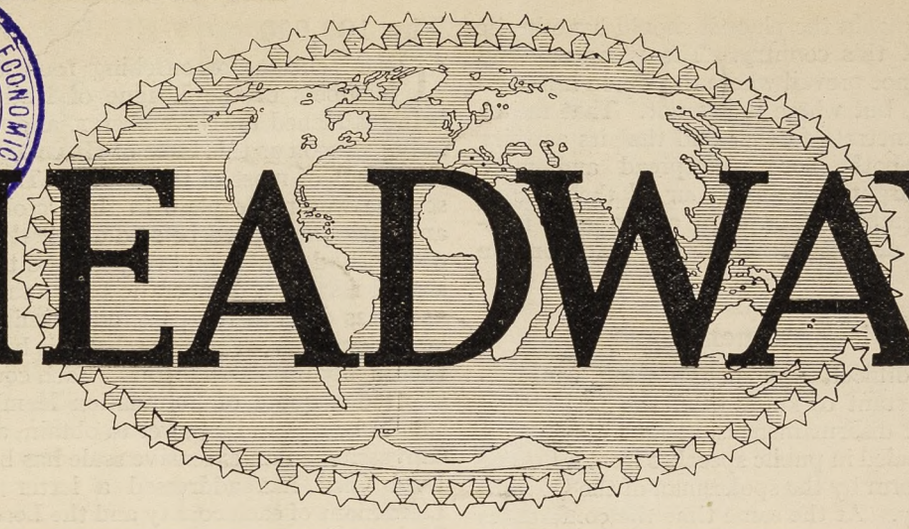
FOUNDATION MEMBERS' EDITION

HEADWAY



A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE League of Nations Assembly is becoming past history now, but the full story could not be told when the last issue of HEADWAY went to press. Two articles in succeeding pages complete the record and attempt some estimate of the Assembly's value. The fact that the second of these, that weighing the Assembly in the balance, is from the pen of Lord Cecil is sufficient evidence of its authority and weight. The danger of expecting too much in the way of actual achievement from an Assembly must be avoided. Its function is quite as much to discuss and consider as to act. Action, being better carried out by the network of competent expert committees with which the League has surrounded itself, is not the first criterion by which to test an Assembly. As a general verdict it would be difficult to improve on the judgment passed in the speech with which the Assembly was closed by its President, M. Titulesco. He left with delegates the motto "Never satisfied, never discouraged"—never satisfied because there is always fresh work to be done, never discouraged because, so far at all events, there has always been good work to set to the League's credit. The day when the League is completely satisfied with itself may be as fatal to it as the day when it is completely discouraged.

Facts and Conclusions

THE results of HEADWAY'S inquiry into public opinion in regard to the League of Nations provoke serious reflections. The conclusions which appear to emerge should, no doubt, be treated with considerable reserve. Though the opinions expressed emanate from some hundreds of readers, that is only a handful compared with HEADWAY'S total circulation. It may well be, moreover, that the replies come, for the most part, from men and women enthusiastic themselves about the League, and, therefore, a little inclined to be impatient or even bitter at the lack of response they meet with from a rather phlegmatic population. The fact remains that the inquiry, such as it is, goes to show that there is still a vast mass of indifference to the League and of ignorance about it—two ways, no doubt, of saying substantially the same thing. It is also interesting to observe that the great consensus of opinion is to the effect that of all the League's activities disarmament inspires the greatest interest and its failure to achieve more in that field provokes the greatest discouragement. But there is, of course, one obvious conclusion which emerges beyond all others. The work of such a body as the League of Nations Union is shown to be of vital importance if

the League is to gain the place it should have in the national life of this country. The ignorance and indifference do not prevail where the Union influence has penetrated, but where it has not. That means that it must penetrate further and that its activity must become both more widespread and more intense. The arguments in favour of the 100,000 Foundation Members' Campaign are greatly reinforced by this demonstration of the need for the Union's work.

France and Disarmament

IT is highly difficult and at the same time extremely important to know what the real feeling of France about disarmament is. That feeling is not necessarily revealed in public speeches from a League Assembly platform by the spokesman of the Government of the day. At the same time the conferences of the Socialists and Radical Socialists in the course of the last month provide discouraging evidence of a repeated insistence on the old demand for security as a condition of disarmament. Against that must be set certain minor manifestations the importance of which it is difficult to assess. At a recent by-election in Rennes a blind ex-service man, who violently attacked the Government's policy and demanded immediate disarmament, won a seat from a far more nationalist opponent by a striking majority. A recent letter in the *Manchester Guardian* giving full details of a small crusade in favour of universal disarmament in a number of French villages seems to point to the same conclusions as the by-election, namely, that there is latent in France a considerable mass of public opinion favourable to radical disarmament agreements. Whether it can develop and express itself with sufficient force to influence the Government's attitude is much more doubtful.

The Right to Criticise

SOME uneasiness appears still to prevail in certain quarters regarding the British attitude towards the League of Nations Mandates Commission in respect of that body's strictures on British administration in Palestine. The Note addressed by the British Government to the League Council on the subject goes far to justify that feeling, but it is necessary to point out that when the matter came up for discussion at the Council meeting in September, Mr. Henderson, who sat as British representative, struck a very different note. It is sufficient to quote one sentence of his declaration. "His Majesty's Government," said the Foreign Secretary, "recognise that it is the duty of the Permanent Mandates Commission to criticise, and they fully appreciate the Commission's attitude in this respect." That was precisely what needed saying, and it leaves nothing more to be said. The original memorandum in reply to the Mandates Commission's criticisms did not, it is understood, emanate from the Foreign Office, and Mr. Henderson's public statement leaves his views on the memorandum to be inferred. It may be added that the British Government's statement of policy regarding Palestine appeared as this issue was in the Press, and therefore too late for detailed comment.

The 100,000

THE scheme for enrolling 100,000 Foundation Members of the League of Nations Union is being launched on November 1, and will be in full swing as soon as this issue of HEADWAY has reached the hands of most of its readers. The need for the scheme was made plain in the October HEADWAY and little more need be said about that here. It is obviously desirable on every ground that the Union should rest on a democratic basis, and not depend, as it has done in the past, on a limited number of large donations. The new scheme is being pushed on thoroughly businesslike lines. Each county has been allotted a quota of Foundation Members which it should be well in its power to obtain, and voluntary canvassing on an extensive scale has been arranged. Lord Cecil has addressed a letter to the Lord Lieutenant of each county and the Lords Lieutenant have, in almost all cases, given the scheme their full support. Each county is for canvassing purposes being divided into areas, each with a sub-quota of its own to reach. All new Foundation Members and all existing £1 members are having their names inscribed on special rolls, which will be retained in the various branch offices. The more new members that can be enrolled in this way the better for the Union, and thus, indirectly, the better for the League. At the same time it is hardly less desirable that existing Union members paying less than £1 should raise their subscription to at least that figure unless they feel themselves honestly incapable of it. The scheme could have had no better send-off than was provided by the Union's Guildhall Dinner, presided over by the Prince of Wales, on October 30th—obviously too late for comment in this issue of HEADWAY.

The Drug Battle

IT is always a little difficult to know how to interpret the opium seizures which are reported in the Press from time to time. Are they an evidence of the magnitude of the illicit traffic, or are they proof of the vigilance of the authorities which are fighting the illicit traffic? In point of fact they are both, but it is obviously satisfactory that this traffic should be made increasingly perilous through the effective working of the machinery set up to counteract it. In the middle of October the League was able to announce one of the most important seizures of recent months, and was entitled, incidentally, to claim credit for the successful blow dealt at the traffickers. A huge consignment of heroin and other drugs, packed in 52 large cases labelled "glass," were sent by rail from Constantinople to Trieste and there transferred to a steamer bound for Hongkong. The Italian authorities only got wind of this after the vessel had sailed, but they immediately informed the Central Opium Board at Geneva, which asked the Hongkong authorities to take action. The result was that when the steamer reached its destination the whole of the consignment was seized. The sinister aspect of this affair lies in the fact that the drugs originated in Turkey, for that country is a signatory of neither The Hague nor the Geneva Conventions, the two agreements by which control over the drug traffic is attempted, and is not, of course, a member of the League of Nations either.

The League and the Empire

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, who, apart from his record as a highly efficient Minister, holds a position of great importance as head of the Conservative Party Organisation, recently delivered a speech on the League of Nations packed with the soundest kind of sense. It was, said Mr. Chamberlain, a remarkable fact that in a world where the spirit of nationalism was as strong as ever before, if not stronger, the League had convinced the world of the value of international action. There were at least three occasions on which there was no doubt whatever that rapid and determined action by the League had actually stopped a dispute which would have ended in war. Mr. Chamberlain went on to draw a just and suggestive parallel between the machinery set up by the League and that set up, or, to be more accurate, not set up, by the British Commonwealth of Nations. There was nothing, he said, in the British Empire which corresponded to the committees through which the Assembly of the League transacted its business, or to the authoritative and impartial commissions of inquiry which the League Council set up to investigate matters submitted to it, or to the magnificent international civil service which functioned at Geneva. In all these matters, he suggested, the British Empire was far behind the League, and might well take a lesson from it. Perhaps the Imperial Conference now sitting will take note of the idea.

Honouring a Leader

THE proposal to present Lord Cecil with a portrait of himself deserves all support, and yet would seem hardly to stand in need of support, for the appropriateness of such a move will strike everyone the moment it is mentioned. Nevertheless, it is a satisfaction to know that the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lloyd George have all cordially associated themselves with the step that is being taken by a special committee, of which Sir John Stavridi is Chairman and Mr. Reginald McKenna Honorary Treasurer. To give reasons why the appeal for funds for this admirable object should meet with a general response would be little short of impertinence. It remains, therefore, only to say that donations, however small, to the Cecil Portrait Fund will be received at any branch of the Midland Bank, or can be sent to the Honorary Secretary of the Appeal Committee, Mr. G. A. Innes, at 43, Russell Square, W.C.1.

Where the Gold Goes

GOLD may or may not be an interesting subject according to the aspect of it under discussion. The League of Nations has for some time been discussing the money aspect of it, and financiers, at any rate, are vitally interested in the conclusions reached. In an article on a later page Mr. Hartley Withers, who is as capable as any man living of making clear the importance of the gold question, explains just what the League has been trying to do and what its conclusions mean, and why the world is always wanting more gold. Since his article was written the League's gold delegation has published various reports sent in to it from different quarters. They go to show that, on the whole, rather more gold may be hoped for from South Africa than had been expected—that is to say, that many of the mines there will not be exhausted as early as had been anticipated, but that Alaska (the Klondyke country) seems to be the most hopeful source of supply. Australia, however, will still be producing large amounts of gold, as there are mines of which much is expected both in Western Australia and New Guinea, which have not yet begun active production. The world's stock of gold is always increasing because gold, unlike most other metals, is never being used up—not, at any rate, to any appreciable extent. The League's report shows, however, that only about 60 per cent. of the gold mined is available as currency, the rest being used for various industrial purposes, notably, of course, jewellery, but including also the filling of teeth.

A Tribute to Merit

THERE is a singular appropriateness in the presentation of an honorary degree at Birmingham University to Mr. Noel Baker, M.P., for it fell to the new Doctor of Laws to receive that honour at the hands of one of his oldest and best friends, Lord Cecil of Chelwood, who is Chancellor of the University. It is rarely that a distinction such as this falls to one of Mr. Noel Baker's years, but there is no reader of HEADWAY who will not congratulate him on it in the firm conviction that few honours have been better deserved. Much more would have been heard of Mr. Noel Baker if he had been given credit for all the work he has been content to do in past years through other people. Dr. Nansen once observed that he had never known anyone more ready than Baker to efface himself and do work that he thought needed doing, quite content that the credit should go, as it often did, to someone in the limelight, while the real agent got on with the job in the background.

The Southern Tyrol

IN the correspondence columns of this issue of HEADWAY there appear two letters on the subject of the treatment of the inhabitants of the Southern Tyrol. One of them, by a recent visitor, contains first-hand evidence, which must obviously command respect, its general effect being to bear out the suggestion made at the close of a review of Dr. Reut-Nicolussi's book on the Southern Tyrol in the September HEADWAY, that the situation was understood to have improved since the book was first published (in German) in 1928. One indication of that is that a Tyrolese procession, in which the inhabitants wore the traditional dress and sang the traditional songs, was held on a Sunday in the middle of October with the full consent of the Italian authorities. This is a distinct innovation, and though it means no more than that the Fascist authorities are permitting what it was always inexcusable to prohibit, they are entitled, at any rate, to have their abandonment of certain recent practices recognised. It is altogether too soon to conclude that all is now going to be well with the Southern Tyrol, but it is something to know that things are definitely better than they were.

AN ASSEMBLY SURVEY

WHAT THE LATER PHASES BROUGHT FORTH

THE last issue of HEADWAY contained as full a survey as space permitted of what was described as the first of the three phases into which an Assembly falls—that devoted to the general discussion which regularly occupies the first week or ten days of the September meeting. That account can now be supplemented by a resumé of the second and third phases, consisting of the discussion of each detail of the League's work by one or other of the Assembly's six Commissions and the submission of the Commissions' conclusions to the plenary body.

HEADWAY readers are no doubt more concerned with general results than with details. For the details, if they do want them, they must turn elsewhere—for example, to the booklet "Geneva, 1930," which the League of Nations Union has just published (price 9d.) The Commissions covered a vast amount of ground, but certain discussions assumed an outstanding importance, notably those in the First on the Amendment of the Covenant, in the Second on Economic Problems, in the Third on Disarmament and the Convention on Financial Assistance, in the Fourth on the Organisation of the League Secretariat, and in the Sixth on Minorities. Each of these, of course, deserves an article in itself. Here a mere summary must suffice.

Amending the Covenant

The attempted amendment of the Covenant was the result of the British Government's proposal in 1929 to make the Covenant prohibit war as completely as the Kellogg Pact (signed by the same States) does. The main change proposed, though not the only one, was the amendment of Article XII in such a way that the undertaking in no case to resort to war till three months after an award in the dispute had been given by the body dealing with it should become an undertaking not to resort to war at all. Other changes in Articles XIII and XV were proposed. In particular it was suggested that when the Council was unanimous about a dispute it should, if necessary, take steps to enforce its verdict. Several members of the First Commission objected to that provision and it was cut out.

Other objections too were raised, particularly by the Scandinavian delegates, who held that if all wars were prohibited instead of nearly all there would be more probability of sanctions having to be brought into play under Article XVI. It was in vain that Lord Cecil and Mr. Noel Baker, M. Cassin of France, and M. Rolin of Belgium, pressed the case for the amendments, arguing in particular that anything that made peace safer made the application of sanctions less likely. Japanese, German and Rumanian delegates all had doubts of different kinds, and it was clear that complete agreement could not be reached in the short time available. Accordingly the question was adjourned till next year—that is to say, the question of the exact form the amendments should take, for on the principle of harmonising Covenant and Pact the Assembly declared itself again with unanimity. Lord Cecil voiced from the Assembly platforms the disappointment he and many others felt at the delay.

Mr. and Mrs. Henderson leaving the Assembly Hall

A New Enquiry

The economic discussions in the Second Commission were both technical and earnest — technical because you cannot discuss the economic situation in Europe, and the remedies for the ills from which that unfortunate continent is suffering, without becoming technical; earnest because the alarming state of the world (2,000,000 unemployed in Great Britain, 3,000,000 in Germany, 5,000,000 in the United States) was obvious to everyone, and League delegates were faced with the task of finding some remedy, if any could be discovered or devised anywhere. But even the Geneva atmosphere could not ensure complete agreement on questions on which men of the same country have always differed radically, to say nothing of men from half a hundred States.

On certain points, however, full unanimity was achieved. Everyone recognised that the causes of the prevailing depression were hardly understood at all, and the League's Economic Organisation was consequently charged with investigating the whole question and trying to recommend, if not remedies for the present ills at any rate steps to prevent another depression falling on the world when it gets clear of this one.

In the October HEADWAY reference was made to the Warsaw Conference of agrarian States (held in August) and its demand for a preference for European cereals in European markets. It was all very well to want that at Warsaw, but when the Warsaw States came to Geneva to want it there, and to ask the League to give its blessing to the idea, the overseas wheat-growers spoke up promptly. "Do you mean," said the Canadian delegate in effect, Australia and South Africa backing her up warmly, "that the League is to urge European consumers to give their custom to certain League States in Europe and take it away from League States outside Europe?" Put that way the suggestion was seen to be clearly impossible, and all the Commission (and the Assembly after it) did was to suggest that this question could appropriately be discussed at the economic conference of November, when the States which last March undertook to continue negotiations in the direction of tariff understandings were to meet to try and work out definite agreements.

Armaments and Wars

The Third Commission, with Disarmament as its principal subject, had less to do than in former years, for the good reason that the Preparatory Commission, whose activities it usually discusses, had not met at all since the previous Assembly, having stood aside till the London Naval Conference had completed its work. But some lively discussions took place, none the less, on the date of the main Disarmament Conference, for which the Preparatory Commission is clearing the ground. The German Government, whose interest in the question of disarmament is obvious, is always pressing, very rightly, for faster progress in this field, and Count Bernstorff was insistent that the Assembly should definitely decide to call the Disarmament Conference some time in 1931. A little unexpectedly this proposal was opposed by Lord Cecil, who pointed out with much justice that to hold the conference and fail would be worse than not to hold it at all, that to call a conference when the political atmosphere was palpably bad would be disastrous, and that it must be left to the League Council to use its judgment in the matter. That view prevailed.

The Convention on Financial Assistance to States Victims of Aggression has been long under consideration at Geneva and has been scrutinised from every point of view for four years. It consists, very briefly, of a scheme whereby the League as a whole may guarantee a loan to a State threatened with attack, or actually attacked, if the League Council should so decide by a unanimous vote. The financial details are technical and, of course, important, but it is the moral value of the scheme that gives it its value, for it is all but certain that if the Council were so clear about the rights and wrongs of a dispute as to be ready to back a loan to one of the parties concerned the other party would never venture to run counter to so decisive an expression of League opinion. The Convention was not merely approved by the Assembly, but signed on the spot by about thirty States, including Great Britain, which, however, will not ratify till a Disarmament Treaty has been carried through.

What the League Costs

The Fourth Commission had to pass the League budget, which amounts this time, *i.e.*, for 1931, to 31,627,501 francs, or £1,265,000, Great Britain's share being approximately £135,777. The total last year was roughly £1,128,410, the increase being largely due to the new pensions system which the Assembly adopted. That was all part of the Secretariat Reorganisation scheme, which, though it ostensibly concerned the internal working of the League's civil service, had in reality a definitely political aspect. The reorganisation plan was the result of a proposal made in 1929 by the British delegation, which felt that members of the Secretariat ought to be given fuller security of tenure (*i.e.*, long-term contracts), better prospects of promotion, and pensions on retirement.

A committee which sat in the interval between the Tenth and Eleventh Assemblies drew up a scheme embodying the ideas, but both in that body and in the Fourth Commission of the Assembly there was a minority, composed of the Italian and German delegates, with one or two Latin American delegates occasionally supporting them, who took a line of their own on almost every detail of the plan. The only really vital question was whether the essentially international character of the Secretariat should be emphasised and safeguarded, or whether the theory that members of the Secretariat were there in some measure to represent the views of their respective countries should be encouraged.

The latter was the Italian view, and the whole character of the Secretariat would have been revolutionised if it had been accepted. It was, however, rejected in the Commission by the decisive vote of 30 to 5, and in its place resolutions were adopted reaffirming with added emphasis the exclusively international character of the Secretariat and laying it down in unequivocal language that a man (or woman) taking service at Geneva owes his loyalty and allegiance to the League alone and may take no directions or instructions from anyone outside it. The new proposals regarding long-term contracts for everyone below the rank of director, and pensions for all grades, were adopted.

The Minority Debate

In the Sixth Commission, presided over very ably by Sir Robert Borden, formerly Prime Minister of Canada, the outstanding question was Minorities. It was expected that the Germans would force a discussion on this subject, and so in fact they did, with the Hungarians strongly and ably supporting them. The result was one of the best debates that has been heard at Geneva for many years. M. Briand sat through the whole of it (it spread over four days) and spoke three times. Dr. Curtius was there nearly all the time. So were other Foreign Ministers like Zaleski of Poland, Benes of Czechoslovakia, Marinkovitch of Yugoslavia, Michalokapoulos of Greece, Bouroff of Bulgaria—all, of course, countries directly concerned with the minority problem.

The general German case was that minorities should be better treated by the Governments and better protected by the League, and in particular that more publicity should be given to the handling of their complaints at Geneva, the desirability of the creation of a Permanent Minorities Commission being touched on. The minority States—Poland, Czechoslovakia and the rest—took the line that they would accept no sort of fresh obligations, certainly not responsibility to a Minorities Commission, unless every State in Europe containing minorities—not only those now bound by special treaties—was put in the same position. Whereupon M. Briand, for such States as are not bound, said they would not so much as allow the question of the extension of minority obligations to be discussed.

A Real Success

In spite of that uncompromising attitude on the part of the Foreign Minister of France the minorities discussion was one of the notable successes of the Assembly. The worst thing for a minority is to have its grievances hushed up and the impression created that no one is bothering about it. And here was the whole minority question made for three or four days the chief centre of interest at the Assembly. There was clear evidence that the League was not blind to the effect a right or wrong handling of minority difficulties might have on the peace of the world, and that fact is not likely to be lost on the Governments that have minorities under them any more than on the minorities themselves. Light and air cure a good many ills, and the minorities debate meant a lot of ventilation.

To attempt to pass judgment on the Assembly as a whole in a paragraph would be folly. But this at least may be said, that wherever the Eleventh Assembly succeeded, and wherever it failed, the feeling of internationalism was never stronger. Delegates from everywhere were obviously convinced that while nations might easily perish separately they could only find salvation by joint action. To get so far does not mean reaching final conclusions on what form the joint action should take. But as a starting-point it is altogether sound.

A GOOD ASSEMBLY

LORD CECIL'S CONSIDERED JUDGMENT

By LORD CECIL.

An article on an earlier page of HEADWAY *records the main events of the second and third phases of the League Assembly. The further article on this page represents an estimate by the best qualified of all possible critics, Lord Cecil of Chelwood, of the Assembly's value. It is the more important in view of various rather random criticisms that have attracted attention.*

I DO not at all share the pessimistic views some people who were not present at the Assembly seem to entertain regarding it. My view is that the Assembly did very well on the whole.

The first important subject we discussed was M. Briand's plan of European union, and there, I think, the decisions arrived at were eminently satisfactory. I should have been very sorry if we had turned the plan down, because I think it was dictated, at least in M. Briand's mind, by a genuine desire to advance the cause of peace. On the other hand, I am equally sure it would have been disastrous if we had set up an organisation independent of the League. The plan has been referred by the Assembly to a committee of European States, with a right to invite others to be

Lord Cecil at Geneva

present if they like. What will be ultimately established will be a kind of European committee, which will have the opportunity of discussing in the first instance questions which are exclusively or mainly of European interest, without in any way ousting the jurisdiction of either the Council or the Assembly. Whatever is decided will go before those bodies for consideration. The committee will have a secretariat, whose members will be provided by the League Secretariat. The committee may not do very much. There may not be a great number of questions to go before it. But so far, I think, a useful step forward has been taken.

The next important thing done was the completion of the Convention of Financial Assistance. This has been on the tapis for three or four years now, and a good many people had begun to think that it would not get through, but it did get through. It is quite true it had attached to it a clause suspending its operation until a Treaty of Disarmament had been accepted. Personally, I was extremely keen that that should be done. It was a matter of great gratification to me personally that Mr. Henderson laid it down as a definite principle of English policy which, he declared, all parties in this country would support, that no further advance could be made in the direction of international security except in return for international disarmament. That is of enormous importance, and I have the feeling that if it had been laid down before we might have been a good deal farther on towards disarmament than we are now.

That we laid that condition down and stuck to it did not in any way alter the French view, which was more pronounced this year than last year, that the Treaty of Financial Assistance is an important step towards international security. M. Briand went out of his way to say so in the speech in which he said that disarmament was only acceptable in the event of security being assured. Not only did we succeed in getting it adopted practically unchanged, but we got 28 countries to sign the convention then and there, and that is very important, even though the signatures are not—and, of course, could not be—yet ratified.

Amending the Covenant

As to other points, my great personal disappointment at the time was the failure to get through the amendments to the Covenant. But reconsidering it quite impartially, and apart from the desire of success in controversy, I am not sure that the decision arrived at was not the right one. The amendments are very important, and they were only put forward last year. It is true that they were very elaborately and carefully considered by what, I think, was a good committee on the subject, but they were only considered from the strictly juridical point of view. No important consideration was given to them from the political point of view, and, I think, those countries which demurred to immediate action were not unjustified in saying, "Well, we are not against these proposals, but we desire more time to look into the various political consequences they might have," and it really was that feeling, this fear of the possible political effects, which at the very last moment, when I thought we had succeeded in getting over all the difficulties and the sub-committee was on the point of reporting in favour of the whole scheme, was too much for the nerves of the sub-committee. And perhaps they were right. I have always been against trying to rush important changes through the Assembly, and I think perhaps it is better to give the amendments another year's consideration. Whether they will have a chance next year depends on the attitude of the British Government. If the British are still in favour of them, I have no doubt they will go through.

As to our proposals about slavery, it was the general dislike of any kind of interference with the existing labour arrangements in some of the countries concerned which created the difficulty. We wanted to get a permanent committee established, and made a proposal to that effect, but these countries would not have it at any price. Then we watered it down, first to a re-establishment of a temporary commission, and then to something less, but, ultimately, it was clear that, led by the Portuguese and the Belgians, they would not do anything. The only thing to do now is for those who are interested in this question to make an effort to organise the feeling in other countries and to put pressure on their Governments to adopt a more enlightened attitude at the next Assembly.

Disarmament Prospects

As for Disarmament, I am very pleased with what happened about that. I think there was a strong feeling abroad in France against disarmament, not so much amongst the people as in the bureaucracy. Nevertheless, there was an absolutely universal view that we must bring to a conclusion the Preparatory Commission at the next session. The Germans were a little sore with us because we did not fix a date for the conference. But I think we were right. People utterly ignore the enormous amount of work to be done after the conclusion of the Preparatory Commission before you can have a conference that will succeed. We shall have a skeleton treaty, I hope, by Christmas. Then you have got to set up some kind of negotiating body to find out what kind of agreement can be made as to the figures to be put in that treaty. You must have something like an agreement on the general lines on which you are going to proceed before it is any use summoning a conference. On the whole, then, we have no great reason to be dissatisfied with the progress of disarmament. It is quite true that there has been a certain revival of nationalistic militarism in the world. The old cry is being raised that there can be no disarmament without security. On this point we have made our position clear by Mr. Henderson's declaration. For the future there should be no misunderstanding of our position. If disarmament is agreed to we shall be very glad to go as far as we can in the direction of security, but we will not go any further until we get disarmament.

One other achievement should be mentioned. The very complex proposals for improving the conditions of work of the Secretariat were adopted. That is too technical a matter to be discussed in any detail here. It is enough to say that a competent and contented Secretariat is essential for the good working of the League, and I believe that this scheme now accepted will secure that object.

The Minorities Debate

The only other features of the Assembly that I need touch on were two or three very valuable discussions, really better than any I remember at Geneva before. One was on the question of Minorities in the Sixth Commission, when both M. Briand and Dr. Curtius thought it well to attend almost the whole of the discussion and to take a leading part in the debate, as, indeed, did some four or five other European Foreign Ministers. Everything in that case went, so far as we were concerned, exactly as we wanted it to go. The other was the almost continuous debate on economic problems, which occupied most of the second fortnight of the Assembly, and resulted, among other things, in the very important decision that the League should undertake an immediate inquiry into the causes of the present trade depression, and the steps that might be taken to prevent a recurrence of it in future.

The general atmosphere was good. There was a great deal of anxiety expressed in the opening days, but I think that is right. To face difficulties is not a sign of weakness on the part of the Assembly; it is a sign of strength. And there was distinctly more optimism on the last day of the Assembly than on the first.

LORD BALFOUR AND THE LEAGUE

FROM THE OLD DIPLOMACY TO THE NEW

By MRS. EDGAR DUGDALE

The official biography of Lord Balfour is being written by his niece, Mrs. Edgar Dugdale, who has just published the brief fragment of autobiography which represents all that was completed of the work he was engaged on at the time of his death. In this article Mrs. Dugdale, on the basis of her intimate knowledge of Lord Balfour's mind and thought, gives what is no doubt the most authoritative estimate yet put on paper of his attitude to, and faith in, the League.

FOR the first three years of the League's existence Lord Balfour represented Great Britain in Geneva. His own half-century of public life was entering its final, and by far its most memorable decade, and it was in the course of his League work that the first of the three biggest opportunities of that period came to him.

It is possible that the saving of the Austrian State from collapse through bankruptcy in 1922 will, in the verdict of history, be counted an even more important event in world affairs than any other of the great policies which he initiated or shaped. The laying of new foundations for our inter-Imperial relations, the making of our first naval treaty with the United States, are indeed both of the order of achievements from which new epochs begin; but who can say from what civilisation itself was saved by the discovery of the way to rescue the War-ruined countries through League action? Without the machinery of the League, itself still hardly more than an experiment, the great experiment of the guaranteed loan could hardly have been devised. Without Balfour's genius and courage, and the enormous confidence his judgment inspired, it could hardly have been launched. The success of the scheme did more than save Austria and the Peace Settlement. It established beyond further question the prestige of the League of Nations.

For these reasons Balfour's reputation in the League is, and should be, bound up closest with his work for the Austrian Loan. There are other grounds, too, for putting it first in a sketch of him against a Geneva background. No single episode of his career illustrates better two of his strongest political qualities—realism and courage. It is also the most remarkable instance of a third, which but for his contact with the League would perhaps never have shown itself to the full. I mean the flexibility of his mind in adapting itself to conditions.

Balfour had had forty years' training in foreign policy when the League came into being. He began it at the Congress of Berlin under the great masters for whom the balance of power was an axiom. His own Premiership was marked by the French Entente, and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Later came the crumbling of the old buttresses of security, and at the age of seventy-two he was sent to Geneva to take part in the building of

fresh ones on an entirely new model. It was a model, moreover, which he had taken little or no part in designing. He had not sat on the drafting Committee of the Covenant in Paris; and, strong believer in the League as he always was, the actual Covenant is too precise in its endeavours to meet hypothetical cases to be any child of his mind.

In spite of all this the League got from Lord Balfour in its earliest days some of the most instructive demonstrations ever yet given by any individual delegate of the unexplored capacities of its international machinery. There are more instances than the great one I have given. Another is the ingenious Upper Silesian settlement, with its regional supervision of minority rights, with which he had a good deal to do, and which is in good working order to this day.

Realism and Sentiment

Tasks of various kinds were thrust upon the League without much consideration during its first years when harassed Governments were reaping the aftermath of

President Wilson, M. Clemenceau and Mr. Balfour (as he then was) at Versailles after the signature of the Peace Treaty, 1919.

the Peace Settlements. In that rather confused period of overlapping activities the Council was less inclined than it became later to use that classic phrase in an orderly household "it's not my work." Balfour was certainly not as a rule a check upon the spirit of enterprise. There was, however, one occasion when the sense of realities which had led him to recommend taking great risks for Austria worked negatively. There was an Assembly Debate in 1920 to discuss intervention of behalf of the Armenians then in process of being massacred in Turkey, Lord Balfour's whole contribution was an avowal of his failure to see any way in which the League could help them. His attitude was challenged on the spot by the other leaders of Assembly opinion. Viviani expressed the outraged sentiment of the Latins, and Nansen the simple logic of his own kindly soul. The argument on the pure facts of the case, rejected by the feelings of South and North, found no echo from any delegation. Reading the debate now we see that the reasoning was too cold for the atmosphere. It bears signs of Balfour's natural reaction against *purely* sentimental thinking. Not the least interesting part of the story is that events warranted his pessimissm. In the end the League took no action.

The White Slave Convention

Very different was the effect on his audience of another of his speeches when human wrongs were again the topic. This time he thought the League could act, and he suspected that its action was being purposely obstructed. No one who heard him will quickly forget how he tore to pieces the French arguments against the immediate framing of a Convention to prohibit the "White Slave" traffic, or the tone of his final question to the Assembly:—

"Are you going to be prevented from dealing a deathblow to the traffic which is raising its abominable head, by reasons which, honestly advanced, and firmly believed in, are yet surely in the eye of practical reason of little or no account?"

This single sentence reveals a good deal about Lord Balfour.

It is not oratory. But the Assembly hears a good deal of oratory, good, indifferent, and bad. Balfour's speeches were often appreciated, like caviare after sweets, by the real connoisseurs in that highly expert audience.

An Appeal to Publicity

The platform, however, was never his best medium. There was no opening in the Assembly for anything like the cut and thrust of parliamentary debating. But the Council work suited him exactly. Almost we can imagine him mentally testing the point of certain unfamiliar weapons he found there under his hand. Publicity was one of these. Some of his successors have handled that great asset of the "new diplomacy" as if it were a dangerous bomb. Balfour could use it like a rapier, as on the occasion in 1922 when, as President of the Council, be brought to an end the two years' delay in the passage of two "A." Mandates, by this apparently mild observation, addressed to the Italian delegate: (I quote the Minutes.)

"Lord Balfour thought that the Marquis Imperiali would agree, upon reflection, that when the question came to be discussed in a public session, *as it inevitably would have to be discussed*, his defence of the Italian Government's attitude might seem somewhat inadequate."

Next day the Mandates were approved.

An Unwavering Faith

Turning again the pages of League records in Balfour's time we are reminded of more than the share he had in making it a great instrument for good. We see, among other interesting things, how its difficulties have in some ways increased as the thoughts of the post-war world settle deeper into their grooves. The obstinacy of the problems of diasrmament and security, for instance, was not so plain to everybody in his day as I think it always was to him. The delay in settling them would not have surprised him. Sometimes in joke he described himself as "a pessimistic optimist, and an optimistic pessimist." However that may have been, he was never a sceptic about the reality of human progress. He saw in the League of Nations a convincing proof of his faith. Nothing at the end of his life gave him more pleasure than to look back upon his connection with its early work.

BLANCHE E. C. DUGDALE.

PRISONERS AND CAPTIVES

A NEW SPHERE OF ACTION FOR THE LEAGUE

By L. H. GREEN.

MEMBERS of the League of Nations Union do not need to be reminded that most effective reforms are engineered by voluntary organisations; it is the disciplined enthusiasm of the reformer that causes light to be thrown on hidden places, and so stirs the conscience of mankind that Governments are forced to act.

There are many hidden places in the prisons and police cells of the world. No country, however enlightened, can claim immunity even to-day from barbarities and tortures that defame its penal code. Many of the readers of this journal have prayed for years "for all prisoners and captives" without translating that prayer into action, and without informing themselves of the conditions of those who are in captivity.

There are people driven almost insane by months of solitary confinement when awaiting trial for offences of which they have ultimately been proved innocent. There are old criminals and first offenders herded together in confined spaces, living, cooking, sleeping, eating and washing in one cell. There are prisoners with tubercular or venereal disease lodged in one cell with others who are physically healthy. There are prisoners kicked and beaten with rifle butts until they faint, others tortured until they go mad; others who find release by suicide.

An International Question

Such conditions are not merely a matter of domestic concern within the country that permits them. Nationals of one country may be accused, tried and sentenced for offences against the laws of another country. Such incidents may become a matter of international concern. Within the last couple of years an English ship's officer was arrested in a foreign country for theft; he was kept for nearly a year without trial; his alleged theft was to the value of £1, and his sentence, on conviction, was 470 days imprisonment, the costs of the trial and a fine of £17. Questions were asked in the House of Commons, and the sentence was reduced.

The savagery of sentences on political prisoners who may belong to a racial minority breeds a feeling of injustice, which may be the source of a revolt that can have international complications.

In 1926 the Howard League for Penal Reform had been furnished with so many authentic reports of cruelty to prisoners that a deputation waited upon the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to seek co-operation in approaching the League with a view to obtaining an international inquiry and to the construction of a charter of rights for prisoners which should be observed by all States members of the League.

The First Moves

A Joint Committee was set up on which the Society of Friends was also represented, and the first fruits of this joint action were the resolutions passed at Berlin in 1927 and at Madrid in 1929 by the Federation of League of Nations Societies urging the League to institute an inquiry at the earliest possible moment. On January 14, 1930, the Council of the League adopted a resolution noting the international aspect of penal administration and asking the Assembly to put the question on its agenda "with the object of deciding the best way in which the League of Nations can co-operate with the International Prison Commission and other interested organisations in their efforts to assist in the development of prisons in accord with modern economic, social and health standards."

Meanwhile, the International Prison Commission, moving along similar lines, decided, in 1925, upon the motion of the British members, to examine the question of whether it is "desirable and possible to establish a set of general Rules designed to assure suitable treatment for all those who are deprived of their liberty by a decision of the competent judicial authorities in different countries," and by 1930 the Commission had produced such a set of "general rules," which were presented to the Congress held at Prague last August.

The weaknesses of that Commission were obvious to anyone who attended that Congress.

In the first place, membership is confined to permanent civil servants and other officials. Secondly, the proceedings obtain no Press publicity. Thirdly, the Congress agenda contains no report of any action taken as the result of resolutions passed at previous congresses. Fourthly, the only official language is French, which is by no means universally understood.

Model Rules

The "Rules," however, propounded by this somewhat academic body are, within their limits, excellent.

They are divided into five categories.

The first is "Location and Accommodation," and under this heading are recommendations providing for the classification of prisoners, the separation of the sexes, and of remand prisoners from the convicted, as well as of young offenders from adults.

The second is "Treatment," and this heading comprises such recommendations as the giving of a receipt for, and the safe custody during detention of, such money or valuables as the prisoner has in his possession, the provision of food sufficient to maintain "ordinary health and strength," the provision of work and of remuneration for the work done, of exercise and of opportunities for cleanliness.

The third is "Discipline." This regulates the nature and extent of various punishments such as flogging, solitary confinement, the use of strait-jackets, etc.

The fourth category, "Personnel," provides, amongst other things, that the governor of the prison should reside upon the premises and should be able to speak the language of those confided to his care, that there should be a resident medical officer with a knowledge of psychiatry, and that the supervision of the women prisoners should be entrusted to women officers.

The fifth heading contains recommendations for the after-care of prisoners after their liberation.

Congress and League

On August 30, 1930, the secretary of the International Prison Congress wrote to Sir Eric Drummond that the Congress just held had unanimously resolved to comply with the League's request to submit a memorandum showing "which aspects of the question could" in the opinion of the Congress "advantageously be dealt with internationally through the instrumentality of the League." The letter further expresses the willingness of the Commission to co-operate with the League of Nations.

On September 24, 1930, the Fifth Committee of the Assembly unanimously adopted a recommendation that the Rules drawn up by the Prison Commission be

communicated to the Governments of States Members and of non-Members of the League, and a further report thereon be submitted to the next Assembly.

World problems can be solved only by the League of Nations, for only the League can focus world public opinion upon their consideration. We are now at the beginning of a new chapter in the history of human freedom, and the preface of that chapter has been written by the Union's joint committee. Others will now carry on the work and much remains to be done.

TOO LITTLE GOLD

THE LEAGUE PREDICTS A PROBABLE SHORTAGE

By HARTLEY WITHERS.

The League of Nations has been discussing, among other things, gold, and a highly important report on the gold situation in the world was issued in HEADWAY *at the end of September. Gold is the foundation of practically all the currencies of the world, and the consequences of any shortage in the supply may be serious. The League's Gold Delegation considers that there will be a shortage. In the following article Mr. Hartley Withers, the well-known financial authority, explains what that means.*

THERE is no need to lay stress on the immense importance to industry and commerce, and so to the material comfort of mankind, of a sound monetary system. What we all, as consumers and buyers, want from the money that we get is that it shall be accepted without question by those who have things to sell, and that it shall be reasonably stable in purchasing power—in other words, that whether we spend it a month hence or a year hence, we shall not find that, owing to a violent rise in prices, it gives us command of much fewer goods than it would have fetched if we had spent it at once.

From the point of view of the sellers of goods it is equally important that there shall have not been a violent fall in prices during the process of manufacture or of getting the goods to market; such a fall would take away much, or all, of the profit that they expected. It is a commonplace of business experience that falling prices take the heart out of enterprise, check trade and cause unemployment.

Goods and Gold

Stability, therefore, in the general level of prices is one of the objects to be aimed at by monetary policy, and, according to economic theory, it can be secured, or at least greatly assisted, if the supply of money is kept in an even relation with the supply of goods coming to market. This is what is called the Quantity Theory of Money.

It tells us that if the supply of goods is kept constant, but the supply of money in all our pockers and bank balances were doubled, we should all have so much more to spend, but there would be no more goods to buy; and so our competition would force up the price of goods to something like double the former level. Contrariwise, if the supply of goods were constant and the supply of money were halved, sellers of goods would have to take less money for them, and prices would tumble.

In actual fact, of course, the supply of goods expands steadily with the increase in the world's population and productive power, and it is therefore essential, if stability in prices is to be achieved, that the supply of money shall expand in step with that of goods. If prices go up it shows that, as happened during and after the War, too much money is being created; if prices fall it shows that money is not being supplied as fast as goods.

The Banks' Part

At present the world is suffering from a severe and prolonged fall in prices, and the inference is drawn that money is not being created as fast as goods.

In all the leading countries of the world the supply of money depends, roughly and more or less, on the amount of gold available. Each country has a central bank, which is bound by law to show a certain proportion of gold to the notes and credits that it issues and grants. These notes and credits are used by the commercial banks of the country to supply the community with the money and credits that it uses in trade and business. If trade and business are to expand, therefore, it is necessary that everything should be done to increase either the gold stocks of the central banks or their power to issue notes and credits against a given amount of gold.

In this matter the League has taken a highly important part in working for a policy that will be conducive to the prosperity of the world. Some years ago, in 1925, it organised a conference at Geneva which discussed the whole question of the relation between gold and prices, examined the problem of a possible scarcity of gold, and urged central banks to make all possible efforts to economise, by mutual co-operation, the available stock of the metal.

Dwindling Supplies

This advice has not been without effect, but its effect has not been sufficient. World trade is out of gear, and gold stocks have been heaped up in America and in France at the expense of those of other countries. Accordingly, the Financial Committee to the League Council last year appointed a special delegation to explore the subject further, and it has lately issued an interim report, much of which was published in the *Economist* of September 27. It anticipates a serious shortage of gold, as compared with the expansion of trade in the near future, and makes the obviously sensible suggestion that to meet this position there should be an international agreement for the lowering of the legal requirements concerning the relation of the gold stocks of the central banks to the notes and credits that they issue. These legal ratios have been fixed by convention and tradition, and could easily be lowered all round without hurting anybody, and so a great economy of gold could be secured.

There is a common delusion in the minds of the public of most countries that a huge stock of gold is a sign of banking strength. In fact, it is a sign of bad banking and of bad service to the community at home and abroad. It is of the utmost importance that members of the Union should do their best to help the League to combat this obsession and help it to make the world's money a useful servant instead of a tiresome fetish. Those who want to examine the problem in more detail may be advised to study the delegation's interim report, and also a Memorandum on Gold and the Price Level, by Sir Henry Strakosch, that was published as a supplement of the *Economist* of July 5.

HEADWAY

November 1930

A CRITICAL MONTH

NO one can pretend that the world is in a very cheerful state. Revolutions in South America, unemployment in an unexampled scale in Great Britain, Germany and the United States, increasing armaments expenditure in France, the rise to power in Germany of a party out to defy the Treaty of Versailles, strain between France and Germany, strain between France and Italy, civil war in China, political crisis in India—these, among other manifestations all too numerous, are enough to damp the confidence of the most impenitent optimist who ever breathed.

And all this, it may be added as further comment, after ten years of the League of Nations. The comment may be fair so far as it goes, but at least it leaves room for the rejoinder,—all this, and no worse, because of the League of Nations. The League exists primarily to preserve the world from the scourge of war between nations. And in the ten years of its existence wars between nations have been remarkably few. It would be hard, indeed, to find a decade in which the world has been less troubled by external war. Whether that be cause and effect or not, at least it is matter for satisfaction, and it gives some ground both for confidence and hope.

But if the world has peace, it certainly has not prosperity. And if peace is to be maintained and prosperity established, certain steps must be taken about which most of the world is—in theory, at any rate—agreed. National armaments must be reduced, and somehow co-operation must be substituted, within due limits, for competition in the economic field. It so happens that discussions are to take place this month at Geneva on how to solve both those problems. The Preparatory Commission meets to frame the final plans for the Disarmament Conference which it is hoped to hold next year, and a further conference to negotiate on "concerted economic action"—meaning, primarily, a truce to cut-throat tariff wars—is to follow a fortnight later. Between them they make November, from the League of Nations point of view, a fateful month, for it matters vastly to the League, and all the world, whether those conferences succeed or fail.

They vary considerably in character, and the problems confronting them are different. The delegates at the Economic Conference will have a difficult and anxious task before them, for while it is easy enough to see what is wrong with the world economically, it is anything but easy to see how to put it right. Before the Economic Conference can try and apply a remedy it will have to devise the remedy, for there is no specific lying ready to hand and only waiting to be administered to the patient. Tariffs, no doubt, are largely at the bottom of the trouble. The diagnosis of the 1927 Economic Conference, that tariffs in Europe have been raised too high and the time has come to move in the opposite direction, has been disputed by no one, and the verdict does not apply to European tariffs alone. But when it is a question of who is to begin the move in the opposite direction and how far the move is to be carried, then difficulties of a very obvious nature arise. It will serve no purpose to try and resolve them in this column. Consideration of the issues at the other meeting, that of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, will be of greater profit. For here, at any rate, the course is clear, and all that is needed is the resolve to follow it. The Covenant has laid down certain principles to govern the volume of national armaments, and the States members of the League have pledged themselves to carry out those principles. And so far, as Mr. Henderson pointed out most forcibly at the Assembly, they have not carried them out. Now, the critical point has been reached—or, rather, the first of two critical points—the Disarmament Conference itself being the second. The Preparatory Commission assumes, as it is entitled to and must, that all States accept the Covenant principle of an armament limitation which, in the case of almost all States, if not absolutely all, will mean at the same time an armament reduction. Its business is to work out plans by which that limitation can be carried out on a uniform scale and in such a way that the formulas adopted shall not put this State or that State at an obvious disadvantage. That is by no means as easy as it looks. The London Naval Conference, to take a single example, shows how difficult it may be to compare two navies when one desires to concentrate mainly on cruisers and the other mainly on submarines. In the same way, to compare a mainly conscript army with one in which long-term professional service prevails is far from simple.

But the thing can be done, given reasonable good faith and goodwill. In a world in which every State believes it may be at war with its neighbour in a fortnight it cannot be done at all. But in a world in which over 50 States are bound by the League Covenant never to go to war till peaceful settlement has been given a prolonged trial, and bound by the Kellogg Pact never to go to war at all, these wearisome and often acrimonious arguments about the scale of preparations for the wars every country has pledged itself never to wage inspire feelings of something like despair. France—to take that example, not out of any desire to criticise France, nor, indeed, in any spirit of criticism at all, but simply because at this moment it thrusts itself in the attention—is to-day in possession of the strongest army in Europe. She is in alliance with four States which, apart from Italy and Soviet Russia, have the next four largest armies in Europe. She is protected, not merely by the League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact, but by the Locarno Treaty, which binds both Britain and Italy to come to her aid with their naval, military and air forces if she is attacked by the one country she seriously fears, namely, Germany. Yet France to-day is about to consider a budget in which the military expenses show a sensible increase.

Now the will to peace of all the nations—France, Great Britain, Italy and the rest—is to be decisively tested, for no one can seriously deny the thesis that inflated armaments gravely imperil peace. There may be no definite rules by which the reasonable allowance of armaments for a particular country can be determined. In fact, there are not. But everyone knows that for all the countries of the world, with hardly a possible exception, the right direction for any change in the level of their armaments is downwards. The Preparatory Commission this month is not called on to fix the actual levels. That must be done by discussion and consent at the Disarmament Conference. But the States that make trouble this month, if any do, will be the States that desire, by devious means if not direct ones, to evade the fulfilment of the reduction pledges they took when they signed the Covenant. Well and advisedly may it be said in this case, Woe unto that State from which the offence cometh.

THE WORLD IN 1930

A CHANGING SPIRIT IN THE BALKANS

IF any reasonably well-informed person were asked to put his finger on the most obvious danger-spot in Europe, he would, without hesitation, plant it firmly on the Balkans. That disturbed peninsula was ablaze through 1912 and 1913, and it was there that the spark which set fire to the world in 1914 was first kindled. Since the War the Balkans have been, if not at peace in the fundamental sense of the word, at any rate free of actual fighting, the credit for that result being unquestionably due mainly to the League of Nations.

What are the Balkan States and why do they constitute so constant and serious a danger to the peace of the world? The Balkan countries as commonly reckoned are six in number, though the two northernmost, Rumania and Yugoslavia, are linked quite as much with Central Europe as with the peninsula to the south of them. Essentially and indisputably Balkan are

Bulgaria, Albania and Greece, and to these must be added, with some hesitation, Turkey, which still possesses a kind of jumping-off ground (or perhaps better jumping-on ground) on the European side of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus.

The Great Powers' Rivalries

So much for the first question. Now for the second. The real danger about the Balkans is that they have always been the scene of the rivalries of European Great Powers. Fighting between the Balkan States themselves would hurt no one (except the Balkans) if it could be localised. It was, in fact, localised in 1912, thanks to the tremendous efforts of Sir Edward Grey and the Conference of Ambassadors he convened in London. But before the War there was an unceasing rivalry between Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Russia posing as the natural protector of all the Slavs, including Serbia and Bulgaria, and the Austro-Hungarians endeavouring always to drive their influence farther and farther south along the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

That is past history now, but it is history which goes far to explain why the spark at Sarajevo kindled, not a local fire, but a European conflagration. It is history, too, which may provoke disturbing reflections in view of the situation existing to-day, for in 1930, as in 1910, the second or third rank States of the Balkans have each of them some Great Power as their patron. Italy completely dominates Albania, which lies opposite her coasts at the point where the Adriatic is narrowest. France has a treaty of alliance and mutual defence with Yugoslavia, and to correspond with these friendships or alliances there is a whole chain of hostilities and hatreds. Italy is hostile to France, and also to Yugoslavia, and Albania, the protege of Italy, is hostile to Yugoslavia on its own account. Because she is hostile to Yugoslavia Italy tends to cultivate Bulgaria's friendship, for bad relations exist between Bulgars and Yugoslavs, and the marriage which has just taken place between King Boris of Bulgaria and an Italian Princess can only confirm that tendency.

Rumania and Greece

Rumania is more detached. She is bound by treaty to Yugoslavia, and also lies definitely within the orbit of France, but, in spite of that, she manages to keep on reasonably good terms with Italy, and must be considered more a factor for unity than a cause of dissension. Greece has played many rôles since the Great War broke out, having plenty of internal difficulties, both political and economic, to face, quite apart from the complications of her friendships and enmities abroad. There was naturally bad blood to begin with between her and Bulgaria, for much territory was taken from Bulgaria by the Peace Treaties and given to Greece. There were complications also with Yugoslavia over the arrangement by which that country was to gain access to the Ægean to the port of Salonica. But in the last year or so, under the wise guidance of M. Venizelos, Greece has improved her relations with her neighbours, including Albania, with whom she had various disputes over frontier questions. Greece, moreover, lies within the orbit neither of France nor of Italy, though there has always tended to be a certain rivalry between Italians and Greeks as representing Mediterranean naval powers. And Greece and Turkey are old enemies.

A Move Towards Union

But very recently something striking has been happening in the Balkans in the shape of a Balkan Conference which met at Athens and at which all the six countries of the Balkan peninsula were represented. Its delegates did not definitely represent governments. That was, no doubt, wise. The time is not ripe for a conference at which definite engagements binding governments could be taken on the spot. Before that much preparation in the way of free discussion by responsible but not official persons is necessary, and for that discussion last month's conference gave full opportunity. It was presided over by a former Greek Prime Minister, M. Papanastasiou. The Rumanian Foreign Minister, M. Mironescu, gave it his unqualified blessing in advance, and it was addressed in the most cordial terms by M. Venizelos. Apart from the political and economic discussions a Balkans sports meeting was arranged, and the parade of the athletes from the different countries aroused great enthusiasm.

The actual details of the discussions matter comparatively little. The notable fact is that for the first time in their history responsible delegates from the six Balkan States should have discussed freely, and in an atmosphere of goodwill, questions which hitherto a couple of individuals from different States could hardly have mentioned to one another without their hands on their revolver butts. How delicate the situation was is shown by the fact that the Bulgarian delegation announced a day or two before the conference opened that it would not attend at all on account of something M. Papanastasiou had said about it being undesirable to discuss the minority question this time. The Bulgarians insisted that it must be discussed and it was discussed, a resolution emphasising the need both for just administration by governments and for loyal co-operation by minorities being carried unanimously. There was talk of a common Balkan customs union. There was talk of common action in the field of intellectual co-operation. There was talk of what is vaguely but intelligibly enough spoken of as a Balkan Locarno. A message of unity was adopted with acclamation at the close of the meeting, and it was decided to hold a similar Conference a year hence at Stamboul, in Turkey.

These, it may be said, are largely words and not deeds. That is perfectly true. Only words and not deeds were possible at the present conference, for it is only the Governments that can take action, and the Governments, though profoundly interested in the Athens discussions, were, as stated, not officially represented. But the discussions themselves were such as had never before taken place in the Balkan peninsula, and the fact that they were not merely attempted but carried through in the utmost harmony and in a spirit of constructive resolve, is an omen the importance of which it would be folly to underrate.

I.L.O AND U.S.A.

MR. HAROLD BUTLER TO MAKE NEW CONTACTS

By BURTON MARKS

"I HEAR you are just off to the United States, Mr. Butler?"

I had happened to hear that the Deputy-Director of the International Labour Organisation was spending a few days in London. Sir Eric Drummond and Mr. Butler are, of course, the most highly-placed British members of the International Services at Geneva, and Mr. Butler's views would, I knew, be of interest to readers of HEADWAY.

Mr. H. B. Butler

"Yes," said Mr. Butler "but only after visiting some of the larger industrial towns in Canada. It is in fact Canada which is the main objective.

"What is the chief purpose of your journey? To get information for the use of the I.L.O., or to inform the Canadian public about its work?"

"Both. It has been the general experience at Geneva, as regards both the Secretariat and the I.L.O., that the personal contacts established through the visits of delegates to Geneva are of the very greatest importance for promoting the international work for which the organisations exist. Everyone, however, cannot come to Geneva; delegations naturally vary from year to year, and though this brings us more visitors, it also is liable to interrupt friendships. We have found that 'returned visits,' so to speak, help both to preserve existing friendships and to make new ones; and for that reason whenever there is an opportunity for Geneva officials to visit other countries it is always welcomed. I think that the League of Nations Union has always recognised that one of the greatest merits of the League system is the personal contacts which are established through it. I ought to add that the Canadian Government has given me a very cordial invitation."

America Pays the Bill

"After visiting Canada," Mr. Butler continued, "I am going to the United States. After my last visit to that country I wrote a study on 'Industrial Relations' there, and I should like to bring it up to date, particularly in view of the present economic situation and the unemployment which it has produced. The Office, as probably you know, is making a series of studies of the history of industrial relations in different countries and it is interesting to remember that the funds necessary for this work have been provided from America, which is practical evidence of the interest taken in the subject over there, and of the realisation in some American quarters of the value of the I.L.O.'s work."

"You seem to be doing a great deal of travelling. I saw you were in Brussels only last week for the meeting of the Governing Body. Did anything of special interest happen there?"

"The Governing Body only met there because the Belgian Government invited it to hold its 50th Session in Brussels during the celebrations of Belgium's Hundredth Year of Independence. We were most cordially welcomed by all sections of opinion, from the King downwards. I think, by the way, that it ought to be more widely known that when the Governing Body meets elsewhere than at Geneva, no extra expense is entailed for the Member States; the State which gives the invitation defrays any extra cost, such as travelling of staff, and so forth."

An Unemployment Inquiry

"The Governing Body," Mr. Butler continued, "got through a great deal of solid work. From the British point of view, I suppose that the two most important features of the Session were, on the one hand, the Agenda of future sessions of the Conference and on the other, the extended enquiry into Unemployment which the Office is to make. As to the first of these, it has not definitely been decided whether a final decision is to be taken next year on Hours of Work in the Coal Industry. The British Government pressed very strongly for this, and though there was some opposition I think it is very probable that next year's Conference will decide to deal finally with this important question. At all events, it has been decided that all possible steps are to be taken in the way of submitting reports to enable it to do so if it so wishes. As to 1932, the Governing Body is to make a choice amongst three specially selected subjects, Unemployment Insurance, Invalidity and Old Age Pensions, and Holidays with Pay. Presumably there will also be the final discussion of the Minimum Age of Employment of Children in Commerce, the subject which is to be discussed for the first time next year."

"The British Government also supported very strongly the proposal that the Office should make a full inquiry into unemployment in its international aspects. A preliminary programme will be submitted by the Office to the Unemployment Committee, which has been enlarged and is to hold a meeting next January. It will, of course, work in close touch with the other international organisations engaged in the same field."

Since almost all unemployment has ultimately an international aspect the inquiry will clearly be of the first importance.

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

WHAT THE LEAGUE MIGHT DO ABOUT IT

By JOHN H. HARRIS.

FIRST one dark corner of the world, then another is being opened to the civilising and humanising light of the League of Nations. It is too often overlooked that, prior to the creation of the League, there was no official international organisation in existence for dealing with such subjects as slavery, which, as Lord Cecil at the last Assembly said, was "at best, the destruction of personal and family relationship, and, at the worst, involved great cruelty and hardship." Much has been written upon the slaves of China, of whom one experienced missionary says there are not less than 2,000,000, and upon Abyssinia, where a responsible British official estimates the number at a figure exceeding 2,000,000, but now comes a quite new area, namely Liberia, the Negro Republic of West Africa.

Liberia enshrined a great ideal. Just over 100 years ago the abolitionists of America commenced founding the colony of Liberia by shipping back to Africa slaves who were freed in the Southern States. Great Britain, in 1847, was the first country to recognise the sovereignty of the Republic. The Government of the country is in the hands of some 15,000 American negroes and their descendants, who were liberated from slavery. These 15,000 negroes administer more or less effectively the coast ports, but have only a negligible control over the hinterland. For many years now travellers in West Africa and students of West African conditions have been aware of the widespread corruption, oppression and slavery which prevailed in the Liberian territory. Indeed, Great Britain officially drew the attention of delegates at the Paris Peace Conference to the practices of slave-owning and slave-trading in Liberia.

Probing for Facts

The apologists for Liberia have always taken the worst possible line of defence, namely, that of denying that slavery in any form existed. Baron Lehmann boldly denied, in the Assembly of the League of 1925, as did his successor in 1929, that slavery in any shape or form existed in the Republic. But the growing knowledge of what was happening, convinced several Governments that something must be done, and last year the League of Nations was invited to co-operate with America and Liberia in appointing an impartial Commission of Inquiry. This Commission of Inquiry was composed of one white man and two negroes; Dr. Cuthbert Christy, the eminent explorer and writer on tropical subjects, was appointed by the League, and a man better equipped for the task could hardly be found. The other two members were Dr. Johnson and Sir Arthur Barclay, a former President of Liberia. In due course, Dr. Christy became the Chairman of the Commission, which went out to Liberia in the spring of this year, and has now presented a voluminous report upon what it discovered.

It may be stated in a single sentence that practically the whole of the allegations—and worse—have been confirmed. Although the report is not yet issued, its main features were known to certain members of the Assembly and other persons this year, whilst there is now available a resumé issued in Liberia by the Liberian Government.

Sold and Shipped

This resumé may be said to cover the three main features of slavery, and perhaps the gravest part of these charges is to be found in the declaration by the Commissioners that a Vice-President of the Republic, "high officials of the Liberian Government," "County Superintendents and District Commissioners" have, with the aid of the Liberian military, shipped negroes overseas to French, Spanish and, apparently, other territories under conditions "scarcely distinguishable from slave-raiding and slave-trading."

Upon the question of internal slavery in Liberia, the Commission finds that slavery, as defined by the 1926 Anti-Slavery Convention, does exist. It is known that the system in Liberia does not vary in any material respect from that of the sister colony of Sierra Leone. It will be recollected that in the Sierra Leone Protectorate there were over 200,000 slaves at the time Mr. Amery decided upon abolition. Given the same system and the same proportion of slaves to free people, there would be in Liberia approximately 400,000 domestic slaves. In this connection the Commission draws attention to a serious abuse which, unhappily, is a familiar feature in other parts of the world—namely, the securing of women to work in plantations in order to attract male labourers. In Liberia this is done by pawning women and then holding them in pawn for this immoral purpose.

In the third category comes Forced Labour, and here the Commissioners have, beyond question, proved the existence of widespread systems of forced labour for private gain, which is admittedly a form of slavery. But an even worse feature has emerged, namely, that the wretched labourers have paid to officials and private persons "large sums" of money to be released from forced labour which Dr. Christy declares was both "unpaid and unfed." The one allegation which is not confirmed is that the American Firestone Rubber Company *knowingly* engaged in these malpractices. A graver indictment has seldom been made against a modern Government.

Strong Rule Wanted

What can be done? Twenty years ago I visited Liberia and Sierra Leone, since when I shared with the late Sir Harry Johnston and the late Dr. Crommelin, the warm-hearted Liberian Minister in London, the hope that Europe and America would endeavour, before it was too late, to save Liberia from financial and moral collapse. Europe and America have failed to come to the aid of the Negro Republic. Where they failed, the League can succeed. The first essential is to realise that Liberia is incapable of bringing about real reforms. The 15,000 American negroes have excellent aspirations, but, alas, they have neither the strength of purpose, the financial or political independence to purify the organs of Government, and until this is done, slavery in some form will continue. What the Liberians need first of all is a Cromer, a Nansen, or a Lugard, but even then this strong white hand will need in the background a long purse, its strings held by some external and powerful State or group of States. Given a white adviser of the foregoing type, given the financial backing, moral support and warm sympathy of the League of Nations, it would yet be possible to establish for the natives freedom from oppression, impartial justice and the abolition of slave conditions.

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE LEAGUE

HOW HEADWAY READERS ESTIMATE IT

IN the October issue of HEADWAY readers were asked to co-operate in an endeavour to discover what the people of this country really think about the League of Nations, and answers to a series of specific questions were invited.

The response has been considerable, and the replies have clearly been contributed by readers sufficiently different in their position in life and their outlook on life to add particular weight to their views when those views are generally held and particular interest to them when they conspicuously diverge.

It can never be an easy matter to summarise some hundreds of replies, especially when a question admits, like that on how interest in the League is best aroused at present and how more might be done in that direction, of a wide variety of answers. But the conclusions which follow here, at any rate, cover most of the ground and accurately represent the opinions expressed.

Readers, it will be recalled, were asked to indicate their sex and the age-group to which they belong. The groups were, A, under 25; B, between 25 and 50; and C, over 50. The letters M and F prefixed to one of the other letters were to indicate further whether the writer was maculine or feminine. These symbols will be used in this article where necessary.

The first question was:—

"Which of the following words would, in your opinion, express the general attitude towards the League—enthusiastic, approving, tolerant, indifferent, disapproving, hostile?"

Here, at any rate, there is substantial identity of opinion. "Indifferent" and "Tolerant" divide the honours between them easily, though "Approving" is a fairly good third. Other adjectives occur occasionally. One, M.B., reply, for example, contains the entry "Derisive," but, to balance it, another in the same class gives "Enthusiastic." Another writer, also M.B., commits himself to the estimate "35 per cent. indifferent, 65 per cent. hostile." Striking a balance of the whole, there is no ground for concluding, on the basis of these answers, that public opinion is anything better than "tolerant" towards the League, and the tolerance clearly shades off pretty definitely into indifference.

2. "Do you consider any special class of the population more (*a*) favourable, (*b*) unfavourable towards the League than others?"

The answers here are very interesting, though they vary so much as to make them difficult to summarise. A relatively large number of replies left this question blank, and the writers of several others said they thought no material existed for such a generalisation. But the majority of papers contain some sort of answer. Some draw a distinction between the different political parties, as represented by their average members. More divide the community, roughly, into social classes, and the preponderant opinion is that the lower middle class, or simply, and more generally, the middle class, are the most favourable to the League. On the whole, clergy, teachers and women—this last is rather a large generalisation—are held to be favourable, and business men unfavourable. A good many replies suggest that the Free Churches are generally favourable, and there appears to be a consensus of opinion that hostility to the League is to be found largely among comfortable persons retired from the Services. A few papers mention men who have been through the War as favourable, and one interesting suggestion is that the wives of private soldiers are favourable and the wives of officers unfavourable.

3. "Are you more struck by a general ignorance about the League or by a general familiarity with its work?"

There is no sort of doubt about the answer here. The entry "General ignorance" is so nearly universal that it only remains to take note of isolated exceptions to it. One writer (F.B.) finds "general familiarity, but knowledge vague and hazy." Another observes, encouragingly, "Widespread ignorance; slowly being dissipated; but a sometimes astonishing knowledge where the Union has been successfully at work for some time." But, broadly speaking, the variations from the "general ignorance" verdict are too inconsiderable to call for detailed mention.

4. "What are the commonest objections to the League?"

The answers to this question are particularly valuable, assuming that they provide an accurate diagnosis of the situation, for they show what are the main objections needing to be met by League speakers and others. The changes are rung on about a dozen different entries. The replies may be, roughly, summed up as follows. The League does nothing; it is an impracticable ideal; it is a high ideal, but it will not work; human nature will not change; human nature being what it is, wars are inevitable; the League has no power behind it; it is powerless to enforce its decisions; Russia and the U.S.A. are outside it; it moves too slowly; there exists among Englishmen "an almost innate dislike of international gatherings"; the League has failed to secure disarmament; it costs too much; it could never cope with trouble between two Great Powers; it aims at doing away with the British Navy; it is unpatriotic or anti-patriotic; other countries that have signed agreements would break their word and let us down.

These entries are taken at random, and in no particular order, but, as a whole, they faithfully represent the trend of the replies. The "human nature will not change" objection would seem to be the commonest of all.

5. "What part of the League's work do people know most about?"

The measure of agreement in the answers to this question is a little surprising. The majority of writers say without any hesitation "Disarmament," many of them adding that it is the League's failure in this field that has become notorious, knowledge of a League activity in this case, therefore, doing the League as a whole harm rather than good. Other replies suggest that the public generally is most familiar with the Assembly and Council meetings, since these get a certain amount of notice in the Press. (This is no doubt true, but it was not quite the kind of answer the question was meant to elicit.) A section of readers, mainly on the whole those in the F.C. class, find the chief interest is in different aspects of the League's humanitarian work.

6. "What part of the League's work do people believe in most?"

The most significant feature of the replies so far as this question is concerned is the number of writers who

leave a blank opposite to it. Not much fewer are those who declare that the prevailing ignorance regarding the League is such that there is no warrant for speaking of a general belief in this or that part of its work. Of the answers that strike a positive note the majority declare for the humanitarian activities, some specifying health, or the drug traffic, or protection of women and children in particular. A number of papers suggest disarmament, which is a little curious in view of what was said about the League's failure over that in replies to the previous question. The explanation would appear to be twofold. If disarmament is the only League activity people know much about it can hardly be expected that they will believe more in some other activity (about which they are assumed to know little or nothing). And in the second place, even those who deplore the League's failure so far can still believe in the value of its endeavours. A certain number of papers, chiefly those that taken as a whole show most signs of thoughtfulness on the part of the writers, suggest that what is believed in most is the League's function in providing a meeting-place where the men responsible for controlling their countries' foreign policies can establish personal contacts and exchange their ideas.

7. "What part of the League's work is most criticised ?"

Here there is virtual unanimity. For 70 per cent. of the writers the one word "Disarmament" suffices. Next in order, though much lower down the list, comes "Cost of the League." One or two writers find the League criticised on the ground of its lack of universality, *i.e.*, absence of United States and Russia, and a few isolated papers contain entries like "failure to stand up to Great Powers," "its slowness," "its powerlessness," and so forth. But the answers to this question, and the two preceding it, make it abundantly clear that **nothing is doing the League so much harm in the public estimation as its failure to achieve the reduction and limitation of armaments.**

* * * *

Such are the conclusions emerging from the replies received to the first seven of the twelve questions put. Space in HEADWAY is unfortunately limited, and it is, therefore, not possible to deal in this issue with the remaining five. They will form the subject of an article in the December HEADWAY. Readers who have so far not replied to the questionnaire would be assisting to make the investigation wider and more representative if they would still send answers to these five outstanding questions. For their benefit the questions are reprinted here :—

8. Does the attitude of a Parliamentary candidate towards the League gain or lose him votes on any substantial scale ?

9. How is interest in the League best aroused at present ?

10. How might it be better aroused ?

11. Is the League generally regarded as a burden or a benefit to Great Britain ?

12. What percentage of the people of your acquaintance have read the Covenant ?

To the readers who have already sent in answers to these and the earlier questions HEADWAY tenders its sincere gratitude. Many of the papers were evidently the result of serious consideration of each question, and if the number of replies makes it impossible to acknowledge them individually, the writers may be assured that every reply sent in has been studied and has taken its part as basis of the conclusions derived from the whole. When all allowance for human fallibility has been made there can be no question that the answers received constitute an important body of testimony, of which serious account must be taken.

THE NEW COURT

IN the last HEADWAY the past record of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the prospects of the election of the new bench of judges, were discussed. The election has now taken place. But before that certain difficulties had to be smoothed out.

At the 1929 Assembly it was decided to revise the statutes of the Court so as to increase the number of judges from eleven to fifteen, suppressing deputy-judges altogether, to require them to reside permanently at The Hague, to raise their salaries, and to keep the Court constantly in session instead of from June 15 of each year. These changes had to be carried unanimously, and Cuba, alone of the States Members of the League, after first of all accepting them, refused to ratify, on the ground that she did not approve of the provision that judges should have to reside permanently at The Hague. One of the judges, it may be observed, is a Cuban, and he has a large legal practice in his own country.

Fortunately most of the desired changes, such as the increase in the number of the judges, could be carried through by a simple vote of the Assembly, and Cuba did not oppose these. Consequently it was fifteen judges, instead of the original eleven, that the Assembly and the Council were called on to elect. The two bodies vote simultaneously, neither knowing how the other has decided, and only those candidates appearing both on the Council list and the Assembly list are declared elected. Voting goes on till agreement is reached on all fifteen names. This year, rather curiously, when the President of the Assembly had announced the Assembly's choice and then opened the sealed envelope containing the Council's list, he found that no fewer than fourteen candidates had been chosen by both bodies. It only remained to secure agreement on the fifteenth, though, in fact, ten more polls were needed for that.

The bench, as finally elected, was as follows, re-elected members of the old bench being marked with an asterisk. The order is alphabetical :—

M. Adatci (Japan).
*M. Anzilotti (Italy).
*M. de Bustamente (Cuba).
*M. Fromageot (France).
*Sir Cecil Hurst (Great Britain).
*M. Altamira y Crevea (Spain).
M. Van Eysinga (Holland).
M. Guerrero (Salvador).
Mr. F. B. Kellogg (United States).
Baron Rolin-Jacquemyns (Belgium).
M. Negulesco (Rumania).
Count Rostworowski (Poland).
M. Schücking (Germany).
M. Wang Chung-Hui (China).
M. Urrutia (Colombia).

M. Negulesco and M. Wang Chung-Hui have been deputy-judges.

It is natural to ask whether the new bench is as good as the old. If it is only that it is not satisfactory, for the old bench was not of even standard, its members ranging from first class to something much below that level. The new bench may be as good as the old Opinions differ regarding that. It certainly is not better, and no one has been found to claim that it is. For, while the list includes many able judges it includes also several names which confer on the bench little dignity or weight.

Seeing that the election is for nine years the bench will remain as it is till the end of 1939, apart from such changes as may be necessitated by death or resignation. The election of Mr. F. B. Kellogg, former Secretary of State in the United States, is calculated to keep American interest in the Court alive. But Mr. Kellogg, unlike his American predecessor at The Hague, Mr. C. E. Hughes, has no judicial experience behind him.

BOOKS WORTH READING

THE LEAGUE'S OWN STORY

Ten Years of World Co-Operation. (Geneva, League of Nations Secretariat. 10s. 6d.)

This review would inevitably be headed "The League's Autobiography," if that happy phrase had not already been coined and put into currency by Professor Gilbert Murray in his article on the book in question in *The Spectator*. A purist would, no doubt, cavil even at a title which satisfies the high literary standards of Professor Murray, for strictly speaking, it is not a book about the League by the League, but a book about the League by members of the League Secretariat—which, after all, is much the same thing, if not quite.

The book itself is, again, very nearly, if not quite, what we have all been looking for, a kind of encyclopædia of League activities written into a readable story by the men who know most about the activities in question. Who the authors are we are not, indeed, told, for the Secretariat is nothing if not anonymous, but it may be assumed with perfect confidence that in the article on health we are reading a statement by someone who knows the League's health work from A to Z, and that the article on the Permanent Court is by someone who knows, or most certainly ought to know, everything there is to know about the Court. Such a book cannot be, in the ordinary sense, reviewed. Students of the League can simply be advised, and, indeed, violently urged, to seize upon it without delay.

A word, however, may be added on the Foreword and the closing chapter. The Foreword alone breaks through the rule of anonymity, for it is signed by the Secretary-General. In it Sir Eric Drummond ventures two opinions. One of them is that "the mere creation of the League and its continued existence during these ten years is one of those great facts which inevitably stand out as landmarks in the history of the world." The other is that "during this space of ten years the League has definitely and greatly grown in strength—that is to say, in its hold on public opinion throughout the world, and on the Governments and administrations through which public opinion acts."

Sir Eric's second conviction points on to the closing chapter of the book, written, obviously, by another hand. Its title is "The League and Public Opinion," and it deals largely with the definite steps the League takes to see that if public opinion is not informed about League affairs, that is public opinion's own fault and not the League's. But the early pages of the chapter discuss with admirable good sense the need of educating and stimulating public opinion, and emphasise effectively the dependence of the League on a public opinion which shall support Governments when they lead, and drive them forward when they dally.

A WAR MEMORIAL

War Letters of Fallen Englishmen. Edited by Laurence Housman. (Gollancz. 7s. 6d. net.)

"These letters," as Mr. Laurence Housman says in his introduction, "are a memorial that speaks, and that speaks truth. And though they speak of willingness and courage, and devotion, poured out with a generosity and a faith that put to shame the feeble efforts we have made since then for the restoration of world peace, they speak also of disillusion and doubt, and a growing distrust of war as an instrument for bringing to pass any good commensurate with so huge a sacrifice of body and soul . . . No preference has been given, in the selection of these letters, to any one standpoint."

The writers were nearly all of them officers who had joined up from their public schools or universities; the great majority of them died before they were 25 years of age. Some of them "adored" war; some thought it "beastly" and "damnable"; some "loved it" as "a great game"; some thought rather wistfully that the great game might have been avoided, or at all events could have been brought there and then to an honourable end. The one thing they were all desperately anxious about was that they should do their jobs decently and not let their pals down. That was all that really mattered.

These letters reveal a nobility of purpose, and a fineness of outlook which testify fairly to the traditions in which the writers were brought up and which cannot but have inspired the less articulate, but no less devoted rank and file. The last thing, perhaps, that the writers of these letters would have wished was that any moral should be drawn from them, but as we that are left read this book the message it speaks across the years is unmistakable. As one man (killed in action at the age of 28) wrote: "Do you think that the experience of this war has made the general public realise that there must be other ways of settling points of dispute which are as satisfactory as war and bloodshed?" Over a dozen years have passed since he asked that question, but the answer still seems more than doubtful.

LAW YEAR BY YEAR

The British Year Book of International Law, 1930. (Milford. 16s.)

It is not to be pretended that this invaluable annual is in the ordinary sense either exhilarating or entertaining. But serious students of the League and its works have learned already never to let the Year Book go unread. Every year it centres more and more round Geneva and The Hague, the place where international law is chiefly made and the place where it is chiefly interpreted. And every year the learning of the lawyer is invoked to prove how inaccurate the generalisations of the laymen or the perorations of the orators can be. As to the present issue, special attention may be directed to the judicial discussion of the Optional Clause by Sir John Fischer-Williams and the destructive examination of the General Act by Professor Brierly (conciliation should be left to the League Council, judicial settlement to the operations of the Optional Clause and arbitration should be prescribed, if at all, in language less unintelligible than that figuring in the General Act). But these are only two out of many articles of the first importance.

WHAT EVERYBODY WANTS

Annuaire de la Société des Nations, 1930. Edited by Georges Ottlik. (14, rue d'Italie, Geneva. 15 Swiss francs.)

It is a thousand pities that M. Georges Ottlik's excellent League of Nations Annual is obtainable only in French. But, after all, most of us know enough French nowadays to find our way through a book of reference. And among books of reference on the League there is nothing in the smallest degree comparable to this. The constitution of the League, its past history, its current work, its personalities, are all presented with a combination of conciseness and clarity almost incredible. The book is fully indexed, and it contains an exhaustive "Who's Who?" of everyone who has ever had any contact with the League in an official capacity at all. No writer on League subjects in this country can afford not to have this work on his shelves. An English translation would probably not pay commercially, but one of the various foundations now in existence would be doing admirable service if it guaranteed an edition of the Annual in English.

THE STATUS OF DANZIG

SIR,—In the September number of your paper you published on pages 172/3 an article on "Germany and her frontier problems," by Warren Postbridge. In this article Danzig is twice mentioned, once as follows:—

> "If Danzig is to be considered as a separate State that makes eleven neighbours all told."

On the other occasion you say:—

> "In addition, Danzig was cut away from Germany altogether and made into a Free City, subject to Poland in matters of customs, foreign policy and some others."

We should like to be allowed to mention that the question of Danzig being a State is practically undisputed. What is questioned is whether or not Danzig is a sovereign State on account of the rights which Poland possesses in Danzig. In any case, both through the constitution of Danzig, which is guaranteed by the League of Nations, and through the Covenant, there is no doubt that the Free City of Danzig is of the nature of a State whose citizens belong to the Free City of Danzig and no other. Jurisdiction over the Free City of Danzig does not belong to that of Poland, as does, for example, Memelland, which is a part of the Lithuanian State. We people of Danzig regard it as of the greatest value that this position of Danzig, which is guaranteed under the protection of the League of Nations, should be adhered to.

For this reason we regret that on the map which accompanied the article Danzig is shown as a town in Poland, and that an omission was made in not showing the boundary of the Free City of Danzig between Poland and Germany.—Yours, etc.,

PERMANENT SECRETARY.

Home Office, Danzig. September 17, 1930.

[The frontier should have been shown, but the map was on almost too small a scale.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

READERS' VIEWS

ASKING FOR MORE

SIR,—To the August issue of HEADWAY Dr. Delisle Burns contributed an article which should go far to wake us up to the dangers of indifference and drift—two of the most insidious enemies of every good cause and all forms of progress. But there is a third—ignorance—and, taking the three together, I suppose all would agree that the greatest of these is ignorance.

Would it be possible for Dr. Burns to help still further by giving a little more explicit information for the enlightenment of our ignorance?

He says: "Since 1918 the Governments, and not the armament firms, have been supporting research in types of armaments, and no Government gives away or sells its secrets." (Hence, with the increasing "jumpiness" of people, the danger of a Government being pressed into precipitate war action in any time of strained international relations.) Is this a matter of common knowledge, and ought we all to be well-informed about it already? It is news to me—certainly one of my "ignorances."

He says again, "Nations which depend for their type of armament on one other nation cannot afford to be separated from that nation," and speaks of secrets being shared to some extent and unofficial inter-visitings of members of general staffs, not mentioned (or mentionable?) at Geneva.

Should the ordinarily intelligent—or, shall we say, just ordinary—citizen know all about this; what nations are so linked and tied from time to time, etc.? I must confess full ignorance on this matter, too, but, coupled with it, is a very eager desire for light that I may do

all that lies in the power of a reformed ignoramus to help the cause of peace. And possibly there are others among "the same audience as attends all lectures" who crave for help to play their part in securing peace by preventing the conditions that make for war arising in our midst through ignorance and indifference and drift.

Dr. Burns gives so much. Can he give us a little more?

St. Albans. Yours, etc.,
August 26, 1930. F. S. BUCK.

"THIS BABEL BOTHER"

SIR,—I hope you will allow me to make two comments on Mr. Macaulay's article in this month's HEADWAY.

In regard to Idiom, Mr. Macaulay's point rather supports my contention that Esperanto has proved the practicability of an artificial language. Esperanto has already developed many idioms, such as the phrases corresponding to "how are you," "*au revoir*," or "I think so"; the phrase for "I am right" (*Mi pravas*) would also, I think, come under his classification of idiom. But I think Mr. Macaulay somewhat stretches the meaning of the word idiom, which is surely not merely the way we say things, but a particular somewhat illogical or ungrammatical way of saying things (cf. "Century Dictionary").

If I may make one other point, it seems to me that Mr. Macaulay begs the whole question when he says that "there is no royal road to getting rid of the Babel Bother." I think, on the contrary, that every one who has learnt to speak any of the artificial languages, based on simplicity of grammar and West-European vocabulary, is convinced that they offer such a royal road; and 19 out of 20 such people are Esperantists.—Yours, etc.,

F. B. BOURDILLON.

The Oaks, Headington, Oxford.
October 18, 1930.

[A number of letters to this effect have been received. —Ed., HEADWAY.]

THE TYROLESE TRAGEDY

SIR,—Your review of Dr. Edward Reut-Nicolussi's book, *Tyrol Under the Axe of Fascism*, is most interesting, but I cannot help feeling that the author has written it from a prejudiced standpoint. I was in South Tyrol for some time this summer and talked to many of the inhabitants, without, however, suggesting that they were living under an oppressive Government. They spoke quite freely, and always in German; the officials in the Post Office and hotels spoke German, the guides all spoke German, and the woman pasturing her cows, with her knitting, spoke German; the hotel I was staying in was staffed with German-speaking Tyrolese. In the church the priest read from the Bible first in Italian and then in German. A beautiful mass by Schubert was sung in German. It is true that many of them can speak Italian as well as German, but so do most nationalities who live near a frontier of another country, like the Swiss, for example, who are bi-lingual and speak either French and German or Italian and German. The one grievance that I heard of after some probing was the heavy taxation they were under. But what country has escaped from this burden? I was told that they were not harassed in any way by the law, and that they intended to live in peace—and there, my informant added, laying his hand on his heart, "But in heart they are Austrian."

Yours, etc.,
GERALDINE DELF.

SIR,—After the criticisms of Dr. Reut-Nicolussi's book which have appeared in some of your contemporaries, all inspired by a determination to excuse the Italian treatment of the Tyrolese, it is a relief to read your review in your September issue. With regard, however, to your concluding sentence that there is understood to have been some improvement since Dr. Reut-Nicolussi wrote his book, I may be allowed to point out that there is nothing now left for the Italians to be horrid about, for every vestige of Tyrolese national life has been ruthlessly obliterated. The present state reminds one of the old saying, "La paix règne en Varsovie." This equally applies to the Dodecanese. Absolute peace reigns there, for the slightest expression of dissatisfaction means instant exile.

It fills one with despair as to the virtue of human nature to see that the Italians who suffered from foreign domination and have obtained their independence largely through the sympathy of the civilised world, have become, now that they have the power, uncompromising tyrants.—Yours, etc.,

ALEX. PALLIS.

20, Aigburth Drive, Liverpool.
October 4, 1930.

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIVE

SIR,—The Citizens' Education Fellowship Study Group on the Australian Aboriginal, of which I am secretary, are glad to see mention of the problem among your book reviews in the last issue of HEADWAY.

All Australians who belong to the League of Nations Union must feel the glaring discrepancy between our undertakings as a Mandatory Power in New Guinea and our attitude of indifference to the rapid passing of our own native race. Missionary effort, so far, has been too little backed by anthropological knowledge and experience in handling the problems of racial evolution, and consequently, in spite of devoted service, has failed to contribute much to the likelihood of their survival as a race.

The Government does not yet see the necessity of handling the whole problem as one involving national honour, and therefore reduces grants, instead of calling in the most expert advice the world can provide to handle the situation and train adequate protectors before it is too late.

Will your paper give publicity to the necessity for this move and urge it upon the League of Nations as a matter needing constructive humanitarian effort?

Yours, on behalf of the Group,
A. N. BROWN
Hon. Secretary, C.E.F. Study Group on the Australian Aboriginal.

13, Gladstone Parade, Elsternwick S.4,
Victoria, Australia.

LEAGUE OBLIGATIONS

SIR,—One question has often puzzled me.

In the event of border tribes having some real (or fancied) grievance, and making raids on our territory, does not the spirit (and the "law") of the League of Nations—while not preventing defence within our own borders—debar us from hostile entry of the enemy's land, either for *preventive or punitive expeditions?*

And, moreover, is not conference and examination of the grievance imperative?

Surely to act otherwise is contrary to the League?

Very truly,
J. T. GRIFFITHS.

South Mimms, Barnet, Herts.
October, 1930.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS

SUPPLEMENT TO HEADWAY, NOVEMBER, 1930

LOYALTIES

THE Eleventh of November never fails to recall the most sacred memories of those who gave their lives in the greatest of wars. After other wars our nation has ever been mindful of the honour that it owes to its dead. It is, we believe, a peculiar characteristic of this generation that our annual ceremonies of remembrance have about them a positive and constructive spirit which looks to the future. There is no better augury for the strength of British support of the League of Nations than this intimate connection in the minds of millions of men and women between the duty which they owe to the dead of the Great War and their duty to join in preventing another war. It is not surprising, therefore, that Armistice Week year by year sees the League of Nations Union at the height of its activity throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain.

Death has a marvellous power to unite those whom in life national prejudices and misunderstandings divided. Who could fail to realise this truth when news reached us of the heartfelt sympathy shown by France for the British people at the disaster which overtook our greatest airship and its crew? Many who attended the Assembly of the League of Nations were deeply depressed by the evidence of growing national exclusiveness and distrust among several of the Great Powers, who should be pulling together for the success of the League. How unreal and petty seem these political formulas of division in view of that true confraternity of nations which this disaster so recently brought to light! This unity of our human nature and purpose, which the astonishing development of air communications seem divinely intended to serve, is the bedrock truth which gives faith and power to all of us who are determined to continue to bring the labour of the League to fruition. The baffling procrastination and delays, which in these latter days have given the superficial journalist pretext enough for pretending that the League has lost its grip upon the political realities of the world, serve only to fortify our resolve.

For none who have eyes to see will deny that Lord Cecil is right when he says that the pace of the peace movement has slackened. The novelty of a great adventure no longer illumines the debates in the League's Assembly. An acute economic crisis, together with the rapid growth of extreme nationalism in certain countries, makes public opinion in too many of its States Members far behind the standard of progress which their own delegates and experts at Geneva agree upon. The lamentable list of League Conventions signed but not ratified is evidence of this fact. Here lies the immediate and urgent task of the League of Nations Union and of that whole body of the League's supporters in many countries, of which, as we were reminded in these columns last month, our Union is but a part. Now that the reaction from the war is fading away, now that quite new forces threaten to trouble the peace of the world, the need for our sustained and intelligent defence of the fundamental principles of the League is greatest. There is one phase of this temporary depression—this stalemate period in the League's fortunes—which is particularly evident in this country, and to which we feel bound to refer.

Nationalist impatience with the League has been one of the signs of the economic crisis in many countries. In Great Britain the moment was well chosen by a powerful group of newspapers to put forward the ideal of the British Empire, economically united against the world, as the alternative to a slow and painful effort at achieving economic prosperity through the League. The practical difficulties of applying this simple panacea have already shaken the faith of some of its advocates. The League of Nations Union is committed to no hard-and-fast doctrine about tariffs or preference or Free Trade. The bulk of its members would, we feel sure, admit that fuller economic co-operation, and the consequent development of sympathy and understanding within the Empire, are good objects in themselves, and that all that makes for the unity of the Empire, without wounding the feelings of other countries, is a source of strength to the League. But what concerns us is the foolish and unreasonable attempt to pit enthusiasm for the British Commonwealth of Nations against enthusiasm for the League. The presence of the Heir to the Throne at the banquet where the leaders of all parts of the Empire were entertained by the League of Nations Union, should surely be enough to dissipate this false controversy. Just as love of home does not militate against true patriotism, so love of country—unless it becomes a form of idolatry—finds its rightful place in love of the whole Commonwealth of Nations to which we belong. Why should not our loyalty to that Commonwealth be incorporated in our loyalty to the world-wide League of which that Commonwealth is itself a part?

That train of thought is true of any nation. It is not the only reason why we believe that the true interests of the British Empire and the League are identical. Sweeping aside the rosy mist of sentiment, and facing the realities, we must admit that a European War, from which, with her heavy European commitments, Great Britain could hardly keep aloof for long, might well be an intolerable strain upon the unity of the Empire. If there is one lesson which the Imperial Conference has to teach, it is that the Empire requires a long period of peace to permit the delicate process of its internal evolution, constitutional and economic, to run its natural course. Peace is for the Empire, perhaps more than for other countries, the greatest interest of all. A strong and united Empire can render precious service to the League in these dull and difficult days: a strong League, in which each of the great self-governing members of the Empire plays its part, is of incalculable value to all the countries that owe allegiance to the British Crown. In that conviction the League of Nations Union goes forward, confident that it will best fulfil its duty to the dead by giving the men and women of to-day and of to-morrow this true conception of British patriotism and of world citizenship.

A LONDON LETTER

15, Grosvenor Crescent.

BUSY BRAINS

With October Committees have come to life again. The General Council has been summoned to meet in London on December 11 and 12. The Executive has gathered together the threads of activity started before the summer vacation; has reviewed the position of the League after its Eleventh Assembly; considered the points upon which to concentrate during the winter season and set its advisory committees to work. Dr. Garnett, refreshed by his long convalescence, has, we are happy to say, returned to the scenes. Here are some of the questions with which our committees are concerned. There are new plans for attacking the world economic crisis through the League; proposals for focussing public interest here and abroad upon the Preparatory Disarmament Commission; for bestirring public opinion to the scandal of the much-evaded Slavery Convention; for bringing the Forced Labour Convention into effect. How the Iraq Mandate can be terminated without grave danger to the Christian communities of that country; how preparations for chemical warfare can be stopped; how the League's protection of Minorities can be improved; how the liquor traffic in Mandated territories can be checked—these show the wide range of subjects upon which expert opinion has to be sought and sifted. Two important conferences in London are projected for the New Year: one on "The Meaning of International Security," one on the policy of high wages and the efforts to raise the wages standard through the I.L.O. But none of these engrossing matters blinds the Executive to the fact that to quicken the increase in membership, by winning support for the simple and fundamental objects of the League and Union, must still be its first and greatest preoccupation.

* * *

PREPARATIONS FOR ARMISTICE TIME

The country has been scoured during the month for the best speakers to address the hundreds of meetings already fixed for Armistice Week. This year the Prince's speech at the Union's dinner to the Imperial Conference delegates, followed by the launching of the national campaign for Foundation Members, will, we believe, give a more practical impulse than ever to these demonstrations, great and small. Both the distributors of the film of "Journey's End," which will be shown throughout Great Britain in November, and the company touring the original play have offered their collaboration to the Union. This has enabled branches in many cases to make arrangements with cinema and theatre managers to their mutual advantage.

* * *

THE AIRSHIP TRAGEDY

Many nations have shown their sympathy with us in the loss of R101. We speak elsewhere of the cordiality of French good feeling aroused by this disaster. Let us add to this the following touching and welcome letter from the German League of Nations Society:—

"The German League of Nations Society wishes to express its most heartfelt sympathy to the League of Nations Union for the great loss which the English nation has sustained in the dreadful catastrophe which has overtaken the world's largest airship.

"As the airship is destined to be a valuable instrument in bringing the nations into closer touch with each other, we venture to express the hope that the tragic fate that has overtaken the English nation and its airship, a fate which unhappily is so frequently allied to all pioneer work, will in no way prove a hindrance to the further development of communication between the nations by airship.

"Assuring you of our esteem,

"Yours sincerely,

"Kirchhoff."

YOUTH AND THE LEAGUE

Junior Branches—especially in our schools—of the League of Nations Union, have long been a familiar feature of the Union's activity. Latterly, there has been a good deal of growth in a new direction—"Youth Groups" have been forming, intermediate between the ordinary junior Branch and the normal Branch composed of adults. Such "Youth Groups" seem to form an almost necessary link between the two earlier types of organisation and should act as invaluable "feeders" for the active and successful Branches of the future.

A few notes upon the programmes of work which these Groups of young folk carry out may be of use to others.

To the limit of possibility, let these Groups "run their own show"; and let them mix up their international politics with as much variety and amusement as they fancy. Some Groups close every meeting with a dance; why not? Others club together for a "ramble" inviting visitors, and especially foreign students, to join them in cross-country tramps, friendly talk, and wind up with tea. I recently was present at a "week end school" (the first, I believe, of its kind in this country) wherein a score of young men and women of five nationalities have met at their own initiative, to rub each other's corners off and find out each other's best jokes in the intervals of a quite serious (though not in the least solemn) study of current League affairs.

We would like to print a series of short accounts of experiments of this kind; and we invite organisers of Youth Groups to send in their comments both noting successes and observing failures. Both will encourage other workers in the same field. With such help, Headquarters may be able to build up systematic guidance for those who wish to back up one of the most important of all the efforts of the Union.

A.W.

Pointed Parables.

SECURITY

In a forest was a great Oak. In the upper branches thereof dwelt an Eagle, rearing a brood of little ones. In a cleft in the branches in the middle was a wild Cat, rearing a litter of kittens. Finally, at the bottom, was a wild Pig and a family of little porkers. They were a happy family party till the day when the evil Cat hatched a wicked plot.

At nightfall she climbed to the Eagle's nest at the top of the Oak, and there she spoke soft beguiling words to the owner of the nest.

"Do you know," she said, "that the Pig at the bottom of the tree has designs upon you and your chicks? What do you suppose is her motive for burrowing so deep beneath the roots of the tree if it is not to bring the whole tree down so that she can eat up both you and me?"

Peeping down through the branches the Eagle saw that what the Cat had said was true. There was, indeed, a heap of earth outside the lair of the Pig.

Next day the shameful Cat then crept down to the burrow at the bottom.

"Why do you think that the Eagle is perching on the topmost branches all the time?" she asked. "Her motive is clear. When you have gone out to grub for acorns, she will swoop down and carry off your piglets to feed her voracious chicks."

Looking up, the Pig saw that what the Cat had said was true. The Eagle was indeed perching on a bough from which she could espy all her movements.

Neither the Eagle nor the Pig dared to move. Each eyed the other. And both their families died of starvation. And the Cat and her kittens ate them.

NOTES AND NEWS

Are You a Speaker?

Mr. Frederick Whelen, the senior staff speaker of the League of Nations Union, is conducting a course for speakers at the London School of Economics on Friday evenings, at 8 o'clock, from November 21 to December 19. The charge for the whole course of five lectures is only 5s., and tickets may be obtained from the Head Office. Mr. Whelen will deal with the problem of making the League interesting and the best line of argument and instances to use concerning the political settlements of the Council, how to deal with the American position, and the "Limitations of the League." He will also give a model lecture of "How to put the case to boys and girls of Secondary and Public Schools." No one is better qualified than Mr. Whelen to conduct such a course; he has already spoken at more than 4,000 meetings on the League.

Death of the Reverend Donald Matheson

The Union has lost one of the ablest of its Branch Secretaries in the death of the Reverend Donald Matheson, the Honorary Secretary of the Hurtwood Branch. Mr. Matheson was the father of Miss Hilda Matheson, the Talks Director of the B.B.C., who, like her father, is a very good friend of the Union. Mr. Matheson, through the meetings of the West Surrey Group, was known to a wide circle of Union workers in Surrey outside his own Branch, and his freshness of mind and keen interest proved a stimulus to many.

A London School on International Affairs

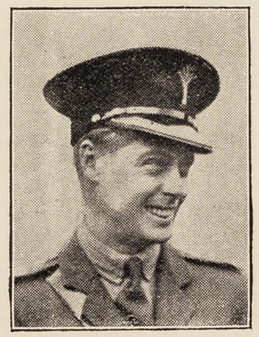
Mr. Everett Reid informs us that he is prepared to receive a few more members for the class on International Affairs which he is holding on Monday evenings at his house, 29A, King's Road, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

Two Autumn Schools in Scotland

The Autumn School which took place during October, in Dunblane Hotel Hydropathic, to which attention was drawn in the last issue of Headway, was organised by the Scottish National Council, not by the West of Scotland District Council as we reported. The confusion arose owing to the fact that Scotland has planned *two* Autumn Schools. The second one is to be held under the auspices of the East of Scotland District Council, at the Waverley Hydro, Melrose, from November 14–17. The School arranged by the Scottish National Council at Dunblane is reported to be the most successful one which has yet been held, not only in point of numbers but probably also in point of the progress made. This year added significance was given to the School by reason of the fact that with it was incorporated a joint conference of the Educational Institute of Scotland. About eighty members of the teaching profession, including several directors of education from all parts of Scotland, joined with 130 delegates from the Scottish Council on the Saturday in inquiring into the teaching of the aims and achievements of the League. As a result of these deliberations a committee has been set up to examine the whole subject.

In Touch with the Outer World

Readers of Headway will be delighted to find so many items of international interest in the programme of forthcoming broadcast talks. The enterprising experiment of talks from abroad, which began in October, will be continued on every Saturday evening, at 7 o'clock, until December 20. Mr. Harold Nicolson's Friday talks on "People and Things" will often intrigue members of the League of Nations Union, even when they do not agree with him. The last of the series of conversations between representatives of foreign countries and British personalities will take place under the chairmanship of Mr. Evelyn Wrench on November 6 at 7.25 p.m., and we wish particularly to draw attention to Professor Arnold Toynbee's series of six lectures on "World Order or Downfall" on the following dates: November 10, 17 and 24, and December 1, 8 and 15. It would be well worth while branches or groups of members of the Union forming listening-in circles for any of these talks. Those who wish to follow them up could, in many cases, borrow suitable books from the Union's central lending library.



H.R.H. the Prince of Wales

Many Branches throughout the country arranged for their members to "listen-in" to the speech of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales and the other distinguished speakers at the Union's Banquet for the Imperial Conference at the Guildhall on October 30th. An account of the speeches will be given in the next issue of "Headway."

A Mass Meeting at Edinburgh

Professor Philip Baker, M.P., and Sir Henry Lunn, M.D., J.P., were the speakers at a Mass Meeting held under the auspices of the Edinburgh Branch at Usher Hall on October 8. Professor Baker, who had just returned from Geneva, spoke on the work of the 1930 Assembly, and Sir Henry Lunn on "Urgent Problems for the League." The hall was crowded, the audience including large contingents of senior pupils from various Edinburgh Schools. Many new members were secured as a result of the meeting.

Warwickshire's Successful Luncheon

An important luncheon was held on October 14 in the Grand Hotel, Birmingham, at which the President of the League of Nations Union, Viscount Cecil, was the chief speaker.

The Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire, Lord Leigh, presided, supported by Lady Leigh and Lord and Lady Denbigh.

The luncheon was representative of the whole of the interests in the county of Warwickshire, and was a splendid preliminary to the formation of a Federal Council for Warwickshire.

One of the most interesting features of this luncheon was that a large number of very representative business men who hitherto had shown no direct interest in the Union were present.

Lord Cecil was asked many questions, and there is little doubt that as an immediate result of this gathering there will be formed a Federal Council for Warwickshire under the Presidency of the Lord Lieutenant. In addition to the Federal Council of Warwickshire there is to be a sub-committee for the City of Birmingham.

The L.N.U. Council Meeting

The Head Office will, if possible, arrange a limited amount of hospitality for delegates attending the Union's Council meetings in London in December. Applications for such hospitality should reach the office not later than November 14.

The International Federation at Danzig

The autumn meetings of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies were held at Zoppot, the seaside resort of the Free City of Danzig, from October 13 to 15, 1930. National Societies from twenty-three countries were represented.

The main object of these meetings is to review the work of the previous Assembly of the League of Nations

and to draw up a programme of activities for the coming year.

One of the Representative Council's first tasks was to establish a Special Committee for the study of European Co-operation within the framework of the League. The Federation is thus following the precedent set by the League itself and is wisely keeping the study of European matters within the "cadre" of its own organisation.

The main work of the Education Committee was to receive the very encouraging reports (submitted by the Federation Secretariat) on the Summer Schools and courses arranged by the Federation at Geneva. A long discussion took place on the proposals in this domain for 1931, when intensive efforts are to be made to develop systematic League instruction for Training College students and also for working-class youth movements; plans, too, are on foot for establishing, with the help of certain Scandinavian groups, a workers' school of International Studies at Geneva, and efforts are being made, in conjunction with Mr. Edward Filene, the American philanthropist, to interest leading industrialists in the various countries by arranging a kind of "international house party" for them at Geneva.

The main discussion in the I.L.O. and Economic Committee centred round the Unemployment Conference which it is proposed that the Federation should organise —provided the necessary technical help is forthcoming —on the eve of the Twelfth Assembly of the League.

A League of Nations Union resolution calling for the establishment of some form of permanent machinery to examine and report upon slavery was passed unanimously.

Some Armistice Week Meetings

Nov. 7	Bristol	Lord Grey.
,, 9	Aberdeen ..	Earl of Home.
,, 9	Hull	The Hungarian Minister.
,, 10	Harlesden ..	Lord Parmoor.
,, 11	Bradford ..	Archbishop of York.
,, 11	Brighton ..	Sir A. Steel Maitland, M.P.
,, 11	Bromley ..	Professor Gilbert Murray.
,, 11	Thornton Heath	Lord Marley.
,, 11	Holmfirth ..	Norman Angell, M.P.
,, 11	North Hackney	Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher.
,, 11	Ilford	Miss Susan Lawrence, M.P. Sir Samuel Hoare, M.P.
,, 11	Paddington ..	Mr. A. Duff Cooper. Bishop of Kensington.
,, 11	East Ham ..	Rt. Hon. A. V. Alexander, M.P.
,, 11	Middlesbrough	M. Jan Masaryk (Czechoslovakian Minister).
,, 11	Nottingham ..	Mr. Wickham Steed.
,, 14	Chester	Duchess of Atholl.

Notes from Wales

Branches in Wales and Monmouthshire are busily engaged in completing their arrangements for their winter programmes and a number of branches have already commenced work in earnest—amongst their first activities are a number of social gatherings and public meetings. The subject of "International Sanctions" will be studied intensively this winter.

Arrangements are being made for a concentrated "Membership Campaign" throughout the Principality during November, and it is hoped that every branch will participate. On Armistice Day wreaths will be laid, on behalf of the Welsh Council, at the Welsh National War Memorial at Cardiff and at the North Wales War Memorial at Bangor

At the Church Congress held at Newport (Monmouthshire) during October, addresses on "World Peace" were delivered by Mr. E. H. Jones, M.A., and the Rev. Principal Maurice Jones, D.D.

The Rev. Canon F. L. Donaldson addressed a large and representative meeting at Cardiff on October 22, organised by the Conway Road Branch. The Lord Mayor presided.

Council's Vote

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

Biggin Hill, Bowness-on-Solway, Cropredy, Dulverton, Fritwell, Hungerford, Launceston, Mottisfont, Northam, Prospect, Steeple Aston, Skipton, Tonbridge, Winscombe, Wheatley, Wooldale and New Mills.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

Hymns for L.N.U. Meetings

A booklet of 20 hymns and tunes, suitable for use at Union services and meetings, is being issued early in November by the Oxford University Press, price 4d. A hymn-sheet with the words of the hymns is also being published at 3s. 3d. a 100. Orders for both booklet and hymn-sheet should be sent to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Geneva, 1930

Geneva, 1930, price 9d., will be ready some time in November, and orders can be placed immediately. Like its predecessors, this invaluable little booklet is written in Mr. Wilson Harris' lucid and interesting style.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION DIARY

Your attention is called to the Union Pocket Diary for 1931, which will be ready towards the end of this month. Besides containing the usual information common to all diaries, it contains 24 pages of League of Nations facts and figures. The diaries are bound in leather, have a self-opening tab, and measure approximately 4 in. by 2½ in. The price of single copies is 1s. 6d. each net, but a discount of 20 per cent. will be allowed on orders of not less than six at a time.

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
Oct. 13, 1930	869,824

On Oct. 18, 1930, there were 2,958 Branches, 904 Junior Branches, 3,316 Corporate Members and 668 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION MEMBERSHIP

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

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

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

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

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

Cheques should be made payable to the "League of Nations Union," and crossed "Midland Banks."

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.