



HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Vol. XII. No. 7. [The Journal of the League of Nations Union.]

July, 1930

[Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post.] Price Threepence.

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT	121	THE GUN-SELLERS	132
THE LEAGUE AND THE RADIO. By C. A. Siepmann	124	M. BRIAND'S PLAN	133
WILD WHALES	125	ORGANISED OPINION	134
PAN-PACIFIC	125	THE WORLD IN 1930. By Warren Postbridge	135
A NORTHERN PILGRIMAGE. By H. Wilson Harris...	126	THE WAR ENRHYMED	136
THE COMING ASSEMBLY	128	BOOKS WORTH READING	137
THE MINER AND THE NATIVE	129	READERS' VIEWS (Commander Kenworthy, M.P., and others)	139
HARD WORK FOR THE COURT. By A. G. Lias	130	FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE	140
UNITE OR DIVIDE? (Editorial)	131		

MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE names of the British delegates to the League Assembly have now been published. The delegation is to consist of Mr. Henderson, Mr. William Graham (for part of the time), Lord Cecil, Mr. Dalton, Miss Susan Lawrence, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. Noel Baker, and Mr. Charles Roden Buxton. Of these the only newcomer (though Mr. Buxton has not been at Geneva since 1924) is Miss Lawrence, who has made a considerable reputation in the House of Commons as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, and is, at the present time, Chairman of the Labour Party. The Prime Minister, it will be observed, does not propose to go to Geneva this time his absence being due mainly to the fact that after a singularly strenuous year he feels it necessary to take a proper holiday. There is no ground whatever for imagining that Mr. MacDonald's interest in the League of Nations is less than it was, and though his presence would, of course, have been welcome, the tradition that the delegation at the Assembly shall be in charge of the Foreign Minister is a sound one. It may even be better in some respects that the Prime Minister should reserve his visit for special occasions than that he should be at Geneva every September as a matter of routine. The French, German and Italian delegations will similarly all be headed by their Foreign Ministers.

China and the Council

ONE of the most important questions to be decided at the coming Assembly of the League of Nations, though no one has said much about it as

yet, is whether China is to be elected to a seat on the Council. There may seem, at first sight, many reasons why she should not be, chief of them, the absence in China of any Government in whose future confidence can be felt. Another reason is that the coming Council elections are already rather cut and dried. It is taken for granted that Cuba will be succeeded by some other South American State, and that Norway will take the place of Finland, while Ireland is a confident candidate for the British Dominion seat at present held by Canada. Neither of these reasons, however, is conclusive. China is China, no matter what Government may be in power at a given moment, and it is of the utmost importance to the world that China as a whole should turn to Geneva rather than Moscow. At present, though the Moscow star is not in the ascendant, China has by no means made her choice. The success or failure of her candidature for the League Council may go far to turn the scale. If China were elected, it would mean pretty certainly that Ireland would not be. Quite frankly, it is impossible to describe that as a disaster of the first magnitude. There is a good deal to be said against the doctrine that one seat on the Council should always be reserved for a British Dominion as distinct from Great Britain; still more to be said against the idea that Ireland should step over the heads of older Dominions, like Australia, South Africa and New Zealand; and more still against the demand for Ireland's election in 1930 instead of China's, when, if China is elected now, Ireland can

still stand a year hence. All things considered, the arguments in favour of China's election must be considered decisive.

Italy and the League

REFERENCE was made in last month's HEADWAY to the striking speech on the League of Nations delivered in the Italian Chamber by the Foreign Minister, Signor Grandi, who has already become a regular and active member of the League Council. Since then a speech has been delivered in the Italian Senate by the former delegate of Italy, Signor Scialoja, whose place Signor Grandi has now taken. Signor Scialoja, adopting his usual semi-humorous tone, nevertheless warned his hearers seriously that Italy had not appreciated the importance of the League as it should have done. "Geneva," he said, "has been and will long be a centre of international politics. The other States congregate there and if we complain of that we make a mistake. We say that England and France exercise a preponderating influence at Geneva. Their influence, in fact, is less than is supposed, but it is our fault if they do exercise it." These are sound words and it is clear that Signor Grandi is of the same opinion. He realises that if Italy is to be prominent in the world it must be prominent at Geneva. To that extent, no doubt, his enthusiasm for the League is a matter of Italian self-interest. But no one need complain of that. Nations are perfectly entitled to go to Geneva to press their own interests and safeguard their own rights in the spirit and method of Geneva, provided always they have a fitting sense of international interests as well as national. And the best way to develop the sense is to be constant in attendance at Geneva.

The Beauty of Guns

SATISFACTORY as the references made by Signor Grandi and Signor Scialoja to the League of Nations are, it is impossible to disregard completely the speeches of Signor Mussolini, which run counter in every point to the League idea. Take, for example, the close of the speech delivered at Florence in the middle of May. "To-morrow," said Signor Mussolini, "you will see an armed review of impressive character. It is I who desired it, because, although words are beautiful things, rifles, machine-guns, ships, aeroplanes and cannon are still more beautiful things; because, oh Black-shirts, right, unless accompanied by force, is a vain word, and your own great Niccolo Machiavelli has warned us that prophets who have disarmed will perish." There is not very much League of Nations about this, and though it may be dismissed as mere words, it cannot be forgotten that Signor Mussolini is the head of the Italian Government and Signor Grandi and Signor Scialoja are not. Such speeches have made a deep impression in France, and the Council of the French League of Nations Society unanimously adopted at a recent sitting a resolution calling the attention of States members of the League to the problem of international law raised by the action of the head of a Government which has signed the Pact outlawing war, in pronouncing words contrary to the spirit of the Pact and dangerous to the maintenance of international

peace. The resolution was not, as the French Society hoped it would be, brought before the Federation of League of Nations Associations at Geneva, but the fact of its adoption in Paris is of some significance.

Rival Ports

AN interesting and perplexing little question—though it may turn out not to be so little as it seems—is likely to come before the League Council at its next meeting as the result of a protest lodged by the Free City of Danzig against the development of the neighbouring Polish port of Gdynia. The question is far too complicated to be dealt with in a note, but its essence can be very briefly stated. Danzig, which down to the war was German, was separated from other German territories and made into a Free City because it lies at the mouth of Poland's great river, the Vistula, and it was essential to Poland to have unrestricted use of it as her only access to the sea. Relations, however, between Poland and Danzig have not been good, and the Poles, in order to have a second string to their bow, and in particular a string which no one could control but themselves, set about building a port at Gdynia, only about eight miles to the west of Danzig. Gdynia has now extensive accommodation and handled 2,000,000 tons of goods last year, as against Danzig's 8,000,000. Danzig, however, could quite well have dealt with the extra 2,000,000, and the Danzig Senate claims that Poland shall make full use of Danzig before she has recourse to any other ports. Each side can adduce formidable arguments in support of its own contention, and the Council may find the controversy a little difficult to handle.

A Drink More Wine Campaign

AS was mentioned in the last issue of HEADWAY, the League of Nations Council at its June meeting decided to ask for further information regarding the International Wine Office, which had asked to be recognised by the League under Article XXIV of the Covenant. A good deal of the kind of information desired has since been supplied by an article in the *Observer*, which explains that the International Wine Office exists primarily to persuade the world to drink more wine. There is at present, too much wine being produced—more, that is to say, than can find a ready market, just as there is at present too much oil, too much wheat, too much tin, too much coffee, and too much of a good many other useful commodities, being produced. Into the economics of that situation it is unnecessary to enter here, but the International Wine Office clearly takes the view that the remedy is not to produce less wine, but to get more wine consumed. It is trying, for example (according to the article mentioned), to get teaching given in schools on the virtues of wine and the advantage of wine-bibbing in moderation. Another activity of the Wine Office is represented by the endeavour to get tariffs on wines in non-producing countries reduced—a movement which from the tariff point of view pure and simple may awaken some sympathy in Free Trade quarters. Campaigns against prohibition in prohibition countries are also part of the

programme. From all of which it appears clear enough that the League of Nations will be involving itself in some rather difficult situations if it does take the Wine Office under its wing.

The Barred Frontier

DR. ZAUNIUS, the Foreign Minister of Lithuania, has addressed a note to the League of Nations calling attention to an affray which took place near the Polish-Lithuanian frontier at the end of May. The details of the affair are not important, but there was some kind of clash between Polish frontier guards and a convivial party including some men of Lithuanian race, and according to the Lithuanian version one of the latter was killed. The Poles, however, deny this, and it is a question on which evidence must clearly be produced. The Poles contend, moreover, that since the affair took place entirely on Polish territory and concerned only Polish citizens, Lithuania has no legal ground for interfering in the matter. Whatever may be decided regarding that, the Lithuanian note brings up once more the hopeless situation existing on this closed frontier, a question which will also, incidentally, be raised at Geneva in September by the recommendation of the Transit Commission on the re-establishment of international communications across the frontier. The whole frontier situation is ripe for further consideration at Geneva, and it is to be hoped that both Poles and Lithuanians will show themselves willing to discuss it in a reasonable spirit.

France and Peaceful Settlement

THE French Chamber has ratified both the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court and the General Act of Arbitration approved by the Ninth Assembly of the League. These are important events. Three out of four European Great Powers who are members of the League have now ratified the Optional Clause, namely, Germany, Great Britain and France (in that chronological order), and there is no doubt that Italy, which signed during last Assembly, will do the same. France, however, is the first Great Power to ratify the General Act, which, it will be remembered, provides for the peaceful settlement of all international disputes, either by conciliation, arbitration or judicial process. That means going even further than the second clause of the Pact of Paris, for whereas the Pact merely states that a nation will not settle its disputes except by peaceful means, the General Act gives the positive assurance that it will settle them, and settle them peacefully, instead of allowing them to drag on unsatisfactorily (usually to the advantage of the stronger party), as the Paris Pact would permit. The General Act was rather hurriedly drafted, and it may require some amendment in the course of the next Assembly, but its purpose is sound, and its general signature and ratification will be all to the good.

The Optional Clause

AS the question of how many nations are bound by the Optional Clause is frequently being asked, it may be convenient to call attention to the statement made by Mr Henderson in the House of

Commons on June 18, in the course of which he gave a list of 27 States which have both signed and ratified the Clause and are, therefore, bound by it. This, it will be observed, is exactly half the total of States Members of the League, but it actually includes Brazil, which is not a League Member. France's ratification is, however, now definite, except for the formality of depositing it at Geneva, and Mr Henderson's list is also notable for the absence of three British Dominions—Canada, Australia, and the Irish Free State—all of whose ratifications may be expected at any moment. Practically, therefore, it may be said that at least 30 out of the 54 States Members of the League regard themselves as bound by the Optional Clause, and that number may be expected to increase steadily, for 43 States altogether have signed the clause. Poland is the only European State of any importance whose absence is to be noted.

The Drawbacks of Privacy

IT is singularly unfortunate that the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations finds it necessary always to meet in private, for the result is that no record of its activities is available till the minutes of a particular meeting are issued after an interval of weeks or even months. There is, consequently, little that can be said in this issue of HEADWAY regarding the important meetings, one regular and one special, which the Mandates Commission has been holding in May and June. The special meeting was devoted to the important question of the Palestine Mandate, with particular reference to the disorders which took place in that country last August. In regard to this the summaries of the statements made by the British official representatives have been published, but to put these into right perspective it is clearly necessary to have a record of the questions put by members of the Mandates Commission and the answers given to those questions. Nothing of this is available at present, and reference to the meetings here must, therefore, be confined to mere mention of the fact that they took place. At the Commission's ordinary session various Mandate areas, notably New Guinea were discussed.

A Prize for the League

ATTENTION was drawn by HEADWAY a few months ago to the fact that the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, of the United States, had awarded its annual prize of \$25,000 (£5,000) to the League of Nations. The prize goes each year to the person or institution that has, in the opinion of the adjudicators, done most to carry out President Wilson's ideas. It was remarked at the time that it was not quite clear how the recipient of the award could in this case observe the condition hitherto imposed, namely, that he should go to New York and get it. That problem has been solved by the prize going to the recipient. A week or two ago the actual presentation was made to Sir Eric Drummond, as Secretary of the League, at Geneva, and Sir Eric solved the further problem of how the money should be expended by mentioning that it would be used to purchase a pair of bronze doors for the new Assembly Hall.

THE LEAGUE AND THE RADIO EDUCATING THE PUBLIC BY LOUD SPEAKER

By C. A. SIEPMANN.

[As Secretary of the Central Council for Broadcast Adult Education Mr. Siepmann has a wide experience of the possibilities of wireless talks.]

IN the comparatively short period during which the B.B.C. has been in existence astonishing changes have taken place in the attitude of the public to the problem of international relations. Indeed, so widespread is the acceptance of international affairs as the subject for normal and regular discussion among ordinary people, that in our educational programmes for the future provision is being made for the inclusion of continuous related series on this subject throughout the year. The B.B.C. is in a peculiar position in that it is precluded from any direct form of propaganda either on behalf of international goodwill or of any other equally commendable cause. It is interesting to discover that this impartiality has actually stood it in good stead. Indeed, I believe that this factor of disinterestedness is one of extraordinary importance to all who are concerned in achieving a new attitude to world affairs.

That is the first lesson of five years' experience—that in propaganda the propagandist element is the least effective. People resent the intrusion of a personality or of a movement which seems to attempt to force upon them the acceptance of a view not yet their own. The



propagandist is, normally, at any rate at the outset, suspect, and he is often in too much of a hurry. The integrity of the broadcast service, combined with what I may call the objective enthusiasm of the personalities who handle the international aspects of affairs in broadcast programmes, have proved a very strong combination. How much is due to the single personality of Vernon Bartlett it is difficult to estimate. There can be little question that his voice and personality have, in themselves, been an enormous contribution to the cause of internationalism. The factor of continuity obviously counts, too.

One Man's Achievement

To think internationally is to think in a new way. The idea is new, and like all new ideas it can only be slowly assimilated. The fact that Vernon Bartlett in his talks on the Way of the World has been a permanent feature in the broadcast programmes for the last three years has led to the acceptance of the subject and to its assimilation on a scale which listeners themselves probably do not yet realise. But there is another factor that demands consideration. It is, perhaps, a commonplace to suggest that abstract ideas and certainly an abstract cause are least easily assimilated. I believe it is important in approaching the problem of establishing international relations to bear this point

in mind—to remember that indirect methods are on the whole more likely to succeed than direct method.

The ideals of the League of Nations are likely to be more quickly realised if people in general have first a more complete imaginative sense of one another. In this sense the value of travel talks and of the telling of experiences by men from overseas cannot be overrated as a contribution to international understanding. Indeed, I think it is no exaggeration to suggest that, to those who heard it, the hooting of the Berengaria in New York Harbour and the welcome to the Prime Minister, and, still more, the Olympian laughter which greeted the American host's slip of the tongue in welcoming MacDonalld as "the Prime Minister of the United States," was an international event of no mean importance.

This general insidious infiltration of ideas is, I think, the primary consideration in achieving a state of mind which will eventually make acceptable as well as interesting the practical aims and proposals of the League of Nations. It is less important at this stage to talk about the League itself than about those problems, economic, political and human, with which its advocates are concerned.

New Opportunities

Yet if this were all that broadcasting had to contribute it might reasonably be held that its services were at the best of superficial value. It is the more specifically educational aspects of broadcasting which suggest that its services have yet to be exploited to the full in the interests of the League and of international world peace. The development in all parts of the country of a new movement in adult education, directly dependent on and due to the activities of the B.B.C., presents a new opportunity. The formation of an ever-increasing number of wireless listening groups drawn in the main from a class of listener alienated by the ordinary formal approaches of the educationist, and won to this kind of elementary study by the homeliness and informality of broadcast talks, brings to the study of international affairs a body of listeners who can probably not be reached in any other way.

These study circles are on the whole extremely elementary, but their development is rapid and daily presents us with new problems. Their organisation is, of course, dependent on premises and sets being available. They meet wherever they can, at the fireside in private houses, in clubs and institutes and on school premises. Many have taken up the study of international affairs, and not a few have gone on to the formation of new branches of the L.N.U. The determination of the Central Council for Broadcast Adult Education to include regular series on international affairs in that part of the B.B.C. Programme for which it is responsible makes it more than ever urgent that the fostering and development of these wireless study groups should have more serious consideration. If they are not to prove abortive, if indeed they are to achieve anything of permanent value, steps must be taken to win something more than the ephemeral interest of listeners. Continuity is vital. Moreover, wireless courses can only touch upon the fringe of the problem. To many they will provide a stimulus to further study.

What the L.N.U. might do

Competent leadership and an adequate supply of books and literature, properly selected in respect of standard and subject, are now increasingly important factors in the successful development of wireless education. It is a little disappointing that as yet so few branches of the League of Nations Union have realised the possibilities of broadcasting in this respect. As an extension of their own work the personalities engaged in promulgating international ideas by wireless should prove a tremendous asset. If the considerations that broadcasting has brought to light are of any significance at all, they should each and all be applicable to the branch work of the L.N.U. Whatever direct propaganda may be undertaken there will always be an urgent need for the more indirect appeal to the interest and imagination of ordinary people.

The development of wireless discussion groups is a voluntary movement, dependent on the enthusiasm and goodwill of organisers and leaders in town and country. Between 350 and 400 such groups have already been organised, but when one considers how many listeners are still wholly unfamiliar with this side of the broadcast programme, the possibilities of the future seem almost limitless. One hopes that the time is not far off when all branches of the L.N.U. will be equipped with wireless apparatus for reception of the many talks on international affairs and foreign countries which are a regular feature of our programmes. I can think of no greater service the L.N.U. could render to the cause of education as a whole.

WILD WHALES

THE League of Nations has for some time been toying rather oddly with whales. The question arose out of the activities of a committee appointed to discuss the preservation of the riches of the sea. Among those riches whales figure very largely, as anyone who has read Hermann Melville's incomparable novel "Moby Dick" knows well.

Discussion led to the idea of action, and as is the habit in League discussions proposals emerged for framing an international convention, aiming, not indeed at the complete preservation of whales (because various products of this marine mammal are indispensable to humanity, even though the ladies of the world do not draw so heavily on whalebone as was once the case), but at such a regulation of the whaling industry as to ensure that the whale population of the oceans shall not be prematurely exterminated.

The whole question is, of course, technical, and it may not seem very illuminating to state that the proposed agreement is to apply only to baleens or whalebone whales, and that the hunting of "right" whales, divided up into a number of specific categories, is prohibited. Anyone, however, can understand one main object of the convention, which is to prevent the killing of immature whales or females accompanied by calves dependent on them. As one means of attaining that end it is suggested that the crews of whale boats, and particularly the gunners (for the days of harpooning by hand are nearly over), shall not be paid mainly on the basis of the number of whales taken, but on the basis rather of size, value and yield of oil.

Obviously these regulations, if they are once agreed on, will have to be imposed by each country on its own whalers, and each country must be responsible for seeing that they are carried out. There is, however, some talk of setting up a central body to receive from each Government statistics as to the number of whales captured, with particulars of their size, sex and, if possible (a rather interesting addition this), their stomach contents.

PAN-PACIFIC

WHILE M. Briand has set Europe talking about the idea of organising itself in a separate federation within or side by side with the League of Nations, in other quarters people are discussing the possibility of a more or less separate organisation at the other end of the world—that is to say, among countries situated in or bordering on the Pacific Ocean. The demand for this comes primarily from speakers at the International Labour Conference, where Indian delegates in particular have again and again insisted that the special industrial problems of the East shall be given special treatment under the aegis of the Labour Organisation.

Meanwhile, the whole question has been fully surveyed by the Director of the Labour Office, M. Albert Thomas, in the comprehensive report he presented to last month's Conference. M. Thomas has observed a number of Pan-Pacific movements that are now on foot. There was the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto last autumn. There have recently been held a Pan-Pacific Women's Congress, a Pan-Pacific Food Conservation Conference, a Pan-Pacific Scientific Conference, a Pan-Pacific Press Conference, a Pan-Pacific Educational Congress, a Pan-Pacific Commercial Congress and a Pan-Pacific Surgical Congress. There also exists a Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, a rather communistic body which has held two Pan-Pacific Congresses already.

These organisations, different though they are in their constitution and aims, are firmly convinced that there exist special Pacific problems which demand special discussion by the Pacific countries. All this is making M. Thomas think seriously. He realises the other side—the improbability, for example, of a common outlook on the part of China and Japan on one side of the Pacific and Canada on the other. Australia or the Dutch Indies may have a point of view different from all four. The United States will probably be of the same opinion as Canada on many subjects, but by no means of the same opinion as the Asiatic countries. At the same time, the growing industrialism of the East affects America as well as Europe, and if it is discussed at Geneva mainly in its relations to Europe, there may be a case for discussing it at some Pacific centre mainly in its relation to the American Continent.

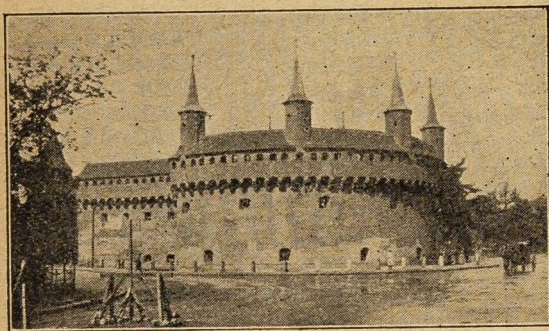
The International Labour Organisation, M. Thomas points out—and it is a rather striking fact—includes among its Member States more of the countries of the Pacific than any single one of the specifically Pacific organisations or associations. It has, therefore, already acquired clear ideas as to what Pacific problems are. This inspires speculation as to what may be expected of the I.L.O. in the future in relation to the Pacific. "Will the Office," M. Thomas asks, "be asked to organise an official demonstration of its activities in the Pacific area? Will the idea of a consultative conference take birth in that area also? If so, how will the more purely Asiatic movement be reconciled with this Pacific movement? How will the different regional understandings be defined?"

These questions provide considerable food for thought, and what is true of the I.L.O. in particular is true of the League as a whole. Every possible endeavour is being made at present to interest both Asia and Latin America increasingly in the work of the League. Is that endeavour likely to be more successful if special discussions among the Pacific States Members of the League are inaugurated? If, by any chance, the answer to this question is Yes, and, at the same time, M. Briand's scheme for a European Federation makes headway, far-reaching changes in the structure of the League may be foreshadowed.

A NORTHERN PILGRIMAGE WANDERINGS IN POLAND AND THEREABOUTS

By H. WILSON HARRIS.

IT seems an odd thing to start the day's work at 8 in the morning and end it altogether by 2. But that is the way life is lived, by Government officials and a good many other people, in various countries in Eastern Europe—Poland, Lithuania and Latvia and others—to-day. Sometimes it is 9 to 3, but more often, as I say, 8 to 2. No very strenuous life, so it seems. Well, but that depends. Eight to two is six hours, and it is worked without a break, with a glass of tea (milkless, of course, with a slice of lemon), and possibly a sandwich, brought to the desk at twelve or a little earlier.



Cracow: the Barbican

Compare that with our own Civil Service. Work begins there, in the higher ranks at least, at about 11 and goes on till somewhere between 6 and 7. Say 7½ hours nominal. But to get down to net figures you would have to stand in Pall Mall or St. James's Street between 1 and 3 and see how long lunch and post-prandial digestion takes our own administrators. The result would not often exceed the Easterners' six hours. If you want to go on to argue as to whether six hours on end or six hours with a break produces better results you must argue alone. I give my own vote for work with a break. But others who think differently can differ.

Our Real Rulers

This article was not meant to be about civil servants, but it is taking its destinies into its own hands and where it will end and how get there no one yet knows, least of all I, its writer. Well, about these civil servants—and while we are talking about civil servants let us add to these rather awe-inspiring gentlemen in Government offices all the mass of less formidable officials who direct railways or collect taxes or run police forces or look after schools or inspect drains or see to people's health. We take no notice of them in England, except when we happen to collide with them. We certainly never trouble to wonder where they come from. They are obviously just a product of Nature.

So they will be in time—are beginning in fact to be already—in Eastern Europe. But only just beginning to-day, ten years and more after these new States first came into being themselves. That is the consequence of one thing we too often forget—the Russian steam-roller. We used to hear a lot of that steam-roller in the first three or four months of the war. It would be slow in moving, we were told, but when it did move it would grind irresistibly through and over the German forces ranged against it. Unfortunately, the steam-roller disappointed its admirers. It had got out of practice, through devoting itself for a century to the far softer job of rolling subject peoples down and crushing them relentlessly out of life.

Russian Only

It had done that to Poland, to Latvia, to Estonia, to Lithuania. They had been dragooned for generations by Russian rulers and their lives had been ordered from birth to death by Russian officials. In Vilna, for example, now in Poland, not a book, not a newspaper, not a theatre, not a school, not a university in the Polish language. To be heard speaking Polish in the streets meant certain trouble. Notices forbidding the use of any language but Russian can be seen preserved in the Vilna museum to-day. The same in Lithuania. Russian always and everywhere. No Lithuanian anywhere or ever.

Nature consequently produced no Polish, no Lithuanian, no Latvian officials, except in the most minor of minor posts, for the regions these countries possess now were part of Russia, and no one but Russians could hold any office of consequence in them. To remember that is to forgive much that seems defective in the running of the new countries to-day. They had to find men by the thousand and train them, or rather put them untrained and untried into posts that had to be filled somehow, and leave them to get through as best they could. Now, gradually, all that is being righted. Schools and universities are at work—both, of course, at first short of teachers, and short of fully qualified teachers still. Competent Poles are being produced in Poland, competent Lithuanians in Lithuania, competent Latvians in Latvia, and so on. But not numerous enough and not competent enough yet.

Roadless Lands

Then take the roads. My experience of what roads can be—or rather of what can be called roads, and firmly believed to be roads—broadened immeasurably in the course of a pilgrimage in Eastern Europe last month. For the Russians were against roads. Against them,



Vilna: the Cathedral

that is, as a general rule. Where a military road was needed it was built, a good solid stone road, regardless of expense. But other roads were a mistake. They only encouraged people to move about who had much better stay at home. If they moved about they might get together. They might even foment revolts against Russia. They might even use the roads to march against Russia. So the roads were forbidden, and Poland and Lithuania and their sister States are to-day spending large sums of money they can ill afford in driving metalled roads slowly out from the towns along the sand tracks that are still in all seriousness styled roads in Eastern Europe.

In particular spots Russia left its mark in particular ways. Kaunas, the capital of Lithuania, for example, was a Russian fortress. (It figured prominently in the fighting of 1915 under its Slav name of Kovno.) Round a fortress there must be no houses high enough to get in the way of the guns. Consequently all the Kovno houses, except the new ones built since the war, consist simply of the ground floor and one other. Moreover, the fewer the houses round a fortress the better. Kaunas, therefore, finds the accommodation to-day altogether unequal to its needs and building is being pushed ahead in all directions. Some of the new constructions are five- or six-storey blocks of offices or flats, others are little wooden erections of half-a-dozen rooms on the edges of the woods that surround the town on every side.

The Superfluous Shoe

Kaunas, indeed, capital though it be, is only just growing out of being a village. The peasants flock into it to market with their long wooden carts, and the peasant women pad barefooted about its streets as they do in their own fields. For in Eastern Europe the women and children go regularly barefoot. You can pass through a village and hardly see a shoe or a stocking on



Kaunas and the Niemen

any female foot. Grass path, sand track, cobbled road—all is one to these stout-soled ladies. The only time they take to shoes is when they are going to Mass, and then they commonly carry them in their hands as necessary badges of reverence to be donned when they reach the church door. It is not actual poverty, though it may be thrift. But it is mostly preference and habit. The men, oddly enough all wear high boots.

But Kaunas, at any rate, boasts one attraction, an excellent hotel. I name no names, I give no advertisements and I draw no invidious comparisons. But at one northern capital I visited I hesitated, as my train approached the station, between cleanliness and frugality. Should I, in other words, take a room with a bath? The extravagance would not be great and I was dirty and sticky from travelling. I would. I did. That is to say I did not. I was given a room. I asked whether it had a bath. The answer was a significant negative. There were clearly no rooms with baths. There were, for that matter, no rooms with running water at all. Provision was made by an earthenware ewer and a tin jug. But I got my bath in the general bathroom, where an enormous geyser was fed not by gas but by logs. It heated the water all right, but just then I was interrupted by a caller, a native of the country who had come to welcome me. I found afterwards he had studied under Professor Noel Baker in London. That explained his incursion. Professor Baker habitually receives his friends in his bath.

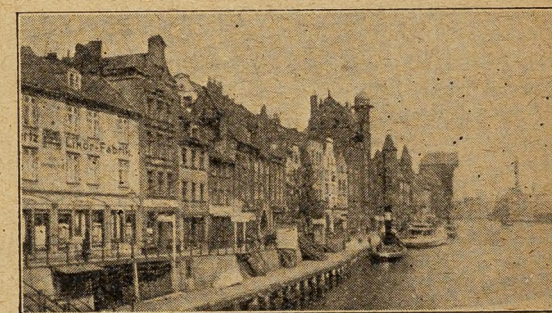
Early Birds

This, I am afraid (like nearly everything so far) is a digression. What I was really speaking of just then

was the Kaunas hotel. The hotel has to adjust itself to strange hours, for one of the only two decent trains in the day arrives at 5.20 and leaves at 5.33—a.m., not p.m. I arrived by that train, turning out of my sleeper at about 4.45, to the annoyance and satisfaction of my coupé-companion—annoyance because I woke him up, satisfaction because thenceforward the compartment was his alone. At 5.20 Kaunas was well awake. There were plenty of porters on the station, a uniformed hotel-conductor took me promptly in charge (speaking English miraculously); at the hotel the night porter, also with several words of English in his repertoire, was bright and receptive, my room had a bath and a telephone (telephoning in Lithuanian livens life considerably). I dropped into the bath, and then most fantastically I relapsed into bed at 6 a.m. in brilliant sunshine, to lie awake for a couple of hours or so feeling like the days when I was sent to bed at tea-time as penalty for some minor misdemeanour. On departing I rose at 4.25, and the procedure generally was reversed, like those films they occasionally run backwards.

Of Many Cities

And what, as the Scriptures ask, shall I more say of Riga, of Warsaw, of Cracow, of Vilna, of Danzig, of Gdynia? Of Danzig, that I still think it the most beautiful city within my limited experience of cities. Of Gdynia, that the progress made in constructing a vast port out of a sand beach with marshes behind is astonishing. Of Vilna, that for a city that has been a centre of international controversy for a decade it wears a singularly placid aspect. Of Riga, that with its clean streets, its fine buildings, its gardens and canal—boated on largely by the populace on Sunday evenings—in the middle of the city, its busy quays on the banks of the Dwina, it is one of the most attractive capitals I know. Of Cracow, that my Polish friend (well, Dr. Rajchman, in fact) who told me that the man who had not seen Cracow had not seen Poland, told me true. Of Warsaw, that the progress made in outward appearance and efficiency since I was there five years ago is most notable.



Danzig: Quays from the Long Bridge

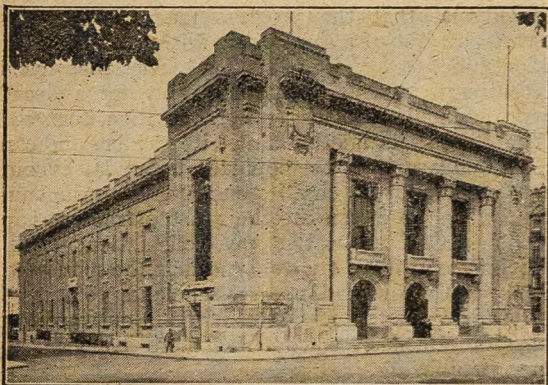
Let me end with a question. If, on visiting a Vilna elementary school for the sole purpose of seeing what a Vilna elementary school was like, you found a double row of pupils, all feminine, lining the staircase in your honour, two of them bearing banners, and one of them nursing a large bouquet of flowers preparatory to presenting it to you with an affecting speech in Polish (kindly rendered into French by the headmistress), and if you then accepted the flowers and carried them away, what (here is the question at last) would you do with them? If any of the more masculine of my readers have ever carried a live baby about the public streets they will know what it feels like to carry a large bouquet through the public streets. It feels just like that.

* Correct solution: Take them to a hospital and give them with benevolent gesticulations to the porter.

THE COMING ASSEMBLY NUTS THE DELEGATES HAVE TO CRACK

BY about this time every year interest in the coming League Assembly begins to be aroused, despite the distractions of the holiday season. Does it look like being a good Assembly or a poor one? What are the big questions that are likely to come up?

It is not always possible to make predictions with any confidence, for at the Assembly it is more often than not the unexpected that happens. At the same time, certain discussions at this Assembly are already arranged for, and they are sufficiently important to make it clear that the Assembly of 1930 will not fall far short of its predecessors in interest. As regards externals, a completely new departure will be seen, for the Salle de la Réformation, where the Assembly has been held in considerable discomfort from the beginning, will know the delegates of the fifty odd nations no more. The revolt against its inconveniences was led by Lord Cecil, and at the instigation of a committee which he got appointed an experiment is to be made with the Bâtiment Electoral where the Labour Organisation habitually holds its annual conference. This is a matter



The Assembly's New Home.

of domestic detail rather than of public interest, but the break with the tradition of ten years is worth commenting on none the less. Incidentally, the committee mentioned is trying to devise means of investing the Assembly with more dignity all round. It is quite time.

Foreign Ministers and Premiers

As to personnel, it is too soon to speak comprehensively, as many countries have not yet appointed their delegates. But not only will the principal Foreign Ministers—Mr. Henderson for Great Britain, M. Briand for France, Dr. Curtius for Germany and Signor Grandi for Italy—be at the Assembly as usual (though Signor Grandi and Dr. Curtius were, in fact, not in office a year ago), but there is likely to be an unusual attendance of Dominion Premiers, who will be in Europe for the Imperial Conference in October. Mr. Mackenzie King, of Canada—if he is still Prime Minister—and General Herzog, of South Africa, both intend to be present at the Assembly.

Of the subjects of discussion, two stand out as of primary importance. One is the European Federation scheme framed by M. Briand. Whether that will be discussed in detail by the Assembly itself is still doubtful, though it is quite certain that extended reference will be made to it in the general speeches from the Assembly platform. The main question of principle—whether such a Federation, if it is created, is to exist side by side with the League or definitely inside its

framework—needs to be discussed both by the League as a whole and by the European Powers separately: by the League in order to discover what the general feeling is about such a sectional organisation, and by the European States to discover whether, if they want to form a special association, they are willing that that association shall be definitely embodied in the structure of the League. A speech of the first order on this subject from the French Foreign Minister will be confidently looked for.

Revising the Covenant

The second important question is the revision of the Covenant to bring it into harmony with the Kellogg Pact. A resolution in favour of such revision was carried at last year's Assembly, and a special committee has since then put on paper the amendments which it considers to be necessary to achieve the desired end. The amendments have received general approval, and the British Government favours them as a whole, but there has been a good deal of unofficial criticism in this country, and there may be more, either official or unofficial, at Geneva. The Assembly must clearly take a decision of some moment one way or the other. It is a serious matter to revise the Covenant at all, but it will be equally serious—if not more so—to reject definitely the proposal to harmonise the Covenant with the Pact. The expectation is that the amendments, either as they stand or with some alteration, will be adopted by the Assembly. They will then need to be ratified by the Governments.

As to the routine work that comes up every year, not a great deal need be said. The most interesting discussions are likely to centre round such questions as the help the League is giving to China in the organisation of that country's health service; the working of the Slavery Convention, with which some of the British delegates, notably Lord Cecil, are dissatisfied; and the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, with whose work, as expressed through the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation at Paris, considerable discontent has been registered. Disarmament is not definitely on the agenda, but the fact that the London Naval Conference has been held since the Assembly last met, and that the hoped-for meeting of the League's Preparatory Commission has been postponed, will supply any delegates who desire it with an abundant text in the course of the general discussion.

Electing the Judges.

One other important piece of business awaits the Assembly. The whole of the bench of judges of the World Court has to be elected this time (by the Assembly and Council, voting separately but simultaneously). If the amendments to the Court's Statutes, approved by the Assembly last year, have received sufficient ratification to bring them into force, there will be 15 judges to elect, and they will take office as from January 1, 1930. As the British member of the Court, Sir Cecil Hurst, was only appointed last year (to fill a vacancy created by Lord Finlay's death), it may be taken for granted that he will be re-elected as a matter of course. But there may be several changes among the other members of the Court, and it is a matter of great importance that men should be chosen of an authority commensurate with the prestige the Court itself has now established.

The Assembly begins later than usual—on September 10, a Wednesday, not a Monday—and it is likely to sit till the first week in October.

THE MINER AND THE NATIVE WARM LABOUR DISCUSSIONS AT GENEVA

THE Fourteenth International Labour Conference, which opened at Geneva on June 10, was still in session when this issue of HEADWAY went to press. It is, therefore, only possible here to give an interim report of the proceedings, leaving till next month a considered survey of the conclusions reached and action taken.

The Conference was the largest so far held, 51 States being represented. Not all of these are members of the League itself, and special interest attaches to the first appearance of a Mexican delegate, because it is understood that Mexico is seriously considering the question of joining the League of Nations. Great Britain was particularly prominent in the discussions, being represented at the opening of the Conference by two Ministers, Miss Bondfield, the Minister of Labour, and Mr. Shinwell, the Minister of Mines, while leading rôles in the discussion on miners' hours were played for the employers by the Secretary of the Mining Association, Mr. Lee, and, on the men's side, by the Secretary of the Miners' Federation, Mr. Cook. In addition Mr. Roland Vernon, of the Colonial Office, was rapporteur of the committee on forced labour.

White-collared Workers

These two subjects—miners' hours and forced labour—constituted the principal work of the Conference, but there was also a discussion of some interest on the question of whether the hours of work of salaried employees (as distinct from wage-earners) should form the subject of an international Convention. Miss Bondfield, the British Minister of Labour, said the British Government did not feel it was in possession of sufficient information to deal with the question this year, a statement against which Mr. H. H. Elvin, representing the workers, strongly protested, saying that the Government knew quite enough about the subject to deal with it at once. The Conference went ahead with a convention on the subject. An important discussion also arose on the very voluminous report of the Director of the Labour Office, M. Albert Thomas, on the work of the Organisation in the past year.

The central feature, as stated, was the discussion on hours in mines, a question of obvious importance for this country at a moment when the international competition in the coal-mining industry is keener than it has ever been. Mr. Graham, the President of the Board of Trade, in particular, has more than once emphasised the necessity of getting a uniform working day in the mines of different European countries. There is no present prospect of bringing the United States into any such agreement, but as American coal does not compete in the European market, the necessity for that is not vital.

A Technical Objection

The employers, led by Mr. Lee of the Mining Association of Great Britain, objected to the proposed convention on hours at the outset on technical grounds. The ordinary procedure of the I.L.O. is to discuss a Convention one year and adopt it (or reject it) the next. In the case of coal the subject was not discussed at the ordinary Labour Conference last June, but at a special technical Conference held last January. The Labour Office and the majority of workers and Government delegates considered that this was sufficient, but the employers pressed their point strongly and finally walked out of the Conference when they were beaten on a vote. The discussion, nevertheless, continued, and in the end, after proposals by the workers for a 7-hour,

and by the British Government for a 7½-hour day, had been rejected, a German proposal for a 7¾-hour day was carried by 23 to 2. The draft convention framed by the International Labour Office itself for submission to the Conference had provided for a 7½-hour day, with permission to any country to work 7¾ hours for three years before adopting the shorter period.

A Very Small Reform.

Mr. A. J. Cook, the British workers' representative, at first protested bitterly against the 7¾ hours as being only ¼-hour better than the 8-hour day, which the miners have been fighting so tenaciously. It is necessary to point out that the Continental and the British system of measuring time underground differs. For most countries the 7¾ hours means the time between an individual miner's descent from the surface and his return to it. In the case of Great Britain, the 7½-hour day, which at present prevails, means 7½ hours plus "one winding time," that is to say, the time it takes to get from the surface to the coal face or vice versa. This time obviously varies in different mines, but the average is reckoned at about 30 minutes. The present 7½-hour day in Great Britain would, therefore, be called 8 hours on the Continental system. Similarly, the 7¾ hours adopted by the I.L. Conference committee means 7¼ hours by British reckoning as against the 7½ hours which prevails to-day, and the 7 hours which will become legal in January, 1931, if the existing mining hours bill, which expires on that date, is allowed to lapse. To put the matter in another way, if, as seems probable at the time of writing, the 7¾ hours limitation is accepted by the Conference and ratified by the Governments concerned, every country will be compelled to limit its hours of work to about ¼ hour less per day than the existing period in Great Britain.

Protecting the African.

While the coal-mining discussions were occupying most of the limelight very interesting debates were going on in another committee over the Forced Labour Convention. This applies only to uncivilised countries, practically all of them in Africa, where the practice of compelling natives to work, either for public purposes or even for private employers, has sometimes led, and may always lead, to grave abuses. There is a general feeling that an international convention should be signed to regulate the conditions under which this forced labour may be employed, if it is ever to be employed at all, and the two schools in the Geneva discussions were represented on the one hand by France and Portugal, who were anxious to weaken the Convention as much as possible, and the general mass of the delegations which were anxious to tighten it up.

One very close division took place on the question of whether native conscripts (France regularly conscripts the population in her colonies) should be put on forced labour as part of their military duty. Great Britain proposed that this should be prohibited, and the motion was carried by 19 votes to 18. France, which was rather curiously represented in this committee by a full-blooded negro from Senegal, at once made it known that she would not accept this provision even if it were adopted as part of the Convention or not. The discussions on forced labour are still continuing, and it is not yet quite clear how far the Convention will represent an advance on existing colonial practice. Broadly speaking, it seems likely that it will set a standard higher than that prevailing in Portuguese colonies, but not as high as that prevailing in British.

HARD WORK FOR THE COURT DOUBTFUL DIPLOMATS TURN TO THE HAGUE

By A. G. LIAS.

PERHAPS the most important function of the Permanent Court of International Justice is, if one may say so without disrespect, to serve as a denationalised (and, therefore, cold-blooded) organism upon which dishevelled European diplomats can work the transatlantic trick known as "passing the buck"—in other words handing on an awkward problem to some one else to handle.

Substantial and welcome evidence of the increasing tendency on the part of post-war diplomacy to turn over to the judges such international tangles as it has itself been unable to unravel is provided by the fact that out of the four cases now under consideration at The Hague, two really fall outside the normal jurisdiction of the Court, a third involves laying down a precedent on an important matter concerning League membership which the diplomats have so far been afraid to tackle, while the fourth question concerns the interpretation of a word which has baffled the combined efforts of two Foreign Offices and a Mixed Arbitral Commission. The last two cases do actually fall within the Court's ordinary field, but there are wider implications attaching to them.

In point of time it is the fourth case which actually came first on the calendar when the Court began its session on June 19. The puzzle the Court has to deal with arises out of the provisions of the Treaty of Neuilly for the interchange of populations between Greece and Bulgaria, which lay down that when a sufficient number of the members of "a minority community" have emigrated back to their homeland the "community" shall be dissolved and its property liquidated. Nobody, however, has been able to decide to the satisfaction of both countries when a community ceases to be a community, and it is this knotty problem that the World Court is now seeking to solve.

I.L.O. and League

Case No. 2 looks at first sight straightforward, but, in fact, raises much more than a technical legal question. It involves a ruling as to whether the Free State of Danzig can become a member of the International Labour Organisation without being a member of the League. The issue underlying this apparently simple question first came to the surface two years ago when Brazil left the League in dudgeon at not being given a permanent seat on the Council—for, while it withdrew from the League, the great South American republic was careful to declare its intention of continuing to participate in the work of the I.L.O. There are those who think that if membership of the Labour Office were confined to members of the League Brazil would come back to the fold rather than be excluded from browsing on the palatable fare in the Labour Organisation's vineyard. Others, however, are equally certain that the result would be to drive Brazil away from Geneva altogether.

That being so, the cautious diplomat has been greatly cheered by Danzig's decision to apply for membership of the I.L.O., despite the fact that if the Court upholds the application a complicated situation will immediately arise, since Danzig, which exists as it were as a ward of the League, would at the same time have an equal voice with League States on one of the chief League Organisations. This, however, is a question for the future to take care of, and diplomacy, like Mr. Micawber, is usually content in such circumstances to hope that something or other will turn up. What diplomacy is really interested in is the effect of Danzig's

application on the position of Brazil, for if it is decided that Danzig can belong to the I.L.O. without being a member of the League, so obviously can Brazil. It would seem to follow, on the other hand, that if Danzig's application is ruled out Brazil will be left without a leg to stand on. That would not necessarily mean, all the same, that Brazil would immediately disappear from Geneva. Her colleagues might be content to leave well alone. But, at any rate, her position would become even more equivocal than it is to-day.

A Turco-Italian Dispute

So, while we cannot definitely classify case No. 2 as one of actually "passing the buck," we may nevertheless safely describe it as one in which the diplomats, faced with a rather hot chestnut, have invited the Court to pull it out of the fire for them, and have done so in such a way that nobody really need get burned in the process.

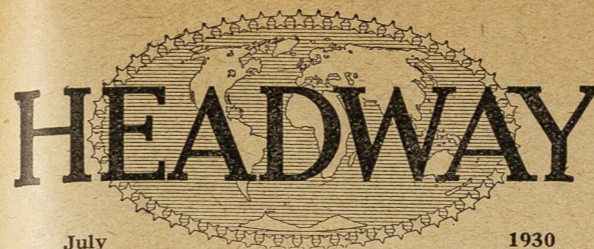
In case No. 3, however, the diplomats have well and truly passed the buck. The Treaty of Lausanne gave to Italy the Dodecanese Islands "and the islets dependent thereon." There are, of course, a number of islets in this region and the two dictators, Signor Mussolini and Kemal Pasha, have both claimed all they could and failed to split the difference. Although Turkey has not joined the World Court, and although the Treaty of Lausanne does not enjoin a reference of disputed points to this body, and although the real root of the matter is geography and not law, the diplomats have turned to the Court to settle the question.

The buck is passed even more unmistakably in case No. 4, which concerns the so-called Free Zones on the Franco-Swiss frontier. Formerly the French Customs frontier near Geneva did not coincide with the territorial boundary, but lay farther back, leaving certain areas, called Free Zones, within the Swiss economic orbit owing to the fact that the only market for their produce was in the Swiss city of Geneva, and a Customs frontier between the farms and the Swiss city would be a nuisance. Not liking this arrangement, the French got a clause inserted in the Treaty of Versailles that it was out of date, but, failing to agree with the Swiss as to the régime which was to replace it, they suddenly announced that they were going to abolish the Free Zones out of hand. The Swiss protested, and after five years of fruitless negotiations for a settlement through the ordinary diplomatic channels, the case came before the World Court in 1929.

A Double Decision

There were two questions to settle: (1) Did the Treaty of Versailles put an end to the zones? and (2) If not, what was to be the status of the zones in the future. The Court answered the first question in the negative, and then set a time-limit within which the two countries must reach a voluntary agreement about the status. If, however, the time limit expired (as it has) before agreement was reached, the Court was to give a public judgment on the question. That judgment will be given this session.

Now there is no contractual obligation between the two States necessitating their submitting this issue to the Court and, while the existence of the zones is a legal question, their future status is most assuredly a matter for diplomacy, whether in the form of arbitration or what you will. Consequently, the fact that the Court has been called upon to settle such a problem is an even more striking testimony to its integrity and usefulness than is the case of the islets of the Dodecanese.



July

1930

UNITE OR DIVIDE?

AT the present moment the Governments of all European countries, Great Britain included, are busy preparing their comments on M. Briand's proposals for some kind of European Federation. At the same time, as an article on another page of this issue indicates, M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, has very tentatively raised the question of whether some special organisation for discussion and possible action on the part of the States bordering the Pacific Ocean may not be desirable. M. Thomas was necessarily confining himself to his own sphere, namely, the world of labour legislation, but what applies to one part of the League's general field of work applies in much the same degree to another.

These more or less definite proposals for some kind of subdivision, or devolution, or geographical distribution, of the work of the League need careful study. It is not quite an accident that M. Thomas' suggestion follows M. Briand's so closely, for the Briand scheme was, of course, before the world when the Director of the Labour Office was framing his report, and the creation of some kind of European Federation might naturally have the effect of leading other continents or other groups of States to concentrate similarly on the problems that concern them most. It would be a mistake to decide without long consideration and reflection whether these tendencies are to be welcomed or not. The one dogmatic observation, indeed, that may be permitted regarding both proposals is that it is essential to move slowly in such a matter. That has been emphasised already in a very sensible speech by M. Zaleski, the Polish Foreign Minister, which gains more weight from the notoriously close association between France and Poland in the field of international affairs. There is no ground whatever for charging M. Zaleski with hostility to the Briand scheme or scepticism with regard to it. Poland, on the contrary, like many other continental States, believes, rightly or wrongly, that the closer links which M. Briand desires to establish between the European countries will make for greater military security. For that reason such States are disposed to welcome the scheme. But that does not blind a level-headed Foreign Minister like M. Zaleski to the importance of the issues that have to be decided, and the consequent necessity of examining them in every light and from every angle before the decisions are finally taken.

If the Briand proposal comes to anything at all (we may leave the suggestions regarding the Pacific aside for the moment, for they are clearly vaguer and less immediate), they will obviously have a direct effect on the fortunes of the League of Nations. From one point of view it may appear contradictory that in an age in which the world is drawing always closer and closer together,—"shrinking" as the common phrase has it—plans should be set on foot for dividing the continents instead of fusing them more closely into a single unit. Yet the proposal is not so surprising. Shrink though the world may, geography has not been annihilated. The oceans endure, and, as M. Albert Thomas remarks, it is a moot point still whether the seas do more to unite or to divide.

The fact remains that conditions in Europe, and the problems of Europe, are very different from the conditions and problems of South America. It may, therefore, seem a mere waste of time and money to have questions affecting one part of the earth's surface only discussed in detail by a committee or assembly including members from other continents. There is, of course, another side to that. When the discussion of certain types of problem is in question there is often a clear gain in the presence of delegates from countries having no direct material interest in the question, and able, therefore, to approach it with complete detachment and give their verdict on the basis merely of principles and ideals. That is particularly true of any political dispute, and it provides complete justification for the fact that in many disputes which the League has discussed and decided in the past ten years men from countries or continents far removed from the scene of the controversy have been appealed to as conciliators or arbiters.

Though M. Briand lays most stress on the political aspects of the problem, taking the traditional French line that security must be the condition of advance in any sphere, it is in regard to economic matters that the Federation plan appears most hopeful. The progress made so far in this field is altogether disappointing. No good purpose would be served by affecting to ignore that depressing fact. Only within the last fortnight the whole League Convention on the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions has broken down because Poland, whose ratification would have brought the Convention into force, has definitely declined to ratify it, for reasons which are likely to appear adequate to no one but the Polish Government itself. The tariff wars in Europe continue. The tariff barriers remain. And manufacturers throughout the Continent are hopelessly handicapped in their trade rivalries with their American competitors, because in the United States mass production for a vast American market is possible, whereas Europe is cut up into little fiscal units whose existence impedes fatally that free flow of manufactured products which is essential if economies made possible by mass production (dependent, of course, on mass consumption) are ruled out. In this field the new American high tariff, with the fresh obstacles it presents to the entry of European goods into the United States, is likely to play into M. Briand's hands by strengthening any argument he may care to adduce for the economic reorganisation of Europe.

But even here any movement must be slow. It is not clear yet that political Europe is an economic unit in itself. Russia is a baffling problem. It can neither be definitely included in Europe nor definitely cut off from the rest of the Continent. The British Empire, not so much through its Dominions, which are virtually independent, but through its Colonies and Dependencies, is linked with every Continent in the world. And, over and above all, the unity of the League of Nations is something far too vital to be lightly imperilled by any precipitate adoption of a scheme of subdivisions. Certainly no conclusions should be reached at Geneva this year. The whole proposal should be thrashed out in every aspect, but preferably by one of the regular organs of the Assembly itself. If the general conclusion reached is that the Briand plan has sufficient merits to warrant its adoption in some form or other, then discussions on the shape it should be given can be carried on between the Eleventh Assembly and the Twelfth. The result of that may or may not be the evolution of some definite scheme ripe for adoption by the September of 1931. Even to attempt to move faster than that might be to do the League of Nations grave detriment.

THE GUN-SELLERS

BRITAIN AS CHIEF MUNITION-DEALER

MR. GRAHAM, the President of the Board of Trade, has recently given two striking replies to questions put in the House of Commons regarding Great Britain's part in the international arms traffic. On May 28th he stated "that a licence for the export of 20 12-ton tanks, 20 6-ton tanks and 20 Carden-Loyd light armoured vehicles to Russia, consigned to the Soviet Government, was issued on the 21st March last," and in reply to subsequent questions, Mr. Graham described this as being "legitimate business," and said it was the duty of the Board of Trade to give a licence for such exports.

On June 17th the President of the Board of Trade stated that in the twelve months ending May 31st, 1930, 374 export licences were issued in respect of war material, destined for 37 countries, and he circulated with the Official Report the following details of these transactions:—

List of Materials

- (1) Cannon and other ordnance; carriages, mountings, cartridges and charges therefor.
- (2) Machine guns and ammunition therefor.
- (3) Rifles, revolvers, pistols and ammunition therefor.
- (4) Machine gun mountings and interrupter gears.
- (5) Projectiles.
- (6) Submarine mines.
- (7) Depth charges.
- (8) Bombs and bombing apparatus.
- (9) Fuses.
- (10) Torpedoes and torpedo tubes.
- (11) Tanks and light armoured vehicles.
- (12) Component parts of articles in foregoing categories.
- (13) Explosives, e.g., T.N.T., cordite, gunpowder, etc.

Countries of Destination

Argentina,	Norway,
Belgium,	Poland,
Bolivia,	Portuguese East Africa,
Brazil,	Portugal,
Chile,	Peru,
China,	Persia,
Czechoslovakia,	Portuguese East Indies,
Denmark,	Roumania,
Dutch East Indies,	Russia,
Ecuador,	Sweden,
Estonia,	Spain,
Finland,	Siam,
France,	Switzerland,
Greece,	Turkey,
Holland,	Uruguay,
Italy,	United States of America,
Japan,	Venezuela,
Latvia,	Yugoslavia.
Lithuania,	

Asked whether the details would be given to the League of Nations, Mr. Graham said that the fact of publishing them in the Official Report made them public property.

With these statements may be coupled the fact, mentioned in the recently issued Armaments Year Book of the League of Nations, that Great Britain is the greatest exporter of arms and munitions in the world—a statement which, however, is considerably qualified by the explanation that the greater part of such exports is to British Dominions and Colonies.

Is the Government Right?

Even so, the list that Mr. Graham has circulated

shows that in the course of one year no fewer than 37 countries, other than British Dominions or Dependencies, were supplied with munitions of war from this country. That is a state of affairs for which the Government must not be too hastily condemned. There is certainly nothing illegitimate in such exports. They are not of necessity even morally objectionable, for so long as armies exist at all armies must have arms and ammunition, and if a particular country has not its own arsenals to provide it with such munitions it must import them from elsewhere. If that were stopped, the country would be compelled to lay down munition plant of its own and thus actually increase the world's total capacity for munition production. All, therefore, that can reasonably be asked of the Government is that the utmost care should be taken whenever an export licence for munitions is applied for, to ensure that the munitions ordered are, at any rate, being



supplied only to governments or for government use, and not allowed to get into the hands of persons who might use them for improper purposes, such as an armed insurrection against a government. It may be assumed, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the necessary vigilance is, in fact, being exercised by the Government in that respect.

America Declines

Nevertheless, this formidable statement of Great Britain's export transactions in munitions in the course of a single year must inspire some disquiet. It serves, at any rate, to emphasise the importance of putting the Arms Traffic Convention of 1925 into operation, and of getting an effective Convention on the private manufacture of arms signed and ratified promptly. It is worth observing also that on the day on which Mr. Graham's list of transactions appeared, the *Times* printed a message from Washington to the effect that the Glenn L. Martin company of Baltimore had decided not to carry out an order received from the Soviet Government for 20 bombing aeroplanes and other aircraft, to the total value of \$2,000,000, because the State Department (Foreign Office) intimated that it disapproved of such transactions. The Navy Department expressed the same view. The American Government has no legal power to veto such transactions, but manufacturers are not in the habit of disregarding such definite expressions by the Government Department concerned.

M. BRIAND'S PLAN

SOME BRITISH CRITICISMS AND COMMENTS

INSIDE or outside the Assembly, probably inside, M. Briand's European Federation plan is likely to be the big thing at Geneva in September. All Governments are at present considering the plan, and M. Briand has asked them to let him have their views by July 15, so that he can have them summarised and distributed, with any conclusions emerging from them, before the Assembly meets.

If it is necessary for the Governments to consider the plan it is equally necessary for the peoples to consider it, and nowhere more so than in this country, where public opinion is accustomed to express itself with decision, particularly on questions affecting the League of Nations directly or indirectly. Fortunately that consideration has already been entered on. The League of Nations Union in London, and the Federal Committee for European Co-operation at its meeting in Geneva last month, have both been studying the question, and a short survey of the conclusions they have reached may be found suggestive.

What Briand Wants

But first it will be convenient to recall what the main proposals embodied in the Briand scheme involve. Very briefly they are as follows:

1. A European Pact should be signed by European States members of the League of Nations [this excludes Russia], creating a new European association for the peaceful organisation of Europe.
2. This association should institute a general conference, meeting regularly, a standing political committee, a permanent secretariat, and a series of special technical committees.
3. The economic problem must be subordinated to the political problem, "all possibility of progress in the direction of economic union being strictly dependent on the question of security, and this question in turn being closely linked with that of the progress attainable in the direction of political union."
4. The association should be "a federation based on the idea of union, not unity," respecting the sovereignty of each State, but assuring to all the benefits of solidarity for the settlement of political questions concerning Europe as a whole or any of its States.
5. There should be a co-ordination of European economic systems directed by the Governments themselves.
6. The new association not to be outside the League of Nations, nor actually inside it, but constituted "under the control and in the spirit of the League."

What the L.N.U. Thinks

This plan has been carefully examined by a joint meeting of the two League of Nations Union committees best qualified to deal with it, the Political and Parliamentary and European Federation Committees, who have formulated some pertinent observations on the subject. The principal points made are these:

1. The world must not be divided into separate continental groups or economic units.
2. Any such group, whether for political or economic purposes, "should therefore be an integral part of the League of Nations, and should be established and directed under the authority of the principal organs of the League."

3. European countries, including Great Britain and Ireland, have many interests, political, economic and cultural, in common, and closer co-operation between them might well increase the League's efficiency. But the machinery it is suggested to create seems incompatible with the preservation of the League's organic unity.

4. Great Britain should participate in the discussion and further development of the plan.

5. The importance of the proposals warrants their inscription in the agenda of the coming League Assembly.

Inside or Outside?

This may be regarded as a cautious and qualified approval of the Briand plan. Other States, including of course France itself, and including equally France's allies, which see in it a further guarantee of territorial security, are disposed to give it a warmer welcome. Consequently it was to be expected that the discussions at the Committee for European Co-operation's meeting should result in resolutions which represent something of a compromise. At the meeting in question four representatives of the British League of Nations Union were present to defend the conclusions of the Union's Political and European Federation Committees, summarised above. The main difference revealed was between the British and French members of the Committee, the French holding that the new European organisations should exist side by side with the League and collaborating closely with it, while the British insisted that it must form an integral part of the League's machinery.

The essential part of the resolution finally adopted runs as follows:

"The Federal Committee . . . considers that it is necessary to respect that world-unity whose foundations have been laid by the Covenant; that every care should be taken to preserve from all possible detriment the organic unity of the League of Nations and the solidarity of the peoples within it; and reiterates its conviction that European co-operation must develop not only in the spirit of the League of Nations and in close collaboration with it, but also within the framework of its organisation."

What the Assembly may do

This represents a distinct leaning towards the British point of view. Whether it represents the opinion of the majority of European Governments remains to be discovered. That and other vital questions will no doubt receive their answer in September. The Briand plan will undoubtedly be referred to by many speakers in the general Assembly discussions and it may or may not be referred to one of the six regular Commissions for detailed examination. Any lengthy discussion of the plan outside the Assembly would only distract the attention of European delegates from the League business they go to Geneva to carry through.

It may be added that the Plenary Congress of the Federation of League of Nations Societies at its recent meeting at Geneva, recognising the widespread feeling that exists in favour of a system of regular co-operation between States, even though confined to certain parts of the world, recommended that Governments and the League itself should study the Briand proposal most carefully, and decided itself to set up a special committee for the same purpose.

ORGANISED OPINION LEAGUE SOCIETIES FROM MANY LANDS CONFER

THE International Federation of League of Nations Societies represents an attempt to mobilise public opinion in support of the League internationally as the League of Nations Union and the other societies making up the Federation represent attempts to organise it nationally. The Federation last month held its Fourteenth Plenary Congress at Geneva, when a number of questions, some of general, some of more domestic, interest were discussed. The President was Dr. Limburg, a well-known Dutch lawyer, who is a regular member of Dutch delegations at the League Assembly, and the British representatives included Lord Dickinson, Sir George Paish, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mr. R. S. Hudson, and Captain Green.

The Federation has its permanent offices at Brussels, and the League of Nations Union has always desired strongly that these should be moved to Geneva. A resolution to that effect, backed by the British, was however, lost, but a branch office is to be kept permanently open at Geneva.

The Federation is anxious that the League should have a flag, and, although a competition it instituted produced no very satisfactory designs (see reproductions of the winning entries in the May HEADWAY), a resolution was adopted urging national societies to persuade their Governments that anyhow a flag of some sort is needed.

The League in the School

Education, *i.e.*, the instruction of the young in facts regarding the aims and the achievements of the League, has always figured largely in the Federation's programme, and preparations are being made for an international conference, which it is hoped may be held in the course of next year, to thrash out this whole problem on the broadest basis. The question of the young was also approached from another angle, a resolution being adopted in favour of the raising of the school age wherever possible, this recommendation falling rather more under the industrial than the educational activities of the Federation, since its aim was to reduce unemployment by keeping children out of industry till they are at least fifteen years old.

Other features of what is regarded as a distinctly successful session (for example, the adoption of a strong resolution on disarmament) might be detailed here, but it will be of more service to devote what space is available to a reproduction of the main passages of the striking address delivered to the Federation by Sir Eric Drummond on the part societies like the League of Nations Union in every country can play in creating an atmosphere favourable to all the League itself is attempting and achieving.

The Condition of Success

"It is a commonplace," said Sir Eric, in "speeches about the League to say that its power to carry out effectively its two great duties of maintaining peace and of promoting international co-operation depend in the last analysis essentially on the support of public opinion all over the world. This truth has been recognised by the League not only in words but also in acts. A comparison of the conditions of its meetings at the present day with those prevailing during the early stages of its existence will show many remarkable developments, but none more remarkable than the tremendous increase in the proportion of public as compared with private meetings.

"It is clear that in meetings between responsible statesmen or between experts convoked in an advisory capacity the possibility of private discussion cannot be

altogether abandoned. But it is no exaggeration to say that complete publicity is now the regular and normal procedure not only of the Assembly and of the Council, but also of the greater number of commissions and conferences which are held under the auspices of the League. We are, perhaps, too apt to forget what a tremendous revolution this simple fact represents in the conduct of international affairs.

Telling the Public

"It has been the constant effort of the Secretariat also to remember the essential importance to the League of the support of public opinion, and to translate this principle into practice by all the means in its power. From the beginning of its existence it has included an Information Section, which has always been one of the largest, and, I think I may say without undue immodesty, one of the most efficient parts of its whole organisation. It is the duty of that Section to keep itself informed and to inform the Secretariat as a whole of the movement of public opinion in various countries on questions connected with the League, and at the same time to place at the service of the Press of the whole world the fullest possible volume of information regarding the work which is done at Geneva. Here again, in the extent of its relations with the Press and in the importance which it attaches to them, I think it may be said that the League of Nations has gone far beyond what has ever been done by any other official organisation.

"These facts, while they prove that the official organs of the League have fully recognised the importance of public opinion, prove yet more abundantly how essential is the contribution made to its work by its avowed supporters in the different countries.

"The task of the Associations which you represent here seems to me to fall into two main divisions. In the first place, and this is no doubt the most important division, your efforts are directed towards informing the public opinion of your countries of what is done by the League, of explaining the reasons for its decisions, of defending it against unfounded criticisms, of initiating and intensifying the efforts to teach in the schools and universities the facts concerning its work and the spirit in which that work is done. Such a task is often thankless; sometimes, perhaps, even unpopular. But those who carry it out may rest satisfied by the conviction, which history will surely justify, that they are contributing in a definite measure to the peace and prosperity of their own country and of all the countries of the world.

National Policies

"Secondly, you have to look to the future, to consider how your own countries can frame their policy to contribute through the League to the common good. In this respect you are, if I may be allowed a military metaphor, the scouts sent on ahead by the army of international progress. It is your business to keep the main body informed of what lies before it, and this involves both daring and judgment, for you must not be afraid to advance alone, and yet you must not lose touch with the main body and run the risk of being cut off and captured by the enemy. Such captures may not only cast discredit on the scouts as a whole, but also render the forward movement of the army more difficult.

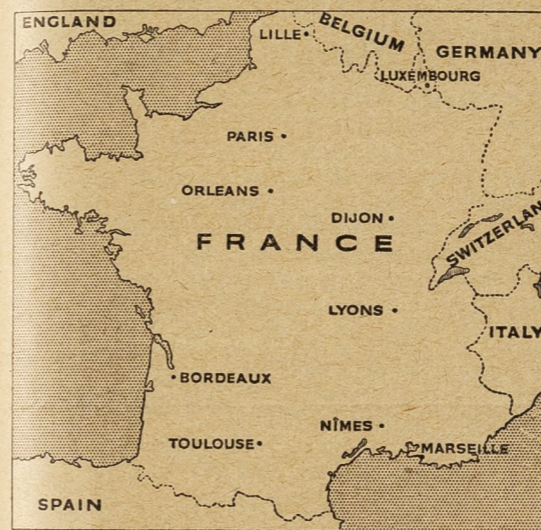
"The Associations for the League of Nations have hitherto carried out these tasks in a way which has proved of the utmost value to the League. I am very glad, on behalf of the Secretariat, to have this opportunity of expressing our gratitude."

THE WORLD IN 1930 FRANCE AND HER POSITION IN EUROPE

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE.

IN previous articles in this series a rapid survey has been taken of the great outstanding problems confronting the four continents—Europe, Asia, Africa and America. The ground is now clear for consideration of the position of individual countries, and it will be appropriate to begin with our nearest neighbour, France.

France, internally, resembles us in being a democracy, and differs from us in having a President, not a King, as head of the State. The President is elected by the two Houses of Parliament (Senate and Chamber) sitting together, and holds office for seven years. He discharges pretty much the same functions as a King or Queen in Great Britain. The French Parliament differs



France and her Neighbours

from the British in two important respects. As with us, it is the Lower House, or Chamber of Deputies, which determines the fate of Ministries, but in France the Chamber is elected for a fixed period (four years), not a maximum period, and is practically never dissolved till the full term has expired.

Why Cabinets Fall

What happens, then, it may well be asked, when a Ministry is defeated in the Chamber? What happens is that some prominent politician is invited by the President to try to get sufficient support from some combination of groups in the Chamber to give him, at any rate, a temporary majority. For whereas there are only three parties in the British Parliament, there are something like a dozen in the French. There is, therefore, never any clear and permanent division between Government and Opposition, for at any moment one or more of the parties, or groups, on which the Government depends for its majority may forsake it, with the result that it is defeated and the Cabinet resigns.

That is why changes of Government are so frequent in France. But these changes are usually the outcome of differences about home policy—not foreign. The best proof of that is that in Ministry after Ministry, of different political hues, M. Briand remains invariably Foreign Minister. It is difficult now to imagine a Cabinet

in France without M. Briand at the Quai d'Orsay, as the French Foreign Office is called.

This means, naturally, that while Prime Ministers in France come and go, France's foreign policy remains broadly the same. Of course, there are shades of difference. M. Poincaré is more bellicose in his attitude, and, in particular, more anti-German, than M. Briand, or than the Radical Herriot, who was Prime Minister in 1924. But every party in France, including the Socialists, stands solid and immovable for one thing—the sanctity of the treaties of peace. It is impossible to understand, not merely French policy but the political situation in Europe, unless that is realised.

The explanation of this fundamental article of France's foreign policy is clear enough. The Treaty of Versailles disarmed her traditional enemy, Germany, and considerably extended the territories of France herself. It gave her Alsace and Lorraine and it gave her, under mandate, Syria in Asia and parts of Togoland and the Cameroons in Africa, as well as entitling her to large reparation payments. It is essential, therefore, to France that the Treaty of Versailles be observed and executed in every detail.

Anti-Revision Allies

But the Treaty of Versailles does not stand alone. By that Treaty peace was made with Germany. By other treaties—St. Germain, Trianon, Neuilly—peace was made with Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria respectively. France realises that the Treaties stand or fall together, and she has therefore made alliances, or concluded understandings, with other States as interested as herself in seeing that the position created by the treaties is maintained.

The chief of such States are Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Poland, all of whom have benefited largely by the peace treaties and are ready to put up a solid opposition the moment the words "revision of treaties" are so much as mentioned. That is one reason—though by no means the only reason—why France attaches so much importance to the League of Nations. The League does not oppose the peaceful revision of treaties—indeed, Article XIX of its Covenant expressly raises the question of such revision—but it does very definitely oppose any attempt to revise them by war.

The Security Issue

It is France's perpetual desire to make the League's provisions against war absolutely watertight, and to ensure that if any State is wantonly attacked all other States (if they are members of the League) will rally to its defence. When she can be sure of that, France declares, she will be ready to make drastic cuts in her armaments. She said that at the recent Naval Conference in London, and because she was not satisfied with the assurances given her she refused to sign the Naval Limitation Treaty. From that attitude France never varies. It was on account of it that she so strongly supported the Geneva Protocol in 1924. It is on account of it that she has just ratified the General Act of Arbitration, because that Act provides for the peaceful settlement of disputes and rules out altogether the possibility of war—war which might deprive France of some of the advantages she gained through the Treaty of Versailles. This "security" issue of which so much is heard rallies the other nations mentioned—the three Little Entente Powers and Poland—to

France's side, and they stand immovably together for the preservation in Europe of the existing order as created by the treaties of peace.

France and Italy

France is, in the main, fortunate in her frontiers. Only two of them cause her any anxiety. By sea she has nothing to fear, nothing, at any rate, on her north and west coasts, for under the Locarno Treaty the British fleet must defend her from any attack by Germany. Neither has she anything to fear from Belgium or Luxembourg, Spain or Switzerland. There remain Germany—of which enough has been said already—and Italy. Franco-Italian relations at the moment are thoroughly bad, for a variety of reasons. Italy, with its Fascist ambitions, is jealous of France and eager to press at every moment for full equality. Hence the arguments about parity at the London Naval Conference.

THE WAR ENRHYMED MILITARY HISTORY IN 1800 STANZAS

WHILE the desirability of the existence of a Poet Laureate is being argued to and fro, it is apposite to reflect that the Great War itself has not found its acknowledged laureate. Poems on the war innumerable there have been, of course, and some of them have already achieved certain immortality. But the epic of the war as a whole has still to be written, if so much may be said without discourtesy to Mr. Angus Mills, author already of "Tuneful Tales," whose volume, "The Gamble of War," inspires these reflections.

And there is, in fact, no discourtesy, for Mr. Mills has not attempted an epic. He has aimed merely at chronicling the war in verse, basing himself foursquare (by permission) on *The Times* History. His facts are thus guaranteed, and as for his lines, they indubitably rhyme. Such a hazardous endeavour deserves attention.

All fronts are one to Mr. Mills' facile pen. For example:—

THE HOME FRONT.

One sad defect this galling fight revealed,
In high explosives Britain was a "dud."
An angry voice aroused the Lion and steeled
Munition toilers to the hustling mood;
The Government was shaken and recast,
In shell production Britain's powers were massed.

FLANDERS.

Still round Ypres the ebbing tide returned,
The great objective was the Calais road;
All former efforts saw the quest adjourned,
Till men of science produced a better mode;
The favouring wind sent forth Satanic fumes,
And on their potency the foe presumes.

VICTORIOUS RUSSIA.

Terrific war raged o'er Carpathian wild,
Which paled the deeds of Hannibal and Nap;
The common Mujik, little Father's child,
Each proved a hero in the martial cap;
The vehement surge of Austro-Teuton might,
As on the plain, failed in the mountain fight.

GALLI POLI.

They did not flee, though the obtrusive scrub
Gave to the sniper toll of leading men;
In officers and non-coms till the sub-
Ordinates became the leaders then;
Retiring with the stricken mate that lives
But fighting on till timely help arrives.

There are also differences about colonies in Northern Africa and about the status of the 800,000 Italians who have gone to France to work there, and rival policies in the Balkans, where Yugoslavia, the ally of France, is on strained terms with Italy. Franco-Italian differences do not threaten European peace, but the general atmosphere would be a great deal more propitious if France and Italy could come to terms once for all.

With it all, France is the most prosperous country in Europe to-day. Not only has she no unemployment, but she has imported not far short of 2,000,000 foreigners to work for her. The reasons for this need an article in themselves. The question, for example, of whether her prosperity continues in spite of, or because of, her low birth rate is an interesting point of contention for economists. But prosperous France unquestionably is, and as her present policy seems to suit her so well she is the less likely to change it.

LAWRENCE OF ARABIA.

To Yembo went the Arab host, on steeds
Of Arab blood, and patient camel train;
With them controllers of involving deeds,
By Britain sent to play for Arab gain,
And Entente profit; those experts of war
Acknowledge Lawrence as their guiding-star.

REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

The Duma now could function, and Lvoff
A prince became premier of Russian Rep.*
As president Rodzianko, Miliukoff
To foreign office brought a mind adept:—
Fit men filled every niche, and Kerensky
In Justice seat allured the legal eye.

THE WAR AT SEA.

Next on the list the Emden caught the eye;
Of all the worrying craft it took the prize:
Five merchant steamers sunk, this multiply
By three—then add two—nor is this the size
Of victim list; two cruisers at Penang
By clever ruse their sudden doom she rang.

THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND.

The smoking tubes still pitched the fateful shell,
To crash on Teuton decks; their third in line
All rent and torn, flames danced her funeral knell
E'er full committal to voracious brine:
At Beatty's "Lion" a mad destroyer sped;
"Southampton's" gun sent her to liquid bed.

IN PALESTINE.

Revolting times! when Judah's sacred sod
Trembles 'neath warriors' tread, and Bethlehem fair
Contrasts the Heralds of the Infant God
With cacophonous raptures of the air.

FINALE.

Is it worth while for men to feed the War flame,
And punch his neighbour over some dispute,
When such could be adjusted by the peace game
While sporting fairness rules each eager foot?
Is it worth while?

There are eighteen hundred such stanzas, and it may be said of them that they vary singularly little in quality throughout. This is a volume no one can afford to miss.

* Contraction for Republic.

BOOKS WORTH READING

THE PRICE OF PEACE

The Future of Empire and the World Price of Peace. By William Harbutt Dawson. (Williams & Norgate. 12s. 6d.)

War, Mr. Dawson is convinced, cannot be scotched without cutting away the root causes, and he points out three ways in which this vital work can be speeded up. Danger spots such as the Suez Canal, the Dardanelles, the Straits of Gibraltar, and, after them, the Panama Canal, should be internationalised. Such corporate action would wipe out a world of potential trouble. Then there should be a redistribution of colonies—some of those which Germany lost after the war being returned to her, under the Mandate system. Much is to be said for this. World peace is going to depend on the kind of settlement that is made in Africa, and to this end there is great need of having Germany, with her special gifts of organisation, working in a responsible position side by side with the other European Powers. Lastly, Mr. Dawson insists on the adoption of a policy of "all-in" arbitration as the only effectual insurance against war. There is little doubt that this is true, and that the habit of "third party" settlement is, in the end, the surest way to get security with a proper disarmament.

The book contains other infectious suggestions, such as the happy idea of a regular Peace Day in Parliament, when the nation could openly discuss the progress and prospects of World Peace; publication of yearly Government digests of foreign and colonial affairs, to help the man in the street to a more serious sense of his responsibility for maintaining peace; and more organisation for peace purposes of the "youth movements" springing up in many countries. Yet the book has bad flaws. There is too much personal bias against the French, who are scarcely mentioned without a splash of adjectives like "nefarious" or "quarrelsome," or a phrase such as "vile practices;" and, to a less extent, against the late British Government. One cannot pass over the inconsistency between this attitude and the author's chapter on the International Mind. And there are many inconsistencies of detail: On one page we read, "even without the crime of Serajevo . . . war could not have been postponed much longer," on another "but for the machinations of . . . French diplomats the peace might have been maintained until to-day;" on one page the League is described as "the only bulwark between civilisation and anarchy," on another "for practical purposes, little more than an Ambassador's Conference."

Much of Mr. Dawson's criticism of the League is out of date now. In the same breath he praises America for keeping out of the League and damns the League for actions forced upon it in the early days by America's absence. He repeats the old nonsense about the expensiveness of the League. Above all, he misses the immense value of the 10 years' work of the League in transforming international co-operation. Many judges are convinced that it is along this line that the League will win out to peace.

One has more confidence in Mr. Dawson when he flings us out an idea, a fruitful suggestion, than when he is handling what are ascertainable facts.

M. F.

The Australian Aboriginal. By M. M. Bennett. (Alston Rivers. 2s. 6d.)

An account of, and plea for, the Australian Bushman, who at present is fast dying out. Numbers are estimated at anything from 20,000 to 50,000, and the remedy suggested is security of land tenure, coupled with a paternal interest on the part of the Government.

THE WAR MACHINES

Armaments Year Book. (Williams & Norgate. 20s.)

Nothing shows more clearly what a colossal apparatus armaments involve than the fact that it takes a veritable encyclopædia to give even the skeleton of the business. The new, sixth, volume of the League's Armaments Year Book is a book of over eleven hundred pages (sixty more than the fifth volume); it contains monographs on the military, naval and air forces of 61 States, including the United States, Soviet Russia, Brazil, Mexico, Turkey who are outside the League, the Defence Budgets for 1929, and in some cases for 1930, together with a mass of figures dealing with raw materials and products of importance for National Defence.

It is generally a tricky business digging out the meaning of Budget statistics. This year, as regards defence expenditure it is more than ever the case. So abnormal indeed have monetary conditions been in many States that the Year Book deliberately omits any calculation of the percentage of increase or decrease year by year, or an index of expenditure reduced to a basic price level. It is, however, clear that, broadly speaking, there has been a considerable increase in the military expenditure of Russia, France and Poland. Belgium, Hungary, Italy and Rumania seem to be spending rather more on armaments; Japan, Spain, Jugoslavia about the same; Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Germany and the U.S.A. slightly less. But the total amount spent on armaments by the world is on the increase.

The size of the armies on a "peace" footing is about the same as in 1927 and 1928, with the exception of France where, no doubt owing to the reduction of the period of service to twelve months which comes into force in November, there is a decrease of some fifty or sixty thousand. Soviet Russia still has the largest army on paper.

The information that the Year Book gives on air forces is quite inadequate. This ought to be remedied. It is impossible to compare the sizes of the various air fleets. One curious development is noted, the growth of an "Air and Chemical Defence" Association in Soviet Russia to a membership of five millions, of whom a large proportion are women.

The Year Book contains many useful diagrams of the navies in the world; and prints the text of all treaties or parts of treaties which have produced an actual reduction of armaments, such as the American Lakes Disarmament Treaty, the Versailles Treaty, the Washington Treaty, and the present London Naval Treaty. Altogether a mine of information on the great problem of our day, which is whether peace can be sufficiently organised to take the place of the vast organisation that has been and is still being devoted to war. Only the persistent efforts of the League, and of public opinion backing up the Governments at home, can expect to secure a practical solution.

M. F.

MUI TSAI.

Child Slavery in Hong Kong. By Lieut.-Commander and Mrs. Haslewood. (The Sheldon Press. 2s. 6d.)

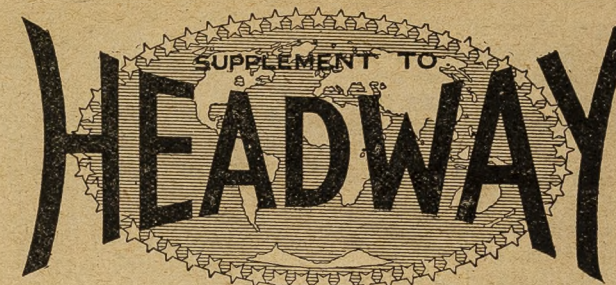
Lieutenant-Commander and Mrs. Haslewood have devoted the last nine years to the cause of the abolition of the Chinese custom of mui tsai—or child adoption for domestic service—in Hong Kong.

Their account of the development of the custom, from the start of the British occupation in 1841, when the Chinese were allowed to practise their social customs "pending Her Majesty's pleasure," until their own arrival in the island in 1919, is detailed and clear. Their record of the subsequent ten years is interesting, but is marked definitely by the bias of zealous reformers. Not enough space is given to the case for the Governor

FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE

1. The existence of the League provides machinery such as never existed before for the peaceful settlement of all disputes between States.
2. The League Covenant lays down a regular procedure by which all such disputes may be dealt with.
3. The League has created the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague for settling finally all disputes of a legal nature (*i.e.*, disputes between States regarding their respective rights).
4. Several wars have actually been stopped by the League's intervention, notably those between Poland and Lithuania in 1920, between Yugoslavia and Albania in 1921, and between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925. Many other disputes, which had not carried the countries concerned to the point of war, have been finally disposed of by League action.
5. The finances of several countries, notably Austria and Hungary, have been put in order by the League, which arranged loans to carry such countries over temporary difficulties on condition that the countries based their financial policy on sound principles formulated by the League.
6. An extensive scheme for the settlement of Greek refugees, and a similar though smaller scheme for Bulgarian refugees, was drawn up by the League and carried out under its auspices in collaboration with the Governments of the countries concerned.
7. Financial and economic policies for the countries of the world were laid down at the League's Financial Conference at Brussels in 1920 and its Economic Conference at Geneva in 1927. Obstacles to the free flow of trade, particularly in Europe, have been removed as a result of successive League Conferences on such matters as river and rail transit, passports, customs formalities, etc.
8. The League has been working at the disarmament problem for the past five years, and it is expected that an International Conference for the Limitation of Armaments by land, sea and air, will be convened by it in 1931.
9. The League has organised inter-governmental co-operation for the protection of public health throughout the world. It undertook an anti-typhus campaign in Eastern Europe in 1920. It has organised the study of malaria and sleeping sickness on an international scale. It arranges exchanges of medical officers of health of all countries so that each may learn from the experience of countries other than his own. It has opened a bureau at Singapore for distributing information regarding epidemics in the East. It has responded to requests from such countries as Persia, Greece, Turkey, and China for assistance on a larger or smaller scale in organising national public health services.
10. Through its Opium Advisory Committee and its Opium Central Board the League has promoted international agreements for the suppression of the drug traffic, and supervises the execution of such agreements by the Governments concerned.
11. On similar lines it has organised measures for the suppression of the traffic in women and children, and for the promotion of child welfare generally.
12. Special pieces of work undertaken by the League in the humanitarian sphere include the repatriation of 430,000 prisoners of war through the help of Dr. Nansen in the years 1920-1922, and the repatriation or settlement of Russian and Armenian refugees in many countries in Europe.
13. The League has special responsibility for two areas in Europe—the Saar Valley, which is administered by a Commission arranged by the League, and Danzig, where a League High Commissioner resides to adjust differences between the Free City of Danzig, which is placed under the protection of the League, and Poland.
14. The League has been made responsible for the execution of treaties providing for the just treatment of minorities in many countries in Europe.
15. The League supervises the government of many areas in Asia, Africa and the Pacific under the mandate system.
16. The International Labour Organisation, which is linked with the League, though working independently of it, devotes itself to raising the standard of life for industrial workers everywhere.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



JULY, 1930

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION

THE 14th Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies met in Geneva last month. Elsewhere we have chronicled their doings; here we only intend to point the moral of the existence of that organisation.

It is common knowledge that we are not the only League of Nations Society in existence. Many paragraphs which appear month by month in "Notes and News" should have given some indication of the work and activities of the others. Each of these societies forms, as it were, the first rung of the ladder that leads eventually to Geneva and to definite action by the League of Nations itself.

It has been said that there is not much need for an International Federation of League of Nations Societies. It is pointed out that we have very little to learn from the methods employed elsewhere, which are solely applicable to the peculiar conditions of that particular nation. In that there may be some truth. Each nation must develop its own technique in dealing with its own compatriots, but on general principles we, with our great experience, can give a lot of advice. We can congratulate ourselves that the Union is more highly organised than any other League of Nations Society in the world. How long we shall hold that proud position is a matter for ourselves. The Japanese, the American, the Dutch, and, in a minor degree, the German League of Nations Society, are making enormous strides forward in general and particular education for peace.

But, quite apart from this interchange of ideas for national work, the International Federation plays an increasingly greater part in the world of international politics. During the last two years the Plenary Congress has taken on somewhat the nature of a dress rehearsal for the League Assembly in September. This is quite a natural development. With the increasing prestige of the national societies more notice is taken of their work, and it is not beneath the dignity of the leaders of national thought to be members and to take an active part in their work. We need only instance Viscount Cecil in this country, Count Bernstorff in Germany, M. Rolin in Belgium and M. Limburg in Holland. These men, who are behind the directors of the foreign policies of their countries, have been amongst the delegates to the Congresses of the International Federation. It stands to reason that what they have to say may be the foreshadowing of the position that their countries may take up on the same problem when it arises at the Assembly later in the year.

Many great political movements of recent years have first seen the light of day at meetings of the International Federation. This may sound a sweeping statement. But we believe that a careful study of the agenda papers will show that this assertion is substantiated by fact. Nor is this a very extraordinary thing. Every supporter of a League of Nations Society is *ipso facto* one who is interested in international affairs from one angle or another. Is it to be wondered at that free and frank discussions take place at these meetings?

Owing to their unofficial character it is often possible to broach matters that are as yet unripe for official intervention. Therefore it is possible to see what difficulties and dangers are likely to arise. It is possible to see, too, how they may be circumvented. And this is what happens. Little by little public opinion in every country is mobilised on that particular point till such time as every government knows that it can go forward in the sure knowledge that it has well-informed public opinion behind it in its efforts for international co-operation, even though on a short-sighted view it seems that vital national interests are being given away. Education has shown that such is not the fact, and that on a long view the attitude adopted is beneficial to the world community.

For actual members of the Union, the International Federation is the "back entrance" to the League. Through our Parliament and by constitutional methods we have one means of access. But through our own organisation we have another. A member has an idea. It is adopted by his branch committee and sent to Headquarters. It comes before the Executive. If it is of international importance it becomes part and parcel of the policy of the British delegation to the next Congress and goes upon the agenda. Should it be accepted by the full meeting, it is later presented to the President of the Assembly or of the International Labour Conference. Deputations from the Federation wait upon both, and the resolutions are printed in the Journal of the Assembly and so brought to the notice of the delegates themselves. Our membership of the Federation is not a vain thing. One other point. The Federation has its headquarters at Brussels and its staff consists of a Frenchman, a Scotsman and a German. These officers can and do visit countries where the League movement stands in need of stimulation: an Englishman, as such, could hardly do much to stimulate, let us say, the society in Yugoslavia. But the representative of an *international* organisation is welcome.

THE UNION AND PARLIAMENT

THE Royal Charter under which the Union was incorporated cites as the Third Object of the Union: "To advocate the full development of the League of Nations, so as to bring about such a world organisation as will guarantee the freedom of nations, act as trustee and guardian of backward races . . . maintain international order and finally liberate mankind from war and the effects of war."

It is essential that the citizen should have reliable information, i.e., data upon which to form a true judgment, about the League of Nations and his country's part in it. But the Union was not constituted only to give this information: it was also founded in order to guide public opinion so formed towards a practical end, namely, the strengthening of the League. How is this to be done? Indirectly the Union can influence the attitude of other Member States to the League. But the direct and proper method for British citizens is to see that the Government of their own country, one of the most powerful Members of the League, pursues policies calculated to achieve this end.

Why the Union has to do with Parliament

There is only one constitutional channel for contributing in this way to the formation of British foreign policy, and that is Parliament. It is only right that men and women in town and countryside who have strongly formed convictions concerning the League as the best instrument for applying justice, goodwill and good sense to international affairs, should wish their representatives in Parliament to share these convictions and give expression to them. Hence from the start the Union's branches, encouraged by their Executive Committee, formed the habit of communicating their views to their Members and Candidates for Parliament and of asking them to state their own position upon such matters. The Union has now become so large and the issues with which any British Government is confronted in the League's activity so varied, that the time has come to organise with the utmost care and with the necessary safeguards the Union's approach to Parliament.

Principles of the Union's Political Action

In the whole of this work, certain principles must be kept in view. First, unless the Union retains its representative, national, all-party character, it cannot attain its end: which is to see that this nation as a whole—as a single, "moral person" within the League—fulfils the spirit of its international obligations. Individual citizens, rightly and inevitably, become keen supporters of one or other of the political parties, according to the measures which they believe to be best for the internal affairs of the country and of the Empire. But there is an honourable tradition that the main lines of foreign policy should be above party. Under the new circumstances of international life, the League of Nations Union is the custodian of that tradition. It is indeed clear that if support of the League became a party question, the League's cause would suffer serious and perhaps irreparable injury.

Secondly, owing to the necessity of avoiding partisan feeling, so far as possible, the Union in framing statements or resolutions on international policy has always been *positive*, not *negative*. It refrains from criticising or censuring any Government or any Minister: it makes constructive suggestions, asking that this or that should be done in the interests of peace or of the League's efficiency. There is no attempt to usurp the functions of Government. The Union is well aware that the Government of the day must assume the

responsibility for its foreign policy and may have information which cannot always be at the disposal of a voluntary society. Hence it limits its action to the methods of request and suggestion. Frequently the suggestions of its Executive or General Council, which are always the result of careful study, have been welcomed by the Foreign Secretary of the day and have led to definite decisions. Thirdly, it is mainly by local action in every Parliamentary constituency that members of the Union, as citizens, can hope to influence foreign policy in the direction they desire. Members of Parliament and Candidates seeking election are, as such, concerned only with the opinions of those by whose mandate they sit or hope to sit in Parliament. It may be some time before a truly satisfactory bridge can be built in every constituency between local organisations of the Union and their Member of Parliament, for it is essential to find from among the Union's members in the district those who are best suited to the task and to take every reasonable precaution against partisanship. There is no more necessary part of the Union's work, nor one in which the efforts of those of its members who are keen students of foreign affairs can more profitably be used.

THE LEAGUE IN PAGEANT

MR. BEVAN LEAN, Headmaster of Sidcot School, has sent us a most interesting account of the Winscombe League of Nations Pageant, which it is thought might prove useful to others wishing to organise a similar affair. We print, therefore, the following extract of his report at some length:—

Winscombe is a small village in the Mendips. There is a nucleus of people who are naturally interested in the League of Nations and a number who are quite indifferent. The problem before the Local Committee was to interest those who would not be likely to attend a meeting to hear a speaker, however good. The idea was therefore conceived of pressing every organisation in Winscombe into a Pageant in which each country belonging to the League of Nations should be represented. Those representing a nation would be asked to find out all they could about it and be prepared to give information to enquirers. A "Can you answer this?" competition would be arranged and questions of an elementary nature would be asked about each country represented.

Nations were allotted to the various groups three months before the date fixed for the Pageant. Two boxes of books were obtained from Headquarters and housed in the most central stationer's in the village. Anyone who liked might borrow them. Each group might represent the nation for which it was responsible in any way it chose, and it might obtain its information in any way it liked.

Organising Interest in the Village

The following groups agreed to take part:—The Church and the Church Sunday School and the Girls' Friendly Society; The Chapel and the Chapel Sunday School and Christian Endeavour; The Society of Friends; The Winscombe Women's Institute, with the affiliated Institutes of Sandford and Axbridge; The Men's Institute; The Royal and Ancient Order of Buffaloes; The Boy Scouts; The Girl Guides; Mrs. Lean's Girls' Club; The Girls' Hockey Club; The Council School; The Chestnuts School; The Woodcraft School; and Sidcot School.

Sidcot School had to undertake the lion's share because it was by far the biggest group in the place. Originally 17 nations were allotted to it, but by May 28 it had made itself responsible for 8 more, making a total of 25. One trembles to think of the extra work which must have devolved upon the History and Geography Master and other members of the staff. The organiser of the Pageant, Miss D. C. Rutter,

NOTES AND NEWS

Notes from Wales

The Ninth Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council, held at Llandrindod Wells on June 10 and 11, was well attended by representatives from all parts of the Principality. Mr. David Davies presided over the first session of the Executive Committee, and the afternoon was devoted to an educational conference—the subject being: "The Rising Generation." Mr. J. Lloyd Jones spoke on the work in elementary schools and Major Edgar Jones on the work in secondary schools. Mr. Sydney Herbert, M.A., spoke of the inquiry conducted by Dr. G. H. Green and himself concerning "The attitude of children towards other races." Two public meetings were held presided over by the Rev. Principal Maurice Jones, D.D., and Mr. Dudley Howe, J.P., of Barry. Mr. Rhys T. Davies, Mr. Morgan Jones, M.P., Sir George Dunbar, and Mr. David Davies were the chief speakers.

The Officers for the year 1930-31 were elected by the Council as follows:—President: Mr. David Davies; Vice-President: The Rev. Principal Maurice Jones, D.D.; Chairman of the Executive: Mr. David Davies; Hon. Treasurers: Sir Herbert Cory, Bart. and Mr. T. E. Purdy, J.P.

On Wednesday afternoon a Festival of Youth, presided over by Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, was held in the Albert Hall, and an excellent programme, arranged by Captain J. Mostyn, was given by the schools and youth organisations of Llandrindod Wells.

Edgar Wallace on Dope

Mr. Edgar Wallace recently delivered an interesting address on "Sinister Secrets of the Drug Traffic" to a meeting organised by the local branch of the League of Nations Union at Burnham Hall, Beaconsfield. Mr. Wallace's speech was the subject of much comment in the local Press, the meeting having been extremely successful.

Chair of International Relations

Owing to an unfortunate mistake the munificent gift of Mr. Montague Burton for the establishment of a Chair of International Relations was reported in the last issue as having been made to the University of Cambridge. A correspondent points out that it was Oxford, not Cambridge. We here express our apologies for this error.

Union Summer Schools and Geneva Visits

Readers are again reminded that full particulars of the above can be obtained on application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. The principal dates were given on page 3 of the last issue of the Supplement. Early application is desirable as especially attractive programmes have been arranged.

Council's Vote Completed

1929—Farnham, Stone, Swanage, Woodstock.
1930—Addlestone, Almondsbury, Amptill, Banbury, Betchworth, Billingham, Burford, Bristol Post Office, Coleford, Calne, Coldstream, Diss, Doncaster (Highfield Road, P.M. Church), Edge, Folkestone, Ford End, Grays, Glastonbury, Haxby, Herne Bay, Hatfield, Jordans, Kingswood, Knaresborough, Leamington, Leiston, Leeds Training College, Norwich, Nutfield, Oxted, Pateley Bridge, Pudsey, Port Isaac, Petersfield, Pangbourne, Rawdon, Rugby, Sheffield Zion C.C., Sheringham, St. Nicholas, Sibford Ferris, Shaftesbury, Stanford in the Vale, Thornbury, Tunstall, Weybridge, Westbury, and Woodstock.

Paris Section Annual Meeting

The Paris Section, League of Nations Union, held its Annual General Meeting on Friday, May 30, at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. After the opening speech by Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Heaton-Ellis (Chairman), Colonel C. B. Stokes (Vice-Chairman) gave an account of the activities and future prospects of the Section. Sir John Fischer Williams also gave a very interesting address. It was announced that the membership had increased from 220 to 327.

obtained much help from various Legations and from the London Regional Federation.

The Constable Lends a Hand

At three o'clock on May 28 all those taking part in the Pageant assembled in the Drill Hall Field—chosen because there was a Hall at hand in case of rain. A circle had been previously staked out by the Scouts. There was a stake plainly named for every country. The procession, led by Britannia and the Union Jack, and marshalled by two Australians mounted on splendid horses, wound its way round the circle. The sun shone gloriously, and the waving flags and banners and many-coloured costumes made a brave show. The local constable had his work cut out holding up the traffic. All these had to wait with patience, curiosity or interest, for the Law was determined to allow nothing to interrupt the procession. We may even have educated our betters, for one lady put her head out of her Rolls and asked, "What's all this? A League of Nations Union Pageant? But I thought that was a sect in Geneva!"

The judges' task proved too difficult; so many groups were really good, showing products of their country and carrying informative posters, or perhaps showing various sides of their nation's life. Eventually five additional prizes were added to the original three.

A TOUR IN CANADA

COLONEL DAVID CARNEGIE, a prominent member of the Union's Executive, sends the following account of his recent speaking tour in Canada:—

It was under the auspices of the National Association of Canadian Clubs that I made my recent tour of Canada. Mr. Graham Spry, the General Secretary, planned that, in addition to visits to large cities, places off the beaten track, such as the Okanagan Fruit Valley and the coal-mining centres of Vancouver Island, should hear about the work of the Naval Conference. Everywhere I found that the representative men and women of Canada were not only interested in the issues of the Naval Conference, and in the general reduction of Armaments, but in the achievements of the League of Nations itself.

The Canadian Clubs are doing a great public service in using their institutions for promoting the peace ideal. One could not fail to discover the work which was being done throughout Canada by the Canadian League of Nations Society, due to the untiring efforts of its General Secretary, Colonel Meredith. The fact that Canadian Clubs, Rotary Clubs, and similar institutions welcome addresses on the work of the League of Nations, shows that the educated public opinion of Canada supports this great work. Such outstanding men as the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, and the distinguished veteran, Sir George Foster, have deeply moved the people with their eloquent messages.

It might seem like carrying coals to Newcastle to take the peace message to Canada, but no one who had the pleasure of looking into the faces of men and women, as I did, while they listened to the story of the struggles and triumphs of the Nations to establish and maintain world peace, could doubt for one moment that the fire which had burned for over 115 years and made Canada a pioneer as well as a world witness of peace, still kept pure the Channels of Arbitration, exalting reason and dethroning force in the settlement of International disputes.

Throughout Canada I found a keen appreciation of the work which had been done by Colonel Ralston, the Minister of National Defence, at the Naval Conference, and a great admiration of the ability, patience and skill of our own Prime Minister.

An Unsolicited Testimonial

Does the Head Office receive more "kicks than ha'pence?" Here, at any rate, in the following extract of the *Northern Daily Mail*, dated June 4, 1930, is one of the "ha'pence":—

"A high compliment was paid to the headquarters of the League of Nations Union last night by Mr. Waddington, when presiding over the local League Executive. He said that during his long life he had had experience of many headquarters of various organisations, but he had never known one which was so well managed and so enthusiastically worked as the League of Nations Union."

London Activities

The London Regional Federation's Summer Outing to St. Albans will take place on July 5. The St. Albans Branch is co-operating in the organisation of this excursion which will include a visit to the Cathedral and other places of historical interest.

The London Regional Federation's Annual Conference on the work of the International Labour Organisation will take place at the London School of Economics on July 19 at 2.30 p.m. The Chairman will be Mr. Ernest Bevin, and the following will be among the chief speakers: Lady Chatterjee, Mr. J. Hallsworth and Mr. J. R. Leslie, supported by Mr. E. L. Poulton and Mr. H. H. Elvin. Tickets (admitting two delegates) are 1s. each.

We have to acknowledge the excellent Annual Report of the London Regional Federation, which makes extremely interesting reading.

The General Council, 1930

It is unfortunate that the meetings of the General Council this year cannot be chronicled in this issue of the Supplement, the reason being that HEADWAY has to go to press before the meetings commence in order that it may appear, as usual, at the beginning of the month. It is hoped, however, that a summary of the proceedings will appear in the next issue.

Speakers' Conferences

The Tyne District Council has recently organised a series of informal Speakers' Conferences, the first of which was held on May 7. Some dozen speakers were present and the subject of discussion was "The London Naval Conference." It was generally agreed that these Speakers' Conferences were well worth while and it is hoped that other districts possessing a panel of speakers will consider arranging similar conferences.

Publicity Stamps

The attention of readers is drawn once more to the Publicity Stamps issued by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. These are printed in sheets of 24 in blue, green, mauve and red, the title and text being in English, French or German. The price is as follows:—

1 sheet	...	...	6d.
10 to 50 sheets	...	...	5d. per sheet
50 sheets and over	...	...	4½d. " "

The Union has now a supply of the stamps, so that orders should be sent, together with remittance, to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

In Hong Kong

It is understood that a Branch of the League of Nations Union is being formed in Hong Kong and that a provisional Committee was elected on May 1. We are indebted for this gratifying news to Mrs. Collett (now in Hong Kong), who was for a long time the energetic Secretary of the Bromley Branch.

Visits of Foreign Students.

Every summer a number of young students from France, Germany, Italy and other countries offer their services to English families as tutors, companions, governesses, etc., asking for no salary but merely for free hospitality during their stay. They are anxious to learn something of English people and their customs and wish to improve their knowledge of the language. They welcome the opportunity of staying in an English home, giving their services in return for their keep. The National Union of Students has been asked by many foreign students to make for them some arrangement which will permit of their staying in English families in this way. Any who may be interested in this scheme will receive full particulars of it and of the foreign students concerned on application to the Exchanges Secretary, The National Union of Students, 3, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Teachers in Bolton

The Bolton Central Council recently invited all the teachers in Bolton to a social conference addressed by Professor Darnley Naylor. Some 250 teachers accepted the invitation. As a result of the meeting 110 teachers were enrolled as members of the Union, and Bolton is now contemplating the creation of a Teachers' Branch.

Some New Union Publications

- No. 0894.—Recruits are Wanted. (Leaflet.) 5s. per 1,000.
 No. 283.—Annual Report for 1929. 3d.
 No. 284.—What the World Owes to President Wilson. 1d.

The Chelsea Globe

We have to acknowledge the 1930 edition of the *Chelsea Globe* issued by the Chelsea Branch. This admirable little publication contains messages from Mrs. Hubert Walter, the Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, and also comprehensive articles on the past year's work of the League and of the I.L.O.

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
Jan. 1, 1929	...	...	...	744,984
Jan. 1, 1930	...	...	...	822,903
June 20, 1930	...	...	...	859,293

On June 20th, 1930, there were 2,947 Branches, 882 Junior Branches, 3,265 Corporate Members and 653 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION MEMBERSHIP

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

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

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

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

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

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