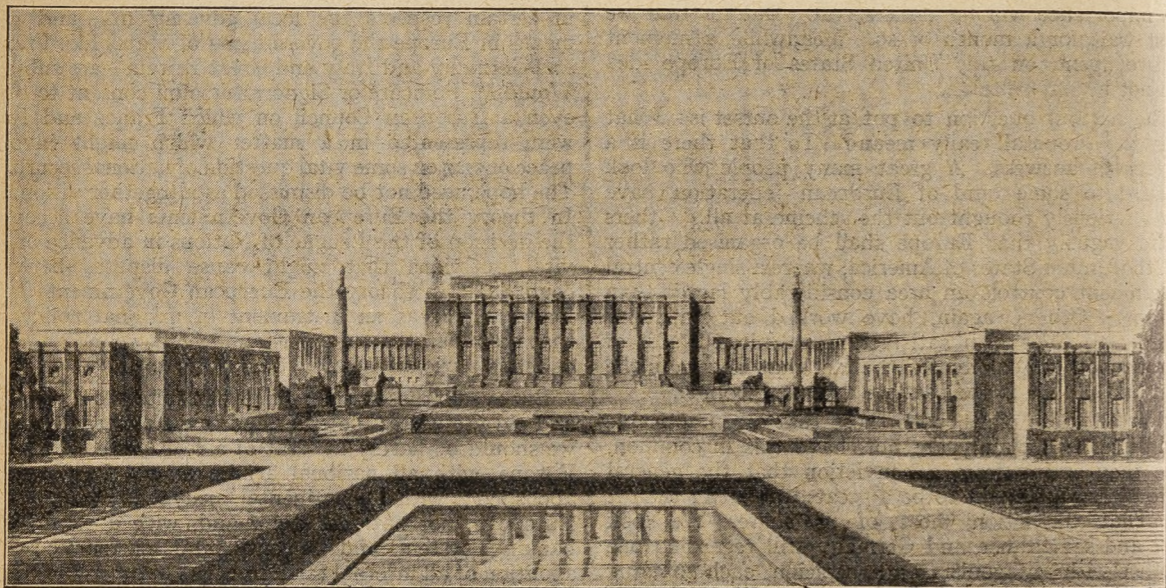
Meanwhile, if M. Briand can do anything to reduce the internal divisions of Europe, particularly in the matter of tariffs, we shall all wish him well. And apart from his efforts there is much that unofficial organisations and even individuals can do. The countries of Europe are profiting by one another's practical experience more indeed than they did, but still less than they might. Contacts are increasing and must increase further. When any nation makes definite progress in a particular direction—transport, mining, medical science, educational methods, agriculture—its achievement ought at once to be known to and studied by the rest. There is no reason why, when some nations are doing things in the best way, others should be content with the third best.



## THE PALACE OF THE NATIONS THE LEAGUE SETTLES DOWN ONCE FOR ALL

IT really looks as if the foundation stone of the new League of Nations buildings would be laid during the forthcoming session of the Assembly in September. The date, in fact, has been provisionally fixed as September 7, and the ceremony will, no doubt, be performed by the President of the Assembly, whoever he may be.

The site for the buildings has been definitely chosen, and we are able to reproduce on this page a drawing of the façade. The main features of the new palace, as it seems likely to be called, are visible enough. The columned frontage in the right centre, rising above the adjacent roofs, is the Assembly Hall, which is to be circular in shape, having a diameter of, roughly, 170 feet. The Albert Hall, it may be observed, which is oval, is 219 by 185 feet. To the right is the International Library, for whose construction and endowment Mr. John D. Rockefeller made a gift of \$2,000,000 (£400,000) in 1927.



### A Lengthy Facade

To the left of the Assembly block, which is set back from the main frontage, is, first, the Council Room and then the portion of the fabric devoted to the Secretariat Offices, the latter concealed by trees in the photograph here reproduced. This home of the International Civil Service may be compared broadly with the various buildings in Whitehall in which the national Civil Service of this country works. There will, of course, be abundant accommodation for press and public in Assembly Hall and Council Chamber, and there is to be a restaurant in the roof of the Assembly Hall. The buildings will be much the same size as the Palace of Versailles, or, to make the comparison with something rather nearer home, they will have a length of 1,200 feet, as against the 940 feet over which the riverside frontage of the Houses of Parliament at Westminster extends.

The buildings are to be so placed in what is now the Parc Ariana as to involve the destruction of few if any of the many trees now standing there, and enough of the Parc will, in fact, be left to serve its original purpose reasonably well. The League authorities, it is understood, propose to allow the public access to those portions of the ground not immediately adjoining the buildings.

The new Palace will be considerably farther from the

margin of the lake than either the present Secretariat buildings or the International Labour Office, but being placed on higher ground it will command a much more extensive view over the lake and the hills that rise from its farther shore. The Geneva-Lausanne railway is in rather inconvenient proximity, but it is understood that arrangements have been made to sink the line at this point into a cutting, which will mean that the sound is considerably deadened.

### A Mediocre Effort

The history of the League's permanent home has so far been depressing. Two proposed sites have been discarded, and agreement on the actual plans has been hard to reach. Nor can it be pretended that the result is conspicuously satisfactory now. The new buildings will, no doubt, serve their purpose well, provided, that is, that doubts which exist in various quarters regarding the acoustics of the Assembly Hall can be dispelled.

But the exterior of the Palace of the Nations can only be described as comparatively commonplace. It will not disgrace either Geneva or the League itself, but neither will it do them any particular credit. By comparison with the Palace of Westminster, or the famous Stockholm Town Hall, the League buildings have little to commend them.

It is only fair, however, to observe that the architects employed by the League have been severely limited on grounds of expense. As it is, the League is likely to be involved in an outlay of something like £700,000, and it would not be astonishing if that amount were increased before the buildings are completed. That, it can hardly be denied, is far too little. Provincial towns in Great Britain are in the habit of spending more than that on their own municipal buildings, and the amount a British provincial town can afford from its rates ought not to be beyond the combined capacity of 54 national Governments. It seems not impossible that a later generation, relieved through the League's activity from a large part of that unproductive expenditure on armaments with which the world is burdened to-day, will look back with condemnation on the parsimony of the delegates of 1928 and 1929 who doled out the cloth so sparingly that no tailor could cut an impressive garment from it.

## GENEVA AND THE DOCKER RISKS RUN IN BRINGING BRITAIN'S FOOD ASHORE

By ERNEST BEVIN (General Secretary, Transport and General Workers' Union)

IT is difficult for anyone who has never watched the process of loading or unloading a ship to visualise the arduous and hazardous nature of the work. But when it is realised that the docker works partly on shore and partly aboard ship, lifting, carrying or manipulating heavy loads of all shapes and sizes, and that it is the main business of the foreman and supervisor to get the work done quickly, then one's imagination can perhaps begin to perceive the possibilities of the dangers involved.

Prior to the first Docks Regulations of 1904, the conditions under which the men worked were brutal in the extreme. Life was cheap. Some faulty gear would break. A load would drop on the unfortunate men beneath, maiming them or killing them outright. Never mind—there were always others waiting for a job. And when men have sought to help an injured mate, pausing in the work for the purpose, it was quite a common thing to hear from the foreman: "Put him aside and get on with the work."

### The Missing Rung

Men have to get into holds of ships by means of ladders—and the ladders were often bent or had a rung or two broken or missing, so that the unsuspecting man descending would miss his footing and fall with a crash to the bottom of the hold, probably with broken ribs, or limbs, or some other serious injury. There were no proper gangways for men to get to and from ship and shore. All sorts of crude means were used, with the inevitable result of endless accidents.

Quite a common cause of injury arises from hatch coverings becoming faulty from constant use. At best they are heavy and difficult to remove, and while being taken off they would often collapse and men be killed or maimed for life.

Many accidents arise, too, from the making up of slings, etc.; that is, the packing of quantities of cargo together into slings for hoisting and lowering by machinery. In the absence of regulations, little care was taken, and as a sling was hoisted it was a common occurrence for it to break and the whole load scatter in the hold of the ship, injuring or killing men working there. The same with the stowing and stacking of cargo—the main idea was to get it done quickly, and hurriedly stowed cargo would slip and come like an avalanche on the men working on or near it.

### Manifold Perils

These are just a few of the dangers. Others include accidents to men through insufficiently competent or reliable persons being placed in charge of hoisting machinery when the swing of a load not properly controlled could cause great injury to workers in numerous ways; also from the lack of signallers in certain cases, such as in the lowering of loads into a hold where men are already at work; the risk from the use of machines for hoisting loads greater than proper carrying capacity; also chains and ropes and other gear becoming faulty, giving way on the strain and causing much injury and even loss of life. Serious injuries were caused by the parting of wire ropes. Still another cause was the casual and careless way in which stages were provided on which the men have to work; these have been made up in all sorts of crude ways, gangways and stages being placed at steep angles and not properly secured. When men are passing over these stages bearing heavy and unwieldy loads the slightest thing could throw them off their balance, precipitating them into the water or otherwise causing injury.

In cases of accidental immersion there were no appliances kept to hand for rescuing from drowning, and no chains or ropes provided to enable a man to save himself.

### Safety Endeavours

These are brief indications of some of the risks involved in the work of the docker, and the fact that there was no attempt to provide first-aid and that there were no ambulance arrangements for removing injured indicates to some extent the callousness which existed in regard to the risk and suffering of the men.

Then the unions determined to try and alter this state of affairs, and out of their meagre incomes carried on a splendid campaign and conducted a very thorough inquiry into the conditions. They met with considerable success, notwithstanding the fact that leading counsel were briefed against them, endeavouring to defeat this movement to provide safety regulations for dock workers. The result of this effort was the first set of safety regulations in 1904. From that time until 1925 the regulations remained without any general revision, but the fact that they were administered by an able and sympathetic department of State made for a general tightening up and keeping up to the standard, and one definite indication of progress is that whereas the first regulations were only brought into being after years of effort and fighting, the 1925 regulations, bringing the code more up to date were the result of joint conferences between ship-owners, dock-owners and the Transport Workers' Union.

### Following Britain's Lead

All this, of course, was only on a national scale. But the more the British regulations were enforced and improved the more obvious it became that many other countries were far behind that standard. The fact that ships of another country visiting British ports had to conform to the British requirements did much to cause other countries with ships coming frequently to our ports to introduce similar regulations.

In spite of that, while we have been able to maintain and even improve our code of regulations in Britain, there are other countries where regulations are on a lower level and less adequate, and most of all, countries where there are no regulations at all, and the conditions under which their people are working in 1929 are almost, if not quite, as cruel and brutal as in the early days in this country to which reference has been made.

Consequently, when the Union took the view that an international standard was necessary, the British Government took steps to put the question on the agenda of the I.L.O. Conference at Geneva. Unfortunately it took a very restricted view and endeavoured to get a limitation placed on the scope of the discussion by confining it to work on board ship. The workers took the view that this would be a retrograde step, because the existing regulations in Great Britain come under the Factory Acts, the ship when in port for the purpose of loading and unloading becoming in fact a floating factory for the time being, so that the regulations cover the processes both aboard and ashore. It seemed to the workers impossible for one man working to and from the ship to be covered by law one minute when ashore and not to be covered a minute later when on the ship.

### The Appeal to Geneva

The workers of many countries therefore took action through their unions, with a view to arousing sufficient



interest to carry a Convention through at Geneva. In this they were completely successful. Last year the subject was on the agenda at Geneva I.L.O. Conference for a first discussion, and the outcome of the work of the special commission which dealt with it, was a questionnaire which in due course led to the I.L.O. preparing a draft Convention to lay before the 1929 Conference. After three weeks of close and intensive effort this year there has emerged a detailed and comprehensive Convention embodying most of the requirements of the British code, which is the highest, generally, in existence, and in some points even including certain improvements on that. There is therefore the hope and intention of establishing a common standard throughout the maritime countries and of bringing into

line those where there has been little or no protection for the docker hitherto. In addition to this, Geneva adopted a recommendation on reciprocity whereby those countries who ratify will, after ratification, meet in conference for the purpose of agreeing on common standards in order to make reciprocity a real thing.

Those who took part in the work, particularly perhaps those representing the workpeople, feel that good work has been done in bringing about the Convention. It remains now to be ratified, and it would be helpful if readers of HEADWAY would, on every available occasion, try to create the atmosphere that will induce our country to lead the way by ratifying early and setting a good example in providing for the protection of life and limb of the workers.

## LONG-DISTANCE CONTROL SUPERVISING MANDATES FROM GENEVA

WHEN the report of the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission, which sat during the first three weeks of July, is published it will be found to contain some rather sharp criticisms of conditions in the mandated territory of New Guinea. New Guinea is administered by a British Dominion—Australia—and the Mandates Commission is by no means satisfied with the situation there. The Commission was anxious, in particular, for information as to the methods pursued in the recruitment of native labourers and the safeguards adopted for preventing abuses in that connection, but Sir Granville Ryrie, the Australian High Commissioner in London, who was representing his country for the Mandates Commission, seemed to be inadequately informed both on this and on various other questions. It is, of course, difficult for a country like Australia to send a special representative all the way to Geneva for a meeting of the Mandates Commission, but New Zealand did so in connection with the West Samoan Mandate last year with highly satisfactory results. Since various questions regarding New Guinea remained unanswered, the Commission is writing to the Australian Government for further information on various points.

Whatever may come of its enquiries, it is pretty certain that the report of the Mandates Commission will make a considerable impression on the Australian Government, as similar criticisms have done in the past in the case of New Zealand in respect of Samoa and the South African Union in respect of South-West Africa. It is, indeed, a striking testimony to the methods of Geneva that the Mandates Commission, which has virtually no actual powers, is always able to exercise all the influence it desires by merely making public its guarded comments on any conditions it finds unsatisfactory in a mandated area. This is, of course, a delicate matter, for it would serve no good purpose to antagonise a Mandatory Government gratuitously. From time to time mistakes can be made on either side, but so far it is fair to the Mandates Commission to say that it has made singularly few, if any.

In the case of Palestine, which is, of course, under British Mandate, the High Commissioner himself, Sir John Chancellor, was present, and gave a full account of the conditions in that country. He was, fortunately, able to report an improvement in relations between Arabs and Jews, the Arabs in particular showing an increased desire to collaborate with the administration. Economic conditions, too, which have been bad, are improving, and immigration is now exceeding emigra-

tion. While Sir John Chancellor was listened to with interest, it was pointed out that in 1928 the imports into Palestine reached nearly £7,000,000 and exports £1,500,000.

When the Tanganyika Mandate, also administered by Great Britain, came up for discussion, Mr. Lunn, the new Under-Secretary for the Colonies, stated, with pointed reference to certain criticisms of the Mandates Commission about two years ago by Sir Austen Chamberlain, that the new British Government desired to give the Commission its fullest support and co-operate with it in every way. A certain uneasiness has been created in some quarters by the proposals of the Hilton Young Commission in regard to closer relations between various British territories in East Africa, notably Uganda, Tanganyika and Kenya. Mr. Lunn gave the assurance that under no circumstances would natives of Tanganyika be employed on military service outside their own territories. He gave an optimistic account of the improvements achieved in the sphere of public health, mental hospitals and dispensaries having been established, child welfare work promoted, and the campaign against tuberculosis and venereal disease prosecuted with vigour. Forced labour for private enterprise has been prohibited, and recourse to compulsory labour of any kind had been substantially reduced.

Some disappointment was felt with the report on Syria (French Mandate), for Count Robert de Caix stated that the political atmosphere was much calmer and that the economic situation had considerably improved, but added that the creation of a Constitutional Assembly had been indefinitely postponed. The reason given for this was that the inhabitants of Syria were not prepared to accept self-government under the terms of the Mandate, but desired immediate and complete independence. It was proposed, however, to find means of allowing the population to express its views on tariffs and other economic questions. It will be seen from this that the three territories which were originally intended to be placed under a Mandate, Iraq, Syria and Palestine, are at the moment in very different stages of development.

Mr. J. B. Pennington, who wrote a letter on sugar in the June HEADWAY, desires to state that he did not say that tea was not "good," but that it was not "food," and also that the tea tax brings in not £60,000 a year, as stated, but £6,000,000.

## VOTERS IN COUNCIL FRAMING A FOREIGN POLICY FOR BRITAIN

By ONLOOKER.

AT the tenth Annual Meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union held under the kindly chairmanship of Prof. Gilbert Murray, at Brighton at the end of June, exactly ten years after the Covenant of the League was signed, the Union could pause for a moment and look at its handiwork—a new Parliament in which a majority, far greater than that of any political party, is committed not merely to a general and academic support of the League of Nations, but to a precise policy of six measures designed, in the immediate future, to strengthen it and to improve the organisation of peace. This is an event of some consequence in British history.

The League of Nations Union did not, however, rest on its oars at Brighton. It set out on fresh adventures, the objectives of which merit attention. Before commenting upon them, let us say this of the internal affairs of the Union: first, they are something to marvel at. After nearly eleven years, it is a notable thing that 2,760 local branches and 650 junior branches should, as the Annual Report disclosed, have been organised and maintained almost entirely by voluntary labour and that these branches were able in 1928 to send nearly £20,000 to the Union's Headquarters. Secondly, the Head Office was able to show a steady growth of activity during the year: its position with regard to the teaching profession, for instance, seems more strongly entrenched than ever; the output of its Press service was doubled in 1928; its methods for the advocacy of policy, particularly through contact with the Legislature, have been greatly developed.

### Platform and Floor

But though "the platform" as usual won most of its points, there can be no doubt that a policy of simplification and economy would gain sympathy from supporters of the Union all over the country. At any rate there was sufficient evidence of a realisation that the Union must "go into training" if it is to be fit to promote constructive international policies, to make one hopeful for the future.

And what of the policies adopted at Brighton? Two reasoned statements were approved, one relating to the Effective Outlawry of War, the other to the future of the Washington Hours Convention. On the first, that apostle of Anglo-American co-operation, Mr. Philip Kerr, pleaded eloquently for making full use of the widespread, if simple, desire in the United States to abolish "the institution of war." In this statement the Union nails its colours to the mast and declares (against, for instance, the French official view of the relation of the Kellogg Pact to the Covenant):—

"It is clear that members of the League are now debarred from using war as the instrument of their national policy under Articles 12 and 15 even when they have complied with all their obligations under the Covenant."

### The 48-Hour Week

The memorandum on the well-worn theme of the Hours Convention, most ably drafted and presented by Lord Lytton, recapitulates, on the eve of the Convention's ratification by Great Britain, the history of the Union's persistent endeavours to effect this step and the obstacles put forward, one after another, to retard it. The memorandum ends with a suggestion of the form in which the Convention should be ratified, in order to safeguard the British railway and other agreements, that is, by "the introduction in the Convention, either by addition to the text of 1919 or by the adoption of

a supplementary Convention, of the Protocol of interpretation agreed upon in London in 1926."

The remaining resolutions on policy, which will govern the Union's activities in the near future, are all comprised under the title "The Organisation of Peace," and result from the acceptance by the British delegation to the Madrid Congress of the Federation of League of Nations Societies in May of a programme on this subject summarised in the last issue of HEADWAY. They fall under three familiar heads. As for Arbitration, the Union now suggests that H.M. Government in Great Britain should definitely take the lead in inducing all the Governments of the Empire to adhere not only to the Optional Clause, but also (in order to cover the settlement of other than purely legal disputes) to the General Arbitration Act framed by last Assembly.

### Money and Peace

As for security, the Union desires progress along one road already well prepared, urging that the Convention providing for financial assistance to a State victim of aggression should come into force, provided that State is loyally co-operating in a general reduction of armaments. In the matter of disarmament, the Madrid resolutions embodying constructive suggestions for the reduction of land armaments were endorsed. But two amplifications were added. The first is represented by a resolution urging the British Government to "take full advantage of the proposals put forward by the United States of America in order to achieve a drastic reduction by international agreement of all classes of warships." The second contains, for the first time, a definite suggestion—well designed to set the ball of discussion rolling—for dealing with the problem of the air. It will be well to give the exact terms of the resolution:—

"The Council hopes that H.M. Government will seriously consider, with a view to arresting competition in air armaments, whether it would not be possible to internationalise the whole or a proportion of national air forces as an instrument for the defence of international order."

In answer to several sincere and well-voiced objections from delegates, who deplored any implication in an official Union resolution that the use of force was to be relied upon by the League, Lord Cecil made an important statement on the absolute freedom of the individual member of the Union to hold or not to hold the views on particular points of policy, such as this, endorsed at any given time by a majority of the General Council. At the same time he stressed the point that, as a Union supporting the Covenant, it was impossible for it to ignore the duty of co-operation between States Members to defend international order, set forth in Article XVI and other articles. He hinted also at the known fact that no political combination in France would be able to secure a majority for a drastic reduction of land or other armaments unless they could point to the probability of really effective League action in the event—unlikely to occur—of all efforts at peaceful settlement failing to restrain an aggressor.

The proposal which the Government is asked to study amounts, it seems, to an application to the military air forces of the world of the principle of Article XVI of the Covenant, in the light of the fact that Covenant and Pact combined must be taken to preclude any lawful use of armed force for any purpose other than the maintenance of order within the territories of a State and co-operation with others in resisting a disturber of the peace.



## THE RETURN OF THE SAAR A COMING DISCUSSION BETWEEN GERMANY AND FRANCE

THE question of the future of the Saar has suddenly come under public discussion, and a great deal is likely to be heard of it in connection with the Diplomatic Conference on the Reparations question to be held in the month of August.

It is understood that at that Conference not only will the actual reparations question be discussed, and, it is hoped, settled, but also kindred questions such as the evacuation of the Rhineland by Allied troops. Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, has announced that he regards the return of the Saar to Germany as one such kindred question and proposes to raise it at the coming Conference. Mr. Arthur Henderson, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, has stated that the British Government will not oppose such a desire.

### What the Problem Is

The Saar, therefore, will be discussed, and it is important to know just what the questions at issue are.



To begin with, a sharp distinction should be drawn between the Saar and the Rhineland. The Rhineland was placed by the Treaty of Versailles under military occupation by the Allies as a guarantee for the execution of the Treaty by Germany. The Saar was temporarily removed from German sovereignty for quite other reasons and subjected to a quite different régime.

The Saar Valley, that is to say the territory through which the River Saar runs, is a valuable coal area, and it was decided to hand over the mines to France for the period during which her own northern mines, seriously damaged during the German invasion, might be supposed to be out of action. As a matter of fact the French mines have long since been restored to activity and to a greater than pre-war efficiency, so that the grounds for giving France the Saar coal in addition have largely disappeared.

The terms of the Treaty stand, none the less, and under the Treaty not only was France to have the mines and their produce for a space of 15 years, from 1920-1935, but in order to avoid the obvious difficulties that would arise if the French Government tried to work mines in a territory subject to the German Government, the Saar Valley was temporarily removed from German sovereignty and placed under a system of Government conducted by a Commission of five members appointed by the League of Nations.

It was further provided that at the end of the 15-year period, i.e., in 1935, a plebiscite should be taken in the territory to decide whether it should remain under the

League régime, be returned to Germany or be transferred to France. If, as is virtually certain, the inhabitants should vote solidly for a return to German sovereignty, then the German Government must buy back the mines from France at a price to be fixed by a board of three experts. It should be added in that connection that when the mines were transferred to France in 1920 their then value, as fixed by the Reparations Commission, was credited to Germany in the form of a deduction from her reparations total. Meanwhile French goods go into the Saar duty free, while German goods pay duty.

From this it will be seen that, according to the Treaty of Versailles, no question of any change in the status of the Saar can arise until 1935. The Germans, that is to say, cannot claim any immediate alteration as a right. If the French (who are the only Allied Power directly interested) choose to take their stand on the Treaty, their position is unassailable, the Germans will fail in their endeavour, and the present Saar régime will continue for six years more.

### Will Germany Bargain?

But that, of course, does not prevent Germany from making such proposals to France as might induce her to agree to an immediate return of the territory to Germany. If the Germans do do that they will pretty clearly have to offer France something that she would not get if she waited until 1935. They are asking France to renounce something secured to her by Treaty, and unless French policy undergoes a very sudden change it may be taken for granted that the French will expect some compensation as a price of their assent. How the matter will be settled it is quite impossible to predict.

The British Government has no direct interest in the question, but it will, no doubt, do everything possible to smooth over difficulties between Germany and France. The point, however, that needs making most is the distinction between the status of the Rhineland and the status of the Saar. Germany can claim the evacuation of the Rhineland as a right, on the ground that she has now given full guarantees for the fulfilment of the Treaty. She can only raise the question of the evacuation of the Saar, not as a right, but as a subject for negotiation with France. From every point of view it would be desirable to get the Saar disposed of at the same time as the other controversial issues like reparations and the Rhineland.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**Economic Effects of Public Debts.** Shutaro Matsushita. (Columbia University Press. \$3.00).

**Stories of Palestine.** By Hebe Spaul. (The National Sunday School Union. 6d.)

**Caliphs and Carpets.** By Hebe Spaul. (The National Sunday School Union. 6d.)

**Minorities and the League of Nations.** (Women's International League. 1s.)

**World Disarmament.** By the Hon. Henry Bourne Higgins. (World Disarmament Movement.)

**Annuaire Statistique International, 1928.** (League of Nations.)

**An Introduction to Individual Psychology.** By Alice Raven. (Heffer, Cambridge. 3s. 6d.)

**The Politics of Peace.** By Charles E. Martin. (Stanford University Press. \$4.00.)

## BRITAIN AND THE LEAGUE THE LIMITS OF REASONABLE CRITICISM

WE give rather more than usual prominence to the following letter because it raises certain questions of principle which deserve extended discussion.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

DEAR SIR,—I desire to express my agreement with the letter from Miss Hill in your issue of July, 1929. I also would be very glad to see the "achievements of this country in the cause of Peace" more fully exposed by the Union and its speakers.

You in your note on Miss Hill's letter say you were bound to draw attention to the slight reduction in expenditure on British armaments between 1924 and 1929. But did you feel equally obliged to point out that in other cases such expenditure had been positively increased?

Have you explained to your readers that the system of conscription entails the existence at all times of a large reserve of trained men liable to immediate recall to the colours, while this country has no such reserve and has not now even the means of replacing losses in the early days of a war in the Regular Army by means of the Special Reserve? Many of us who are supporters of the League of Nations do feel very strongly that though we have gone far further in real disarmament than any other first-class Power the League of Nations Union has never yet given this country credit for what has been done.

The successive Governments here have taken immense risks in this matter and are taking them still. If the present "conscriptionist" Powers will abandon conscription, disarmament is an accomplished fact. Until they do so we cannot safely do more than has already been done.

I venture to prophesy that, in spite of a good deal of loose talk at election time, the present Socialist Government, faced with a knowledge of the real situation and responsibility of the safety of this realm, will make little or no reduction in personnel or in material of the Army, Navy or Air Force.

The Locarno Treaty involves liabilities of which the Union makes little mention. The Optional Clause, if signed, would greatly increase those liabilities. It should be clearly understood that that is so and in not making the point extremely clear the Union in my opinion is not presenting the case fairly. Your article on the "Armaments Race" in July grudgingly shows in the last three lines that since 1924 our own defence expenditure index has dropped 8 per cent., U.S. increased 18 per cent. since 1926, with France plus 69 per cent. and the Russians 84 per cent. These figures are indeed alarming, but why is not our country's lead in this matter at the head of this article and not at its foot?—Yours, etc.,

H. I. POWELL EDWARDS, Col.

Chiltington Ferrings, Lewes.

### Secondary Points

It will be convenient to dispose at once of certain subsidiary points in this letter.

1. It has always been recognised by HEADWAY that, so far as the British army is concerned, it has been reduced practically to a police level and that further reductions on any substantial scale are impracticable. HEADWAY has also often explained, particularly in connection with the "trained reserves" question at Geneva, that the conscription system involves inevitably the maintenance of a large body of trained soldiers.

2. HEADWAY, at any rate, has never ignored or disguised the liabilities in which the Locarno Treaty has involved this country. How the signature of the Optional Clause would increase such liabilities we do not understand.

3. The article on the "Armaments Race" in the July issue constituted a review of the League "Armaments Year Book" and it dealt with various aspects of the question substantially in the order in which the book under review dealt with them. There was nothing "grudging" in the statement that Britain's defence expenditure index has dropped 8 per cent. since 1924.

### Where Influence Tells

But there are other points more important. Colonel Powell Edwards complains that HEADWAY has not given sufficient prominence to the failure of other countries to reduce their armed forces. In reply to that, we may first of all refer him to such an article as that headed "Defenders of Armies," in the June HEADWAY; and in the second place—this is more important—observe that the business of supporters of the League of Nations in every country—in France, Spain, Belgium and Greece, as in Great Britain—is to make representations to, and bring pressure to bear on, the only Government they are in a position to influence, namely, their own.

It is perfectly true that France is not reducing her army as we would like. HEADWAY has often enough drawn attention to that; but, obviously, representations by the League of Nations Union to the French Government can have no effect, except to cause annoyance, while representations to the British Government very well may. That is why we are concerned primarily, if not exclusively, with the level of British armaments and the policy of the British Government.

In regard to that, we hold ourselves absolutely free to agree or disagree with any Government, of any political colour, on any particular point. We applauded the late Government when it decided to cut down its naval building programme in spite of the failure of the Three-Power Naval Conference, in precisely the same way as we had differed from it over certain features of its policy at that Conference. And as regards the Conference itself, we approved the British proposal for the reduction of the size and the extension of the age of capital ships, just as we disapproved what seemed to us an excessive British demand in the matter of cruiser tonnage.

### Peace Pacts and Arms

But principles, after all, are more important than concrete points. And there are two principles which, in our view, must be regarded as fundamental. The first is that armaments must be measured in the light of such instruments as the League Covenant, the Locarno Treaties and the Kellogg Pact. Col. Powell Edwards will, no doubt, accept that thesis, for Mr. Baldwin expressly enunciated it in his Guildhall speech last November. And this country, in particular, is directly affected by the fact that the German Navy has disappeared, and that war with the United States is ruled out of all our calculations. It is in the light of those considerations that we have to frame our answer to the question whether the comparison in fighting power (which means "gunnage" as well as tonnage) between the British Navy in 1929 and the British Navy in 1914 is what it should be.



### Reductions all Round

And, secondly, what we are advocating is not unilateral reduction by Great Britain or any other single State, but a general and uniform reduction by uniform agreement. It is quite true that we shall be in no strong position to press for that at Geneva if it can be shown that we ourselves are maintaining armaments in excess of our reasonable needs. That is why the level of our national armaments is a matter of legitimate concern to supporters of the League of Nations in this country. As to what precisely is the level demanded by our reasonable needs there will always be, and may very properly be, some difference of opinion in a body like the League of Nations Union or among the individual readers of HEADWAY. But where the pressure of forces in favour of the *status quo* is so considerable, as it always is in the matter of armaments, even an occasional excess of pressure in favour of an alteration of the *status quo* does no great harm.

## BOOKS WORTH READING

### INDIA'S DOUBTS

"The Indian Ferment." H. G. Alexander. (Williams & Norgate. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. Alexander describes his book as "A Traveller's Tale." The ordinary reader would call it a running diary; but it runs very well, and is obviously the work of a man who went through India with a seeing eye. For readers of HEADWAY such a passage as the following is of special interest.

"It is no easy job to talk about the League in India. To the ordinary Indian the League is just a gilded pill—or perhaps it would be better to say a concealed drug: at the heart of it is the imperialism of the Western Powers. So my task was to put the other side in a way that might appeal—pointing to occasions when the Great Powers had been checked or challenged through the League; telling of the good work of the Mandates Commission as an offset to the French war in Syria; suggesting that India's new legislation is the direct result of the Geneva Labour Conferences; and that India's separate membership in the League is a step towards the recognition of her national status. I had some good questions to answer: Did the League put peace before justice? Why did it spend most of its time discussing the affairs of Europe? What would be the League's attitude if there was a rebellion in India against England? They thought that was a case for Article 10. I pointed out that it was not, unless they proposed to invade England! But, of course, I agreed with the general criticism that the League's arrangements for securing 'international evolution without war' are at present inadequate."

In addition, Mr. Alexander speaks of a debate at a place named Amraoti, the chief feature of which was a clever and cynical attack on the League by a local lawyer, "full of clever raillery at the high pretensions and rotten performances of the League—its failure to disarm, to interfere in the Ruhr, to protect Greece against Italy or China against Britain, or the poor Syrians or Africans, in spite of the 'sacred trust.' He pointed to the contrast between increasing tariffs and the pious platitudes of the Economic Conference." What is of interest here is not this rather superficial criticism, but the fact that Mr. Alexander got into private conversation with the speaker later, "his cynicism quite crumpled up before a few 'idealistic' suggestions. I believe this is quite characteristic. Cynicism of that kind is only skin-deep in most Indians," which is encouraging if Mr. Alexander is right.

### MYSTERIES OF THE EMPIRE

The Present Juridical Status of the British Dominions in International Law. By P. J. Noel Baker. (Longmans. 21s.)

The word "Empire," no doubt, should no longer be used. It has gone out of fashion, and "Commonwealth" has superseded it. So it is about the British Commonwealth that Professor Baker writes with his accustomed clarity and force.

Everyone knows what the Commonwealth is, but very few people can give legal definitions of it. How far, for example, is a Dominion on a footing of absolute equality in all respects with Great Britain? What is its precise position in the League of Nations? Was there ever any ground for the claim that when the British Foreign Minister sat on the Council as representative of the British Empire he was representing the Dominions as well as the Mother Country and the Crown Colonies? Can one member of the British Commonwealth carry a dispute with another member before the League Council under Article 15 of the Covenant? Can two Dominions appear, if they choose, as plaintiff and defendant before the Permanent Court? Are there, in fact, any limits at all to the full enjoyment by the Dominions of the rights every other State enjoys as a member of the League?

Most of these questions are less simple than they sound. Professor Baker discusses them learnedly but never abstrusely. Not everyone takes pleasure in these juridical subtleties, but a great many people, not lawyers themselves, do. For such Professor Baker's book will be at once an education and a delight.

### ON THE NAIL

A Brief Account of Diplomatic Events in Manchuria. By Sir Harold Parlett. (Oxford University Press. 4s. 6d.)

It would be going rather far to suggest that the trouble between Soviet Russia and China has blown up in order to give point to Sir Harold Parlett's valuable and concise little summary of recent Manchurian history. But, at any rate, the booklet could not have appeared at a more opportune moment. Manchuria, whatever the outcome of the present trouble, is likely to be a contested zone between Russia and China for some time—with Japan a third party very intimately concerned—and we shall not understand the future without knowing something of the past. All that is essential for the common man to know will be found here, compressed into 57 pages of text and 30 or so of appendices. So one more is added to the many valuable services rendered by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, under whose auspices the book is produced.

### WARNING SIGNS

Danger Zones of Europe. By John S. Stephens. (Hogarth Press, 1s. and 2s.)

Mr. Stephens has produced a very useful, and, on the whole, a very objective little survey of the position in regard to minorities under the treaties signed in 1919 and 1920. He is critical of the League of Nations and not always quite just to it, as, for example, when he charges it with refusing to accord to petitioners a status which the treaties nowhere suggest they should enjoy. It is not, moreover, accurate to say that M. Mello Francos' well-known report contemplated the complete assimilation of minorities by their new country. But this is a case where a little excess of criticism may do more good than harm by precipitating action that would not otherwise be taken.

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HUMANITARIANS' HOLIDAY CENTRES, 1929.—SOUTHBOURNE-ON-SEA, HAVES (Aug. 2nd to Sept. 7th). Large Mansion to accommodate 100 guests. Several acres beautiful grounds. Tennis, Croquet, Dancing, Lectures, Concerts. HARCOMBE, UPLYME, SOUTH DEVON (July 27th to Aug. 31st). 600 ft. above the sea-level. Glorious landscape and sea views. Tennis, Dancing, Lectures, Concerts. Members of L. of N., 10% reduction.—Illustrated Prospectus from Mr. F. de V. Summers, 52, Sackville St., London, W.1.

### A LEAGUE AIR FORCE

SIR,—At the recent League of Nations Union Council Meeting at Brighton the Executive presented certain important resolutions on International Policy. It is surely a matter for regret that they were accorded little or no consideration beyond the minimum necessary for calling out "Agreed." I may be mistaking the purpose of the Council Meetings, but presumably they are not merely for the registering and promulgating of opinions, but for genuine interchange of thought.

I suggest in particular that the clause relating to an International Air Force demanded close examination. May I put three questions?

(1) Do you consider that, if the League of Nations had had an air force at its disposal these last 10 years, its unity would have remained as unbroken and the development of its moral power as unmistakable, as has actually been the case?

(2) Is it supposed that this force would enable the League to deal with the Great Powers? Or are delinquents always the weak ones of the earth?

(3) Would it be maintained—by Mr. Philip Kerr, for instance, who had just given the Council so illuminating an address on Anglo-American relations—that, if Geneva was equipped with armed force, the United States would feel more attracted to the League?

I would urge two further lines of thought, closely dependent one upon the other.

(a) It will be time enough to set up an international police force when national establishments have ceased to be engines of war and have been reduced to the level of internal police forces. Disarm the suspicious characters first—and in the eyes of one another we are all potential criminals—and then police action, and not war, will suffice.

(b) The obstacle to this is the rooted but absurd idea that disarming means less security, and can, therefore, only be agreed to under a guarantee of mutual military aid. Why the cutting down of the forces of all one's conceivable enemies should make one less secure has never been explained. The existence of this obsession has, of course, to be recognised. But let the Union not bow to it or tacitly assume its validity; but assist in season and out of season in exposing it—and they will do the best possible service for disarmament and for security.

Yours, etc., F. E. POLLARD.

9, Denmark Road,  
Reading.  
July 10, 1929.

### SITUATION WANTED.

COMMANDER ROYAL NAVY, about to be retired at 44 owing to reductions, asks any fellow member of The League of Nations Union to offer him employment. Has a really good service record and is fit for a new career. Box No. 100, HEADWAY, 3-9, Dane Street, W.C.1.

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All communications concerning Advertisement space in HEADWAY should be addressed to—

THE ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER,  
FLEETWAY PRESS LTD., 3-9, Dane Street, High Holborn,  
London, W.C.1.



## "THE RIGHT TO CRITICISE"

### SIR ALEXANDER GORDON REPLIES

SIR,—Consequent on your Editorial note to my letter in your July issue, will you allow me to point out that had the Executive Committee adhered to the Charter's "non-party" basis and refused the Socialist advertisement, there would have been no necessity to invite the other two parties. They could have "avoided the appearance of party bias" more effectively in this way and without changing the Union's non-party character.

The point is, however, of less importance than my main contention that the Council have neglected their duty with regard to the Union's "first aim and object," and I trust that your readers will not allow a red herring to draw their attention away from this dereliction of duty.—Yours, etc.,

Chalfont St. Giles,  
July 17, 1929.

ALEX. H. GORDON.

### A REDUCTION COUNTERED

SIR,—Your crushing reply to Sir Alexander Gordon's letter in the July HEADWAY, whilst being a useful reminder that it is as well to be sure of one's facts before rushing into print, also affords striking proof of the careful and impartial manner in which the Union's affairs are managed by the Executive Committee.

In recognition of this, and prompted by the decision of Sir Alex. Gordon to reduce his subscription, I have decided forthwith to increase mine.—Yours, etc.,

J. E. RANDALL.

I, Lon-y-Dail, Rhiwbina, Cardiff.

### A GENEROUS TRIBUTE

SIR,—I was surprised as well as pained to see in your number for July complaints that your action was considered partisan. Opinions differ. I often think that you are too guarded in your expressions of political action. It certainly must be very difficult for you to steer an effective course. But, at any rate, I do not think that anyone can doubt the need or loftiness of your work, and it was an honourable thing of you to print letters telling against yourself—an illustration of "that utmost bound of civil liberty, when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed."

In appreciation of your attitude I beg your acceptance of enclosed £50 for the funds of the Union.—Yours, etc.,  
ANOTHER READER.

### THE SIN OF SILENCE

SIR,—I have read Miss Hill's letter with interest. It appears to me that if her wishes were fully carried out the L.N.U. would become a very effete organisation.

If the Union is to stand for the promotion of international peace and justice through the League of Nations then it cannot afford to remain silent when the Government pursues a policy which appears to hamper that work.

It is the duty of the L.N.U. frankly to criticise any Government which shows any hesitance in carrying out its obligations under the Covenant or other international agreements.

I trust that HEADWAY will criticise the new Government as freely as it has the old Government and will not hesitate vigorously to condemn any of its actions which appears to be in violation of its pledges.

I hope that your correspondent will continue to be a loyal supporter of the L.N.U.—Yours, etc.,

III, Sefton Park Road,  
St. Andrews, Bristol.

W. N. PARKIN,  
Branch Secretary.

July 16, 1929.

### SAY WHAT YOU THINK

SIR,—The letter under the heading, "The Right to Criticise," in your issue of July, brings into prominence a very interesting point of view. It cannot be said too often that the Union is a non-party organisation, and there is nothing whatever for any of us to feel uneasy about. Criticism will not hurt the League of Nations Union, the Government, nor anything else. No; let's have criticism, and plenty of it. It is apathy, not criticism, that impedes the progress of the League of Nations Union. People sometimes complain that HEADWAY is dull; but, if criticism is to be disallowed, and if writers cannot express their opinions for fear of disturbing people's susceptibilities, it is difficult to see how it can be made less dull.

As regards patriotism, no one who heard or read the message of His Majesty the King to the Union, on the occasion of its tenth birthday, can help feeling that there can be no better way of showing patriotism than by supporting the Union. Mr. Stanley Baldwin said on October 26, 1928: "No man is too good a patriot to be a member of the League of Nations Union." We may feel sure that he intended those words to include women as well as men.

A Conservative M.P., taking the chair at one of the branch meetings of the Union, said: "Parties come and parties go, but the League of Nations Union goes on for ever." That's the line to take, and those of us who are really keen supporters of the Union will not be deflected from our aims, our loyalty, or our patriotism by party politics, criticism, other people's opinions, aspersions as to our patriotism, or anything else whatsoever.

"United we stand—divided we fall!"—Yours, etc.,

J. D. ALLEN,

Vice-Admiral (retired).

St. Albans.

July 5, 1929.

### THE UNION'S DUTY

SIR,—There can be no doubt that in replying to Miss M. V. Hill you have once again correctly stated the position of the League of Nations Union in relation to the political parties, and that it is the duty of the Union to strive to make the foreign policy of the Government of the day fully consistent with a wholehearted support of the League. Unfortunately, keen party politicians obtain election to societies like the Union not so much in order to promote their objects, as to prevent them from acting in ways that may be inconvenient to the party in whose success at the poll the politician is primarily interested.

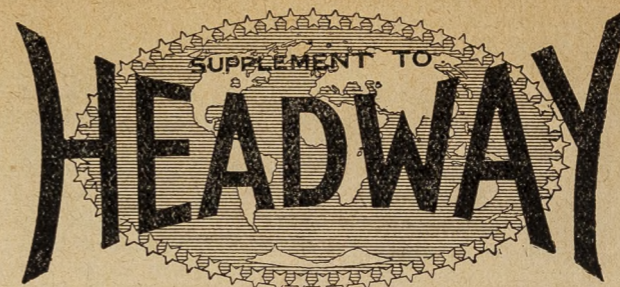
It was probably inevitable that after the election one party should suggest that the result might have been different if only the Union had maintained a strict neutrality, but the idea that three-quarters of a million of people should think it worth while to maintain a society like the Union on the basis of non-intervention in politics is surely ridiculous, and assumes that its members do not really wish to achieve the reforms which they advocate. It is distressing to find people of the calibre of Miss Hill and Sir Alexander Gordon laying themselves open to suspicions of the kind I have indicated, and I hope they will reconsider their position.

As for the threat of reprisals, if that materialises, I hope you will let us know the amount of the loss of income it involves, and some of us will, no doubt, see what can be done to compensate for it.—Yours, etc.,

F. TALBOT.

109, Southwood Lane, N.6.

# LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



AUGUST, 1929

## THE UNION'S PROGRESS

THE Tenth Annual Meeting of the General Council, held in the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, at the end of June, was excellently attended and marked by a spirit of progress.

Many interesting questions were decided, and the business of educating the British people to regard themselves as part of an international community, which must depend for its peace and prosperity upon the League of Nations, was prominent in the mind of the Council. This work absorbs the greater part of the Union's ordinary activities, the "shorter" aims, concerned with immediate practicable politics, being subordinated to those which have a longer range in view. It should be pointed out that the acceptance of these practical aims in the immediate future cannot be described as binding upon all members of the Union, whereas the Royal Charter, under which the Union operates, makes the acceptance of the "longer-range" aims a condition of membership. The object of educating public opinion concerning international affairs is that the public may act reasonably in regard to them. If the educational work of the Union consisted merely in laying down abstract principles while avoiding their direct applications, the Union would be guilty of the sin of the educator who says: "Do not do as I do, but do as I tell you."

### Education v. Politics

It seems, therefore, as long as the Union does not let its main educational work suffer, that it must also concern itself with practical politics, thereby increasing the interest of its appeal to the general mind. At the Council meeting both political and domestic business was fully discussed, and many interesting suggestions were brought to light. An article on the aspects of the meeting in so far as it concerned policy appears on another page of this issue, and the following is a brief account of the proceedings in so far as the domestic business of the Union is concerned.

Professor Murray was again elected Chairman of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year, an event which provoked a striking demonstration by acclamation of the affection and esteem in which the Chairman is held by the members of the Union.

Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton, Mr. Philip Kerr, Lord Queenborough (Hon. Treasurer), Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe, Major Wynch, Sir Walter Napier, Miss K. D. Courtney, Captain Green, Mr. Syrett, Mr. Lawrence Wright, and many others prominently associated with the work of the Head Office, were present. The attendance of branch representatives and members of the Council was better than ever before.

Lord Queenborough, in presenting the audited balance sheet and income and expenditure account, drew attention to the state of the Union's finances, and appealed to the Council to do everything in its power

to set the Union on a permanent and satisfactory financial basis. In this connection he quoted the following passage from Sir John Mann's speech to the Council in December, 1928:—

I do want to emphasise again the importance of these deeds of gift. I also want to emphasise another element. The Union is growing older. We do want to point out to you that the scope for bequests and legacies should not be overlooked—for this reason: memories are short; we are now in peace conditions; the generation that is growing up knows nothing by direct experience of the horrors of war. This is the generation that must do its utmost while they can to carry on the work of the Union when the generation which has suffered has died out. We must rely very largely on bequests as well as those deeds of gift. We want another £10,000 a year added to capital for some years. By that time this generation may confidently feel that it has done its bit, and the future generation can carry on the good work.

"The growth of income from subscriptions," continued Lord Queenborough, "might well be accelerated by an increase in the proportion of Foundation Members. Their subscriptions provide the most solid basis on which the Union's finance can be established."

### An Appeal for Loans

In his concluding remarks, Lord Queenborough said that this was just the time of year when Headquarters' income was at its lowest level, and so it would remain till the end of September. In view of the bank overdraft and other outstanding accounts, he most earnestly appealed to branches and districts to do again what they did last year, and to make Headquarters a loan, at least until October, of any bank balances they could possibly spare.

A noteworthy report, similar to that published in the last number of the Supplement on the Union's activities in connection with the General Election and the new Parliament, was received by the Council; in this connection, Lord Cecil moved the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:—

The General Council expresses the hope that branches of the Union will always seek the co-operation of their Members of Parliament; will see that they are fully acquainted with the Union's policy as expressed in resolutions of this Council, and will urge them to support in Parliament the measures necessary to give effect to that policy.

The Council further trusts that branches will, at the present juncture, ask Members of Parliament to use their influence to ensure that the fullest use be made of the favorable opportunity created by the recently declared policy of the United States Administration, in order to perfect international machinery for the prevention of war, the defence of international order and the organisation of peace.

### H.M. The King

On the motion of the Chairman the following resolution was carried with acclamation:—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union rejoices in the recovery of H.M. the King from his recent



illness, and records its deep appreciation of H.M.'s gracious message (of April 23, 1929) to his people, realising with profound gratitude its far-reaching influence in promoting the cause of peace and goodwill throughout the world.

### The Union and the Churches

The question of securing as effectively as possible the support of the Christian Churches in the work of the League was also discussed by the Council, and the following scheme, which will, it is hoped, have far-reaching results, was agreed upon. This scheme involves the co-ordination of the efforts of the Union, the British Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship and the Christian Social Council:—

(1) That in each locality there shall be one united Christian Committee on which local representatives of the World Alliance, the League of Nations Union and the Christian Social Council, or any two of the three Societies, shall sit, and through which all three bodies shall reach the local Churches for the purpose of organising co-operative Christian education on international questions. It is understood that this does not preclude the direct approach of each of the three bodies to individual Churches.

(2) That at the centre there shall be a standing committee of the secretaries of the three bodies, or their substitutes, to keep one another informed of the work of their respective national committees, and to work out educational policies for submission to these committees.

(3) That, to make this co-operation effective, the secretaries of each body shall be invited to join the appropriate committees of the other two bodies.

(4) That the detailed working out of the scheme be prepared by the joint committee of secretaries.

### The Caravan

The famous caravan also came in for its share of discussion; the Council, having been assured by one who knew that the accelerator of the car had been successfully tied up with string, decided after much palaver that the car and caravan purchased last year by the Union should be repaired at a certain cost and placed, as the Executive Committee shall determine, at the disposal of the local organisations of the Union. It is to be hoped that this outfit will be widely used and that the expense will be fully justified.

### On Subscriptions

A special meeting of the Council was also held to discuss the proposal of the Executive Committee that members whose annual subscriptions are less than £1 but not less than 5s. should be entitled to receive HEADWAY regularly by post and that the amended rule should operate as from October 1 on all new subscriptions. The Council, after considerable discussion, referred this proposal back to the Executive Committee for further consideration.

### The Lighter Side

The breezy atmosphere of Brighton pervaded the proceedings, which were accompanied by several interesting functions, notably a great Public Meeting in the Dome, presided over by the newly-enthroned Bishop of Chichester and addressed by Lord Cecil, Professor Murray, and Miss Tanner, the Headmistress of Roedean School. There was also a Public Dinner at which Lord Gage presided, when speeches were made by The Deputy Mayor (Alderman Kingston), Professor Murray, Dr. Garnett, Captain Green and others. This function was followed by a dance. On the last afternoon there was an enjoyable excursion to Arundel Castle, to which members were admitted by kind permission of the Duke of Norfolk. Furthermore, it should be added, the neat little blue-bordered members' tickets had, thanks to the kindly intervention of the Corporation, a remarkable effect upon the gentlemen at the gates of the pier, who admitted holders free of charge.

It remains to express again, through the medium of these pages, the sincere thanks of the Council to all those who contributed to the success of the meetings, in particular to the Mayor and Corporation of Brighton and, last but not least, to the Sussex Federation.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### Branch Libraries

Under the new scheme for the formation of nucleus libraries in districts or branches possessing a whole time secretary and an established office, the League of Nations' Union Library will be brought within personal reach of a great many readers who at present depend on a postal service from headquarters. Sub-libraries are to be established at Brighton (for Sussex), Chelmsford (for Essex), Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, Northampton and Barnett House (for Oxford). These libraries will consist of some 180 books on the League and International Affairs, including books for children and teachers. It is hoped that all members living in these districts will take the opportunity to borrow and to tell their friends, since the success of the scheme will depend almost entirely on local enthusiasm. Further books can always be obtained on loan from the large collection at Headquarters. Full particulars in regard to the above arrangements can be obtained from the Librarian, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

### Scottish Autumn School

The Autumn School organised by the Scottish National Council is to be held from October 4 to 7 at the Dunblane Hotel Hydropathic, under the chairmanship of the Earl of Home. The subjects to be discussed include, amongst others, the Kellogg Pact, Russia, World Economics, India and Bulgaria. The chief speakers will be Mr. Raymond T. Rich (General Secretary of the World Peace Foundation, U.S.A.), Mr. Vernon Bartlett, Herr P. Scheffer (of the *Berliner Tageblatt*), Sir George Paish, Lord Meston and Lady Kay Muir. Full particulars and registration forms for this Conference can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Mr. David Crawford, 213, West George Street, Glasgow. Applications should be received not later than September 16 next.

### The Butcher, the Baker, the Candlestick Maker

Mr. E. L. Poulton and Captain L. H. Green were the speakers at a meeting, on the recent International Labour Conference, held in Nottingham last month under the auspices of the Nottinghamshire Federal Council.

Those present included delegates from Trade Unions representing railway men, locomotive engineers and firemen, railway clerks, miners, engineers, lace workers, woodworkers, blacksmiths, hosiery workers, painters, decorators, building trades' operatives, printers, packing case makers, boot and shoe operatives, distributive workers, general and municipal workers, paper makers and postal workers.

### South Africa and the League

The annual report of the Durban League of Nations' Society states that there are now 98 members. Two Junior Branches exist, one connected with the Girl Guides and the other with Durban Girls' College. Four other bodies have also joined as corporate members. The Branch held a Peace Week, from December 17-23, the last day being known as Peace Sunday.

The Branch despatched a circular to every candidate during the elections to the House of Assembly in June. The letter expressed the hope that every candidate would endeavour:—

(a) To make the influence of South Africa more felt in the League, and secure the sending at each session of the Assembly of a full and adequately equipped delegation to represent this country, headed, if possible, by a Cabinet Minister.

(b) To press for the support by South Africa of the proposal of Canada, that the Optional Clause of the Statute establishing the International Court of Justice shall be as early as possible signed by Great Britain and the Dominions. And

(c) To press for the speeding-up of disarmament.

### A Frank Debate

Mr. Alec Wilson, having accepted an invitation to speak at a Rotary Club Lunch on the Freedom of the Seas, found among the Club's visitors of the day a number of officers of the U.S.S. "Raleigh," now in British waters. Mr. Wilson's address was given exactly as if all his hearers had been British subjects, and all were agreed that the possibility of such a frank and open debate on an issue of such immense importance was a hopeful augury. Most of the audience took away with them copies of the Union's new pamphlet, No. 276, which deals with the "Freedom of the Seas."

### Who will visit Germany?

The parents of three German girls (two aged 14 and one 16), whose homes are in Riesa, near Meissen, in Saxony, would be pleased to take three English girls as guests in August or September. Will any reader who is interested in this invitation communicate with the Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, from whom further particulars may be obtained. Opportunities would be given for instruction in common with the German girls.

### New Zealand

The annual meeting of the Wellington Branch of the New Zealand League of Nations' Union was held at the end of May. The annual report shows that the membership now stands at 334, the most successful work of the year having been done amongst the schools and colleges. The Dominion proposes to raise funds in order to provide a Travelling Secretary and Lecturer.

A special appeal for fresh members for the New Zealand League of Nations' Union has been made at Invercargill (Southland Branch). Articles were published in the *Southland Times* and in the *Southland Daily News* appealing for the support of the League through membership of the League of Nations' Union. A pamphlet, giving a description of the League Covenant, as well as of work and achievements during the last ten years, was sent to two hundred schools in the Southland District, together with the book "The Story of the League of Nations for Children."

### The Kent Quarterly

The first number of the journal of the Kent Federal Council has recently been produced under the title of "The Kent Quarterly." This production, which is both interesting and informative, deserves to be heartily supported, and it is hoped that great things will come of it. The first issue commences with a facsimile handwriting introduction by Lord Cecil in which he wishes the publication every success. There are some particularly good articles on Foundation Membership, Branch News, and Human Welfare. There is also an interesting paragraph under the heading "Wireless Discussions," which tells of the creation of groups formed to listen to the weekly talks of Mr. Vernon Bartlett on the wireless and subsequent discussion.

### And so it goes on

A certain Federal Council has adopted the following method of increasing the Union's membership. Members of the local branch invite three or four personal friends to their houses to meet Mr. X—or Miss Z—who has recently returned, let us say, from Geneva. There is no question of speeches, but it is always easy to bring the work of the League into the general conversation in such a way that all present become interested. We are informed that by the time these gatherings come to an end there is no difficulty in getting all present to enrol as members of the Union. Having enrolled the guests as members it is quite possible to get one or more of them to repeat the plan which has just been described—and so it goes on.

### A League Day

The Scunthorpe and Frodingham Branch recently organised a successful League of Nations Day. The film "The World War and After," was shown to 600 children after a speech by Vice-Admiral J. D. Allen. Mr. F. S. Marvin also delivered an interesting address.

### Out-of-date Literature

Branches are particularly requested to see that out-of-date literature is not sold at meetings or otherwise.

### Schools and O.T.C.'s

It is interesting to note that the following clause, which was contained in the prospectus of University College School, Hampstead, was the subject of discussion at a recent School Council meeting:—

"It is the custom of the School for boys to join the O.T.C. on attaining the age of fourteen. Membership of the O.T.C. is not, however, compulsory."

After discussing this clause it was decided that it was not satisfactory and that the following new clause should be substituted for it in the school prospectus:—

"The O.T.C. exists for the defence of the Nation, of the Empire and of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is desirable, therefore, that it should be well supported."

### "Pax" from Merseyside

We have again received our copy of "Pax," the magazine of the Merseyside School Branches of the League of Nations Union. This magazine, which contains many interesting articles by celebrated people, together with essays by pupils and teachers in the Merseyside Schools, deserves nothing but praise.

### At Birmingham

The Fifth Annual Fête organised by the Birmingham District Council was held on June 27 in the Botanical Gardens, Edgbaston. As in former years this function was conspicuously successful. The proceedings included a Public Meeting under the chairmanship of Bishop Hamilton Baynes, at which the chief speaker was Lord Thomson.

### In Greek Schools

In Greece the Board of Education has initiated an essay contest on World Peace in all the schools. The text books have also been subjected to a careful examination to see that all passages tending to create animosity towards other nations are eradicated. A regular programme of peace education is to be added to the course of study in the Greek schools.

### In Yugoslavian Schools

The Minister of Education in Yugoslavia has ordered that instruction on the League of Nations shall be given in all primary and secondary schools in the country.

### In Belgian Schools

The Educational Committee of the Belgian League of Nations Association organised an examination on the aims and work of the League of Nations for a hundred pupils of the Ecoles Normales. The first four places were awarded to girls; who will thus be enabled to visit Geneva during the next Assembly.

### Edinburgh News

The Edinburgh Branch recently organised an excursion to Dundas Castle (by kind permission of Lady Stewart Clark). An interesting address was delivered by Professor Hannah of Cambridge. This venture was well supported, the attendance being extremely good. It is hoped that the experiment will be repeated.

Members of the Edinburgh Branch are requested to note that the following lectures have been arranged for the winter season: October 7, Mr. Vernon Bartlett; November 4, Mr. P. N. B. Lyon; December 4, Mr. Tom Gillinder; January 20, Dr. D. F. Mekie (the last



mentioned three lectures will be held at 5 p.m. in the Royal Geographical Rooms); February, Major Walter Elliot; March 11, Miss Maude Royden (this meeting will be held in the Central Hall).

The attention of members is also drawn to the School to be held under the auspices of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland District Council at Melrose Hydro-pathic from November 15 to 18. Many distinguished speakers have agreed to attend.

Further particulars concerning the above activities can be obtained from Mr. James R. Leishman, 34, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh.

### The League and Religions

The following is an extract of an interesting letter which we have received from a correspondent:—

"I am very conscious that there is a tendency for churches in the same locality each to have their own branch of the League of Nations Union. The spirit of the League of Nations is that nations shall get together and understand one another better. I feel very strongly that the very spirit of the League of Nations would be fostered if members of different religious bodies united to form a branch (in preference to a number of branches) when Christians of various denominations and Jews, liberal and orthodox, would meet and practise the precepts for which they stand. It would not then be a question of one or two meetings a year being held in connection with each church, and perhaps poorly attended, but larger and more inspiring meetings being held in halls of various churches, when an audience would be drawn from all. I am aware that there is a tendency for people to attend meetings in connection with their own church only, but surely the more enlightened should do all in their power to encourage a larger view."

### Headway Maps

It is interesting to hear that the maps printed on the back page of HEADWAY are sometimes used in schools in the course of lessons on the League of Nations.

### In the Local Press

An interesting letter from Mr. F. W. Parrott, the Honorary Secretary of the North Westmorland District Council, recently appeared in the *Westmorland Herald*, in which he stated that the North Westmorland District Council was prepared to supply speakers to address meetings arranged by branches of Women's Institutes, the British Legion and other organisations of a similar nature. It is thought that those associated with the work of the Union in other parts of the country might adopt this method of spreading interest in the work of the League and of increasing the Union's membership.

### The "Chelsea Globe"

The first issue of the "Chelsea Globe," the organ of the Chelsea Branch, has just been received. This is an admirable little publication, containing articles about the League and the Union. It makes pleasant and instructive reading, and, if the issues which follow equal the first issue in quality, its success is assured.

### A Prize Competition

A certain Dutch merchant has generously conceived the idea of giving a sum of money for the organisation of a competition with a view to securing a design for a suitable emblem for the League of Nations. It is understood that the Secretariat of the League has considered this problem on several occasions and is not opposed in principle to the adoption of such an emblem. The International Federation of League of Nations' Societies has been asked to undertake the organisation of the competition and the 13th Plenary Congress of the Federation, recently held at Madrid, accepted this proposal. Details of the competition can be obtained from the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. The final date for the receipt of the designs is January 1, 1930. The designs will be judged by an international committee under the chairmanship of M. Charles van der Mandere. The first prize will

be 1,000 Dutch florins, the second prize 500 Dutch florins, and the third prize 250 Dutch florins. It is hoped that many members of the Union in this country will enter for this competition.

### Notes from Wales

The Welsh Council is organising a special programme of activities throughout Wales and Monmouthshire in 1930 to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the League of Nations. The week May 12-18, 1930, will be celebrated as "League of Nations Week."

On August 8, at Liverpool, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Lewis of Birkenhead will give a reception on behalf of the Welsh League of Nations Union to overseas visitors to the Royal National Eisteddfod. Visitors will find a well-equipped Union Exhibition Stall in the Eisteddfod grounds. Branches during the last month have been chiefly engaged in co-operating with the organisation of successful Daffodil Days in their respective localities. The Monmouth Branch recently organised a successful Pedlar's Fair. The Presbyterian Missionary exhibition at Carnarvon gave excellent space for a League of Nations Union Stall.

The Carmarthenshire Association of the National Union of Teachers is circularising its members urging them to give attention to the teaching of the aims and activities of the League of Nations in their schools and at the same time recommending suitable literature on the subject. Mr. T. W. Gillinder recently addressed a series of meetings in the industrial centres of South Wales.

### The Council's Vote

The following is a list of Branches which have recently completed their quotas to the Council's Vote:—

1927-28.—Tadcaster.  
1928.—Amphill, High Wycombe.  
1929.—Abingdon, Alrewas, Ambleside, Beaconsfield Biddulph Moor, Boars Hill, Brill, Blagdon, Bristol Post Office, Bransgore, Church Brampton, Caterham, Chalford Y.M.C.A., Checkendon, Crowborough, Cowes, Dawlish, Daventry, Debenham, Dedham, Ebenezer West (Bedminster), Edenhall, Ellesmere, Fleetwood, Herne Bay, Hambleden, Hassocks, Helmdon, Hilton, Hawkshead, Lazonby, Luton, Mirfield, Marlow, Nafferton, Port Isaac, Princes Risborough, Queensbury, Reigate, Radley, Runtun, Sandwich, Sheffield Nether Chapel, Stansted, St. Nicholas and Sarre, St. Ives (Cornwall), St. Neots, Upton-on-Severn, Whitby, Woodford (near Thrapston), Wardington, Wheatley, Wick, Wadhurst, Woburn and Bourne End, Whitley and Monkseaton.

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

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,224
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	...	665,022
July 20, 1929	...	...	...	...	785,291

On July 20th, 1929, there were 2,853 Branches, 715 Junior Branches, 135 Districts, 2,954 Corporate Members and 542 Corporate Associates.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

### TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

Foundation membership, HEADWAY, and pamphlets as issued *minimum*, £1. Ordinary membership and monthly copy of HEADWAY, *minimum*, 3s. 6d. (in Wales and Monmouthshire, 5s.). Membership, 1s.

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

Particulars of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire may be obtained from the Secretary, Welsh Council of L.N.U., 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.