

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Bulletin
OF
League of Nations
Teaching

No. 1.—December 1934

Published, every year, by the
Secretariat of the League of Nations

GENEVA

CONTENTS.

	Page
INTRODUCTION	5
THE FIRST SESSION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING	7
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION TO-DAY, by Gilbert Murray	15
IS EDUCATION FOR PEACE POSSIBLE?, by Jean Piaget	17
EDUCATION FOR PEACE, by José Castillejo	24
THE WORK OF PRIVATE ORGANISATIONS, by Th. Ruysen	28
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK :	
The League as Promoter of International Understanding ..	33
Security and Disarmament	49
The League of Nations and World Economy	60
The League of Nations and the Drug Traffic	76
Some Aspects of the Work of the International Labour Organisation	95
WIRELESS TALKS FROM THE " RADIO-NATIONS " STATION :	
Secretary-General's Message to the Children of the World ..	103
East and West, by M. Anesaki	105
International Outlook in the Social Sciences, by Mr. James T. Shotwell	109
The World challenges the League of Nations, by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan	113
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF EDUCATIONAL AND INSTRU- TIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHY	117
THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION ..	123
Official Documents.	
WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION IN THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD DURING THE PAST YEAR	127
ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING (Report).....	132

	Page
SIXTEENTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION (Resolutions)	138
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF EDUCATIONAL AND INSTRUCTIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHY (Resolutions).....	144
AGREEMENT BETWEEN BRAZIL AND THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC FOR THE REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS ON HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY	150
SOUTH AUSTRALIA : THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN IN THE WORK AND AIMS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (Report of the Advisory Council of Education).....	151

INTRODUCTION.

The former *Educational Survey* now appears under a new title, while its contents also differ from the contents of previous numbers. These changes in the make-up and general policy of the *Survey* call for a brief explanation.

The *Educational Survey* will henceforward be known as the *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*. This name, we think, indicates the aims and nature of the publication more adequately than the old title.

The financial restriction of all the League's activities has made it necessary in future to publish only one instead of two numbers a year.

Lastly, to meet the repeated requests of educational authorities and private associations desirous of obtaining accurate information regarding the League's activities in a form that can be immediately utilised by teachers, starting with the present issue, each number will contain a series of surveys of various aspects of the League's work, intended specially for members of the teaching profession and persons in charge of groups of young people.

These surveys are designed to supplement the information which teachers will find either in the pamphlet "The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations", which will, however, shortly be exhausted, or in the booklet "Essential Facts about the League of Nations", now published in five languages (French, English, German, Italian and Spanish) in a revised edition, which

has been brought up to date. The authors of these two publications simply describe the machinery for the application of the Covenant and the structure and procedure of the League. The series of surveys which it is now proposed to publish in the *Bulletin* will deal with the League's practical work and achievements in various spheres. Teachers will thus have at their disposal information enabling them to illustrate their lessons on the new international methods and institutions by practical examples.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the surveys in question must not be regarded as official and authentic League documents.

THE FIRST SESSION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING

Held at Geneva on July 11th and 12th, 1934.

ORIGIN, COMPOSITION AND AIMS OF THE COMMITTEE.

As far back as 1923, the Assembly endeavoured to ascertain whether the States Members of the League were promoting in their territory instruction in the aims and work of the new international institution. It adopted several recommendations on the matter, and requested the Council to set up a Sub-Committee of Experts attached to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. This Sub-Committee did valuable work by drawing up a series of recommendations which have undoubtedly helped to promote the teaching of international co-operation in many countries.

The first part of the Sub-Committee's work was already sufficiently advanced to contemplate the examination of current questions from a new angle. In 1933, the Sub-Committee was accordingly re-organised with a view to establishing a closer connection with the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. It includes a permanent element consisting of three members of the Plenary Committee, whose duty it is to ensure liaison with the latter, and two former members of the Sub-Committee of Experts. Lastly, according to the nature of the questions to be dealt with, a certain number of assessors may be invited to collaborate in the work of this advisory Committee. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has a perfectly free hand as regards the choice of these assessors. It may approach representatives of national Ministries of Education, experts who have made a special study of technical means of giving information for educational purposes, or representatives of international or national associations such as the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, professional associations of teachers, women's associations, students' associations, etc.

The new Committee's task is to continue the work formerly entrusted to the Sub-Committee of Experts: it is called upon to examine the best methods of co-ordinating all official and unofficial

efforts to instruct young people of all nations in the principles and work of the League of Nations, and to accustom the younger generation to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting the affairs of the world.

At its first session, the Committee was requested to examine more especially the direction that League of Nations teaching and international co-operation should follow at the present juncture and to make suggestions to the plenary Committee as to a concrete programme of action, bearing in mind both the difficulties of recent years and new requirements and also the means of action at the Organisation's disposal.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING.

The Committee unanimously agreed that the manner in which political problems are now presented to the public forms an obstacle to the teaching of international co-operation. It therefore decided to examine all the questions submitted to it by means of a general discussion on the guiding principles which should govern League of Nations teaching.

During this discussion, it was recognised that teaching that merely described the working and mechanism of the League would not suffice to achieve the Assembly's aims in this direction. It was observed that the League possesses no means of coercion : its only strength lies in its moral influence. It is therefore desirable to awaken in the minds of young people that sense of justice and international collaboration on which the Covenant is based.

Several speakers pointed out that the new attitude towards international co-operation as advocated by the Committee was of an intellectual as well as a moral nature. The problem, in short, is so to educate young people that when they grow up they will insist, in the conduct both of national and international affairs, on conciliatory settlement and arbitration. It was noted that, to a large extent, people still look at things from a national standpoint, whereas the social phenomena of our epoch are international in origin and being. To make the younger generation realise the international nature of social, economic and political problems simply means supplementing national civic instruction by a course of international civics, which is a logical continuation.

The League of Nations, like every great human institution representing a new ideal, requires a suitable moral atmosphere in which to develop. The Committee agreed that the inter-

national spirit to be inculcated into the younger generation should aim at creating an atmosphere propitious to new peaceful methods of international collaboration. In this connection, while avoiding any detailed examination of the methods of teaching history, the Committee unanimously agreed that the exaggerated glorification of warfare tended to put obstacles in the way of international understanding. It held, moreover, that teaching intended to create an international outlook would be more effective if it were closely associated with endeavours made to bring out the value of the special contribution of the genius of the several nations as a part of the common heritage of civilisation.

Coming then to the question of methods, the Committee emphasised the value of the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts. In accordance with the Assembly's intentions and on the basis of experience gained in schools in various countries, instruction in the aims, organisation and activity of the League of Nations must, it decided, continue to be given as part of the general curriculum. Though recognising the difficulties of such teaching in the elementary stage of education, the Committee felt that it was important that, for the large mass of the younger generation, international teaching should not be neglected, even if the abstract and complicated nature of the procedure and mechanism of the League does not permit of direct teaching. The Committee insisted on the necessity of giving children, in a manner suitable to their age, a few elementary ideas regarding the interdependence of nations and the serious problems which international co-operation has to face.

In this connection, the Committee laid particular stress on the adequate training of future teachers.

In secondary education, the teaching of history, geography, political economy and philosophy should be so designed as to promote a knowledge of other countries and of the reciprocal duties of nations. The Committee was also of opinion that young people should be made acquainted with new experiments since the war, changes in international relations, new methods designed to ensure the pacific settlement of problems or disputes which may arise and, lastly, examples of effective international co-operation which bring out the fellowship of nations and their interdependence.

In higher education the study of international relations from an historical, economic, social, legal, political and ethnical standpoint should complete the teaching given in the lower

grades. Admittedly, a closer study of international relations at the university is, in the nature of things, likely to interest only a limited number of students specialising in public international law, political economy and modern diplomatic history, or in the study of foreign civilisations. It is desirable then that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should continue its efforts in order that less specialised courses may be established, for students of all faculties, interpreting modern political events and the current work of the League.

Lastly, it became clear from the discussion that henceforth achievements in the sphere of moral disarmament will be inseparably bound up with efforts to encourage League of Nations teaching.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ACTION.

According to the Assembly resolutions, States Members are required to inform the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, at regular intervals, of the steps they have taken to give effect to the recommendations of the experts concerning instruction in the principles of the Covenant and the work of the League.

In this connection, the Committee noted that the information furnished in reply to enquiries by the Secretariat was very often not sufficiently explicit and detailed, and that it was difficult in consequence to obtain an exact idea of the present situation and to ascertain the practical scope of the measures contemplated in any particular country. It was pointed out that an enquiry should not simply record the measures officially decided upon in the various countries, but should determine their extent and real effect and note the detailed methods by which they were to be applied, so that, if necessary, these measures might be brought to the notice of educational authorities in other countries. The Committee considered also that Governments cannot be usefully consulted by means of an enquiry unless this is confined to certain definite points and a method is adopted which enables them to state what is being done in their own country and, at the same time, makes it possible for them to benefit by the ~~experience~~ experience of other countries.

Reviewing the means of action at its disposal, the Committee noted that the whole of the work of the Secretariat, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, contributes towards the proposed aims. It thought that any action would be incomplete unless it was accompanied by a corresponding

effort on the part of the private international organisations. The main task of the Liaison Committee of the major international associations, which was constituted for this purpose, must therefore be to encourage the extension of official activities to that particular sphere. In the vast field of the development of instruction in international co-operation, the fundamental task of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is to harmonise the different forms of action employed, to promote collaboration and to prevent overlapping. It is also its duty to encourage and co-ordinate national action towards the same end. Enquiries addressed to Governments may with advantage be supplemented by comparative studies, such as have been undertaken at the Institute and by the Secretariat in different fields of education. It is the duty of the Organisation to apply to National Committees, the great professional educational associations, national branches of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies and any other appropriate groups, so as to secure detailed information on the various questions included in its programme. It will subsequently have to sum up these forms of action, so far as that is possible, and, in any case, to make known for the benefit of other countries any interesting results achieved in any particular country.

The Committee stressed the differences, as between one country and another, in the methods proposed for inculcating into young people a better understanding of other nations and of their present state of interdependence. National Committees and private groups should therefore be requested to study from the standpoint of national conceptions, both the work of the Committee for Moral Disarmament of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments and the recommendations made by the experts, and they should be invited to submit any suggestions that they may think fit. It is the duty of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to emphasise the importance of devoting increased attention to international affairs, at all stages of education, each country remaining free to adopt its own methods. In fact, what the Committee has to do is not merely to ascertain, by means of enquiries or other appropriate methods, the present position as regards international education, but, by patient and persuasive effort, to induce countries gradually to introduce into their national educational curricula subjects that are likely to create a better understanding of the requirements of international co-operation.

Finally, the Committee unanimously recognised the very great

value of personal contact in the work it is carrying on. The advice and experience of persons closely associated with the work of the Organisation, such as members of the plenary Committee and of the advisory Committee, may be of very great assistance to bodies whose duty it is, in the different countries, to give effect to the recommendations made by the organs of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee.

THE COMMITTEE'S PROGRAMME.

In the course of its work, the Committee carefully considered how far the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation would be able to supply teachers with information on great international problems and, more particularly, on the work done by the League of Nations in its different spheres of activity. It studied especially the question of the means that might be employed to supplement the information contained in the booklet "The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations". It was pointed out that young people prefer facts to ideas and examples to theories, and that, consequently, they should be informed of the practical results obtained, not only in the political field, but also in social, economic and cultural spheres. Several Governments, in their replies to the latest enquiry by the Secretariat, expressed similar views. In addition to national text-books which refer to the League and its organisation, Ministries of Education have frequently pointed out the desirability of placing at the disposal of the teaching profession, at regular intervals, clear and attractive statements describing the work proceeding and the progress accomplished. A teacher who has to give a lesson on the League of Nations cannot confine himself to an abstract and perhaps arid description of the provisions of the Covenant and the League's administrative machinery. His teaching will be more effective if he can illustrate general principles by means of concrete examples. This method of instruction will make it easier to interest young people in certain great problems of the moment. They will thus be brought to understand the causes of the successes and failures of the new international organisation. The Committee thought that, with this object in view, the function of the *Educational Survey* might be considerably extended. Ought it not in future to supply members of the teaching profession with information of the kind mentioned?

Going on to consider the survey proceeding on the study of international relations in establishments for higher education, the

Committee expressed the view that this enquiry should be continued by stages, without waiting for its completion before communicating the first results. It would seem indeed that international understanding is bound to be fostered by surveys describing the efforts made in each country for the furtherance of the study of international relations. The Committee noted with satisfaction the completion of two such studies—one for the United States of America, carried out under the direction of Professor Shotwell; the other for the United Kingdom, prepared by Mr. Bailey. The Committee also noted that the latter had been asked to prepare a comparative study on the basis of the information collected by the Secretariat.

During the sessions of the former Sub-Committee of Experts, attention had been drawn to the importance of raising the school age, post-school education, special courses for unemployed young people and courses for adults. These different forms of education may, indeed, outside the field of secondary and higher education, contribute to a better understanding of other countries, of the interdependence of nations and of the new methods and machinery for international co-operation. Post-school education, to which the unemployment of young people has given fresh importance, is at the present moment one of the most appropriate means for giving future citizens an increased knowledge of the international character of political, social and economic phenomena.

The Committee decided, in the light of these considerations, to instruct the Secretariat to draw up a fairly general plan for dealing with the problems with which the Committee is concerned, to be adapted to the special conditions in the different countries. This plan would cover the efforts of the educational institutions mentioned above to impart some knowledge of the political, economic and social problems of neighbouring countries and the interdependence of nations—which is the characteristic feature of the present age—and also to make known the work of the League of Nations. The Committee is empowered to work for this object in agreement with the International Labour Office and the International Bureau of Education, and to enlist the collaboration of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation and the big specialised associations.

Finally, the Committee noted the results of the Rome Congress of Educational and Instructional Cinematography, the programme of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute and the various plans in progress concerning the

utilisation of broadcasting for instruction on the League of Nations and international co-operation. In recommending that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should approve the measures suggested, the Committee will duly emphasise the immense part that these new means of diffusion may play as factors in a *rapprochement* of minds and mutual knowledge of the peoples.¹

¹ See article on the International Congress of Educational and Instructional Cinematography, p. 117, and the resolutions there adopted concerning certain educational questions.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION TO-DAY.

There is perhaps no greater danger to the future welfare of Europe than the new and deplorable turn given to education in certain countries. In 1926 and for at least three years afterwards, it was unanimously agreed in the Assembly that the younger generation ought to be trained in the methods of peace and co-operation. The Members of the League undertook to see that, in their schools, boys and girls were, first, "instructed in the work and aims of the League of Nations", and, secondly, "trained to regard international co-operation as the normal method of world government". There is reason to believe that, in certain countries, this promise is being completely broken and an opposite system of education set up. One observes in consequence, both in the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and in the Assembly, a natural reluctance to lay much stress on the educational programme. Yet, are the forces of peace and goodwill simply to throw up their arms and acquiesce in defeat?

There can be no doubt whatever that in most countries there is a real desire to continue, or to develop, the kind of education which the Assembly contemplated in its famous resolution of 1926. But there are difficulties in the way. First, it is only in a few countries that the authorities have thought out the technique of such education: one thinks, among others, of the United Kingdom and France, and of Prussia in the time when Dr. Becker was Minister of Education. Again, there has been no adequate comparison of methods and results. A great deal might be done by a travelling commission of educators, like the travelling commissions of health officers. But the third and greatest obstacle is a certain loss of courage in the nations that have hitherto believed in peaceful education, and a tendency, since so many of their neighbours are blatantly training the young in war and hatred, to give up their peaceful methods and meet militarism with militarism.

Now this is a mistake. The first thing to realise is that the League of Nations contains sixty members, of whom certainly the vast majority recognise peace as a vital interest to themselves and good education as a necessary method of ensuring peace.

The forces of peace are overwhelmingly strong, if only they act together. There is no danger in their maintaining a peaceful front: the danger would come if, yielding to panic or mistrust, they abandoned it.

I think that what is wanted is a small commission, of, say, three persons of experience in education, who should study the methods of League teaching in certain countries where that teaching is believed to be good, and then be ready to visit the education authorities in any other country which cared to invite them in order to discuss problems, to supply information and, when required, to give advice. There need be no friction caused by this step, because the countries which do not believe in League teaching need not invite the commission. Those who do believe in League teaching would not only improve their methods but would gain greatly in confidence and mutual trust, and feel that they were not alone but members of a vast army engaged in the crusade for a peaceful world. The danger before us is really great. It is doubtful in any case whether European civilisation can endure, but if the younger generation is brought up to despise objective truth, to persecute those in its power, to worship itself, and to regard its neighbours as enemies, downfall is almost certain. But it will be a downfall due not to circumstances, much less to fate, but merely to human negligence and folly. The forces of peace are infinitely stronger than the forces of mischief if only they will trust one another and know their own minds.

Gilbert MURRAY,

*President of the International Committee
of Intellectual Co-operation,
Professor at Oxford University.*

IS EDUCATION FOR PEACE POSSIBLE ?

That it should be necessary to ask this question at all is significant. After fifteen years' activity on the part of the League of Nations, we find the nations mistrusting each other to such an extent that the "nationalism" of neighbouring countries, and their policy of economic self-sufficiency, prevent every country from even attempting to organise a true education for peace at home. So great is the feeling of insecurity that no one can feel any conviction on this subject. Even those who, out of a sense of duty, continue to teach international co-operation are unable to do so without mental reservations. Would it not be better, they wonder, frankly to admit that this kind of education is a failure, than to put before the younger generation ideals which are flatly contradicted by realities?

What is even graver is the clash of opinions on this question between young people and those who went through the war. The latter, at any rate, realise that these problems have to be discussed, whereas the younger people seem to regard the idea of education for peace as a typical example of those ephemeral myths which set one generation against another and symbolise the past in the eyes of the men and women of to-morrow. Nothing is more fatal to the success of an idea than to surround it with a symbolic halo, the significance of which is necessarily confined to the ideology and experience of a single generation.

We must therefore scrutinise ourselves, to see in what way we have failed and whether the battle is really lost. The brutality upon which those who are opposed to education for peace plume themselves has this good point, that it is often due to a demand for facts and a firm resolve not to be deceived by words. Let us follow their example, and prize frankness above good intentions.

One fact we must recognise at the outset; though discouraging at first sight, it actually justifies a certain optimism. It is this: even during the years when the teaching of international co-operation was universally approved, it remained singularly superficial and alien to the true psychological motives of conduct. The endeavour was to coat every mind, as it were, with the same veneer of international ideology, and to provide ready-made

opinions about the League of Nations, rather than to strengthen the intellectual and moral tendencies through which alone real co-operation is possible. In other words, the work has been so simplified as to be in danger of defeating its own ends; the far-reaching character of the educational and psychological problem of education for peace has been ignored. An ostrich policy has prevailed in international pedagogy, as in other spheres. Only now, when difficulties have actually arisen, can they be discussed objectively.

However painful it may be to us to have to acknowledge these shortcomings, it is, we would repeat, none the less salutary; for it is those very shortcomings that encourage the hope that education for peace is possible. It cannot be said to have failed, because it has never been really tried. We have only to study the actual psychological phenomena upon which the teaching of international co-operation must be based, to realise what a vast field of action remains to be explored.

While it is not for us to express any opinion as to the political structure of one or another nation, we may be permitted to observe that, in principle, none of the political theories of the present day is opposed to the idea of peace. Democratic regimes are based on principles which can obviously be extended without any difficulty to the international sphere. Dictatorial regimes, however hostile they may sometimes appear to the concept of peaceful co-operation, nevertheless possess two common features, the importance of which should not be overlooked. In the first place, peace is a condition of their continuancy; revolution is a graver danger to them than foreign enemies, and everyone knows that the greatest risk that war involves is domestic revolution. Secondly, and in consequence of this, there is a certain international solidarity between dictatorial regimes, based on the logic of facts (although, according to formal logic, countries with a strong nationalist spirit would be expected to fight each other).

This leads us to conclude that, if education for peace is to be really effective, it should be grafted on to the existing national education in each country, and according to the views of each. As we have just seen, all national political theories are capable of expansion: however divergent, and even mutually opposed, they may be, these theories all tend towards a certain universality. Bearing this situation in mind, an international education must necessarily begin by a serious study, by the nationals of each country, of the form of universality aimed at, the conditions required for success and the difficulties which have to be over-

come. The chief problem of education for peace is how to find a genuine interest which will induce each nation to endeavour to understand others, particularly those whose policy is opposed to its own. Mere pacifist propaganda, or mere instruction in the aims and achievements of the League, is ineffectual for this purpose; apart from the fact that it is becoming more and more difficult to make such instruction convincing, as everyone with any sense of realities must realise by now, as an ideology, its force is vastly inferior to that of nationalism. On the other hand, an objective study of the chances of expansion of the principles underlying nationalist theory appeals to a powerful interest: it becomes necessary for each nation, not to relinquish its own point of view, but to understand, without despising them, the views of nations with a different outlook, especially if those views impede the application of its own policy.

It has been said over and over again that a true education for peace should consist, not in the mere teaching of pacifist ideas, but in the adjustment of the whole mentality of the individual so as to embrace international relations. In so far as we are able to convince the individual that this adjustment is necessary for his own existence and for the expansion of the particular ideology he upholds, and that it is not a luxury or a dream, we shall be able to build up, on the foundation of interests which, from a national standpoint, are perfectly legitimate, a complete moral and logical system of international education. To understand the points of view of other nations, to grasp their psychology—in short, to foresee and explain the foreigner's motives—is to-day an obligation from which not even the most ardent nationalist can escape. Without this mental adjustment, isolation is inevitable, and we know to what isolation leads in a world every part of which is bound to the rest by economic, political and spiritual ties. This, then, should be our starting-point: a knowledge of other peoples as a condition of national survival and security and as a means of propagating one's political theories. In spite of its self-interest—which is a guarantee of success as regards instruction in international relations—this introductory study calls for a severe mental discipline, which leads precisely to the education we have in view.

In our daily social life the position is the same. The motives that incite us to understand others are not necessarily disinterested. It is not for the sake of others that we make this unconscious effort to adjust our point of view to theirs; it is in our own interest, so that we may know what line of policy to follow, and

may be able to act independently, to bring others round to our way of thinking and make them do what we want; it is sometimes even in order to protect and defend ourselves. Yet, in so far as we comply with the conditions upon the fulfilment of which our understanding of others depends—that is to say, in so far as we discard our wrong ideas and our personal prejudices—we also acquire a new outlook based on mutual understanding and divest ourselves of our original egocentricity.

Similarly, in the international sphere, any real effort towards psychological adjustment, even if it is inspired by selfish and purely national considerations, leads to a method of mutual understanding and discussion which, in the long run, promotes the growth of an international spirit.

We must not place the ideal of peaceful collaboration on too high a pedestal. The object of international education is something very simple, but it is its very simplicity that makes it so hard to attain. It is much easier for teachers to speak for hours on a theoretical and artificial subject than to inculcate a single elementary idea upon the minds of their pupils, when that idea requires a fundamental attitude of mind. And that is precisely the case with the international idea. There is nothing Utopian or negative in it. It does not consist in abolishing the national and social outlook of the individual: the aim of international education is certainly not to set up any sort of universal outlook in the place of these individual outlooks. Nor is it proposed to “superimpose”, as it were, on those outlooks a mentality which, though of the same type, would dominate every other sentiment by reason of its universality. All that is merely a dream, and if the international ideal involved an attempt to turn out French, Swiss, German and Polish children to the same pattern—to make them into colourless and standardised beings—it would be a dire illusion.

The idea we are defending is much simpler and more concrete: it is merely to teach individuals to understand each other, and, without relinquishing their own point of view or endeavouring to repress their beliefs and feelings which make them what they are—men of flesh and blood attached to a clearly-defined and living portion of the universe—to take their place among mankind as a whole. Let each maintain his own outlook, as the only one of which he has any intimate knowledge; but let him also realise the existence of other outlooks. Let him realise, above all, that, in no matter what sphere, truth is never found ready-made, but has to be laboriously pieced together by co-ordinating those

outlooks. The whole international idea consists in this renunciation of any false absolutes, in the effort to get things in their right perspective.

The idea is thus a very simple one, but it is difficult to carry out on account of its very simplicity. Our spontaneous impulses lead us either to set up our own egocentricity as an absolute or to dream of an abstract and ideal humanity. Both these attitudes amount to the same thing, since the second absolute is merely the first projected upon a higher plane. What we really need is a new intellectual and moral attitude based on understanding and co-operation, which, while realising that everything is relative, attains objectivity by co-ordinating individual points of view:

If that is the goal of international education, any sincere effort to understand others necessarily brings us nearer to it. Any objective instruction in international relations helps individuals to rid themselves of the egocentric illusion by which they are enslaved so long as they are familiar with their own environment alone, and to acquire that attitude of mutual understanding which is the basis of peaceful collaboration.

Man has a dual nature. At every stage and in every sphere of his mental evolution, whether in intellectual or in moral questions, he is torn between two equally powerful tendencies. One is to accept the universe as it first presents itself to him—that is to say, as a system of which he is in every respect the centre. The other is to correct and transcend this first impression and to see oneself as part of a general system; this enables the individual to bring his own point of view into proper perspective with an ever larger number of different outlooks.

When the baby, whose whole cosmos consists of a few moving images created around his own body, learns to imitate others, to speak and thus to build up a solid universe common to others and to himself, he wins a first decisive victory over his initial egocentricity, and takes his place in a co-ordinated world. But the egocentric illusion nevertheless subsists, and the small group of persons among whom he lives, the spot of earth in which he has his roots, the feelings and thoughts to which he is accustomed, continue to be, in his eyes, immutable absolutes.

When the astronomers ceased to regard the sun and moon as little balls that follow us in our courses, appearing and disappearing at the level of the clouds, and placed them, and our earth with them, in a vast coherent system, they accomplished a similar act of liberation; but they did not even then entirely discard the

anthropocentric attitude, and it took more than two centuries, from Newton to the physicists of our time, to correct the old naïve concepts of time and space as functions of the movements of the heavenly bodies.

Lastly, when an honest man renounces a personal gratification for the sake of justice or truth, he performs an action of precisely the same nature as the intellectual operations to which we have just referred : he refuses to regard his own ego as the thing of supreme worth, and subordinates his own point of view to the principles of mutual understanding which constitute morality. But he does not even then rid himself of all egocentricity, and, even if he does not plume himself on his action, he will probably use this morality as an excuse for too hastily condemning in others acts that he does not understand.

In short, we are always under the sway of two rival impulses—to attach ourselves immediately to our concrete surroundings (this is the egocentric illusion properly so called) and to transcend them and co-ordinate our point of view with that of others (and this is emancipation through reason). But, whatever our attitude may be, we can never feel certain that it will last; every conquest of a wider horizon is counterbalanced by the renewed mental inertia which is the characteristic feature of egocentricity.

This then is the general and human explanation of the confusion that prevails in our minds regarding internationalism. Without our being aware of it, the course of events has brought us to a new universe : henceforward no economic, political or social action can take place without disturbing the equilibrium of the whole world. The essential interdependence of nations and civilisations is patent to the most shortsighted among us. But we do not yet know how to act or think on this scale; we are groping in the dark like blind men instead of looking ahead. Moreover, the treasures of solidarity, unification and disinterestedness, which we have collected in order to establish our special national heritage in every part of the globe, are becoming an obstacle to our expansion. By the process of reasoning described above, we have laid down as absolutes the very results of our co-ordinative efforts, and the nations we have established by laboriously disciplining our egocentricity have revived it, merely raising it to the level of a collective—and, for that reason, all the more tyrannical—egocentricity.

In conclusion, education for peace is certainly possible to-day, as it was yesterday; but, having regard to the facts, a general readjustment is more necessary to-day than it was in the past.

In particular, such an education involves a careful study of the pedagogical methods to be employed; for, as we have just seen, it raises the most delicate problems of child and adolescent psychology.

Jean PIAGET,

*Director of the International Bureau of Education,
Assessor to the Committee
of Experts for League of Nations Instruction.*

EDUCATION FOR PEACE.

Teaching designed to make known to the younger generations the aims and activities of the League of Nations and to accustom them to regarding international co-operation as the best method of conducting the affairs of the world cannot have as its main, or indeed its exclusive, object the description of the new inter-governmental organisations with their complex machinery and procedure.

To children, the mechanism of the League is a dry abstract subject unlikely to arouse any interest. There is the danger, moreover, that it might give young people a mistaken idea of the importance of a few bureaux, commissions and forms of procedure as instruments of international co-operation. Such means of action would appear to them to be perfect and final, whereas, in point of fact, they are imperfect and very often the fruit of laborious compromise.

Schoolchildren and university students alike will ask what justified the creation of a vast international body with complicated machinery such as the League. They will seek to unravel the causes of war and to determine what practical action can be taken by this new body to prevent it. The teaching of international co-operation will aim, no doubt, at satisfying that curiosity by educational methods suited to the enquirers' degree of intellectual maturity.

For younger children, detailed descriptions of international organisations are useless and may even produce effects the reverse of those aimed at. They restrict the great tragic problem of the future of the community of peoples and circumscribe the mysterious dreambound horizon that every child creates in imagination. Teaching must aim essentially at presenting, with great dexterity and by indirect means, ideals of respect and tolerance, the variety of human types and conflicting interests as elements in our existence which are not only compatible but indeed indispensable for the progress and well-being of mankind. It would be a mistake, then, to pass over war in silence, to ignore the great conflicts that have rent mankind in the course of history, and to make children think that the mere creation of a

new international organisation has brought the world to the threshold of paradise.

On the contrary, children should be shown historic reality in all its truth, sublime or bitter, and should be taught, by means of biographies, epic narratives, historic episodes and analyses of the stages of human progress, that progress is always possible both in the sphere of feeling and intellect and in the relations between races, nations, classes and economic groups and between individual members of society.

Thus, a school that endeavours to inculcate into children a respect for one another's personality and teaches them consideration for the poor and destitute, for animals and plants, does more to develop the spirit of peace and international co-operation than it could possibly do by giving instruction on the legal organisation of the world. The British League of Nations Union and various associations of teachers and writers in the United Kingdom have published children's readers which constitute, in my view, a first step in the direction I have indicated.

In secondary education, for pupils from 11 to 17 years of age, certain fundamental problems should be dealt with which have been in the past—and still are—a source of conflict between peoples. By making an objective study of such conflicts and doing full justice to the opposite point of view, it is possible to arouse in young people a feeling of confidence in themselves and of hope in the union of mankind which will place justice above all other considerations. Such teaching, based on realities and aiming at an ideal, is certainly sounder than the method of dazzling the eyes of the young with the delusive attractions of a Utopia, which is how certain enthusiasts interpret the Covenant.

At the university, similar subjects will be dealt with scientifically on objective and universal lines; the elements of the problem will receive the penetrating and broad analysis appropriate to higher education.

To complete the plan, it will be necessary also to organise in the higher educational institutions courses at which competent persons from different countries will explain their national point of view in regard to conflicting interests and disputes that might threaten to disturb world peace. Conflicts of argument, with facts and figures in support, references to historic events and legal principles, a battle of brains in the scientific setting of the university which knows no frontiers—all these can help to form a world conscience and prevent that other sanguinary strife that takes place on the field of battle.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation might assist in launching the scheme so outlined, in the following way :

(1) By preparing and organising the above-mentioned university courses, in collaboration with one or more universities in each country;

(2) By publishing works presenting succinctly opposite points of view in regard to questions likely to lead to a conflict, together with suitable suggestions for a friendly settlement;

(3) By encouraging the publication of history books written in a spirit of complete impartiality and setting forth historical facts frankly and clearly but at the same time moderately and magnanimously.

The campaign against bad and tendentious books containing passages prejudicial to mutual comprehension between peoples and the methods that have been contemplated with a view to the elimination of such passages have this drawback, that, unless the matter is handled with all due discretion, the authors or persons sponsoring such works become the victims of persecution, and publications which are deserving only of silence and oblivion win a wide popularity.

It seems impossible, moreover, entirely to eliminate from history books written in the interests of truth all facts and considerations that may be capable of offending the feelings of a nation. The only way would be to do away with history altogether, for no nation can boast of never having offended against the principles of justice and morality.

If, however, we consider that it is not the things that are actually said or written that offend the feelings of a nation, but the purpose that inspires them in an author belonging to another country, the soundest solution for remedying this state of affairs would perhaps be to entrust in each country to a limited number of historians the task of writing a history of that country, which would take into account all criticisms and allegations based on undisputed historical facts, in order to explain the reasons that have led other historians to pronounce a valid judgment or, at all events, to show that reliable historians have felt it necessary to interpret certain events in a different way.

Some people have argued in favour of history text-books written jointly by historians belonging to different countries. Such products of international collaboration would be bound to be very dull and lacking in warmth and personality. And they would, moreover, be open to the objection attaching to certain

official and diplomatic publications, the chief object of which is to avoid giving offence in any quarter.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation does not represent directly either Governments or countries. It is obliged, in consequence, to renounce all the advantages possessed by a democratic political body, but must, on the other hand, be immune from its drawbacks. Its function is to serve as the technical organ of science, art and all the manifestations of the intellect, which are by definition universal in character, while expressing itself by means of national forces which are in relation one with another. That being so, the Organisation need only serve the cause of justice and truth, and, in so doing, it will be serving the cause of peace.

José CASTILLEJO,

Professor at the University of Madrid.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation might assist in launching the scheme so outlined, in the following way :

(1) By preparing and organising the above-mentioned university courses, in collaboration with one or more universities in each country;

(2) By publishing works presenting succinctly opposite points of view in regard to questions likely to lead to a conflict, together with suitable suggestions for a friendly settlement;

(3) By encouraging the publication of history books written in a spirit of complete impartiality and setting forth historical facts frankly and clearly but at the same time moderately and magnanimously.

The campaign against bad and tendentious books containing passages prejudicial to mutual comprehension between peoples and the methods that have been contemplated with a view to the elimination of such passages have this drawback, that, unless the matter is handled with all due discretion, the authors or persons sponsoring such works become the victims of persecution, and publications which are deserving only of silence and oblivion win a wide popularity.

It seems impossible, moreover, entirely to eliminate from history books written in the interests of truth all facts and considerations that may be capable of offending the feelings of a nation. The only way would be to do away with history altogether, for no nation can boast of never having offended against the principles of justice and morality.

If, however, we consider that it is not the things that are actually said or written that offend the feelings of a nation, but the purpose that inspires them in an author belonging to another country, the soundest solution for remedying this state of affairs would perhaps be to entrust in each country to a limited number of historians the task of writing a history of that country, which would take into account all criticisms and allegations based on undisputed historical facts, in order to explain the reasons that have led other historians to pronounce a valid judgment or, at all events, to show that reliable historians have felt it necessary to interpret certain events in a different way.

Some people have argued in favour of history text-books written jointly by historians belonging to different countries. Such products of international collaboration would be bound to be very dull and lacking in warmth and personality. And they would, moreover, be open to the objection attaching to certain

official and diplomatic publications, the chief object of which is to avoid giving offence in any quarter.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation does not represent directly either Governments or countries. It is obliged, in consequence, to renounce all the advantages possessed by a democratic political body, but must, on the other hand, be immune from its drawbacks. Its function is to serve as the technical organ of science, art and all the manifestations of the intellect, which are by definition universal in character, while expressing itself by means of national forces which are in relation one with another. That being so, the Organisation need only serve the cause of justice and truth, and, in so doing, it will be serving the cause of peace.

José CASTILLEJO,

Professor at the University of Madrid.

THE WORK OF PRIVATE ORGANISATIONS.

From the discussions of the Advisory Committee on Instruction in the League of Nations, which met at Geneva on July 12th and 13th, 1934, one very definite impression emerges: in regard to the instruction of youth, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has reached a difficult period of its activity. At the outset, its work was necessarily constructive and theoretical. Constructive, because the problem was one of framing a whole programme of teaching adapted to the entirely new situation brought about by the League's creation a few years previously—a matter of breaking entirely new ground; theoretical, because obviously the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation could not oblige educational institutions, public or private, to follow the recommendations of its experts, or even indicate the way in which these recommendations should be implemented—each country having its own methods and requirements.

The Committee of Experts brilliantly acquitted itself of its task, even if that task was a relatively easy one. When some fifteen persons of note, mostly educationists and all ardent advocates of international co-operation, had been brought together, there was little doubt that a definite programme of ideas and methods would evolve. The subject-matter being entirely new, there was no danger of opposition from traditionalists; on the somewhat abstract but quite clear basis of general human interests, it was possible to build up an edifice of theory that seemed to suit the intellectual requirements of the world.

The edifice itself would seem to be still quite solid. It is noteworthy that, during the Advisory Committee's two days' session, there was practically no inclination to criticise the system or propose additions thereto. For my part, I even felt bound to press for an explicit recognition of the enduring value of the 1926 recommendations.

True, the problem of persuading the different countries to incorporate the programme in their own educational practice had still to be solved, but even in that respect the outlook was bright. All the countries consulted expressed their approval of the initiative. Many announced that elementary teaching

regarding the League of Nations and international affairs had been introduced in their schools even before the experts had made their recommendations.

What is the position at present?

The Chairman, Professor Gilbert Murray, raised this question at the beginning of the session with evident anxiety. He answered his own question, in part, by observing that two great countries have left the League and no longer tolerate any reference thereto in their schools. But is that all? Even in countries which have remained faithful to the League, is it quite certain that the teaching is inspired by—we will not say an international spirit, but at least the desire to make the young understand that co-operation really is the normal method of conducting world affairs? Are there not some great Powers, indeed, which are quite openly training their boys and girls and young men and women in a spirit of nationalism, not to say militarism? In those countries, beside this systematic self-glorification, is any attention still paid to influences generative of international goodwill? Perhaps; but honestly we have never heard it said and should therefore be very thankful for some reassurance on this point.

Reassurance would also be welcome concerning the present position of League instruction even in those—happily still numerous—countries whose peoples are still convinced of the need for international education and realise that such education can be quite compatible with the development of an enlightened love for one's own country. Doubtless, the orders issued as a result of the 1926 programme are still in existence; the ministerial circulars instituting such teaching have not (as far as we know) been rescinded. Nor is there any reason to doubt that teachers are still carrying out their instructions. But in what spirit, or, rather, with what degree of faith, are they doing so? Do they confine themselves to the stereotyped and prescribed items, or do they endeavour, through their teaching of history, geography, languages and literature, to promote a generous sentiment of international goodwill?

We should like to be reassured, because we have discerned a note of discouragement in certain quarters. Even the best-intentioned persons are inclined to suspect that they are being fooled when they learn that the humanitarian ideals they seek to inculcate are elsewhere held up to ridicule and scorn, when they see that relations with teachers in certain countries have become more difficult and less frequent owing to the dissolution or

nationalisation of teachers' associations, and to the obstacles placed in the way of collective tours abroad.

In these circumstances, it will be understood that the idea of an enquiry as to how the 1926 programme was being at present carried out did not meet with much favour in the eyes of the Committee. The suggestion was only accepted subject to certain special conditions. After all, what would a general enquiry have produced? Almost all Governments would have sent in optimistic and flattering replies. Many a reassuring circular would have been taken from its pigeonhole. What, however, would have been the real value of such official information? As a matter of fact, only by visiting schools, questioning teachers and getting the children to talk could the truth be reached. Naturally, such an enquiry could only be conducted on a comparatively small scale and on a purely national basis.

* * *

Is there more to be hoped for from private enterprise? Even in this direction, the difficulties are considerable. The Committee rightly pointed out how helpful the Churches and private organisations like League of Nations Unions could be when they worked in conjunction with the national Committees on Intellectual Co-operation.

The International Conference of the Œcumenical Council at Fanö (August 22nd to 30th, 1934) furnished evidence that the Churches were making strenuous efforts to maintain contact with German Protestants. I myself was able to tell the Committee of what had been accomplished by a delegate of the Red Cross when travelling in the Far East and of the statements made to the Basle Conference on the Teaching of History by the German delegates, who asked that German school text-books tainted with aggressive nationalism should be brought to their notice.

Similarly, the last Summer School of the International Union of League of Nations Associations (Geneva, August 13th to 21st, 1934) provided a highly interesting experience. In 1933, the complete absence of students from the Reich had made it impossible to organise a German section; but, in 1934, this section was re-established. The German association affiliated to the Union, now known as the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerbundenfragen, sent eight carefully selected scholarship students to the Summer School. The relations between these young Germans and the students from other countries were very cordial. The most

burning topics of the hour were discussed with entire frankness and sincerity. The subjects included a number of essentially German problems such as Nazism, Racism, economic "autarchy", etc.

Teaching and school text-books were also discussed. I mentioned a history book, recommended to schools by the Bavarian Minister of Education, which was not, in my view, such as to promote better understanding. Thereupon a student offered to make enquiries. May this be a precedent! Perhaps it will be, as the German Government has stated that it is prepared to encourage exchanges of pupils and students and group tours abroad. The special service established for the purpose, the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*, has even extended its programme under the new regime. True, the Decree of June 7th, 1933, on exchanges of young persons and travels abroad laid down very minute conditions. But these, though they complicate matters, are not insuperable; and, obviously, no possibility should be neglected of maintaining contact between the young people of different countries, particularly those whose political and social concepts are most widely at variance.

It is the aim of the International Union of League of Nations Associations to encourage and multiply these opportunities. Naturally, the Union will continue to hold its school every summer. This school has now entered the eighth year of its existence and proposes, in 1935, to make a special effort, which will coincide with the installation of the League of Nations in its new buildings.

It even hopes to establish in the *Campagne Rigot*, in the immediate vicinity of the new Secretariat, a permanent Centre of International Education, complete with students' hostels, where prices will be moderate. It is recommending its associations to help in recruiting students for the school and to organise tours abroad for elementary-school teachers. It is proposing that all National Intellectual Co-operation Committees should set up special committees to examine complaints received from other countries concerning undesirable tendencies in school text-books (resolution of the assembly at Montreux, 1933). It is also keeping in mind the suggestion it made to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation as far back as 1932, that some day a great international conference on education should be convened. It hopes that the reasons—mainly financial—which have hitherto prevented the Committee from giving its whole-hearted support to this idea will sooner or later cease to exist.

Finally, it proposes to convene at Geneva, in 1936, a vast

Congress of Youth. There can be no doubt that the many and various groups of young people to be met with nowadays on every side, with their absolutely new ideals, should be given an opportunity of meeting and discussing their views on an international plane, as they have previously been doing each in its own country.

Naturally, so vast an undertaking cannot be carried through without the assistance of all organisations—religious and educational groups, associations of students, ex-servicemen, etc.—which, each in its own sphere, may be able to persuade some section of the younger generation to take part in this joint effort. The Union hopes that it will receive support for this ambitious plan, the success of which would have a most happy effect on moral disarmament, the first condition of material disarmament in modern States.

TH. RUYSEN,

*Secretary-General of the International Union
of League of Nations Associations.*

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK.

As is pointed out in the introductory note to this number of the *Bulletin*, it is proposed to group under this new heading statements on the various aspects of the League's activities specially prepared for members of the teaching profession. These statements must not be regarded as official League documents. • [Editor's note.]

THE LEAGUE AS PROMOTER OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING.

An attempt has been made in this chapter to draw some conclusions as to the chief characteristics and methods of the League as a whole. They presuppose a knowledge of the purposes, principles and organisation of the League, which the reader may find in the Secretariat's publication entitled "The Aims and Organisation of the League". It should be remembered, however, that in this, as in every other aspect of the League, what is being described is a continually growing and changing institution, and that what the League has been yesterday and is to-day is no index of what the League may become to-morrow.

CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Universality.

The chief characteristic of the League in the fifteen years of its existence is its tendency to become universal, for in that period its membership has grown from forty-two to sixty States. From the outset, the intention of the framers of the Covenant was that the League should be world-wide, for it would fail in its purpose in proportion as it was not universal. But from the outset, too, they realised that universality could not be achieved in a day. That is why the Covenant provides for the admission of new Members, for the enlargement of the Council through the addition of both permanent and elected Members, and for the League's intervention in disputes between non-member States. The obligation in Article 10, for instance, to preserve the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members

of the League against external aggression, applies even if the aggressor is a non-member State.

In Article 11, it is said that "any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League". Article 17 makes it obligatory to invite a non-member State engaged in a dispute with a Member, and even to invite both parties if both are non-members, to "accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council." The article goes on to state that a non-member State refusing such an invitation and resorting to war against a Member of the League must be subjected to the sanctions provided in Article 16. If both parties to the dispute refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, "the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute".

The Covenant says nothing about the relations of non-member States to the auxiliary and autonomous organisations of the League. But it does provide, in Article 24, that all international bureaux already established by general treaties shall be placed under the direction of the League if the parties to such treaties consent, and that, if it be so desired by the parties and agreed to by the Council, the Secretariat of the League shall collect and distribute all relevant information and render any other necessary or desirable assistance "in all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions".

In practice, as we have seen, the Permanent Court is open to all States on equal terms, and the International Labour Organisation may include in its membership States not members of the League. In the technical organisations and advisory committees also, the practice has been to admit non-member States to membership on the terms desired by such States. Generally, this has been a matter arranged between the Council and the State concerned, but the constitution of the Transit Organisation specifically provides for the membership therein of States not members of the League.

The Covenant marks the importance attached to membership of the League by making admission subject to a two-thirds vote

in the Assembly and an undertaking to observe international obligations, by providing for the expulsion of a State that violates its covenants, and by stipulating that a State may withdraw from the League after two years' notice only "provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal". In other words, the principle of the Covenant—and it flows from the principle of universality which is at the root of the League—is that the Members of the League have a collective and continuing responsibility for "the maintenance of peace and justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another", and that this is not a responsibility of which the League or any of its Members can be divested by the simple act of withdrawal.

As regards membership, the League has gone through various vicissitudes. Several States have given notice of withdrawal from the League; in one case, Spain, the withdrawal was in its turn withdrawn before the expiry of the two years' notice, and the Spanish Government proceeded to insert a provision in the Constitution requiring the same procedure for sanctioning a notice of withdrawal as is required for a change in the Constitution. In two cases—Brazil and Costa Rica—the two years' notice was followed by the cessation of membership. In two other cases—Germany and Japan—notices of withdrawal have been given, but the two years' notice has not yet expired.

But, on the whole, the membership of the League has steadily tended to increase. And, apart from formal membership, the League system of co-operation and peaceful settlement of disputes is being employed to an increasing degree by the nations of the world, whether or not they have subscribed to the Covenant. There is scarcely an organised State in the world which has not at some time participated in one or more of the League's activities.

And two great Powers—the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—have drawn steadily and continuously closer to it, and from an earlier attitude of indifference or even hostility, have come frankly to avow their desire to co-operate with and strengthen the League as a guardian of peace. In the words of President Roosevelt: "The United States is co-operating in every activity of the League which is not purely political". On the other hand, the Soviet Union, after having co-operated to an increasing extent in various League conferences and committees, including notably the Economic Conference of 1927, the Monetary and Economic Confe-

rence of 1933 and the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, became a League Member during the fifteenth Assembly, in September 1934.

Notices of withdrawal from the League have generally been given because the policy adopted by the community of nations on some important issue appeared unacceptable to the withdrawing State. In this connection, it may be observed that States which stand outside the League or withdraw from it are still obliged to live in the same world with the Members of the organised international community, so that withdrawal solves no problem.

The League is thus steadily drawing nearer to universality. This tendency waxes and wanes in proportion as the States which are Members show by their policies that they are determined to make the new method and new obligations prevail by applying them wholeheartedly in their international relations.

Permanence.

Another characteristic of the League is its permanence. This does not mean merely that the League already has a history of a decade and a half. Nor is it merely that the League is so deeply embedded in a lengthening series of post-war treaties, settlements, agreements and conventions of all kinds that it could scarcely be eliminated except by an upheaval approximating to world war or revolution. The two main reasons why the League may be regarded as a permanent feature of the post-war political landscape are : (a) that there is no practical alternative to the League except a relapse into international anarchy and a race in armaments—that is, into the international standards and methods which led to the world war—and (b) that an increasing proportion of the world's business is of such a nature that it can be dealt with only through permanent international machinery, on the basis of definite treaty obligations.

The League is not a mechanism which springs into action in a sudden crisis or emergency and then may or may not prove effective, but remains idle for the rest of the year. It is a set of rules and machinery for the transaction of day-to-day international business. It is hardly possible for modern nations to live normally without transacting such business. If the nations were to meet and dissolve the League, they would probably soon feel the need to devise alternative machinery for handling

the current affairs which hitherto had been dealt with through the League; and, by the time they had set up such machinery, they would discover that they had created something not unlike a new League of Nations. To put the same point differently, the League can be reformed in any way and to any extent its Member States wish, but it seems highly improbable that it will ever be abolished.

One direct result of the League's permanent character is the element of continuity in its work. A question is hardly ever dealt with from start to finish at a single meeting of the League. This, like most of the League's other characteristics, may become either a drawback or an advantage, according to the attitude of the Governments concerned. If, for instance, there is no strong desire either to come to an agreement or to take the responsibility for saying "no", the League's procedure may evolve on lines which give point to the jest that "the League touches nothing that it does not adjourn". On the other hand, even with the best will in the world, it may prove impossible for Governments to come to an agreement at one meeting on some big and complex question that affects a wide range of interests and a great number of countries. The League is an attempt to conduct international relations by a permanent conference system; it is an essay in world government by consent. That is why the element of persuasion, compromise and education of public opinion plays a very large part in League methods.

It is essential to this method that opportunity should be given for due consideration by every interest affected before decisions are taken. We find, accordingly, that, in the League, a proposal may be made by a Government or by an expert on a League technical committee, and that it then goes through various stages, including discussion and approval by the Council and Assembly and careful preparation by a technical organisation, before reaching the final stage of an international convention. At this point, it is sufficient to emphasise the method by which, thanks to the League's permanence, decisions can gradually ripen from the stage where an idea is put forward by some particularly advanced Government or daring expert until it is accepted by the international community. As a case in point, it may be recalled that, when the League Economic Committee was first formed, the suggestion that tariffs should come up for international consideration had to be dropped because it was considered contrary to current conceptions of national sovereignty. However, the Economic Committee continued to function and, in due

course, a gingerly approach to the previously forbidden subject became noticeable : first, the question of Customs formalities was taken up; then the subject of Customs nomenclature; afterwards, tariff policy was boldly discussed and resolutions were framed at the 1927 Economic Conference, which represented every variety of economic interest but was not a Conference of Government delegates; finally, at the London Monetary and Economic Conference, the Governments themselves tackled the question of tariffs. This first attempt did not lead to practical results, but national and international economic authorities have not ceased to emphasise the need for international action if world economic recovery is to be assured and complete.

Binding Governments.

Decisions of the League, with the rare exceptions specified in the Covenant, have to be unanimous. If these decisions are incorporated in international conventions, they have to go through the ordinary procedure of signature and ratification (with the exception described below in the chapter on the International Labour Organisation). The decisions registered in an Assembly or Council resolution may call for some action without further formality. The legal status of a report of the Assembly or Council under paragraph 6 of Article 15 is peculiar and is a matter on which jurists are still in disagreement. This point is linked up with the fascinating but somewhat recondite question : What, exactly, is the status of the League as a corporate entity or personality in international law, and what are its relations in that capacity to the Governments that compose the League?

It is not proposed in this pamphlet to enquire into so wide and controversial a question. But it is pertinent to note that delegates to the Assembly or Council represent their Governments and cast their votes on behalf of their Governments. It follows that a decision of the Assembly or Council adopted unanimously, after due consideration between the Governments concerned, represents the settled intention of those Governments to act in the way specified in the decision. And the reports of League technical committees, after approval by the Council, represent the corporate judgment of specialists from many countries and of "semi-governmental" experts, who are generally public officials in close touch with the activities of government departments. This corporate judgment has subsequently been approved by a group of the chief Governments Members of the

League meeting in the Council, acting in this matter as the executive and supervisory organ of the whole League. Such reports, therefore, although not directly binding on Governments, possess the maximum of moral authority.

Elasticity.

In the Covenant, one of the main characteristics of the League system is its elasticity. It has been emphasised repeatedly in these pages that the Covenant was fashioned by practical statesmen and intended not to provide a code of rules to cope with every emergency, but to embody the minimum of obligations and machinery required to make a new start in international relations. This new start was to take the form of international co-operation, and, within wide limits, it was left to the co-operating States to build up the new system of international relations as they found most convenient in the light of experience.

In regard to the Assembly and Council, the Covenant, for instance, made no provision for the Assembly to hold its meetings annually—this was a matter left to the Assembly itself to decide; nor did it provide how the Assembly delegations were to be composed, except by saying that each country was not to have more than three delegates. The practice that has been worked out is for most countries to have three delegates, three deputy delegates and a variable number of advisers and experts. Many countries send members of their legislatures and not diplomats to the Assembly. The Assembly has determined its own procedure, including the division of the work into various committees.

Similarly, the Council itself determines the frequency of its meetings; the annual number has been altered twice. The Council, too, is master of its own procedure, including the system of rapporteurs, division into committees and appointment of commissions of enquiry.

The Council, with the sanction of the Assembly, may increase the number of its permanent or elected members.

The relations between the Council and the Assembly have been worked out by experience as indicated above, the Covenant having laid down the same general competence for both.

The Assembly, at an early stage, practically took charge of the question of disarmament, although the Covenant gives special functions in this connection to the Council, and the matter has for years been dealt with by a system of committees and conferences of which there is no mention in the Covenant.

Again, on the basis of a line or two in the Covenant, the League's action has been extended into a variety of fields; complex technical organisations have been established and their work has ramified widely in many directions.

Disputes and Extra-League Bodies.

The elasticity of the League system has also been shown in the adjustment of the relations between League bodies and international institutions independent of the League. But it is likewise illustrated by the League's methods of settling disputes. The Council has the widest latitude, under the Covenant, to adapt its procedure to the exigencies of the case, and so freely has this latitude been used that the only safe lesson to be drawn from League precedents is that they are not to be taken as an indication of what the Council may do the next time it handles a superficially similar case. The Council has also, when circumstances obliged it to do so, accommodated itself to the existence of other political bodies attempting to handle a dispute which had been referred to it by one or both parties. One example is the Corfu dispute between Italy and Greece, which was referred to the Council and the Conference of Ambassadors simultaneously. In the South-American disputes of Leticia and the Chaco, the Council found it necessary so to adapt its procedure as to allow of the concurrent activities of the Committee of Neutrals in Washington and the Pan-American Conference.

The Council has also adjusted its procedure so as to avoid conflicts of jurisdiction with arbitration tribunals or the Permanent Court.

The general principle is that, when the two parties are bound by treaty to recognise the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court or of an arbitral tribunal, and if there is no reservation giving them the right to refer to the Council, the Council will step aside if it learns that the dispute has been submitted by either party to arbitration or to the Court. Alternatively, the Council may use its good offices to help the parties to frame an arbitral agreement, or to induce them to refer the matter, or some aspect of it, to the Court. The Council may, indeed, itself seek help from the Court in the form of an advisory opinion.

The Council and Assembly have also shown that League methods do not exclude the use of the ordinary machinery of

diplomacy and negotiation. But the very existence of the treaty obligations and machinery of the Covenant in the background provides a new basis on which diplomacy can work and increases the chance of reaching agreement by negotiation, since both parties are bound by common obligations and each knows that if he proves intransigent he may find himself summoned before the League and in an awkward position when the story of the negotiations is unfolded there.

Articles 21 and 19 of the Covenant.

Two articles in the Covenant (apart from what may be called the "omnibus article"—viz., 11—and the very general provisions governing the competence of the Assembly and Council under Articles 3 and 4) directly contemplate elasticity. These are Articles 21 and 19. The former declares that :

"Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."

In 1921, the second session of the Assembly interpreted this article as meaning that "agreements between Members of the League tending to define or complete the engagements contained in the Covenant for the maintenance of peace or the promotion of international co-operation, may be regarded as of a nature likely to contribute to the progress of the League in the path of practical realisations. Such agreements may also be negotiated under the auspices of the League of Nations—for example, in special conferences, with its assistance."

In pursuance of this interpretation, the Polish Government was able to summon the Warsaw Health Conference in 1922 with the approval of the League Council, which put the Health Section of the Secretariat at the disposal of the Polish Government to prepare for the Conference. The Conference was composed of European States, including non-members of the League, and entrusted the execution of its decisions to the League Health Committee.

The Conference and Commission of Enquiry for European Union are further examples of the way in which the universal machinery and obligations of the Covenant may be used for regional purposes that are in conformity with the objects of the League.

Article 19 of the Covenant reads :

“ The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.”

Up to the present, the prevailing sentiment among the States Members of the League has been that the immediate issue was to ensure that attempts should not be made to change the *status quo* by violence rather than by endeavouring to develop the implications of Article 19 as regards facilitating change by pacific means. But it is generally admitted that this article is an essential part of the Covenant and indispensable to the balance of the League system as a whole.

• *Publicity.*

President Wilson's famous formula, “ Open covenants, openly arrived at ”, presided at the birth of the League, and statesmen have insisted again and again at Geneva that publicity is its life-blood. The obligation under Article 18 to register and publish treaties is a further example of the emphasis placed by the Covenant on publicity in the conduct of international relations.

International business, indeed, has never been conducted so fully in the public view as since the advent of the League. The Assembly and its six committees all meet in public. The Council meets the greater part of the time in public. All special League Conferences are held in public, and so are the meetings of several of the most important technical committees. Even where meetings of the Council or of committees are in private, full Minutes are kept and subsequently published; so are the reports and resolutions of the Council and the various League Committees.

This does not mean that there is no place in League procedure for preliminary negotiation and discussion in private. On the contrary, one of the advantages of League meetings, it is generally recognised, has been the facilities afforded to statesmen to meet and discuss their common problems—including matters which have no connection with the agenda of the meeting—without all the public attention and guesswork in the Press which attends specially-staged meetings of statesmen outside Geneva. But the preliminary private discussions at Geneva are conducted by all concerned with the knowledge, not only that the final decisions

must be announced and defended in public, but that any party to the discussion may, if dissatisfied, insist upon a public discussion at any stage of the proceedings.

The League's permanent character, the constitutional obligations that govern League proceedings and the issue of full records and Minutes of all League proceedings, as well as the publicity of the meetings and the attendance at Geneva of a permanent corps of journalists—greatly augmented for any important meeting—afford unrivalled facilities for keeping world public opinion informed of what goes on at Geneva and why.

The Governments, at League meetings, have themselves shown a sense of the importance of the principle of publicity, by supporting, for instance, the proposals made by the Danish and Spanish Governments in 1931 and 1933 for a meeting of representatives of the Press and of Government Press Bureaux for the purpose of ensuring a more accurate news service to the public. Great stress has been laid at Geneva on the danger to peace of the circulation of false and tendentious news. At Press conferences in Geneva, Copenhagen and Madrid, attempts have been made to find ways of giving effect to these principles.

The League has its own wireless station, Radio-Nations, and gives a weekly broadcast to the world on current League activities. Its International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has circulated to the Governments a draft Convention designed to prevent the use of broadcasting for hostile propaganda against foreign States.

THE CONFERENCE SYSTEM.

It has been repeatedly insisted that the League is an attempt to erect the method of international conference into a permanent system for the conduct of international relations.

This attempt was embarked upon because Governments and public opinion had come to feel that a decisive break must be made with the pre-war conditions often referred to as "international anarchy", if another world war were to be avoided, but were not prepared to surrender sovereign rights on the scale that would be demanded if any form of central authority or majority rule was to be established. It is for this reason, under the League method, that progress is made by the generally slow and unspectacular methods of discussion, compromise and agreement instead of by decisions in which a majority can override a minority.

But in the domain of international co-operation, as in that of keeping the peace, the establishment of the League has never-

theless brought about profound changes in international relations. Before the war, a large number of so-called public international unions had grown up varying widely in importance but possessing certain common features, such as being based on an international agreement providing for the occasional holding of a conference and containing some form of central office with permanent officials to watch over the execution of the Convention and prepare the periodical conferences. The best known and most highly developed body of this type is perhaps the Universal Postal Union, which has its seat in Berne. As other examples may be mentioned the Office international d'Hygiène publique (Paris) and the International Institute of Agriculture (Rome).

These bodies had no connection with each other, except for such voluntary bonds as they might establish. Nor was there any provision by which their work would be annually passed in review by a body representing something broader than the specialists dealing with the particular subject of the public international union concerned.

Under the Covenant, not only were new organisations for technical co-operation created, but an attempt was made to bring within the purview of the League all existing bodies of this type or at any rate to establish close contact between their work and that of League bodies. And because the technical organisations are all parts of the League and their budget paid for out of the common League funds, they are served by the central League Secretariat and their work is reviewed annually by the Assembly besides being reported to the Council.

In this way, full account is taken of the inter-relations between the different subjects on which States co-operate, and public opinion becomes familiar with the connection between these subjects and the general business of conducting world affairs in a civilised and rational manner.

The Technique of Holding Conferences.

The moment it was decided to conduct international relations habitually by the method of conferences, a number of practical consequences inevitably followed. It was soon discovered that, if a conference of a large number of States dealing with a wide range of subjects has to come to decisions and commit itself in the form of a convention, it must be exceedingly carefully prepared. This preparation has two aspects. The technical preparation is taken care of by the standing committees of the League auxiliary

organisations. This involves the work, not only of pure specialists, but of experts with a semi-governmental status, for the technical work of the League is concerned with extremely practical questions that closely affect national administration in a number of ways. But technical preparation alone is insufficient, for there may be a number of technical ways equally good of solving some particular question when only one way is possible, owing to administrative conditions, national susceptibilities, the state of public opinion and a number of similar factors. For this reason, every stage of the work is, as it were, checked by being brought to the attention of Governments either directly or through the semi-governmental experts returning to their countries or through the Council and Assembly. Public opinion is kept informed through the publicity of League proceedings.

The Secretariat, as a permanent Civil Service, is constantly in touch with every aspect of the preparatory work, which generally ends in some form of draft convention, with a report which is circulated a month or more in advance to the Governments that are to take part in the conference and which is intended to serve as the basis of discussion.

Even with these thorough and careful methods of preparation, agreement is not always easy, nor is the agreement when reached always the prelude to action. Without them, it would be impossible. And in one way or another, it is essential for States to make practical working arrangements on the range of subjects thus dealt with, if their material interests are not to suffer severely and increasingly in the post-war world of interdependent nations.

Criticism of Conference Method.

The conference method of conducting international relations has come in for severe criticism, owing to the failures of recent big conferences to produce any appreciable results. These criticisms have been directed from two opposite points of view. The first—and the most frequently encountered—is that universal conferences are too big and cumbrous, and that it is easier to get practical results by negotiations between a few great Powers. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the disagreements on which conferences have broken up have generally been disagreements between the great Powers, and that the method of direct negotiations between such Powers has not been much more successful than that of wider conferences. In any case, the ramification and interdependence of interests in the modern world

is so complex and far-reaching that few, if any, matters of importance are capable of being settled by a limited group of Powers, whether big or small. The technique of holding conferences successfully is a complicated matter and requires careful preparation and full use of opportunities for private discussions and clearing the ground through diplomatic channels between a few Powers. But the conference method has been and is being resorted to to an increasing degree by Governments, not on theoretical grounds, but through sheer hard necessity. A good deal no doubt can yet be done to improve the technique of organising conferences so that they may produce decisions. But the decisive element is the will to agreement—that is, the feeling on the part of each of the States concerned, particularly those whose attitude is most influential, that, on the particular matter before the Conference, agreement is worth the risks, sacrifices and concessions involved.

The League of Nations, it cannot be too often insisted on, is nothing but a set of treaty obligations and a piece of international machinery. The Governments Members of the League are pledged by their treaty obligations to use the machinery. The Governments start or stop the machine. In its fourteen years of existence the machine has shown it can function successfully when properly handled. But it is no use blaming the machine if it rusts unused or if grit is poured into its bearings instead of oil. The League as an entity acting independently of the policies of the Governments composing it simply does not exist. In any Member State, the answer to the question "What is the League doing", is always: "It is doing what your Government has decided or agreed it should do (or not do)."¹

The second type of criticism is the opposite of the first. The first category of critics—and they are far the larger—assert that the way to get results in international relations is to abandon post-war methods and revert to the simpler pre-war methods. The second category declare that until the unanimity rule is abolished and a majority or qualified majority of the Members of the League given the legal power to impose decisions on the minority, it is hopeless to expect the conference system to function. But the fact must be faced that Governments and public opinion have as yet shown no inclination to accept a sacrifice of sove-

¹ In the case of States not members of the Council, with regard to the proceedings of that body, the agreement takes the form of mere passive and tacit acquiescence.

reignty on the scale that would be required by any such modification of the Covenant, and that, in the meantime, international co-operation still continues to be necessary in the common interests of States.

THE FOLLOW-UP SYSTEM.

But even when the final stage of adopting a convention has been reached, the matter is by no means over. There remains the serious question of getting the convention ratified. In pre-war conditions, the business of ratification was almost incredibly slow. It took over three years, for instance, to get the Hague Opium Convention ratified by less than a dozen States, including some that made important and crippling reservations. As compared with this, the League has brought into existence, in the decade and a half since it was founded, more than eighty international agreements (not including some sixty conventions concluded by the International Labour Organisation), concluded by anything from twenty to fifty States each, and dealing often with matters that, before the war, were not regarded as of international concern. Over fifty of these agreements are in force.

Even so, slowness and difficulty of securing ratifications is a serious League problem. Here, too, there is no method of applying compulsion, and resort must be had instead to the motive power of publicity and persuasion. A list of all ratifications and signatures to League conventions is prepared once a year and circulated in time for discussion at the Assembly, where States that for some reason have failed to ratify within a reasonable time a convention they have signed are expected to produce some kind of explanation and give assurances that they will do their best to speed up ratification.

But, besides the question of ratification, there is the problem of reservations. According to the strict theory of sovereignty, a State is under no obligation to accept a treaty and may therefore attach any reservations it pleases. But, in practice, multilateral conventions may become illusory if one or more important States ratify with crucial reservations. League conventions therefore frequently provide that reservations shall be based on reciprocity and be limited to a certain period, or subjected to periodical review by the signatories, or confined to certain articles or categories of subjects in the conventions, or allowed only by the Council of the League after consultation with the technical organisation concerned.

As already described above, League conventions generally provide procedure (most frequently reference to the Court) for settling disputes arising out of their application.

SPECIAL WORK.

But the League's promotion of international co-operation does not always take the form of framing international conventions. Here, too, the League is nothing if not elastic. It has shown itself capable of prompt emergency work, such as its appointment of Dr. Nansen as High Commissioner for repatriating war prisoners and then for the care of refugees; it devised and carried through the financial reform and stabilisation schemes in Austria and Hungary and the refugee settlement work in Bulgaria and Greece, and, through its Epidemic Commission, it took part in the campaign against the spread of epidemics in Eastern Europe and the Balkans immediately after the war.

The plan of technical co-operation with the Chinese Government in national reconstruction is another very important development of the League's activities. It is no less than a precedent for a new type of international relationship based on equality of status and common membership of the League.

TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS.

Certain points of general application arise out of a study of the League's work on co-operation.

1. In every permanent branch of such work, whether health, transit and communications, economic, financial or narcotics, the League has become a clearing house for information. A prompt, full and accurate intelligence service is obviously the first step to any collective action, and the League has become the centre of a kind of world civilian intelligence service such as has never previously existed.

2. The next step is some system of world-planning as a preliminary to action. Only in one branch—that of the control of opium and narcotic drugs—has this conception been carried out to its logical conclusion. But a study of the other activities of the League will reveal partial approaches to this idea, not because of conscious desire by any Government so much as because of the necessities of the situation.

3. A third point is the existence of some permanent central machinery to collect, analyse and distribute information, prepare the necessary plans, provide for continuity between one conference and the next and supervise the execution of whatever obligations the Governments have undertaken. Some such machinery exists in greater or less elaboration for all the League's co-operation-promoting activities.

4. Through the League technical organisations, and advisory committees direct contacts are established between technical departments in different countries, instead of, as previously, such contacts going through foreign offices and diplomatic machinery. This has helped to produce a different tradition and different atmosphere, for technicians are inclined to approach their subjects from a professional rather than a political point of view. Not only officials and Government experts meet in League committees, but also representatives of big national or international unofficial interests concerned with the same subjects.

SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT.

The peace problem viewed as a whole falls into three parts : peaceful settlement of disputes, security and disarmament.

If States are not to have recourse to war to enforce claims which they regard as legitimate, they must have some other means of ensuring the recognition and respect of their rights (international justice, etc.).

Organised security presupposes that war is prohibited, and that the respect of this prohibition is guaranteed by the joint action of States.

Organised disarmament presupposes that the armed forces of each country will not exceed what is required for the maintenance of internal order and for co-operation in any possible future international police action.

In all these respects, practically nothing had been accomplished before the establishment of the League of Nations. There were certain arbitration treaties providing for the submission of minor differences to international arbitration. That was all. Recourse to war was left entirely free, and the victim of aggression had no right to any assistance. The question of disarmament was not touched. In a word, the system under which the international world existed was one of complete anarchy.

The League Covenant represents the first effort with a view

to the transition of the international world from the system of anarchy to the system of organisation and order.

As regards the peaceful settlement of disputes, all serious differences are now to be brought before either a court of law or the League Council. Forty-two States have accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

As regards security, the Covenant sets appreciable limits to the right of resort to war. The Pact of Paris of 1928 goes further and prohibits resort to war generally. The Covenant provides for sanctions against States resorting to war in violation of the Covenant.

Provision is made for disarmament by Article 8 of the Covenant. A Disarmament Conference which met in 1932 endeavoured to give effect to Article 8 by realising general agreement for the reduction and limitation of armaments. It has hitherto failed to achieve results.

The present note will deal only with security and disarmament.

A. SECURITY.

I. *Resort to War.*

1. *Covenant of the League of Nations.*

The Covenant does not prohibit all wars. That may at first sight seem astonishing. The fact is that, in 1919, it did not appear possible to put through so sweeping a revolution as the complete prohibition of resort to war, inasmuch as that would have implied international organisation and international obligations on a very much fuller scale. In the light, therefore, of the belief that it was not possible at that time to establish compulsory arbitration, it was thought that the States should be left free, subject to certain conditions, to have recourse to war as a last resort; but the right to resort to war was qualified by very considerable restrictions.

The key to the League system is contained in Article 12 of the Covenant. If States have a serious controversy, they are under obligation to submit it, either to arbitrators or judges—there is only a shade of difference between arbitrators and judges, in that the judges are permanent while arbitrators are selected for particular issues—or to the League Council.

Resort to war is forbidden throughout the proceedings and

for three months after the decision of the arbitrators or judges or the Council.

At the end of this period, the parties resume the right of resort to war; but the right is still subject to two very important restrictions :

(a) If an arbitral or judicial sentence is given, it is forbidden to resort to war against a State complying with the sentence;

(b) If the decision of the Council (report) is adopted unanimously, it is further forbidden to resort to war against the State complying with the recommendations of the report.

The idea of the Covenant is as follows : By providing for the intervention of international organisations and imposing on the parties a relatively long interval—from three to nine months in the case of a report to the Council, which, in fact, will mean an interval of something much nearer nine than three months—it is hoped that war will be avoided. Reflection will have had time to make itself felt : passions will have had the possibility of calming down, and the influence of the international organisations, of the Governments not parties to the dispute and of international public opinion will have been able to get to work for the preservation of peace.

These expectations are undoubtedly well founded. Experience shows that, in all cases where the procedure of the League has operated normally, armed conflict has been avoided, whereas in all cases where hostilities have broken out, they have broken out suddenly before the procedure for which the Government provides in Article 12 has been able to operate.

Besides, even in the event of war which is legitimate under the Covenant, the Council still has power, under Article 11, to intervene with a view to putting an end to the hostilities.

2. *Pact of Paris.*

The Pact of Paris of August 27th, 1928, commonly called the Briand-Kellog Pact from the names of its promoters, goes further than the League Covenant. It prohibits resort to war generally. In this respect, it is an advance on the Covenant, and is important, moreover, from the fact that it is a more universal instrument than the Covenant, since it is binding on the United States of America, which country is not a member of the League. On the other hand, it has the marked disadvantage of including no provision for an international organisation or international sanctions.

II. *Guarantees of Security.*

It is not enough to prohibit resort to war in particular cases or in all cases. What will happen if the prohibition is violated by an unscrupulous State? The Pact of Paris, as stated, makes no provision for any international procedure or international sanctions, as does the Covenant of the League.

The system set up by the Covenant comprises two categories of provisions in regard to security, (1) preventive and (2) repressive.

1. *Prevention.*

The object is to prevent the breaking-out of hostilities.

Article 11, which contains the provision to this effect, is an essential article of the Covenant.

It says :

“ Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.”

Whenever, therefore, a threat of war makes itself apparent, the Council of the League will, at the request of any Member of the League, meet to prevent the position becoming worse.

The Council, which represents one of the highest political and moral authorities in the world—composed as it is of representatives of all the great Powers Members of the League and of representatives elected by the Assembly : it has at present fifteen members—will obtain information as to the circumstances of a dispute. It will hear the statements of the parties and will then endeavour to induce them to maintain or adopt a peaceful attitude. With that end in view, it will act according to circumstances in two senses. In the first place, it will endeavour to eliminate the risk of conflict by means of such precautionary measures as demobilisation, withdrawal of the troops beyond certain lines, evacuation of invaded territory or despatch of commissioners to the spot to exercise supervision or control. Secondly, the Council may proceed, if it sees a way of consolidating peace along such lines, to examine the substance of the disputes by which the parties are divided, as a means of finding a solution under which all risks are eliminated for the future.

2. *Repression.*

Where prevention fails, recourse must be had to repressive measures. The object of repression is not, strictly speaking, to inflict punishment on the aggressor, but merely to compel him, under constraint, to cease from hostilities and revert to orderly methods. This form of constraint is commonly known as "sanctions".

The sanctions for which Article 16 of the Covenant of the League provides are of two kinds—economic and military :

(a) *Economic Sanctions.*—Economic sanctions are compulsory on all Members of the League. Under the first paragraph of Article 16, all Members undertake in the event of resort to war in violation of the Covenant to sever all trade or financial or other relations with the aggressor.

(b) *Military Sanctions.*—Military sanctions are optional. The Council "recommends" them to the Members of the League—that is to say, it merely gives them authoritative advice in the matter.

Such as it is, the system for which Article 16 provides would be of considerable practical value if the States were firmly resolved to apply the article. The military sanctions, it is true, are not compulsory; but economic sanctions taken by all the Members of the League against the aggressor would sooner or later make the latter's position untenable.

In fact, however, the system of sanctions for which Article 16 provides appears under present circumstances to be difficult to apply, since the will to apply it is uncertain or lacking. Insistence has frequently been laid on the idea that it is better to prevent than to repress, and, in this connection, Article 11 of the Covenant (the object of which is to prevent war) has been contrasted with Article 16 (the object of which is to repress war). The argument is no doubt sound : but, if prevention proves ineffectual, there is no alternative but to consider repression. The prospect of repression has, moreover, considerable preventive effect.

On what grounds does the application of Article 16 appear dubious or difficult under present circumstances?

In the first place, States are not very willing to expose themselves to the losses and sufferings of war where their individual interests are not at stake. The system of Article 16 is no doubt a system of mutual insurance; and in defending the liberty and security of the other countries, the States are in reality defending

the international order and their own security. But, in practice, some States consider they have more to give than to receive, since, owing to their geographical situation or their strength, they do not feel seriously threatened, and they are satisfied with relying on their own forces to ensure their security without being obliged to ensure the security of others, even on a basis of reciprocity.

In the second place, the fact that the League does not include all countries has considerably changed the factors of the problem of mutual assistance. Since certain great Powers, above all the United States of America, do not belong to the League, the burden of sanctions—which would be heavy even if the sanctions were taken with the direct or indirect co-operation of all—may become extraordinarily heavy if certain countries fail to co-operate, and even more so if certain great Powers outside the League insist on the strict assertion of their rights as neutrals, thereby obstructing the economic blockade measures taken against an aggressor. The absence of the United States from the League and the attitude which that country took up towards the League in the early years of its existence have been highly detrimental to international organisation.

III. *The Successes and Failures of the League.*

To appreciate the value of the work done by the League in appeasing conflicts and preventing war, reference must be made to the practical experience of the last fifteen years.

A very large number of international disputes have been submitted either to the Council or to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

These disputes fall into two classes. The greater part of them did not give rise to hostilities. They were settled by a decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice or guided towards a solution by the Council's action (*e.g.*, the question of the Aland Islands between Finland and Sweden, of Upper Silesia between Germany and Poland, of the Burgenland between Austria and Hungary, of Jaworzina between Poland and Czechoslovakia, and of Mosul between Turkey and Iraq). In other cases, the Council, while failing to find a solution, guided the parties towards a solution or at any rate succeeded in preserving peace.

Disputes of the other category were accompanied by hostilities. The hostilities broke out abruptly without the dispute

having been brought before the Council in accordance with Article 12 of the Covenant. In the five cases of Persia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1920), Albania and Yugoslavia (1921), Italy and Greece (1923), Greece and Bulgaria (1925) and Colombia and Peru (1933), hostilities, which had broken out on a more or less extensive scale, were stopped by the intervention of the League.

In two other cases, intervention by the League failed to prevent the development of hostilities—viz., China and Japan (1931) and Bolivia and Paraguay (1933).

B. DISARMAMENT.

I. *General Position of the Problem.*

A system of armaments—*i.e.*, of nations powerfully armed—has great drawbacks and presents dangers to international peace.

In the first place, armaments are expensive and absorb resources which might be devoted to productive uses. But that is the least of the disadvantages they occasion.

In the second place, armaments create a state of insecurity, since each nation is afraid of being outstripped by some other nation whose armaments appear to be directed against itself.

In the third place, armaments create political and psychological conditions which operate in favour of war. Powerful armaments, apart from the fact that they may create for their possessors a temptation to make use of them, familiarise the peoples with the idea of war and tend to make them regard it as inevitable.

On the other hand, we must not be blind to the obstacles in the way of disarmament. To say nothing of vested interests or of the prejudices against disarmament—which, in themselves, are by no means negligible—the fact remains that countries of perfectly good faith see risks in disarmament, if not honestly carried out by all or not accompanied by certain guarantees.

In the first case, if the undertakings incurred are not respected, there is a danger of one State being attacked by another which has increased its armaments in defiance of the Convention.

A State may also be afraid that another State, in virtue merely of its population, its industrial potentialities or its geographical situation, will acquire in consequence of disarmament a marked military superiority.

To overcome the first danger, disarmament must be general, simultaneous and controlled. The second danger can only be met by assistance to the victim of aggression.

II. *Article 8 of the Covenant.*

The first paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant, which deals with the question of armaments, says :

“ The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.”

It should be noted that this article does not provide for complete disarmament, but only for a reduction of armaments. The latter is a function of two factors—viz., national security (since it implies an admission that, in the present condition of the world, States may require armaments for self-defence) and the exigencies of joint action (*i.e.*, the application of military sanctions).

Further, Part V of the Treaty of Versailles, which contains the military, naval and air clauses—there is a similar passage in the other peace treaties—begins with a preamble in the following terms :

“ In order to render possible the initiation of a *general limitation of armaments* of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow.”

III. *Work done by the League of Nations.*

The Disarmament Conference.

The question of disarmament has been closely associated with the question of security.

The original object was to supplement the Covenant of the League by establishing a more complete and more protective organisation of security as a preliminary to a subsequent limitation of armaments. With this object, two proposals were put forward—the Pact of Mutual Assistance (1923) and the Geneva Protocol (1924). Both proposals led to a deadlock.

Another line was then explored. In order to increase security

in a part of the world in which the need of it was apparently specially felt, the Locarno Agreement was concluded on October 16th, 1925. Under that agreement there is a mutual undertaking of non-aggression by Belgium and France on the one hand and Germany on the other, the undertakings being placed under the guarantee of the United Kingdom and Italy.

The same year saw the institution of the Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference, which held its first session in May 1926 and finished its work in December 1930. It drew up a draft Convention.

A Disarmament Conference was then held at Geneva, beginning on February 2nd, 1932. Sixty-one States, seven of which were not members of the League, were represented. The object of the Conference was to conclude a convention.

Difficulties encountered by the Disarmament Conference.

The Disarmament Conference, which has done a great deal of work, has had three obstacles with which to cope—the claim for security, the claim for equality and the opposition to regulation and supervision. Certain States insisted on the establishment of new guarantees of security (see the various French plans put before the Conference).

Germany insisted on equality with the other States. In support of her claim, she twice left the Conference—first on September 14th, 1932, and again on October 14th, 1933. She has not yet returned. The regulation of the manufacture of arms and trade in arms and the establishment of permanent and comprehensive supervision met, especially at the outset, with resistance, which, however, has ultimately waned. The States regarded these measures as involving a curtailment of their freedom and a constraint.

What the Conference has done.

Considerable progress has been made in every respect.

(1) As regards security, agreement has been reached to organise consultation of all countries (including the United States of America) in case of war or threats of war.

(2) As regards equality, the principle of equality of rights under a system involving security for all nations was accepted on December 11th, 1932, when Germany resumed her place at the Conference.

In 1933, a scheme was in process of elaboration for realising equality of armaments by stages, but the provisions for the destruction of armaments, imposed on the more powerfully armed countries, were not to become effective until after a certain period. Germany did not accept this plan and left the Disarmament Conference and the League.

3. As regards armaments, agreement, more or less definite and complete, has been reached on the following points :

(a) *Prohibition of Certain Forms of Warfare.*—Agreement was reached to prohibit bombing from the air and the use of chemical, incendiary or bacterial weapons. These forms of warfare were prohibited partly because they may affect the civilian population as well as the armed forces, and partly because they were regarded as offensive, since they created the possibility of war at a distance. It should be noted that, in itself, the value of this prohibition is restricted. It does not involve any real disarmament, and the States will always have at their disposal the means of employing the prohibited forms of warfare owing to the existence of civil aircraft and the chemical industry.

(b) *Principle of Qualitative and Quantitative Limitation.*—Qualitative limitation means the immediate or progressive abolition of certain types of specially powerful armaments (e.g., heavy artillery).

Quantitative limitation means a limitation on the number of non-prohibited arms (guns, tanks, etc.) to be possessed by States and a limitation on the number of effectives.

In the course of its work, the Conference had under consideration, as a measure of quantitative limitation, a far stricter regulation of the different types of armament than that proposed by the Preparatory Commission.

Agreement, however, was not reached as to the application of these principles (*i.e.*, final selection of the arms to be prohibited or limited to a certain number, figures in the case of each State).

(c) *Supervision of the Manufacture of and Trade in Arms.*—The supervision of the manufacture of and trade in arms, which at one time met with serious opposition, is now generally speaking admitted. But the States have not yet been asked to give a definite opinion upon the forms of such supervision.

(d) *Publicity of National Defence Expenditure.*—A system of organised publicity for national defence expenditure has been drawn up and appears to command general acceptance.

(e) *Supervision of the Execution of the Convention.*—Supervision in the hands of a Permanent Disarmament Commission involving periodical inspections on the spot has been accepted.

Procedure for ascertaining infringements of the Convention has been worked out.

(f) *Guarantees of Execution.*—The question of guarantees to ensure the execution of the Convention, and to prevent and put an end to any infringements, has been raised. The need of guarantees is generally admitted, but no system of guarantees has been worked out, even in its main lines.

We may now consider the situation as it stands to-day.

It is certain that the work of the Disarmament Conference makes it possible to achieve some progress in the direction of the international regulation of armaments. Even if existing armaments cannot at present be reduced to any appreciable extent, the fact that all the factors in the armaments question, including the trade in and manufacture of arms, would, under the Convention, be the subject of minute regulation and international supervision, would prevent any competition in armaments or secret arming. That would constitute a considerable change as compared with the existing state of things, under which armaments are free. Once the system had been applied with good results, there can be no question that it would subsequently be possible to make successive reductions in the armaments of the different countries.

But this preliminary result has first to be achieved. Germany having left the Conference and resumed her freedom *de facto* in regard to certain armaments, it is doubtful whether, under these conditions, certain other countries will be willing to conclude any general convention whatever. It is proposed, in the absence of a general convention, to conclude a series of agreements in the form of separate protocols bearing, for example, on the supervision and manufacture of arms, the publicity of military expenditure, the establishment of a Permanent Disarmament Commission, etc.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND WORLD ECONOMY.

THE COVENANT AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

Economic problems were not one of the matters originally entrusted to the League. The only allusion to them in the Covenant is to be found in Article 23(*e*). Here, States Members agree, *inter alia*—and subject to the stipulations of any existing or future international treaties between them—to make provision “to secure and maintain equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League”.

Members of the League thus bound themselves to continue to observe the most-favoured-nation clause in their trade relations. This clause occurs in most pre-war treaties and also in the first agreements concluded after the armistice, even though these were provisional and short-period agreements. The theory is that all countries producing the same goods should enjoy the same Customs treatment on importing these goods into the territory of any other party to the agreement. This arrangement does not of course curtail the right of a country to impose or increase Customs tariffs to the extent it holds to be compatible with its own interests and economic requirements. Up to the present, the only way in which countries have waived their rights in this respect has been by agreeing to maintain certain Customs rates at a given level, as a consequence of bilateral trade negotiations resulting in mutual concessions. These consolidation arrangements were inserted as special tariff clauses in trade conventions and came to an end when these conventions expired. Thanks, however, to the most-favoured-nation system, the benefits they conferred were enjoyed by other countries as well.

After the war, in 1919, all these tariff agreements lapsed; all that remained, of the whole contractual system, was an undertaking to accord equality of treatment.

Hence the above-mentioned provision of the Covenant simply means that the signatory countries recognise an existing state of affairs. It contains no mention of future action. In practice, “equitable treatment” amounted in fact to equal treatment. It is quite clear therefore that the League was not, at the outset, provided with any means for taking the initiative in economic matters.

THE FIRST APPROACH TO ECONOMIC ACTION:
THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE.

Events themselves were soon to bring about a change. The former belligerents had to repair the accumulated waste of war; they had also to re-adapt their production to peace conditions, a task with which the neutrals too were faced. In every country, the leaders of commerce and industry began to survey the home situation. Meanwhile, international trade relations were still governed provisionally by short-term agreements. These agreements, touched up from time to time when absolutely necessary, were definitely inadequate, but they did at least bridge the gap between war conditions and a peace-time organisation.

In the international sphere, the most urgent problems were financial and monetary. The disequilibrium of the public finances almost everywhere, currency chaos and the danger of the imminent financial collapse of certain countries made the organisation of immediate relief imperative. Accordingly, the League of Nations convened at Brussels on September 24th, 1920, an international financial conference to examine the general situation, consider remedies and submit, as a conclusion, certain recommendations on which Governments could base a constructive programme.

It will be noted that economic questions were not the Conference's most immediate concern. The experts at Brussels did not, however, fail to note both their importance and their connection with the financial problems. An "International Trade Commission" was set up. On its proposal, the plenary meeting of the Conference adopted a series of resolutions which constitute a first step towards economic action by the League.

In short, after declaring that the re-establishment of true peace was the first condition for the resumption of international trade, the Conference, among other recommendations, expressed a hope that each country should "aim at the progressive restoration of that freedom of commerce which prevailed before the war, including the withdrawal of artificial restrictions on, and discrimination of price against, external trade", and then stated its firm belief that the instability of currencies was "also likely to hamper the normal resumption of foreign trade".

The League Council transmitted the resolutions of the Brussels Conference to the various Governments with a recommendation that they should be put into practice.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Brussels Financial Conference made it clear that an improvement in world conditions depended largely on the resumption of international trade, and that international trade could not revive until real peace had been established and currencies had been stabilised.

The importance of this conclusion is obvious. All post-war economic action was paralysed by certain primary considerations—political, social and financial. Its success or failure depended therefore on the way in which they developed.

The Economic Section of the Provisional Economic and Financial Committee set up after the Brussels Conference found from the outset that its work was seriously impeded by unfavourable general conditions. Shortly afterwards, this section became a League technical organisation known as the "Economic Committee", its mission being to encourage equitable trade relations between the various Members of the League. For this purpose, it was authorised to take any action it might deem advisable.

FIRST WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

With political disturbances continuing in various countries, currencies collapsing, an economic crisis and widespread unemployment, the Economic Committee could hardly hope for a speedy revival of international trade. It therefore concentrated on problems of undoubted practical importance, but smaller scope. Leaving aside for the moment all general questions of commercial policy, it set itself to study such matters as the circulation of raw materials, Customs formalities, arbitration in commerce, bills of exchange and cheque law and the standardisation of economic statistics. In all of these spheres, the Economic Committee succeeded—though in most cases only after protracted effort—in submitting to Governments a number of draft agreements which were approved by certain Governments and which, in the form of multilateral Conventions open to signature by all countries under the ægis of the League, have brought about a considerable improvement.

The principal Conventions concluded were the Convention for

the Simplification of Customs Formalities, signed in November 1923 (in spite of its limited sphere of application, this Convention has proved to be very useful in practice); the Protocol on Arbitration Clauses, September 1923, and the Convention on the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards, September 1927, and, lastly, there are the Conventions of June 1930 and March 1931, which have brought about a certain degree of uniformity in the matter of bills of exchange, promissory notes and cheques.

In its other endeavours, the Economic Committee encountered, either in the course of the preparatory work or subsequently, numerous difficulties consequent upon world economic developments.

For instance, in the important question of hindrances to international trade, the Economic Committee's work led in September 1927 to the signature of an International Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions. This Convention was ratified by several countries and even came into force on January 1st, 1930. Events, however—as we shall see—soon deprived it of all value and the participating States denounced it.

The work in connection with the treatment of foreign enterprises and nationals reached a stage at which an international Conference of Government delegates and representatives of various organisations was convened. It was hoped that a convention would be concluded. In spite of every effort, however, there seemed to be no possibility of reconciling the various views, and work was suspended.

The other branches of the Economic Committee's activities at this time were mainly studies or enquiries bearing, among other matters, on certain aspects of unfair competition and the protection of foreign purchasers against the delivery of worthless goods.

ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE SERVICE.

The Brussels Conference resulted in the formation of an Economic Intelligence Service in the League Secretariat. The Service has regularly published much valuable financial and economic information. Its utility was so obvious that the Service developed rapidly and has now become one of the most trustworthy and highly appreciated sources of financial and economic statistical documentation.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS DOWN TO THE BEGINNING OF 1925.

During the years that followed the Brussels Conference, and, in particular, from 1923 onwards, it seemed as though the economic disturbances caused by the war were gradually subsiding. A certain measure of social and political stability was being achieved. This stability was still relative, but it was infinitely preferable to the previous insecurity. Governments were therefore able to devote more systematic thought to the difficult problem of national financial and economic restoration.

International trade was also showing a tendency to improve. In almost every country, the Government organisation of production had been "demobilised" and official interference with the course of production, born of the war, had come to an end. Many of the measures limiting or prohibiting imports or exports had been rescinded; but those which remained tended to become permanent. They thus delayed the return to a measure of relative freedom of trade—*i.e.*, trade to which the only hindrances would be Customs duties and accessory charges levied on imports (and in some cases exports) at the frontier.

In most countries, the abolition of currency restrictions had been accompanied by far-reaching tariff changes. A large number of duties had been increased. In fact, tariffs continued to be revised at short intervals as a counterpoise to the chaotic fluctuations of most currencies and in order to make good a deficient national production by assisting certain home producers. Nevertheless, these tariff readjustments, unmitigated as they were by the ephemeral trade agreements concluded, in no case exceeded the limits of moderate "protection"—taking the word in its normal sense, and not in its later sense of absolute prohibition.

In short, the policy, in so far as there was any policy, of the various countries—and European countries in particular—groping their way amid financial and monetary uncertainty, was too vague and hesitating to encourage the Economic Organisation of the League to intervene or make any attempt to support incipient efforts at reconstruction by concerted and co-ordinated action. Its decision to wait and see was justified by the fact that the recently renewed commercial relations between the former belligerent countries were still strongly influenced by deliveries of reparations in kind and by a discriminatory tariff regime applied to goods originating in or coming from some of these countries.

FIRST STEPS TOWARDS AN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

This prudent attitude seemed to be justified by events up to 1925. In many countries, however, the opinion was growing that the League should take some bold and decisive action in the domain of international economy. It was held that, apart from all economic considerations, certain aspects of the general and, in particular, the political situation increasingly warranted the hope that the leading European Powers would soon reach a better understanding. Both in Germany and in France, the higher interests of international collaboration were being advocated with sincerity and conviction. In economic circles, the idea was gaining ground that the conclusion of a Franco-German trade agreement on a firm and comprehensive basis, that would restore most-favoured-nation treatment to Germany and might become the axis of a new European economic system, would emancipate trade by reviving confidence.

These views took shape at the sixth Assembly of the League (September 1925) in the form of a proposal by the French delegation that the Council should convene a world economic conference "to investigate the economic difficulties which stand in the way of the revival of general prosperity, and to ascertain the best means of overcoming these difficulties and of preventing disputes".

The welcome accorded to this proposal is the best proof of the hopes it raised.

THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE OF 1927.

The Council appointed a preparatory committee with very representative membership, including as it did, not only producers, merchants and bankers, but Government officials and persons who could speak on behalf of labour, selected by reason of their special qualifications in twenty-one different countries.

With this preparation, the Conference met at Geneva on May 4th, 1927. With the admirable documentary material concerning the world economic situation placed at its disposal, the Conference was able to explore this vast problem with a full knowledge of the facts. Its recommendations, which would fully merit quotation *in extenso*, immediately acquired the status of directions for the formulation of future economic policy. Their essence is as follows :

In the domain of international trade, all artificial restrictions

and obstacles other than Customs duties and accessory charges should be abolished; tariffs should be simplified and tariff nomenclature unified if possible; Customs tariffs should be lowered and stable and equitable trade agreements should once more be the order of the day.

• In the domain of industrial production, the abuses of rationalisation incompatible with the legitimate interests of the workers should be avoided; international industrial *ententes* should only be extended if that resulted in improved production organisation and reduced cost prices. The Economic Organisation of the League was instructed to keep a watch on the way in which these *ententes* operated and on the effects they produced; it was also entrusted with fresh work in the sphere of statistics and economic information.

In the domain of agriculture, an endeavour should be made to improve the position of farmers. The campaign against diseases in animals and plants should be intensified and the system of agricultural credits improved. The League of Nations should examine the possibility of international collaboration to provide credit for farmers.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE LEAGUE'S ECONOMIC FIELD.

The Conference proved that a return to prosperity depended on the general adoption of an economic policy based on the equilibrium of interests. Furthermore, that this policy must proceed from a sincere desire for social equity and moderation in progress. This was why it decided to request the Council to entrust the League Economic Organisation with certain new tasks. In a last resolution, the Conference also proposed that the efficacy of the Organisation should be enhanced by the creation of a committee, representative of all the component parts, and hence of all shades of opinion, of the economic world. It would be the duty of the Committee to suggest new subjects for study and strengthen the ties between the world of business and the organisation existing at Geneva.

Thus the Economic Consultative Committee came into being in 1928. Assuming the mantle of the Conference, it was able to enlarge the scope of its investigations. Passing beyond the confines of commercial policy, its activities were now to embrace questions of the international organisation of production and credit. In fact, a great deal of ground had been covered since the Brussels Conference.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN 1927.

The 1927 Economic Conference concluded its work in a spirit of optimism. The weight of its wise and carefully considered recommendations was increased by the fact that these were conveyed to Governments, and then to public opinion, just at the time when general conditions were favourable for an economic revival. Germany had been admitted a Member of the League, and a commercial treaty had been concluded between France and Germany based on the reciprocal recognition of most-favoured-nation treatment and stabilising nearly all the items in the Customs tariffs of the two countries. Currencies—or at any rate the leading currencies—had also been stabilised. There was hope on every side that international trade would now expand considerably. The dark points in the situation, important though they were—such as budgetary problems and War debts and reparations—were almost lost to sight in this wave of optimism. It is not surprising, therefore, that, with an improvement of trade, the Conference's recommendations—in spite of the strong effect they had produced—should rapidly have been forgotten, together with the reasons on which they had been based.

Business conditions being everywhere better, less attention was paid to the work of the League's Economic Organisation. Its essential object, the restoration of commercial relations, seemed to have been attained. By comparison, the rest of its work appeared to be of little more than academic interest.

•

RESULTS OF THE LEAGUE'S ACTION BETWEEN 1927
AND 1929.

The Diplomatic Conference which met in October 1927 to sign the International Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions did not arouse as much interest in the economic world as had been expected. The signature in July 1928 of international agreements regulating conditions for the exportation of such important articles of trade as skins and hides passed almost unnoticed. Finally, work in connection with the problems of the production and distribution of prime commodities like coal, sugar and cement was held up by difficulties which did not at first sight seem to be insuperable. These subjects, however, were simply relegated to further study. All thoughts were concentrated on the trade boom.

POSITIVE ACTION OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

Until 1929, it was still possible to believe that commercial policy, based partly on tariff stability and partly on the free circulation of goods and equality of treatment under the most-favoured-nation clause would become, as in pre-war days, the active means of engendering a new phase of relatively liberal economy. At Geneva, the Economic Committee, persevering in its task of co-ordination, prepared a body of doctrine which, it was hoped, would unify the application and interpretation of the most-favoured-nation clause in commercial agreements, this clause being regarded as the keystone of a liberal regime.

• ANOTHER WAVE OF PROTECTIONISM.

Hardly had agreement been reached when it was again shattered. The summer of 1929 saw the end of all pleasant dreams. Vague but universal disquiet was slowly dispelling confidence. The Wall Street collapse, immediately followed by violent financial upheavals, precipitated events. A deluge of protectionism burst once more on an unstable and distracted economic world. The rapid rise of tariff walls began to inspire serious apprehensions. All eyes were again turned towards Geneva.

• THE LEAGUE'S REACTION :

PROPOSAL FOR A CUSTOMS TRUCE.

The tenth Assembly of the League, in September 1929, had emphasised the necessity of concerted economic action. The idea of bringing European countries closer together both politically and economically as a step towards the establishment of enduring peace had been warmly applauded. The plenary Assembly specially instructed its Second Committee to examine two memoranda; one on the concept of the United States of Europe and the other on the idea of a collective agreement to improve the organisation of international economic relations in Europe. These memoranda, forming a basis of discussion, indicated a possible approach towards joint positive action.

The United Kingdom Government proposed that other countries should be offered one last chance of adhering to a free trade system before they themselves plunged into protectionism. It was therefore decided that a diplomatic conference should meet

in January 1930 to conclude a Customs truce. This Conference was to remain in being throughout the whole of the negotiations in order to create a favourable atmosphere. The Assembly called upon the Economic Organisation to prepare a draft and speed up its work, particularly in preparing a unified Customs nomenclature as the basis for a simplification and uniform interpretation of tariffs.

It was also suggested that preliminary negotiations should take place for the conclusion of a multilateral treaty on commercial policy.

Thus the most active preparations were being made to give effect to the recommendations of the 1927 Conference at the very time when the first symptoms of an exceptionally grave economic depression were making their appearance, accompanied by a fresh outburst of protectionism.

•

FIRST CONFERENCE WITH A VIEW TO CONCERTED ECONOMIC ACTION.

The Diplomatic Conference which met at Geneva in February 1930 soon realised that insuperable difficulties lay before it. The most strenuous resistance of all came from the agricultural world in several European countries—France in particular—which even desired to accentuate some of their protective measures. In these circumstances, there could be no question of concluding a Customs truce. Certain Governments quite obviously wished to retain their freedom to impose such protectionist measures as might, in their opinion, prevent an extension of the economic depression. At that time, it was thought that this depression might not be of long duration. The first visible consequences of business stagnation were an increase in stocks of prime commodities and industrial raw materials, a fall in prices and progressively increasing unemployment among unskilled and even skilled workers. The simultaneous apparition of all these familiar symptoms of a period of depression confronted Governments with so many unexpected problems that they were loth to tie their hands for the immediate future. The Conference nevertheless made a careful investigation of the position. Being convinced that the work should be continued, it adjourned, leaving the Economic Organisation of the League to make preparations for a second conference on the basis of a general programme of concerted economic action, the main outlines of which it had itself traced.

THE SITUATION BECOMES WORSE.

Contrary to general expectations, the economic situation became worse. This deterioration was accompanied by a veritable orgy of tariff protection.

Financial difficulties were again experienced particularly by farmers suffering from a slump in cereals and other staple agricultural produce. The invasion of certain hitherto highly safe markets by produce that was practically unsaleable elsewhere created another problem for the Governments : How to prevent abnormal imports?

Notwithstanding all this, the representatives of the Governments insisted, at the eleventh ordinary Assembly of the League in September 1930, on the continuation of concerted economic effort until the most far-reaching and liberal results possible had been achieved. They went even further. In pursuance of the admitted policy of European *rapprochement*, they set up a Committee to study the possibility of closer co-operation between European Governments in every sphere of international life. In the field of economy, it was ordained that the Committee should work in close contact with the League's Economic Organisation.

SIMULTANEOUS DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM AND EFFORTS TO SECURE CONCERTED ACTION.

Thus, two main tendencies were crystallising, mutually contradictory but both quite comprehensible : at home, Governments seemed to be striving for self-sufficiency; but internationally, they wished to pursue their joint efforts to liberate trade.

The major reasons for so self-contradictory a policy are clear. At home, as a result of the depression, all Governments, either in a spirit of opportunism or under the pressure of social problems, were constrained to take temporary steps to curb the effects of the crisis and at the same time to conserve all available work for the national labour market. They nevertheless regarded such action as purely temporary. They were sure that matters would soon mend, and desired to make preparations for the improvement by stimulating international action afresh.

In point of fact, from the last quarter of 1930 down to the end of 1931, serious attempts were made to direct world economy into the path of recovery.

The second Conference on Concerted Economic Action met in

November 1930 to prepare a plan of action and consider whether conditions were favourable for putting into force the commercial Convention signed at the end of the first Conference. Under this Convention the signatory countries undertook to notify each other of increases in Customs duties as far as possible before those increases actually took effect. They also agreed that no alteration should be made in existing commercial agreements, except in very special circumstances. Once again, the United Kingdom endeavoured to lead the Conference towards a consolidation of contractual policy based upon the most-favoured-nation clause, and towards a general lowering by stages of Customs tariffs, or, at any rate, certain important classes of goods in these tariffs. But opposition, particularly on the part of agricultural interests, brought decisive pressure to bear on certain Governments. As a result, the Conference was forced to realise that it could do nothing for the time being. It ended by deciding to defer consideration of the putting into force of the Commercial Convention until a later session. This second session met in March 1931, but although by that time the Convention had been ratified by twelve countries, the plenipotentiaries of these countries were unable to agree on a date for its coming into force.

The Commission of Enquiry for European Union met in May 1931. It came to the conclusion that a fresh examination of the position by a special sub-committee of experts might be of help. The sub-committee met in August. After a careful consideration of the facts, it too reached the conclusion that economic recovery could only be achieved by a wider and more comprehensive measure of co-operation between the countries of Europe, particular attention being paid to the requirements of each. It therefore stressed the desirability of a stable Customs policy, which would definitely aim at the progressive lowering of tariffs, regional economic *rapprochements* within a general system of collaboration, voluntary industrial *ententes* and a healthy organisation of long- and medium-term credits, particularly agricultural credits.

In September, the League Assembly approved the spirit in which all this economic work had been conducted. It recommended reversion to a commercial policy firmly founded on the liberal system and on the most-favoured-nation clause. Within this framework, however, it admitted certain exceptions, justified by circumstances, to the principle of non-discrimination. Such derogations were, however, to be strictly limited and were to be granted only to hard-pressed agricultural countries.

Finally, in November, a special Committee met again to

consider a draft pact of economic non-aggression. This pact, in view of the development of artificial hindrances to international trade, endeavoured to reassert the principle of non-discrimination in another form, by defining the minimum treatment to be accorded to international trade, whatever the circumstances.

But even this minimum programme proved impossible to achieve.

RETURN TO POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL UNCERTAINTY.

The general situation was entirely unfavourable to any sort of action for the restoration of freedom of trade based on liberal economic policy. Financial and currency anxieties had again come to the fore, and, on all sides, tariff protection was proving to be an inadequate safeguard against imports of abnormally cheap products. Measures for the restriction of such imports were, therefore, redoubled: quotas were imposed, permits and authorisations demanded, and, in some cases, imports were purely and simply prohibited. After the abandonment of the gold standard by the United Kingdom in 1931, many currencies continued to fall and become subject to violent and unexpected fluctuations according to market conditions. The exchange control instituted by certain financially weak countries enabled them both to limit and to direct international trade to a certain extent. Finally, after Germany's default in the summer of 1931 and the application of the Hoover moratorium, the financial problems born of the war again came into prominence. There was a very strong desire that these problems should be settled definitely and as soon as possible, it being generally held that this must be the first step towards a return to prosperity.

A PERIOD OF EXPECTANCY.

Quite clearly matters were evolving in a way which made all economic co-operation impossible. The solution of economic problems had definitely come to depend on the solution—in principle, if not in fact—of political, social and financial problems. The League Economic Organisation, therefore, while pursuing certain technical work not destined to produce immediate results, could do nothing more than review the situation from time to time. In its reports to the Council in January and June 1932, the Economic Committee emphasised the seriousness of the economic deadlock and the influence of political and financial factors on the general evolution of man's material existence.

THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE: A STEP TOWARDS A NEW
MONETARY AND ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

At the suggestion of several Governments, a Conference met at Lausanne in July 1932, and succeeded in reaching a final settlement of the reparations problem. This happy result engendered a hope that joint economic action might again become a possibility. The Conference itself had in fact pointed out two lines of action, of widely differing importance, that might be pursued by the League.

In its fourth resolution, it instructed a special committee to submit to the Commission of Enquiry for European Union certain proposals for the financial and economic reconstruction of Central and Eastern European countries.

In its fifth resolution, it invited the League of Nations to convene a monetary and economic conference. It defined the general tasks of this conference and set up a preparatory committee of experts.

The former of these two resolutions led in September 1932 to the Stresa Conference. This Conference submitted a number of excellent recommendations based on an admirable spirit of co-operation in financial and economic matters.

In addition to certain general resolutions and resolutions concerning the economic restoration of Eastern European agricultural countries, the Conference sought to encourage the negotiations which Austria was conducting with a view to obtaining preferential treatment for her industrial products. A number of agreements concluded after the Stresa Conference specifically refer to this recommendation—*e.g.*, the Arrangement reached in December 1932 between the Austrian and French Governments concerning preferential treatment for Austrian timber, the Austro-Polish Preferential Agreement of March 1933 and the Agreements concluded between Italy, Austria and Hungary in May 1934.

The Stresa Conference also endeavoured to bring to life the International Agricultural Mortgage Credits Company, the establishment of which had been decided at the Convention of May 1931. This new effort was frustrated by the general collapse of the financial situation.

Preparations were made for the Monetary and Economic Conference during the second half of 1932. At two long sessions, the preparatory committee of experts explored the whole field of finance and economics and then, in January 1933, drew up a

draft annotated agenda. In this document, it endeavoured to suggest to the future Conference a manner in which the major problems might be solved and the road opened out to recovery. The experts held that the stabilisation of currencies, the international organisation of credit, a rise in prices, an agreement on debts and the abolition of exchange restrictions were essential. It added, however, that these measures would be inadequate unless supplemented by a return to a stable commercial policy, based on the most-favoured-nation clause (to which, however, certain exceptions might be allowed) and a more moderate tariff policy.

THE LONDON CONFERENCE.

The Monetary and Economic Conference met in London in June 1933. Since the publication of the annotated agenda, no appreciable change had occurred in the general trend of national economic policies. There had been no noticeable relaxation of the tension. The world depression was unabated, and had indeed attained very serious proportions in the United States of America. The problem of war debts, brought to the fore by the settlement of the reparations question, had led to a certain amount of unpleasantness, following on the suspension by several European debtor countries of payments to the United States. In other words, not one of the main factors of uncertainty had been eliminated.

The new Conference, however, rapidly achieved a first result : the establishment of a temporary Customs truce. The purpose of the truce, which had been suggested in the organising Committee by the United States representative, was to stabilise exchange conditions. Such stabilisation, though provisional, was likely to facilitate the work of the Conference.

The Conference split up into two large Commissions, one financial, the other economic; but it was obvious that financial and monetary problems, in particular the stability of currencies, would form the main themes of discussion. The abandonment of the gold standard by the United States at the very time when the Conference was seeking for a basis on which currencies might be stabilised irremediably compromised the work of the Financial Commission, and, indeed, of the whole Conference. True, the Economic Commission continued to sit, but owing to the uncertainty created by the American decision, it had to confine itself to generalities and certain decisions of principle. Nevertheless, the vast question of the co-ordination of production and sale was debated much more thoroughly than the problems of political

economy, and contact was very usefully established between representatives of producing countries and consuming countries respectively. After this discussion, the Conference approved, as regards certain prime foodstuffs and a few raw materials, the general principle that production—or, at any rate, distribution—should be governed by international arrangements.

Held up as it was by temporarily insuperable difficulties, the Conference decided to adjourn. It instructed its President, Vice-President and Bureau, however, to take all steps they might deem useful to ensure success later.

Accordingly work is still proceeding, in co-operation with the League Economic Organisation, for the preparation of international conventions on veterinary matters and questions of Customs procedure.

Continuing along these lines, the Monetary and Economic Conference was followed in August 1933 by a Conference of wheat exporting and importing countries. This Conference laid the foundations of an agreement destined to improve wheat marketing conditions throughout the world. A consultative committee on wheat was appointed to keep an eye on the application and working of the agreement, in conjunction with the League Economic Committee and the Rome International Institute of Agriculture.

EFFECT OF ECONOMIC CHAOS ON THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

As a result of the persistent growth of economic nationalism, financial disorder and political uncertainty, the League's Economic Organisation has momentarily circumscribed its activities. At present, it is mainly an organ of information, liaison and preparation. Thus the last Assembly of the League (September 1934) instructed it to make a study of compensation and clearing agreements. This work is important, going as it does to the very root of financial problems and commercial policy. It is bound to throw still further light on the drawbacks and dangers of methods which, though they may seem to afford immediate protection, are dictated by a shortsighted opportunism.

CONCLUSION.

Looking at the League's Economic Organisation, not from the standpoint of results manifestly disproportionate to the effort expended, but from the standpoint of tendencies, we shall agree

that the Organisation represents—in the face of an increasing chaos of thought, method and policy—a persistent effort at analysis and synthesis and a steady appeal to reason.

That this effort is at present disdained need cause neither surprise nor alarm. The rhythm of trade can no more be interrupted than the rhythm of life itself. This is a fact abundantly proved by experience. The swing of the pendulum is inevitable. There is therefore every reason to hope that at some future date the researches of the Economic Organisation will become a valuable source of information and inspiration in the work of recovery. Though incomplete as yet, these researches cover fresh ground each year. Limited at first by the Covenant to the maintenance of equitable conditions in international trade, they have gradually been extended by conferences and assemblies until they now cover the whole gamut of international economic relations. The most recent enquiry will make it possible to touch on certain aspects of the relations of the different national economic systems in the internal life of the peoples. Probably the study, as yet barely outlined, of certain problems of production will admit of the problem being dealt with on a world basis.

The gradually increasing scope of the missions entrusted to the Economic Organisation of the League demonstrates, more clearly than immediate results, the utility of the League's Economic Organisation and the future that awaits it.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE DRUG TRAFFIC.

• INTRODUCTION.

Dangerous drugs such as morphine, heroin and cocaine have been likened graphically by the Opium Advisory Committee to "water under tremendous hydraulic pressure; it feels and saps its way steadily, irresistibly to every furthest point of the system to which the pressure reaches. It searches automatically and continuously for any flaw, any imperfection, any method of breaking down the iron barrier which surrounds it; it is for ever striving to overcome its bonds and to become free."

The world requires at present for its medical needs about forty tons of dangerous manufactured drugs. About a dozen of these drugs are used to-day in medical practice—partly in the form of pharmaceutical preparations which number several hundreds. A flood of many thousands of other known or potential drugs—not at present needed in medicine but capable of abuse for the

purpose of addiction and therefore liable to be put on the market if not banned—is held back by the barrier of international law represented by the Drug Conventions. These forty tons of the basic drugs are manufactured by approximately sixty licensed factories. The drugs are distributed throughout the world in the channels of the legitimate trade by these factories, by many hundreds of wholesalers and by many thousands of pharmacies.

If these drugs succeed in finding a weak spot in the channels of legitimate distribution, and are able to break through into the illicit traffic, their value is suddenly multiplied many times over. The demand for them by the addict is not an ordinary economic demand. It is a desperate need which must be satisfied at almost any price. The illicit drug trafficker who satisfies that demand, and profits by it, is therefore constantly attempting to divert drugs from the legitimate trade channels of the world into the illicit traffic.

The purpose of this introduction is to show very briefly the nature of the problem as it faced the League at the beginning of its work and the general character of the steps taken to deal with the problem.

THE POSITION IN 1920.

In 1920, when the League took up this task, the international legislation which formed the basis of its work consisted of the Hague Convention of 1912, which merely set up supervision of a purely national character over the manufacture of and domestic trade in narcotic drugs. The Convention provided no machinery for supervising the international trade. It was, moreover, hardly yet being applied. Before the League was called upon to supervise the execution of the Convention, only six countries had ratified it. There was little national legislation on the subject of dangerous drugs. There was no collection of these laws in existence. No comparative study of them was therefore possible, much less a study of their administrative application.

LEGITIMATE REQUIREMENTS UNKNOWN.

There was no possibility in 1920 of deciding what were the legitimate requirements of the world as regards any of the drugs. This was one of the first tasks taken in hand by the League—*i.e.*, by the Opium Advisory Committee, the Health Committee and the Secretariat—but a decade of steady collection, unification

and analysis of data was necessary before reasonably approximate figures could be given. Not even a single country represented at the Hague Conference in 1912 could tell accurately what its own medical needs were, and the situation in 1920 was still the same. Exporting countries—even if they were trying to control their export trade—had therefore no accurate guide as to what really constituted a reasonable quantity to export to a particular importing country. Moreover, each exporting country was working in the dark. Without an import-certificate system and without a system of co-ordinated international statistics, it could only export blindly to a particular country, not knowing what exports were being sent to that country by the other exporting countries.

DIVIDING-LINE BETWEEN LEGITIMATE TRADE AND ILLICIT TRAFFIC.

In such a situation—where the international law on the subject was of the most elementary character, where there were only the rudiments here and there of national legislation and administration, where there was no body of information as to the amounts of drugs needed for medical purposes, or as to the amounts manufactured, exported or imported, and where, above all, there was no international administration of any kind to co-ordinate and supervise the action of national Governments—there could not possibly be any very clear distinction or dividing-line between legitimate trade and illicit traffic.

In 1920, in the case of dangerous drugs, the notion of licit as well as of illicit traffic was vague and ill-defined. The distinction between what was licit and what was illicit could not exist in countries where there was no law on the subject; and it could not be clear in countries where the control was only partial in character—*e.g.*, where supply of a drug by pharmacies was restricted, whilst sales by wholesalers or manufacturers were more or less uncontrolled.

On the international plane there could be no clear distinction between licit and illicit except in respect of transactions between two States which were both parties to a common international law—the opium conventions—and which both applied a common international administrative system for the regulation of imports and exports, such as the system of import certificates and export authorisations.

Only when practically all countries had a system of national

law and administration on more or less uniform lines, and when virtually all countries were subject to the same international law, and participated in a common international administrative system, could a really clear distinction between licit and illicit traffic be established; and only then could it be possible to stop leakages from the legitimate trade into the illicit traffic and so reduce the latter more or less to the status of a police problem.

THE NEED OF ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY AND OF UNIVERSALITY.

The difficulty of the problem which faced the League and the Governments was thus enhanced by two facts, the importance of which could only be fully realised in the light of subsequent experience. In the first place, to secure anything like effective national control, it was not sufficient to have complete legislation. A high degree of administrative efficiency was also required. Close co-ordination was, moreover, required between government departments in each country, such as Customs, public health, post office, transport, police.

Further, from the very nature of the drug trade and of the problem of drug addiction, it was necessary to have almost complete universality in the application of the system of control, both national and international, before really satisfactory results could be secured. Every country which did not legislate, or whose legislation or administration was inadequate, or which did not co-operate in the international system of control, was a weak point through which the drugs might pour into the illicit traffic.

SERRIED MASS OF PROBLEMS TO BE FACED.

The serried mass of problems which thus faced the League at the outset and the measures which were required to solve them cannot be described in full in a short document. The details of the story fill, indeed, thousands of printed pages of official reports and other documents. The general nature of the task of the League may, however, be indicated under the following series of headings; behind each of these headings lies a mass of detail and a tangle of individual problems which in many cases have taken years to unravel:

- (1) The building-up of an adequate international law in the form of international conventions, and the securing of the ratification and application of these conventions by all countries and in all territories in the world.

(2) The development of an international administration to supervise in detail the application of the Conventions; to study their weak points in the light of experience and so lay the basis for their amendment; to examine the annual reports forwarded by Governments on the operation of Conventions; to examine and correct national laws and the regulations, applying them with a view to ensuring that national law and administration are in conformity with the Conventions; to maintain a list of licensed factories; to receive and to act upon reports of all important cases of illicit traffic in various parts of the world and, finally, in recent years, to lay down in Geneva in advance an annual world-plan of manufacture and trade based on estimates of requirements for the ensuing year; and to maintain a system of world book-keeping in which all the major operations of the legitimate trade have to be accounted for.

(3) The elaboration of a world-wide international system of statistics, based upon comparable national statistics, to serve as the foundation for the system of international administrative control referred to above.

(4) The working out of the principles of adequate national legislation and the addition to the statute book of every country in the world of a chapter—in many cases an entirely new chapter—containing legislation on dangerous drugs.

(5) The working out of the main lines, and even the smaller details, of an effectual national administrative system for the application of the drug laws; and the securing of the adoption of such a system on more or less uniform lines in every country. For this latter purpose, the League adopted the expedient, which is without parallel in the international field, of drawing up at Geneva a Model Administrative Code for each of the two chief Conventions to assist Governments in applying them.

HOW THE LEAGUE ATTACKED THE PROBLEM.

The manner in which the League has attacked these problems is of considerable practical interest, in view especially of the possible application in other fields, such as the traffic in arms, of the experience gained and the precedents created in relation to dangerous drugs.

The first practical step taken by the League in order to enable

it to exercise a general supervision over the execution of arrangements with regard to the traffic was to charge its secretariat with the collection of all necessary data and to establish the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs. The object of the League in creating the Committee, which is the advisory organ of the Council in this matter, was to secure the fullest possible co-operation between the various countries chiefly concerned by calling their administrations together into regular consultation, and by enabling them to remain in continuous contact through the Secretariat.

During the fourteen years of its existence, and its eighteen sessions, the Advisory Committee—which now consists of representatives of twenty-five countries from all continents except Oceania—has exercised a continuous and close supervision over the execution of the Conventions and has worked out the League's policy as regards the problem of dangerous drugs. Being composed of representatives of Governments who were in many cases the officials charged with the administration of the national departments concerned, it was in a peculiarly favourable position, not only to bring the experience of Governments to bear upon a particular problem, but to secure the adoption by those Governments of the solution arrived at after discussion in the Committee.

ALTERNATIVE LINES OF ATTACK.

Two alternative lines of attack were open to the Advisory Committee. Faced as it was with an imperfect Convention, it might have attempted at the very outset to spend much of its energies upon the elaboration, and the adoption by Governments, of a new and much more far-reaching convention. In fact it chose a more practical alternative. It divided up the various problems and attacked them piecemeal. It concentrated upon some of the most urgent problems which offered some possibility of rapid solution, and of useful results. A particular question—such as the vital question of the enforcement by each country of a proper system of licensing for manufacturers and wholesalers—was attacked over a period of years from a number of different angles. Use was made, for example, of the administrative experience gained by particular countries of the best methods of applying a stringent licensing system, and of the results of its application; and the cumulative evidence afforded by innumerable cases of illicit traffic was persistently brought before Governments and public opinion, until country after country was brought into

line. By means like this, the Committee sought to carry Governments with it step by step.

The Committee was able, by adopting such methods, to supplement the Hague Convention of 1912 by a series of practical measures such as the Import-Certificate System. As a result of the application of such measures by a number of Governments and of the custom of co-operation thus built up between them, the League was able in due course to codify, as it were, these measures into a new international Convention.

THE GENEVA CONVENTION AND THE IMPORT-CERTIFICATE SYSTEM.

Thus the Geneva Convention of 1925 included the system of import certificates and export authorisations, the elaboration and application of which as a practical working system had formed one of the first main tasks of the Advisory Committee. Embodied in the details of this system were a number of individual pieces of mechanism which experience had proved necessary to add to the Import-Certificate System as at first outlined. Amongst these were, for example, the special regime applied in the case of free ports, and the measures for dealing with the problem of bonded warehouses and of the transit or diversion of drugs.

A SYSTEM OF WORLD ACCOUNTANCY.

The second main advance made in the Geneva Convention was the setting-up of the Permanent Central Opium Board. The Board was charged with the task of watching the course of the international trade on the basis of the statistics from Governments with which the Convention provided it. This new piece of international administration was itself the outcome of the experience gained by the Advisory Committee in building up during several years the beginnings of a system of international statistics. The Convention gave a detailed legal basis for this system of statistics. It also created, in the Board, a special independent body of experts charged with the specific duty of using the new system of world accountancy established under the Convention as a means of ensuring that the drugs manufactured, exported or imported in the legitimate trade were fully accounted for and did not escape into the illicit traffic.

These two elements in the Geneva Convention—the Import-Certificate System and the provision of a proper system of world accountancy with a special body to watch the international

trade—have together brought about the virtual elimination of important discrepancies between the amounts of drugs exported by the exporting countries (on the basis of the import certificates issued by the importing countries) and the corresponding amounts actually received by the importing countries.

THE LIMITATION OF MANUFACTURE.

This control over the international trade, which was the great contribution made by the Geneva Convention of 1925, has now been supplemented by the introduction in the Limitation Convention of 1931 of a complete system of limitation of manufacture of dangerous drugs to the world's legitimate needs.

The Limitation Convention, like the Geneva Convention, incorporated and gave a legal basis to a number of methods of international co-operation which had been applied in practice for a considerable period as a result of the League's efforts. Among these were the system of annual reports to the League by each country on the operation of the Conventions, the system of forwarding reports to the League on all important cases of illicit traffic, and the furnishing by each country and the keeping up to date of a list of licensed factories.

WIDE RATIFICATION OF THE CONVENTIONS.

The degree of universality already secured as regards the ratification and application of these Conventions exceeds that secured in relation to any other Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League or administered by it. The Hague Convention of 1912 had secured, by October 1934, 58 ratifications or accessions; the Geneva Convention 52; and the Limitation Convention 48.

* * *

The following pages reproduce, with a few changes or adjustments necessary for the purpose of their publication, the general survey of the present situation and of the results accomplished by the League in this field which was made by the Assembly, in September 1934, at its fifteenth session.

THE LEAGUE'S OBJECTIVES.

The objective pursued by the League since the beginning of its work in this field has been to draw a clear-cut dividing-line between the legitimate trade and the illicit traffic in dangerous

drugs. On the one hand, it has sought to confine production and manufacture of these substances to the amounts required for legitimate needs, and to ensure, through the strict application of the Convention, that the amounts so manufactured in the legitimate trade do not get into the illicit traffic. On the other hand, it has also sought to combat the illicit traffic with all the means at its disposal.

The task of the Assembly is, first, to survey the progress made towards achieving these objectives; secondly, to bring out as sharply as possible, for the guidance of Governments and public opinion, the main characteristics of the present situation; and, thirdly, to lay down the broad lines of policy for the future.

LIMITATION CONVENTION IN OPERATION.

The principal point of interest during the present year is that the Assembly was afforded its first opportunity of studying the results of the drugs limitation Convention of 1931 in actual operation. It is not possible to review the working of this Convention as a whole until the first annual statistics relating to its operation are available, but it should be emphasised that during this present year the operations of the legitimate drug trade of the world—manufacture, export, import, consumption and the maintenance of stocks—have been conducted for the first time in history on the basis of a world plan drawn up in advance under the auspices of the League. This world plan consists of the statement containing the estimates of drug requirements for the ensuing year, issued by the Supervisory Body. Under the Convention, this Body is charged with the duty of examining the estimates furnished by Governments and of framing estimates for all countries and territories which do not furnish them. The plan thus drawn up is legally binding on all parties to the Convention, both in their relations with each other and with non-parties.

UNIVERSAL APPLICATION OF THE ESTIMATES SYSTEM.

The estimates system is the only literally universal piece of international administration so far undertaken by the League, since it applies actively to every single State and separate administrative unit in the world. This system has been put into universal application from the very outset, and on the dates provided for in the Convention. This is a great achievement, and

the congratulations of the Assembly are due to the Governments which contributed towards this result by furnishing their estimates in time. They are due also to the Supervisory Body which, despite the great difficulty and novelty of its task, succeeded from the very beginning in securing the universal application of the estimates system, which is essential to the successful operation of the Convention.

The result is all the more noteworthy since, in order to secure it, the Supervisory Body was obliged to make extensive use of the power conferred upon it under the Convention of drawing up estimates for all countries and territories which do not furnish them. It drew up estimates for no less than twenty-three countries and thirty-one territories.

The first statement of the estimated world requirements of dangerous drugs¹ communicated to Governments of States Members and non-members of the League of Nations by the Secretary-General on November 1st, 1933, contained estimates for the year 1934 as regards fifteen drugs in respect of 188 countries and territories.

STOPPING OF EXPORTS TO COUNTRIES EXCEEDING THEIR ESTIMATES.

The Convention provides that another organ, the Permanent Central Opium Board, which is referred to above in connection with the Geneva Convention, shall check up the statistics of actual international trade against the legally binding estimates contained in this Statement. The Central Board, to which also the thanks of the Assembly are due for the part it has already played in applying the Convention, has throughout the year kept a careful check on all quarterly export and import returns against the total of the estimates for each drug for each country. It has not hesitated to use, on a number of occasions, the drastic power given to it under the Convention of stopping exports to countries which have exceeded the total of their estimates.

Whilst the Central Board has been obliged to note numerous cases of excess during the first six months of 1934, it is only in exceptional cases that these excesses have amounted to considerable quantities. Nevertheless, the demonstration which the

¹ Estimated World Requirements of Dangerous Drugs in 1934 (document C.610.M.286.1933.XI).

Board has given of the reality of the provisions of Article 14 of the Convention will serve as a useful reminder of the fact that the obligation under the Convention not to exceed estimates is clear and categorical.

The excesses which have occurred have no doubt been due in a number of cases to inadvertence, which further experience of the Convention will remedy. The attention of each Government has therefore been drawn to the necessity of keeping a close and constant check on the imports of each drug as against the country's estimate for that drug, in order to ensure that import certificates in excess of the estimate are not issued.

To ensure that adequate supplies of each drug shall be available without exceeding the estimate, the Convention provides not only for the keeping of adequate stocks but also for the leaving of a reasonable margin in the estimates to meet possible fluctuations in demand. It also provides for the making of supplementary estimates in cases where experience proves that the real needs of the country have been under-estimated. The process of adjusting more closely the estimates to the real needs of the various countries has been going on during the course of the year 1934. Over eighty supplementary estimates were dealt with by the Supervisory Body between January and October.

A NEW PRECEDENT.

The Assembly in 1933 expressed the hope that the Convention—embodying as it did a bold conception without precedent in the history of international relations and international law, and proposing as it did the entire regulation of a whole industry and of a branch of trade extending over the surface of the globe—would prove in practice to be a workable, valuable and effective instrument.

It is possible now to pass judgment on the Convention in the light of the experience, incomplete as yet but already striking, of its first year of application.

A "PLANNED ECONOMY" ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE.

In the economic field, the Convention limits on an *international basis*, directly, quantitatively and qualitatively, the manufacture of certain industrial products, and consequently the trade in the same, with strict reference to the volume of the legitimate demand for such products. It thus affords a practical illustration on the

international scale, in the case of a particular industry, of the fundamental principles of what is usually known as a "planned economy".

ORGANISATION OF A REAL INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

In the legal and administrative fields the Convention has not merely imposed reciprocal obligations on States but, by establishing for the first time the principle of the complete supervision of an entire industry, it has made provision for and prescribed the organisation of a real international administration. This international administration will henceforward regulate and supervise, day by day, the relations of the contracting parties in their several capacities as manufacturers, exporters, importers or consumers of particular industrial products.

It is, moreover, a remarkable fact at the present time, when disappointments and failures are almost daily occurrences, that a work of international solidarity has been tried and has succeeded. It may now be said that close and effective co-operation exists between peoples, in one field at any rate—a limited but important field—and from the fact of its existence affords an example and a precedent.

This record of success in this important field of manufactured narcotic drugs, the forging of such a powerful instrument of international government as the international opium Conventions, and their successful application on a world-wide scale in the short space of thirteen years would be inconceivable without the existence of the League.

ANALOGIES WITH THE TRADE IN AND MANUFACTURE OF ARMS.

These results show what the League might do in other spheres of international life, if the Governments would afford it such possibilities as now exist in the matter of narcotic drugs. It is worth while recalling in this connection the Secretary-General's memorandum on "Analogies between the Problem of the Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and that of the Trade in and Manufacture of Arms",¹ which has been transmitted to the delegations to the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments.

¹ Document Conf.D.159.

SUMMARY OF THE SYSTEM OF CONTROL SET UP
BY THE LIMITATION CONVENTION.

•In view of the importance of the Limitation Convention and of the complex nature of its provisions, a brief summary of the system of control established by it—especially of its international aspect—may be given.

Under the Convention no contracting party may manufacture, export or import dangerous drugs without accounting for such transactions and without the whole of its industrial and commercial operations in the matter of drugs being subject to strict supervision by various national and international bodies. The supervision is organised in three stages extending over a period of three years :

First stage.—An international plan—the statement of the Supervisory Body (referred to below)—is drawn up in respect of the coming year.

During this first stage, the countries furnish estimates of their requirements for the coming year. Should any State neglect to send in estimates for itself or any of its territories, these are framed by the Supervisory Body irrespective of whether such State is a party to the Convention or not.

The Supervisory Body thus provides the basis of all control—both national and international—by drawing up, by November 1st of each year, a statement showing the estimates of the requirements of each country or territory, indicating the *authorised amount* of world consumption and manufacture for the following year, and also the volume of licit international trade.

Second stage.—Application and control of the above-mentioned plan during the year in regard to which it has been established—that is to say, national control (of manufacture, imports and exports, consumption and stocks) and international control. This international control involves general supervision by the Opium Advisory Committee of the legislative and administrative application of the Convention; modification, where necessary during the year, of the estimates dealt with by the Supervisory Body; supervision by the Permanent Central Board of international trade on the basis of the quarterly statistics of imports and exports.

Third stage.—*Ex post facto* control in regard to the preceding year on the basis of the annual statistics supplied by the Governments.

The industrial and commercial operations of the preceding year are all reviewed by an international body—the Permanent Central Opium Board—on the basis of the statistics supplied and in the light of the estimates given in the Statement containing the estimates, which are legally binding on each contracting party.

Should the returns of exports to, and imports by, a given country, as supplied to the Permanent Central Opium Board, show that the total of the estimates—as drawn up and published by the Supervisory Body in the Statement containing the estimates already mentioned—have been exceeded in respect of any drug, the Central Board, on noting this fact, at once advises all the other contracting parties, which are thereupon debarred from authorising any further exports to the country in question. This is tantamount to a kind of general embargo of world-wide scope which, so far from remaining a dead letter, has already been applied on several occasions during the past year. Such a proceeding is without precedent in the history of international law.

THE LIMITATION OF THE WORLD'S LEGITIMATE TRADE TO LEGITIMATE NEEDS.

Thanks to the stricter and more general application of the International Opium Conventions, there has been during the last three or four years a progressive shrinkage in the volume of legitimate trade in opium, coca leaves and manufactured drugs. The statistics of the amounts legally manufactured show that these amounts approximate more and more nearly to the world's legitimate consumption as indicated by the returns of legitimate consumption furnished by Governments, thus leaving little apparent margin that might feed the illicit traffic.

NEW UNDERGROUND STREAM FROM CLANDESTINE FACTORIES.

The broad streams from the licensed factories, which once fed, by innumerable leakages, the underground stream of the illicit traffic, has now diminished. Its place as the principal source of the illicit traffic has been taken by clandestine factories. The underground stream flowing from these clandestine factories threatens to be even greater than that which in the past flowed from the licensed factories.

ACHIEVEMENT OF FIRST MAIN OBJECTIVE.

In the main, the League may be said to have achieved the first of the two principal objectives referred to at the beginning of this report—that is to say, the drawing of a clear-cut dividing-line between legitimate trade and the illicit traffic.

TASKS IN THE FUTURE.

The principal tasks now and in the future are: on the one hand, to exercise a constant vigilance over the legitimate trade, to see that no leakages from it take place, and, on the other hand, to concentrate more than ever upon the discovery and elimination of the clandestine factories.

That part of the League's work which relates more specifically to the suppression of the illicit traffic and to the creation for this purpose of a united front on the part of the forces of justice and of police throughout the world must therefore be even more strongly emphasised in future than in the past. For this purpose, a draft International Convention for the Suppression of the Illicit Traffic in Dangerous Drugs has been circulated by the League to Governments. The purpose of the Convention, which was prepared by the Opium Advisory Committee, is to provide Governments with a new weapon to deal with the international organisation of the illicit traffickers by concerted measures of repression which would also be international.

A further task, closely related to that of the suppression of clandestine manufacture, is the limitation of the production of raw materials used in such manufacture and the exercise over these raw materials of a stringent control to prevent them from falling into the hands of the trafficker. The preparations which may render it possible to draw up an international convention on this point are now being undertaken by the Opium Advisory Committee.

A GREAT TURNING-POINT.

The virtual cessation of the overflow from the licensed factory and the development of the clandestine factory as the source of supply of the illicit traffic marks a great turning-point in the work of the League in this field. It is vital for the full success of the campaign against clandestine manufacture that this fact should be stated clearly for the guidance both of the Governments and

of the public. To bring out boldly the significance of this situation, it is necessary to look back for a moment upon the road whereby the League, after thirteen years' arduous work, has arrived at this turning-point. It is now evident, in the light of the reports in recent years of the Opium Advisory Committee, that it was in the last six months of 1930 that this transformation of the scene first became noticeable. Every year since that date, the nature of the change has become clearer and clearer. For three years now, the old appalling gap between the output of the licensed factories and legitimate medical consumption has been narrowed down to a small fraction.

SCALE OF ILLICIT TRAFFIC REVEALED BY STATISTICAL ANALYSIS.

Looking back at the situation as it existed at the first session of the Advisory Committee in 1921, the contrast between then and now is almost unbelievable. In 1931 a remarkable analysis of the unique system of world-wide interlocking international statistics, built up by the League through ten years of laborious work, was published by the Opium Section of the Secretariat for the use of the Limitation Conference.¹ This analysis revealed for the first time, as the Advisory Committee in its report to the Council in that year stated, the full gravity of the situation as it existed up till about the beginning of 1930. It showed that the illicit traffic, particularly during the years 1926-1929, was on an even more colossal scale than was suspected at that time. It revealed also, as the Advisory Committee points out, the remarkable change in the situation which was produced by the putting into force of the Geneva Convention of 1925 in the remaining European manufacturing countries other than Turkey. Perhaps most important of all, it gave for the first time estimates of legitimate world needs, which subsequent experience has proved to have been extremely close to the mark. By establishing these estimates it provided a measuring-rod whereby it was possible to go back year by year and to see how great the gap between legitimate needs and licensed manufacture had been.

¹Analysis of the International Trade in Morphine, Diacetylmorphine and Cocaine for the years 1925-1929, Parts I, II and III (document C.587.M.228.1930.XI); also Records of the Conference for the Limitation of the Manufacture of Narcotic Drugs, Vol. 1 (document C.509.M.214.1931.XI).

THE DARK BACKGROUND OF 1920.

The magnitude of the results gained by the League cannot be expressed in any complete way in figures. The data are incomplete and the full amounts which passed into the illicit traffic will never be known. The analysis made by the Secretariat and presented to the Limitation Conference in 1931 proved that, at a very conservative estimate, not less than 100 tons of the drugs could be shown to have passed into the illicit traffic in the five years 1925-1929. What the real situation was in 1921 when the Advisory Committee began its work can only be guessed at. In 1920, one country alone—Japan—had available through manufacture or import the colossal figure of about 40 tons of morphine, heroin and cocaine—an amount which is almost equal to the estimated needs of the whole world for the year 1934, not only for these three drugs, but for twelve others in addition. This is mentioned as an example only and without any desire to make any retrospective accusation, which could indeed be directed against a large number of countries, since two-thirds of this amount of 40 tons had its origin in exports from nearly all the manufacturing countries of Europe and America. Only in the light of present knowledge—painfully built up for so many years—is it possible to judge what figures like these really mean, and to measure the extent of the League's achievement in this field of its activities. •

THE PRESENT SITUATION AS REGARDS CLANDESTINE MANUFACTURE.

The general review of the present situation and of the progress made by the League, which is reproduced in the preceding section, would not be complete without the sounding of a serious warning note against undue optimism as to the future. The Fifth Committee itself emphasised that great vigilance must continue to be exercised in order to maintain the results already secured as regards the stoppage of leakages from the legitimate trade to the illicit traffic; and it drew attention to the real gravity of the problem of clandestine manufacture.

The seriousness of this latter problem can indeed hardly be over-emphasised, since there is a grave danger that clandestine factories might flood the world with an even greater quantity of illicit drugs than at any time in the past.

The Fifth Committee points out under the heading of clandestine manufacture that with the increasing severity of international control, which prevents legally manufactured drugs from being diverted into the illicit traffic, traffickers have applied themselves to the clandestine manufacture of such drugs on their own behalf and are turning their attention towards the countries in which it is easy to obtain the necessary raw materials. Hence their attempt to transfer their nefarious activities to Turkey, where the energetic action of the Turkish Government has happily put an end to their operations, and subsequently to Bulgaria, where the position has not yet been cleared up, and to China, both north and south of the Great Wall, where it is becoming more and more serious. This position gives rise to grave apprehensions. The drugs manufactured in Bulgaria and the Far East are shipped to Canada for subsequent despatch to the United States of America and Europe. The seizures effected in the United States of America confirm the gravity of the traffic coming from China and South Manchuria.

A NEW CLUE TO THE CLANDESTINE MANUFACTURE OF HEROIN.

In this connection, attention was directed to a new question which is of considerable importance from the point of view of the detection of clandestine manufacture—viz., the trade in acid acetic anhydride, a chemical product which, according to the statement submitted to the Advisory Committee at its eighteenth session by the United States representative, is, in practice, almost indispensable for the manufacture of heroin and is of only limited use for other industrial purposes.

According to the information placed before the Advisory Committee, the quantities of acid acetic anhydride imported into Bulgaria in 1932 and 1933 were sufficient to produce a quantity of heroin representing, in 1932, twice and, in 1933, four times the legitimate requirements of the entire world. The energetic action taken by the Bulgarian Government to deal with the situation, including the prohibition of the import of acid acetic anhydride, except under special permit, is indicated in the report of the Fifth Committee.

According to the information supplied by the Seizure Subcommittee to the Advisory Committee, the chief centres of the illicit manufacture of morphine and heroin in China are Szechuan, Shanghai and Peiping, with secondary centres at Mukden and

Harbin, as well as at Dairen and in the Leased Territory of Kwantung. Figures are only at present available regarding the imports of acid acetic anhydride regularly effected through Shanghai. No statistics are available regarding the importation of this chemical into Manchuria and into the Leased Territory of Kwantung, so that it is not yet possible to estimate the volume of this manufacture in those two territories. The quantities imported each year through Shanghai would alone suffice for the manufacture of 18 tons of heroin. The legitimate requirements of the world as regards heroin are little more than one ton.

In order to be able to follow the movements of this chemical product—acid acetic anhydride—which may afford an important new clue as to the clandestine manufacture of heroin, all Governments are being asked by the League to furnish statistics of their imports and exports of this substance, with full particulars as to their origin and destination. •

The measures taken by the Chinese Government as regards the manufacture, transport and sale of manufactured drugs, including the imposition of severe penalties—going as far as capital punishment—and the compulsory treatment of drug addicts in hospitals, are described in detail in the report of the Fifth Committee. The report also describes measures which are being taken to secure effective co-operation between China and the Treaty Powers to deal with the situation.¹

Apart from this comparatively new and grave menace of clandestine manufacture, there remains for the Governments and the League the task of supervising and controlling the licensed factories producing drugs for the legitimate trade, in order to prevent serious leakages from legitimate channels of distribution into the illicit traffic. The lesson which the world has learned with regard to the impossibility of securing this result without the building up of a universal system of control, and without the maintenance of this system at a high state of efficiency in all its parts, cannot be forgotten. If there is weakness or laxity of administration at any point in the system, in any country, drugs are certain to get through at that point into the illicit traffic.

¹ See also the Report of the Opium Advisory Committee on the Work of its Eighteenth Session (document C.256.M.105.1934.XI).

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.

INTRODUCTION.

These notes have been prepared with a view to putting before educationists within the framework of League teaching the elements of a lesson on the International Labour Organisation.

They consist chiefly of short summaries of the leading ideas and of the principal elements of labour protection in so far as international action is concerned.

1. ORIGIN OF LABOUR LEGISLATION.

The idea of protective labour legislation sprang from the revolt of the human conscience against conditions of flagrant injustice. It originated in the early years of large-scale industrialism, when hours of work were extremely long and wages at starvation level.

Under the pressure of public opinion, the authorities were gradually obliged to remedy this state of affairs by adopting social laws which have come to form the groundwork of social peace and justice in the majority of countries.

It soon became apparent, however, that the effect of measures of labour protection confined to the national field was seriously limited by industrial rivalries and economic difficulties.

These circumstances, whatever national action might be taken, did not afford adequate protection to the worker; his personal standing was threatened, he could not satisfy his most legitimate needs, and his intellectual and social activity itself was constricted.

2. PIONEERS.

As much as a century ago, two men realised the necessity for national and international measures of protection for labour. In 1808, Europe was faced with problems very similar to those it has since been called upon to solve; it was emerging exhausted from a long period of strife and needed thorough reorganisation. At that time, the Welsh manufacturer, Robert Owen, addressed two memoranda to the Powers, appealing for the introduction in every country of measures to protect the workers against the

ignorance and exploitation of which they were the victims and demanding the institution of a Commission on Labour. Another pioneer was Daniel Legrand, a French spinner established in Alsace, who, from 1838 to 1859, the year of his death, kept up a continual bombardment of memoranda and appeals to Parliaments and Governments with a view to persuading them to adopt national and international legislation for the protection of the working-class. He denounced what he called the "eight great scourges of modern industry which undermine the bodily and spiritual health of the worker". "There are", he wrote in 1848, "in the present state of European industry, certain matters with which the individual nations cannot deal separately and which can only be settled by an agreement between the Powers they affect." Later, he stated, in 1855, that "an international factory law has an immense advantage over the separate laws of individual countries. It is enough in itself to bestow moral and material benefits on the working-class without any injury to manufacturers and without in any way affecting competitive conditions as between the industries of the various countries concerned."

3. PRIVATE INITIATIVE AND EFFORTS OF TRADE UNIONS.

These early champions of labour legislation were ignored by the authorities of their own day, but they were nevertheless the pioneers of essential reforms which were demanded more and more insistently from 1900 onwards (side by side with diplomatic conferences, the first of which was held in 1890), by statesmen, heads of administrations, professors and workers' leaders united in an organisation created for the purpose, which has now become the International Association for Social Progress.

Concurrently with this general action, however, the trade-union movement also urged similar claims with all its powers and made persistent and untiring efforts to ensure, through the introduction of international labour legislation, minimum guarantees of the material and moral welfare of the working-classes of all countries.

4. INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN COUNTRIES AND TRADE ASSOCIATIONS.

These joint efforts were crowned in 1919 by the creation of the International Labour Organisation—an event which marks the

recognition by the nations themselves of the social obligations incumbent on them and the consecration of the idea of social justice as an essential element in universal peace. To-day, this Organisation, which has recently been joined by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, comprises sixty-two States Members representing 98.6 per cent of the whole population of the world, and is thus the most representative international institution in existence. By accepting the International Labour Charter on which it is founded, these countries recognise that social justice is an essential condition for universal peace, that the peace of the world is endangered by the existence of conditions of labour involving hardship and poverty and that no country should be able, by maintaining such conditions or refusing to adopt a more humane system of labour, to hinder the attempts of other countries desirous of improving the lot of their own workers.

Side by side with the Government delegates of every country, the Organisation also comprises employers' and workers' delegates on a footing of complete equality. Thus the trade unions and employers' associations co-operate fully in the work of international social reconstruction. They participate with the Governments in the annual sessions of the International Labour Conference, in the decisions of the Governing Body and in the activities of the International Labour Office. This threefold collaboration has led up to the present to the adoption of forty-four international Conventions (or treaties) which have so far received 636 ratifications.

5. PRESENT IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR LEGISLATION.

Nevertheless, it is still doubted in certain quarters whether it is really better to discuss and settle labour questions on an international basis rather than to let each country deal with them for itself. A few words of explanation on this point may therefore not be out of place.

In the first place, it may be pointed out that industry itself, particularly at the present day, is international. It imports raw materials and exports finished products. International cartels are numerous. There is, under normal circumstances, considerable movement of workers from one country to another. Both employers and workers have their international associations. Above all, however, within each country and between different

countries there is the dominant factor of competition. A country in which the wages of labour are low and its hours long can, temporarily at least, produce more cheaply than one in which the workers are protected by legislation prescribing higher standards. The result of these conditions is that the more backward country has an advantage both on the international and on the home market—an advantage gained at the expense of the health and welfare of its workers over countries more conscious of their social responsibilities, whose own interests are thus jeopardised. On the other hand, there are also many States that would like to give fair protection to their workers, but dare not do so for fear their industrial competitors would not follow their example.

6. THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS.

The task of securing the effective observance of ratified Conventions is pursued energetically and successfully by the International Labour Organisation, which tries to ensure the widest possible measure of equality through the general observance of uniform principles. It verifies the application of international labour Conventions by requiring annual reports, with provision, where necessary, for further measures of enquiry.

There are still many people who complain that only in their own country is labour legislation effectively enforced and that this is not the case elsewhere, particularly where their neighbours are concerned. It cannot be denied that standards vary. At the same time, the Organisation has various means of ascertaining the truth of these assertions. In the first place, there are the annual reports already mentioned, which show how the legislation giving effect to the Conventions in the various countries is applied. These reports are closely scrutinised by an international committee of experts and by the International Labour Office. Secondly, other sources of information are available, as, for instance, the data furnished by the factory inspection services of the different countries. A further indication that social legislation is applied more effectively than is commonly supposed in certain countries is also provided by the campaigns launched from time to time with the object of relaxing its severity. This procedure is undoubtedly costly, and would surely not be undertaken if labour legislation were merely a dead letter in the countries concerned.

Evidence as to the value and effective application of international labour Conventions is not lacking. Two examples may be given to illustrate this. First, in June 1934, at the opening of the eighteenth session of the International Labour Conference, the Chairman of the Governing Body, M. Bramsnaes, Danish Government delegate, made the following statement :

“ . . . In spite of all the difficulties of the present day and the anxiety which the future may inspire, efforts have almost everywhere been made to maintain existing social standards as far as possible. This indubitably shows that the various States realise their social responsibilities. It has, of course, not in all cases been possible to provide a complete remedy for the distress from which large sections of the population were suffering, but nevertheless the anxiety which has been shown to maintain the social equilibrium, even in the face of ever-increasing difficulties, represents something new. May it not be said that if for the first time in the history of the periods of depression through which the world has passed an encouraging element is to be noted, that fact is to a large extent due to the existence of the International Labour Organisation, an institution in which Governments, employers and workers all work together, and to the vitality which that Organisation has shown.”

Secondly, in the same year, the High Commissioner for India in London stated the opinion that “ whatever improvement may have taken place in the conditions of the workmen in India in recent years has been largely due to Indian collaboration with the International Labour Office ”.

7. INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ON SOCIAL MATTERS.

This constructive task of social legislation requires a solid groundwork of information, study, research and discussion, covering both social problems and social legislation. The International Labour Office has to digest the enormous mass of information it receives and present it in a methodical form suitable for the purposes of international comparison and conclusions. Every advance in the field of international labour legislation must be preceded by a comparative study of international law and practice. Every day periodicals from all parts of the world flow into the International Labour Office; they come from 160 countries and colonies and represent a total of over

200,000 separate issues, published in forty-two languages. The Office library also receives additions day by day, and now contains over 380,000 catalogued items. This is the basis on which the Office builds up its vast store of information, which is completed by particulars obtained from national administrative authorities and from trade associations, and also from correspondents' offices which the Office has set up in various capitals. To-day, there are some twenty such offices scattered throughout the world. This information is disseminated as widely as possible by means of publications addressed both to the general public and to specialists.

8. SOME RESULTS.

During the first fifteen years of its existence, the International Labour Organisation has tried to promote the guiding principles of the Labour Charter in the international field. Every question—hours of work, wages, social insurance, placing, unemployment, etc.—; every kind of work, every class of worker—children, young people, men and women—has been studied with a view to the drafting of provisions capable of securing for the workers living and employment conditions in harmony with the great principle which dominates all the work of the International Labour Office—that “labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce”.

For the purpose of these brief notes, a few concrete examples will illustrate the work of the International Labour Organisation better than a catalogue of all its achievements :

(1) As regards *hours of work*, it is thanks to the International Labour Office that the eight-hour day has been maintained. It may safely be said that, during the past ten years, the Washington Convention on the Eight-Hour Day has acted as a check on all attempts to prolong the working-week and that the present depression would probably have had still more serious consequences if the eight-hour day had not been observed. At its next session, in June 1935, the Conference is to pursue the discussion of the possibility of a further reduction in working-hours.

(2) In the field of *unemployment insurance* and of social insurance in general, the progress made is very largely due to the Organisation. In 1919, when the International Labour Conference adopted a recommendation in favour of unemployment insurance, the only country which had a compulsory unemployment insurance scheme was the United Kingdom, where it

covered 3,700,000 workers. To-day, over 44 million workers in ten countries are compulsorily insured against unemployment and nearly 3 million in eight countries are covered by voluntary schemes. Similarly, the International Labour Organisation has been instrumental in securing the adoption of a large number of Conventions dealing with the other branches of social insurance—sickness insurance, accident insurance, invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance.

(3) Turning to the question of the *protection of young workers*, valuable work has again been done by the Organisation, and the influence of the Conventions concerning the age of admission of children to employment has been a very considerable factor in regulating this problem. A concrete example may be given to illustrate the effects of international action. At the end of 1922, it came to the notice of the International Labour Office that in certain carpet factories in a Far Eastern country children were being required to work under the most deplorable conditions. As the country concerned was a member of the Organisation, it was possible to make friendly representations and in this way to secure the passing of a Decree, the terms of which showed the full extent of the evil it was designed to remedy. This Decree forbade the employment of boys under the age of eight and of girls under the age of ten, and also of workers suffering from contagious diseases. It prescribed that workrooms should not be installed in damp underground premises, that the looms should not be above one metre from the ground, and that the seats should be high enough to allow the children to work under satisfactory conditions.

This reform was the first result of the Office's intervention, but not the last. General regulations for the whole industry covering over 500,000 persons have now been introduced. They deal with the most important points of labour protection in provisions concerning the age of admission to employment, hours of work, women's work, industrial health measures, etc. This new Act thus offers concrete evidence of the influence of the International Labour Office.

(4) In the field of *native labour*, the action of the International Labour Organisation has again had tangible results. The Convention adopted by the Conference on forced or compulsory labour has been ratified by most of the big colonial Powers. Even as regards those which have not seen their way to accepting it—chiefly for secondary reasons relating to points of detail and unconnected with its basic principles—the mere existence of the Convention has led to a series of legislative reforms broadly based

on the provisions of the Convention. For instance, in one big colonial Power which has not accepted the Convention, over a million native workers are now protected under new measures adopted as a direct result of the Office's endeavours.

•

9. CONCLUSIONS.

This outline of the activities of the International Labour Organisation is enough to show that it promotes an increasing measure of equality in social legislation as between the big competing industrial countries. It also stimulates the more backward nations and offers a guarantee of genuine reciprocity to all the States Members of the Organisation. It promotes the development of a body of law and of supervisory agencies, both national and international, capable of ensuring increasingly effective application of labour legislation, and it protects the rights of workers throughout the world.

WIRELESS TALKS FROM THE "RADIO-NATIONS" STATION.

The League of Nations maintains a wireless station. This station, which is known as "Radio-Nations", is intended to provide the League with independent and direct communication with States Members. In 1932, the Information Section established a short-wave broadcasting service intended more particularly for listeners in overseas countries. These broadcasts usually take the form of bulletins on current work. They take place regularly every Saturday from 11.30 p.m. to 12.15 a.m. in English, French and Spanish. In addition, distinguished persons attending League of Nations meetings at Geneva are invited to come to the microphone.

Arrangements have also been made to enable regular use to be made of the "Radio-Nations" Station for broadcasts of a cultural and educational character in harmony with the aims of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. In this connection, the wish has been expressed that such talks as would be likely to be of interest more particularly to members of teaching staffs should be reproduced in this *Bulletin*.

Below will be found the message from the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to young people throughout the world, which was broadcast on May 18th, 1934, on Goodwill Day, and also the talks given by M. Anesaki, Mr. Shotwell and Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, members of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee.

SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MESSAGE TO THE CHILDREN OF THE WORLD FOR MAY 18TH, GOODWILL DAY.

To-day is Goodwill Day, and the air is full of messages of friendship which the wireless stations are broadcasting; messages from the children of Wales and the replies sent to them by the children of the five continents and islands far away. The voices of the young people who speak in your name through the wireless all declare the goodwill of those who are not yet 15 years old and

their desire to work together for the good of all. For to-day is May 18th, Goodwill Day.

But what of to-morrow? What are you going to do to-morrow to keep your promises? To-morrow perhaps you will hear of rivalries and of disputes which separate your respective countries, of old embittered quarrels from an unhappy past which are very hard to clear away. To-morrow you may perhaps wonder, with discouragement, what is the use of working hard since your elders worked hard but are, for all that, unemployed. To-morrow perhaps you will meet people who will make fun of your messages of to-day: "It is all words, nothing but words," they will say. "What good will fine words do?"

It is indeed true that what we want is action. Do you think, children, that to solve problems, settle quarrels, forget hatred, and to stop unemployment, all you have to do is to send out friendly messages? You know perfectly well that that is not so. This poor, mad world of ours, which is just hobbling along, needs more effective remedies. It needs you, young people. It is for you to restore some balance, some sense of proportion, to the world. How are you going to do it? By study and then by action.

From to-morrow, then, you will set to work. You will work at your history, your geography, your civics, your mother tongue, your foreign languages and your mathematics, with a firm determination to reach an understanding of this complicated world—with its new forms of civilisation and with economic conditions which change from day to day. You will try to get a clear view of the old quarrels which poison our life—disputes between inhabitants of the same country or disputes between people of neighbouring countries. From to-morrow, you will try to exercise self-control and self-mastery: you will learn to keep calm and objective, so that you will be able to study the causes of these quarrels dispassionately.

Then, when you are grown up and you have the responsibility of taking decisions in your own countries, you will know these delicate questions thoroughly, and you will be able to examine them all quietly with the people whom they concern—friends and foes. You will know how to look for just compromises, asking only fair and equal sacrifices from the opposing parties. You know as well as I do that to settle a dispute by fighting is not the way to find a just, sensible and lasting solution; on the contrary, it leads only to bad feeling and to the creation of new difficulties. You don't imagine, do you, that to establish world peace, of which

you hear everyone around you talking so much, you must give up your devotion to your country, your whole-hearted service for it? No, no; a thousand times, no! But, however brave and generous your fathers were, however great and noble your country, all is not yet perfect. Firmly make up your minds, then, to work so that your country may be a torchbearer for humanity. You will have to fight patiently and loyally against an infinite number of relentless enemies. Shall I tell you some of these formidable foes over which you will have to triumph? There are natural calamities like floods, droughts and famine. There are diseases, epidemics, plagues. There are misery, wretchedness, squalor, ignorance, fear, drudgery, unemployment and other things. These are enemies which must be attacked in several countries at once, if you are to overcome them. There are some which are too terrible for small nations to overcome alone and you will want your fellow-countrymen to help them.

That is just why the League of Nations exists. That is why it must grow stronger and more efficient. It can organise world campaigns against nature's calamities, against disease, misery, unemployment, disorder and waste. Ask your masters and mistresses to tell you something of what the League has done and the result it has achieved.

The League of Nations wants men to fight heroically, not against other men, but against enemies such as I have mentioned. It is trying to bring men to give up war as a method of settling their disputes and to settle them by arbitration and by working together.

Children of the world, all of you who are not yet 15 years old, the League calls you. Learn to know it. Help it to overthrow the enemies of humanity. Hard work, danger, risks, adventures, sacrifices—they are there for all of you.

EAST AND WEST.

By M. ANESAKI, Professor at the University of Tokio.

Here in Geneva, the city of John Calvin, I cannot but reflect on the enormous changes which Europe has undergone in the 399 years that have passed since he made himself master of the city and reorganised its Government as a theocracy. In establishing this new polity at Geneva, Calvin undoubtedly believed that it was destined to bring about a radical transformation of the whole world, for he was absolutely convinced of the divine origin

of his mission. But I wonder if he ever foresaw, if he ever even dreamed, that the world of the future would be typified by the development of science and industry, the two essential factors of modern civilisation.

I do not know what truth there may be in the historical theory that it was Calvin himself who was responsible for the development of industrial capitalism. For my own part, I incline to the belief that the spirit of scientific research was not characteristic of his mentality. But there is not the slightest doubt that, without the vital influence of the unwavering faith in the destiny of man and the will to power which are characteristic of Calvin and his work, Western civilisation could never have developed as it has done in modern times.

In saying this, it is not my desire to pass judgment either upon Calvin or European civilisation. I am merely anxious to lead you to reflect upon the origin and nature of modern civilisation and on the characteristics which make such a sharp cleavage between the Eastern and Western worlds that many people now think that they can never be reconciled.

For my own part, I have the impression that, although this cleavage has never been as marked as it is to-day, it will not endure for ever.

In Europe you regard the Saracens as Orientals and in some ways as enemies of the West. But would you not agree that there was in Mahomet something of the faith and the determination of Calvin? Is it not a fact that it is to the Saracens that modern civilisation owes some of its most characteristic features, such as the exact sciences and the spirit of domination? In the East, indeed, we regard the Saracens as Westerners. Or, again, think of the Macedonian advance into India, the legacy of Greek culture which is left behind in that country, the spread of Greek and Byzantine art to Japan and the echoes of Hindu religion and philosophy which were heard in Athens and Alexandria. And what of Christianity, which is unquestionably of Asiatic origin? In view of these facts, which are of such significance in the history of civilisation, we cannot but recognise the influence mutually exerted by the East on the West and by the West upon the East.

Let us now examine the situation as it is at present. European aggression against Asia, which began in the sixteenth century and was completed in the course of the nineteenth, threw the two civilisations into sharp contrast. The social life of the East is firmly based upon the unity of the family or community, whereas

it is individualism which is the keynote of Western society. While the modern civilisation of the West may be described as scientific or intellectual, that of the East is based primarily upon tradition and sentiment. Without entering into a detailed analysis of these differences, I might say that the two worlds are characterised respectively by individual liberty and by submission to authority; or by the spirit of domination, the love of speed and size, and by a turning of the mind to contemplation, meditation and serenity; or, lastly, by scientific curiosity and by religious faith.

Far be it from me to claim that, in these few words, I have given a full and final definition of the characteristics which distinguish the Eastern world from the West. In the nineteenth century, the contrast between the two civilisations grew more and more acute and was, indeed, transformed into actual conflict. That conflict is still proceeding at the present day, in spite of the rapid modernisation of certain Eastern nations, and its future development will rightly be a matter of concern to the whole world.

But let us now consider the problem from another angle and examine the two distinct phases characterising European civilisation before and after Calvin.

In listening to what I have already said, some of you will, I feel sure, have been struck by the analogy between the contrast presented by East and West and that between the different phases in the evolution of Europe, or perhaps between Catholicism and Protestantism.

In my own mind the two have always been associated, thoughts of the contrast between the Western and Eastern worlds calling up memories of the contrast between mediæval and modern times in the West. After living for centuries in the atmosphere of a social order which was decidedly mediæval in character, the peoples of the East are now being invaded by all the most unsettling influences in modern civilisation, so that their most important problem is that of rapid adaptation to the new conditions. Hence, a process of transition with which Europe has been familiar for the last four hundred years.

This process of transition is naturally marked by very serious confusion and uneasiness, which take different forms in the different countries of the East.

Another important factor which helps to make the position even more difficult is the serious depression prevailing in the West. This is not the place to discuss the nature of the social,

political and economic crisis through which Europe and America are now passing. Suffice it to say that, throughout the West, there is undeniably a need for change, not merely political and economic, but moral and spiritual also.

You are therefore in a position to realise the difficulties with which we in the East are confronted in our process of transition from the old order to the new. For, at the same time, the modern civilisation of the West is itself passing through a critical phase due to the recent revolutionary changes in science and industry, and in political and social ideas and systems.

The Eastern peoples cannot offer any resistance to the power of the modern machine. They can no longer cling to their traditional attitude of contemplation and serenity. Modern industrialism is compelling them to revolutionise their outlook and way of life. But even so, their crisis would not be so serious if the Western civilisation by which they are now being conquered were not itself in the throes of fundamental changes.

Such being the case, I feel that, in spite of the profound differences in our traditions and temperaments, we all, both Easterners and Westerners, have the same problems to solve. Let us for a moment examine a specific problem—the problem of science. Hitherto, no doubt, science has trodden the path of research and discovery, accompanied and sustained by a strong spirit of conquest and domination. The benefits which it has conferred upon mankind are already numerous, but, at the same time, it has been responsible for the growth of a dangerous habit of mind.

Industrial development has in turn brought about serious difficulties in the social sphere.

In spite of differences of mentality and geographical position, we have all to face the same crisis. In taking part in the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, I am especially anxious to consider means of bringing about co-operation between the Eastern and Western worlds in the quest for a solution of this serious problem. Nor should our efforts be confined to bringing about co-operation to that end alone; we must also seek to build a bridge between these two worlds and these two evolving civilisations.

For my part, I am no more than a mere fellow-worker among those who have assumed this difficult task in the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations.

The spiritual inheritance of the Eastern world—its cosmic conception of life, its serenity, its religious, philosophic and literary outlook, are capable of making a valuable contribution in the

present process of transition towards a future civilisation based upon a fuller understanding of life.

May I, in conclusion, make a profession of faith in the success of this effort at intellectual co-operation, surely one of mankind's most noble aspirations?

INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

By Mr. James T. SHOTWELL, Professor at the University of Columbia.

Great events are taking place in these days. Political decisions are in the making, upon which much of the future history of Europe depends, and which will have far-reaching effects in other continents as well. Governments are consulting with Governments, public opinion is deeply stirred, the whole political world is alert. Problems of peace and security, of economic policies, of national alignments fill the newspapers and dominate discussion.

There is a drama in crises. The great stage is filled with the familiar figures of national leaders and behind it one has a sense of massed formations, vast bodies of men ready to move, awaiting the word of command. It is no wonder that all attention should be concentrated on such scenes.

But there is meeting now in Geneva, at the headquarters of the League of Nations, a body which represents interests no less vital, forces no less important than those which respond to governmental action; it is the body which the League created to deal with non-official international problems, those in the realm of thought and culture—the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. It has no connection with the practical problems that the other organs of the League are called upon to solve. It has no mandate from Governments or countries. It represents the empire of the mind—the arts, letters, the sciences, education; in short, the whole vast range of intellectual effort and of cultural heritage. Its purpose is to create a broader outlook, a truer appreciation of what other nations are doing in these fields, so that each may be further enriched by a closer contact with the whole heritage of a common civilisation.

But just what lies behind these generalities? It is all very well for scientists, artists, men of letters and university specialists to meet together and pass glowing resolutions of goodwill. But

nothing—or little—comes of such pleasant meetings. Even the promotion of meetings of specialists from different countries does not necessarily help to increase international understanding; it only ensures a better understanding of what foreigners are doing in the particular profession in question. For example, an international gathering of engineers or dentists may improve engineering or dentistry, but it does not necessarily improve the engineers' or dentists' ideas of the foreigner as such.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, if it is to achieve anything worth while, must do something more real than help savants to pass pious resolutions, or bring specialists together to talk about their own specialty. It must also avoid another pitfall; it must not alienate intellectual leaders by preaching at them. It must serve as their interpreter and not as their mentor.

You can now see that, while the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has apparently a great opportunity to further international understanding among that section of the intellectual *élite* in various nations which is not primarily interested in politics, it has no easy task in actually constructing a working programme.

In the few minutes left me, let me take you behind the scene in the one field with which I am familiar, that of the social and political sciences. How can those who work in these subjects be given a broader outlook? How can history and economics, for example, be broadened so as to deal with world problems, instead of remaining fixed within the boundaries of single countries?

Now when we consider how slow has been the progress of the scientific study of the State and nation, we are not to imagine that the scientific study of international problems will be developed overnight, and that historians and economists will suddenly find themselves able to discover adequate rules and methods of work or arrive at conclusions that will secure agreement on all sides. The national State reaches back through the centuries to the heart of the Middle Ages. Little by little, age by age, it acquired organs of government and of social accommodation, richly varied according to the needs of different nations. Yet it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that the scientific study of these institutions became an integral part of the training of an educated man. Research in politics was not a recognised subject of university study until within my own memory, except where isolated thinkers, here and there throughout the world, attracted their little bands of students by the inspiration of their originality or the challenge of their critical thought. Even

economics may be said to have passed from the sphere of philosophy to that of science no longer ago than in the year of the Declaration of Independence, when Adam Smith published his "Wealth of Nations". Yet the data of politics and economics are almost as old as the history of civilisation.

Compared with these slow-moving historical forces, the data of international affairs are merely things of yesterday and to-day. It was only with the advent of the industrial revolution and the era of modern science that international relations could become a fundamental element in human relations as a whole. So long as national economy was based fundamentally upon agriculture, and therefore concentrated in local markets of short radius, the self-contained communities that made up the nation had very little need or chance of real international intercourse. With the growth of the machine age, an entirely different situation has been created, one which has even, in some instances, completely reversed the fundamentals of the economic problem, making home industries dependent for their very existence upon access to other nations for raw materials and markets. This is a major revolution in human affairs. It is the consequence, in terms of economic, social and political relations, of the conquest of time and space. From now on, therefore, the study of international relationships is as fundamental a necessity as the study of national economy and national politics was to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

If this historical survey seems now the merest of common-places, it is because we have learnt, or are now learning, our lesson in two catastrophes—the world war and the world depression. If we look back to the era before 1914, we shall find very little trace of this conception of an interdependent world. The old separatist national organisations were continuing to pursue their national economics and plan their national politics along the lines set for them by the later Middle Ages. Most of the new States founded at the close of the war have reverted to this ancient routine, and the influence of the old ways of thinking is still largely dominant. Nevertheless, the supreme lesson of the world war itself is the vital interdependence of the whole civilised world, neutrals as well as belligerents. As for the lesson that the world is learning from the present economic depression, it is not too much to say that there has never been any single economic fact in all history which has called forth so much scientific analysis and so much discussion of fundamentals in the business world. It is an evident fact that crisis and disaster are the greatest

schoolmasters. But the lesson they should teach us is how to avoid their recurrence, not merely how to devise some temporary expedient for escaping an immediate danger. Now the underlying fact which both the war and the depression have brought to light is that, with the breakdown of the isolated community, we have left behind, for all time to come, the ancient guides in business and in politics. The characteristic of the pre-scientific age was repetition; the past furnished the model for the present and the future. The characteristic of the scientific age is eternal change, change which grows in geometrical progression with every new invention and discovery; for each new discovery creates a further displacement, which in turn calls for further instruments of adjustment. The advent of the sciences is not an interlude in the history of civilisation, but a fundamental break with the human past. Intelligence is now taking on the task that in the past was largely left to the routine of nature, into which human strength fitted as best it could.

Now the field of international relations offers us the best of laboratories for the study of these new and challenging facts. In the first place, the data of the problem are already partly isolated and are ready for analysis; in the second place, although the data are in many instances too recent to allow of final conclusions or the statement of general principles, they are free from that encrusted prejudice and tradition which tends so much to distort the meaning of past events. Moreover, because the problems are so largely conditioned by scientific techniques, they can be more readily envisaged from the scientific standpoint than earlier historical developments. And yet, I hasten to add that the very first condition of the scientific analysis of this era of change would be the recognition of the continuing influence of unintelligence, prejudice and tradition, against which the new forces of intelligence so often fight a losing battle.

What the politician charges against what he calls the academic mind is that, in its preparation of progress or proposals in the political or social field, it fails to take into account what people are really likely to do, because of its concentration on what ought to be done. Latterly, however, the social sciences have made it as much a point to study these inhibitions which disturb and deflect the reactions of society as any other part of their problem. Indeed, the scientific analysis is clearly lacking in completeness, if it fails to take into account the fundamental basis of political action, which is opinion.

This fact at once brings up the major difficulty in international

relations, for questions between nations are seldom matters of fact. They are much more questions of motive and attitude. At least, we may say that questions of war and peace are almost invariably those that rest upon an emotional rather than a factual basis. The technique of pacific settlement, therefore, has concentrated to a corresponding degree upon bringing such questions out of the emotional and into the factual realm. This is the basis of a whole technique of conciliation, which is the chief method of preventing war employed by the League of Nations. The purpose is to isolate from its emotional setting the exact issue which is the substance of the dispute. Once the issue is known and both parties agree upon it, we are already out of politics and in the atmosphere of arbitration. The question then becomes either arbitrable or justiciable.

This point, that international politics must work away from the distorting media of preconception and prejudice toward the technique of analysis, which is at the same time the scientific technique, is a fundamental fact not to be lost sight of. For if, as we have pointed out above, the technique of research is merely the extension and application in detail of this kind of sanity in political thought, the use of it for purposes of international understanding does not denature the technique in the way in which it is bound to suffer in the customary practice of politics. On the contrary, the practical application of research to the solution of international problems strengthens research and sound policies of pacific settlement at the same time.

Now if this is the way the scientific mind deals with international relations, we see how far removed it is from the methods of the politician or the statesman. Political science is a field in which men of different nationalities work on similar problems under different circumstances. There is everything to be gained by bringing them into contact with each other. And that is the kind of work the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation carries on, not only in the fields of research and education, but in the arts, in letters and in all other manifestations of the intellectual life.

THE WORLD CHALLENGES THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

By Sir SARVAPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN, Professor at the University of Calcutta.

The present state of the world we live in reminds me of a short story by Oscar Wilde. Christ came from a white plain to a purple city, and as He passed through the first street He heard

voices overhead and saw a young man lying drunk on a window-sill. He asked : " Why do you waste your soul in drunkenness ? " and the reply was : " Lord, I was a leper and You healed me. What else can I do ? " A little further through the lane He saw a young man following a harlot and said, " Why do you dissolve your soul in debauching ? " And the young man answered : " Lord, I was blind and You healed me. What else can I do ? " At last, in the middle of the city, He saw an old man crouching, weeping on the ground, and when He asked why he wept, the old man answered : " Lord, I was dead and You raised me unto life. What else can I do but weep ? "

If to-day Christ should visit us and find the use we are making of science, the way in which we are increasing our armaments, the refinement with which we are pouring molten steel into the veins of innocent youth, that it may rise to undreamed-of heights in mutual destruction, and should ask us : " Why are you, after so many centuries of civilisation, preparing for human sacrifice on this inconceivably large scale ? " our answer would be : " Lord, You gave us eyes, but no sight; You gave us brains, but no soul. What else can we do with our powers ? "

Our civilisation has not yet found its soul. We do not know what we want—freedom or slavery, democracy or autocracy, peace or war. We talk of peace and join the League, and think of war and prepare for it. We neither believe nor disbelieve. We are lacking in faith. We are a people without vision. A noble lord of the United Kingdom, when asked what his religion was, answered that it was the blank page between the Old and the New Testaments. It is this blank page in our minds that has turned the world into a madhouse. It is not the world that is mad. The madness is in ourselves.

The future of humanity does not depend on fate or providence or stars, but on ourselves, on what we make of ourselves. The will of man directs the fate of man, collectively as well as individually. The failure of civilisations to advance beyond a certain stage and their consequent decay and disappearance are directly traceable to the failure of their representatives to seize occasions and respond to opportunities. If we leave the decision to chance and drift helplessly, as we have been doing, we shall be swept away into the dustheap. What is it that lovers of peace can do? Mere emotional horror of war, because it will hereafter mean mass murders of millions of civilians and gassing of babies, will not suffice. Well-meaning persons are often as much responsible as the wicked for the tragedies of the world. Is it not the case

that the stupid are generally wicked? Those who work for the vaster transformation of mankind must be intellectually honest. They must face the realities. The present political system, based on the individualism of States, has in it the makings of war. We must change the system before it destroys itself. Our economic troubles, which are so intense to-day, are the results of the policy of economic self-sufficiency and isolation pursued by nation-States. The remedy for our political and economic ills lies in the organisation of a federation of States based on political collaboration, economic co-operation and intellectual understanding among its members. We are indignant to-day, and rightly so, at the crudity and wildness of the National Socialists in Germany, with their new mystical enthusiasm for the race, their worship of blood, their love of tyranny and terrorism. But let us think about it. Is not this upheaval of barbarism but a reply to the tragedy of Versailles, the indignity and injustice to which a great people has been subjected all these years as the result of that Treaty? You cannot keep proud and great peoples, in the East or the West, in perpetual bondage and expect peace and goodwill. The League is pledged to work for an international order based on justice. If it is unable to do so, it is because the Governments behind it, the political organs of mankind, are unwilling to use it for any great purpose. It is a strange commentary on the attitude of the great Powers towards peace and a settled international order based on justice and the equality and independence of all States that the demand for such an order comes, not from them, but from the weak of the world, the small States of Europe, Soviet Russia and China. Soviet Russia and the United States of America, who are not yet members of the League, showed the League spirit much more than the great Powers which are Members of the League, when they expressed their preparedness to act on a permanent security commission if the League would constitute one. Any further delay on this matter is not merely cowardly but criminal. If the method of collective responsibility and preparation for collective action are assured, no State will care to put itself outside the family of nations.

The decision must be made for or against the wellbeing of man. Our sacred duty is to contribute to the building of the world order. To put the interests of one's own nation above those of humanity is a form of self-indulgence unworthy of a civilised man.

The League of Nations is the only symbol to-day of the

essential unity of mankind, the only light that is left in a dark world. It is monstrous to try to extinguish that light. Wherever its influence penetrates, the League's Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is educating the youth of the world in the League spirit and preparing it for the federation of States which is the outward symbol of the community of minds. It asks the young to work for this ideal unhastily but unceasingly, to plead for the weak, to fight against the unjust, to stand up for truth regardless of its bearings on national sentiments and interests : its efforts may be feeble, but its faith is unlimited. It will continue to bear witness to the great truth that, as long as one man is in prison, no man is free; as long as one nation is enslaved, no nation is at liberty.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF EDUCATIONAL AND INSTRUCTIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHY.

The International Congress of Educational and Instructional Cinematography, which had been convened and organised by the International Institute of Educational Cinematography, was held in Rome from April 19th to 25th, 1934, its objects being directly connected with the statutory aims of the Institute and with the latter's activities during these first years of its existence. .

The Institute (I.E.C.), an organ of the League of Nations set up in Rome through the Italian Government's initiative, has aimed from the outset of its career, dating back only to November 1928, at promoting and investigating the possibilities of development offered by the motion picture in the various aspects of instruction and education, both in the national and in the international sphere.

The Institute has carried out preliminary enquiries and investigations all over the world, with the most cordial support of the Governments, bodies and institutions concerned, its work being directed towards essentially practical ends. A wealth of documentary material has been collected, covering all the aspects of the motion picture and ranging from legislative and social to artistic, technical and instructional data; tens of thousands of separate indexed slips and reports have been compiled, while the library and archives, both on specialised lines, place at the disposal of students of every kind and every nation facilities for research into the existing material and the possibility of future developments.

Side by side with these activities, thousands of questionnaires have been sent out in every language, with a view to ascertaining in the different countries what is being done in regard to the cinema and recording the divergent opinions as to the value of the motion picture as a factor in education, scientific demonstration and human thought and its actual place in social life.

The results of these enquiries have been embodied in authentic monographs and have helped to determine the future lines on which the motion picture should aim at developing.

But such activities could not properly be regarded as the sole and ultimate aim of the I.E.C. Those results pointed to the

necessity of further work, the co-ordination of the various elements of which the motion picture is compounded.

With the object, then, of promoting the practical activities of the Institute, and with a full realisation of the international requirements of the film—considered in its more general aspect, outside the bounds of national frontiers, but without prejudice to its function as an expression of national life—the I.E.C. established friendly collaboration with all the different countries, through researches, visits and direct investigations by its responsible organs, wherever the motion picture offered a likely field for purposes of information or study—for instance, in the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, where the cultural and educational features of the film and the policy of the State lend themselves to concise and accurate handling.

The I.E.C. subsequently created in the different countries official organs connected with its work, in the form of National Committees which, in certain countries, took on the direct functions of national institutions. National Committees now exist in France, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and the Philippines, while the following national institutes have been created: the British Film Institute for the United Kingdom, the National Cinematographic Society of China for that country, the Institute of Educational Cinematography for Chile, the Motion Picture Society of India for India, the Belgian National Institute of the Educational Cinematograph for Belgium.

The *International Review of the Educational Cinematograph* makes known the aims and work of the I.E.C.; since July 1929 it has appeared in monthly parts and in five separate editions (for the first time in the world) in the five official languages of the Institute (Italian, French, English, German and Spanish), with the co-operation of the leading authorities in the film world.

The *Informational Bulletin of the Institute of Educational Cinematography*, first published in February 1933, offered its readers, during the year 1933 alone, upwards of 3,000 carefully selected items of information and news—relating to every branch of cinematography—obtained for the most part direct from the National Committees and from other collaborators, both near and distant.

Cinematograph legislation, in the national and the international sphere, forms the subject of a work which is now almost complete and which will be one of the Institute's fullest and most important publications.

Enquiries are being carried out in order to ascertain the influence of the cinematograph on peoples of various mentalities differing from that of the European nations and to study cinematographic possibilities in the matter of scientific research and production.

The "Cinematograph Encyclopædia" is now approaching completion and will be published in 1935, with upwards of 8,300 articles, in three large volumes; it will offer the twofold advantage of being the first publication of the kind—and therefore not a slavish imitation of other similar works—and of having been most carefully compiled by specialists in every sphere of motion picture activity.

The Institute prepared the draft Customs Convention, which was adopted in its final form by a special international Conference at Geneva of States Members and non-members of the League, and has already come into force. This Convention is of intimate concern to the educational and instructional cinematograph in that it permits films certified by the Rome Institute as of real international value to circulate freely and exempts them from payment of Customs duty on crossing frontiers.

A practical acknowledgment of this kind is enough to establish the reputation of an international body, since the Convention, besides facilitating the exchange and circulation of educational and instructional films, will open up new and wider fields for producers, whose activities are at present hampered by obstacles in the matter of circulation and fiscal charges.

A corollary to the Customs Convention will take shape in the compilation of international catalogues of the educational and instructional films which will also be sent to the Rome Institute.

The International Congress, which must be regarded as the direct outcome of the activities of the I.E.C. and as a logical result of its programme of work, was attended by representatives of Governments, bodies and associations and by individuals from all over the world, its purpose being to ascertain the present position of the cinema in relation to education and instruction and to determine the future lines of development of the motion picture.

A few figures will suffice to demonstrate the importance of the Rome meetings: 45 nations represented, officially and unofficially; upwards of 700 persons present at the Congress, a majority representing national and international institutes with a membership of millions; some 24 written reports sent in to the Secretariat of the Congress before the opening of its proceedings or during the discussions or meetings; about 5 days' sittings and

uninterrupted debates culminating in the framing and approval by the general assembly of a series of resolutions.

This brief summary may convey some idea of the importance of the Congress, whose significance was indeed indicated on the very first day by the head of the Italian Government, when His Excellency Benito Mussolini declared the Congress open, at the Campidoglio, and, in clear, expressive and decisive terms, described the cinema as one of the most important modern factors in the progress of human civilisation. The industry is represented by capital running into tens of milliards and employs tens of millions of individuals—ranging from artists to supers—shown daily on screens all over the world to tens of millions of spectators.

The Congress examined and discussed the following three aspects of the cinema problem :

- (1) Instruction;
- (2) Education;
- (3) The international life of the peoples.

In the sphere of instruction—comprising methodology, scientific cinematography, vocational training and agricultural life—the Congress unanimously proclaimed the principle, now universally recognised, that the cinema must form an integral part of instruction superior to other visual-sensory auxiliary means, although for certain branches it may be less suitable than lantern slides, plastic media and laboratory experiments.

The educational potentialities of the film in agriculture propaganda, in the back-to-the-land campaign and in supplying the psychological and social requirements of rural populations were adequately dealt with by members of the Congress, while the undisputed value of the cinematograph in the teaching of science and in scientific research received full endorsement from competent quarters.

In the still vaster field of education—comprising hygiene and preventive social education, education for the people, thrift, relations between the State, the cinematograph and the technical world and international relations between the peoples—the Congress, after long and animated discussions, emphasised the necessity of enlisting the cinematograph without delay in the service of the great human ideals of solidarity and brotherhood, reiterating what is now an established opinion—namely, that only by mutual understanding can the peoples, surmounting in imagination the barriers of space and time, gradually acquire a

new mentality in harmony with the theories which led to the creation of the League of Nations.

The questions on the agenda, keenly and exhaustively debated and finally embodied in the form of resolutions approved by the plenary assembly, are evidence of the deep-lying problems—physiological, psychological, social and religious—dealt with by the Congress, whose efforts were directed, with outstanding success, towards achieving an essentially practical work of social utility.

To sum up, the Congress may be said to have aimed first and foremost at establishing the criteria to be followed by the purely educational film, while determining, at the same time, the typical characteristics of such films; it covered the following ground :

Criterion for historical, scientific and documentary truth in general to ensure, not only the national, but also the international spread of the motion picture, especially as a means of leading to better international understanding;

Typical characteristics of the popular film;

Psychological and physiological effects of ordinary public performances on the crowd, more particularly on children and adolescents;

Propaganda value of news-reels for international purposes and desirability of considering the production of news-reels to be composed of items supplied by the different countries and to be circulated universally and as rapidly as possible;

Question of the cinema Press : its rapid growth involves responsibilities, and it is therefore to be hoped that it may seek to direct readers' minds towards loftier ideals rather than encourage bad taste and doubtful and dangerous ideas;

Constitution of National Committees—on the lines of those already existing—in all countries where such do not yet exist, so as gradually to create a vast network of local centres linked up with the Rome Institute;

Characteristic features of the international catalogues to be compiled consequent upon the entry into force of the Customs Convention;

Development and co-ordination of national cinematograph repositories, cinematograph museums and archives, to establish bases for the collection of local productions and to act as liaison organs for the future international cinema repositories, museums and archives;

Protection of young people, and hence the preparation of legislative provisions and international Conventions which, without touching on the difficult question of censorship in general, would deal more particularly with young persons;

- Necessity, in any case, of exercising supervision, not only over the film, but over the variety performances and the advertisements and publicity included in performances;

Still in the interests of young people, consideration of the possibility of preparing for them special educational programmes sufficient for one performance and such that the young people may obtain recreational enjoyment and not miss the ordinary public cinematograph performances to which they are accustomed;

For purposes of production, and more particularly in determining the character of the performance, consideration of the difficult questions of blind booking and block booking and the scope and merits and defects of those systems, and further, by means, if necessary, of an international enquiry carried out by the competent organisations, consideration of what methods of film distribution could be contemplated with a view to avoiding the disadvantages inherent in the above-mentioned systems;

Examination, for international purposes, of the question of the effect of films on peoples differing in mentality and culture.

All these questions—and many others—were discussed, not to mention the wide variety of special films for the different branches of education, and the necessity of considering the artistic, musical, æsthetic and other aspects of the popular film.

The results of the Rome Congress were even more satisfactory than had been anticipated and perhaps even more far-reaching than had been hoped. This shows how useful the Congress was from every point of view and how thoroughly all the various problems were examined.

The conclusion to be drawn—and it embraces screen life in all its manifestations—may be summed up, in the incisive words of the head of the Italian Government, as follows :

“ There are at present forms of life and activity which are closely followed by the Press, forms which only a short while since did not exist, yet which to-day interest large sections of society. The cinematograph is one of those forms, and it claims the interest of millions, irrespective of age or sex.”

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION.

The third International Conference on Public Education, organised by the International Bureau of Education, was held at Geneva from July 16th to 20th, 1934. The following Governments had replied to the invitation transmitted by the Swiss Federal Government : Belgium, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay. The Cuban Government, and also the League of Nations and International Labour Office, each sent an observer to represent them. The Ministries of Education of Germany, Estonia and Northern Ireland, which were unable to send delegates to the meeting, forwarded their reports on the education movement in 1933-34.

The agenda of the Conference included the following items :

- I. Reports of the Ministries of Education on the Education Movement in 1933-34;
- II. Compulsory School Attendance and its Extension;
- III. Admission to Secondary Schools;
- IV. Economy in Public Education.

I. REPORTS OF THE MINISTRIES OF EDUCATION ON THE EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN 1933-34.

As in previous years, the Ministries of Education in all the countries had been invited to send a brief report on the outstanding pedagogic facts of the last school year. These reports are reproduced subsequently in the *International Year-Book on Education and Teaching*, an annual general survey of the developments in those spheres. The summaries presented by the delegates on the education movement in their respective countries again provided an opportunity of making, as it were, a tour of the teaching world. While the problems of the school do not present themselves everywhere in the same fashion, the reading and

discussion of the reports on the principal legislative amendments, changes in curricula and teaching innovations in some forty countries are of very great interest, and would be sufficient alone to justify this annual International Conference on Public Education.

II. COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND ITS EXTENSION.

This has become more of a burning question than ever, owing to the difficulties created by the economic depression and its repercussions on the work of young people, and also by reason of the fact that the Governing Body of the International Labour Office has included in the agenda of the 1935 Conference the problem of unemployment among young people; it forms the subject of one of the resolutions passed by the third International Conference on Public Education. The basis taken for this resolution was the enquiry carried out by the International Bureau of Education¹ and the report presented by the delegate of Belgium, M. Marcel Nyns. Recognising that no general measure could be recommended at present, the Conference framed, *inter alia*, the following recommendations: The Conference considers it desirable that the number of years of actual school attendance should be in no case less than seven, and is of opinion that the school-leaving age should not be fixed until the child has been provided with an adequate physical, intellectual and moral training. It considers in principle, and for the majority of countries, that the extension of compulsory school attendance even beyond the age of fourteen would afford unquestionable benefits. Compulsory school attendance and its extension should be settled in conjunction with the age of admission to employment. Hence the need for close co-operation between education and the labour administrations. As regards compulsory post-school education, which has been recommended by the Conference, this should aim at general training, while developing the vocational aptitudes of the pupils. After urging that, in the curriculum of extended education, greater importance should be attached to the physical and moral training of the pupils, and that methods should be adapted to the psychological requirements of their age, the Conference urged that extended education should be entrusted to teachers who, during the previous exercise of their profession, have exhibited a special aptitude for such teaching.

¹ "La scolarité obligatoire et sa prolongation": International Bureau of Education, 1934; 232 pages; price, 5 Swiss francs.

III. ADMISSION TO SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

Here again the discussions were very much facilitated by the enquiry carried out by the International Bureau of Education¹ and by the report of the representative of Poland, M. Eduard Cros. While recognising that varying circumstances impose a different organisation in different countries, the Conference passed a recommendation on eligibility for secondary schools, a question which overcrowding in the universities and higher educational establishments has brought up in a very acute form. The Conference recommended that, during the last year's primary teaching, vocational guidance should be organised with the collaboration of the teacher, the doctor and the vocational guidance service, the final decision resting with the family. It passed a recommendation in favour of greater co-operation between primary and secondary education, and stressed the importance of middle-grade and higher elementary schools which prepare the pupils directly either for a vocation or for certain higher vocational schools.

As regards selection for admission to secondary schools proper, the Conference was of opinion that this should be based on the primary-school leaving certificate, the report on the pupil by the primary school-teachers, and the results of an examination on scientific lines. Every system of selection necessarily implies elimination, and pupils rejected from the secondary schools proper should be guided in the direction of other studies. After noting the complexity of the problem of free education, the Conference urged that school fees must not in any case be a bar to attendance at secondary schools, the essential point being the granting of bursaries to cover as far as possible the cost of studies and to make up for the absence of the child's earnings if the parents' situation is such as to require the child's help.

IV. ECONOMY IN PUBLIC EDUCATION.

The delegates to the third International Conference on Public Education being Government representatives, the recommendations passed by the Conference in the sphere of budgetary economy are correspondingly important. This question was introduced by the report of the delegate of Colombia, M. A. Nieto Caballero, and the enquiry of the International Bureau of Education.² The

¹ "L'admission aux écoles secondaires": International Bureau of Education, Geneva, 1934; 222 pages; price, 5 Swiss francs.

² "Les économies dans le domaine de l'instruction publique": International Bureau of Education, Geneva, 1934; 128 pages; price, 3 Swiss francs.

Conference directed the attention of Governments to the serious consequences that may ensue from economy in education, and suggested that any cutting down of expenditure should be carried out elsewhere. It noted with satisfaction that similar resolutions had been adopted by the Executive Committee of the International Bureau of Education by several large international educational associations and conferences, by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and by the Assembly of the League of Nations.

The Conference also directed the attention of Governments to the dangers ensuing from wholesale reductions made by the competent budget authorities without first consulting the public education authorities. It pointed out that salary cuts are a serious danger from the standpoint of the recruiting of staff. The Conference also denounced economy affecting the hygiene of school premises, social assistance (which is more necessary than ever at a time of economic depression), school material, etc. Lastly, it stressed the drawbacks of larger classes and less effective school inspection.

* * *

As the Director of the Bureau, Professor Piaget, pointed out at the closing meeting of the Conference, the most striking feature of the gathering was the spirit of mutual understanding which reigned throughout the proceedings. There was during the discussions no sign of those national rivalries which almost inevitably appear at conferences in which political interests come into play. Following the method adopted by the International Bureau of Education since its formation—a method based on principles of scientific objectivity—the Conference kept within the bounds of pedagogy and pure technique. That, no doubt, was what enabled it to arrive at unanimous recommendations on questions as difficult and complex as the minimum number of years for compulsory school attendance, free secondary education, budgetary economy in education, etc.

The same method of scientific objectivity will enable the International Conference on Public Education in 1935 to cope with no less complex and no less delicate problems—namely, public education boards and the professional training of primary and of secondary school teachers.

Official Documents.

WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION IN THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD DURING THE PAST YEAR.

In order to enable readers of the *Bulletin* to obtain a rapid idea of the work of the Organisation in the educational field, a brief review is given below of the different projects and items included in its programme.

Anyone wishing to obtain fuller information or to refer to the actual text of the resolutions passed at the July session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will find them in the Committee's report on its work (document C.339. M.156.1934.XII) and in the *Bulletin de la Coopération intellectuelle*, published by the Paris Institute.

For the Committee's work in connection with the instruction of youth in the aims and work of the League of Nations, see the special article in this number on the work of the Advisory Committee.

The questions of educational cinematography, and in particular the work of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome and its Congress held in April 1934, are dealt with in a special article.¹ [*Note by the Editor.*]

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES.

The necessity of adapting higher educational methods and programmes to the requirements of a rapidly changing world is becoming increasingly clear. Accordingly, the Committee of Directors of Higher Education drew up in 1933 a complete programme of specific enquiries to be carried out by the Institute. The programme included *inter alia* a full investigation of problems relating to the organisation of universities and scientific research in general. The direct discussion of these problems between directors of higher education—on the basis

¹ "The International Congress Educational and Instructional Cinematograph", pages 117.

of information specially prepared for them—is expected to lead, at the next session of the Committee, to conclusions of great importance with a view to the adoption of a common policy for higher culture and scientific research.

The countries which are taking part in the general study of universities and other higher education institutions and which have been selected on account of the importance of their organisations are: the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Sweden and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The adoption of Professor Castrilli's report on the co-ordination of national university statistics has made it possible to transmit to the competent services of the countries represented on the Committee a list stating the minimum particulars which national statistics should contain. It is expected from the information already obtained that the method advocated will be accepted and that it will gradually be extended to other countries. The unification of university statistics would have considerable practical effect. It alone will enable a scientific study to be made of the problems raised by the overcrowding of universities and of the liberal professions. It is also necessary if the various countries, by exchanging information and comparing methods, are to benefit by experiments conducted abroad. Lastly, the Committee's enquiry into the organisation of biological studies has progressed sufficiently to be examined at its next session.

EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION CENTRES.

In the course of the year, the Institute carried on its work of liaison and of co-ordination of the thirty-five Educational Information Centres at present in existence. It has this year published a *List* enabling educationists to obtain information which can be fully relied upon as authentic and correct. This publication also contains, for each country, a list of the principal educational reviews. Besides exchanges of information, the primary common task of the Educational Centres will be the publication of an international educational bibliography. The Intellectual Co-operation Committee, being desirous of immediately instituting closer co-operation between the Centres, is requesting the Institute to convene them, if possible, before the end of 1935, to a general conference of which the agenda, to be submitted to the Executive Committee, will be drawn up on the basis of the necessary technical advice; it should, in particular, deal with the problem of the part which should be assigned in national education to instruction on international relations.

REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS.

The movement to provide satisfactory texts for books used in teaching is being continued in a number of countries, not only by private initiative, but by official measures, which are also mentioned under the heading "School Text-books" in the *Bulletin of Intellectual Co-operation*. The National Committees have sent in numerous lists of text-books in use in their respective countries, and this information

also has been published. Nevertheless, owing doubtless to political circumstances, it has not served, as was hoped, as a basis for international official action. In the same connection, no measures under the revised "Casares procedure", which aims at the revision of school text-books by the deletion of passages detrimental to friendly international relations, have been applied during the year.

In these circumstances, it is desirable to promote what has been called positive action in favour of editing text-books imbued with a spirit of international concord. For this purpose the Institute is endeavouring, by enquiries addressed to the National Committees and certain teachers' associations, to collect passages in the text-books used in schools which, in the opinion of those institutions, are written from an objective standpoint. It would seem possible, indeed, to circulate and spread the knowledge of what would virtually be model chapters in which educationists have endeavoured to give young people an impartial account of such events as have aroused impassioned controversies.

The circulation of such works would be of undeniable value and would provide a concrete basis for the Committee's efforts to secure the introduction in schools of books which would not subsequently prove harmful to international co-operation. Moreover, the Institute will endeavour as far as possible to classify the passages forwarded by different countries dealing with the same historical events, in order to bring out points of divergence or agreement, and even to outline a basis for regional agreements with a view to action similar to that successfully carried out in northern countries by the "Norden" associations.

Desirous of determining what part is devoted to world history in the teaching of national history, the Committee has instructed the Institute "to collect the texts published by the Ministries of Education of the various countries in so far as they relate to the teaching of world history, civics and good understanding between the peoples".

Lastly, the Committee has requested the Institute :

" . . . to prepare a draft model bilateral agreement establishing a procedure calculated to remove, or at any rate mitigate, the differences due to the interpretation of certain historical events in the text-books in use in the schools of the countries in question.

"The draft agreement should provide for methods differing according to the internal legislation of each of the contracting States as regards schools and school text-books.

"It would be submitted to the next plenary session of the Committee."

In this connection, reference should be made to an agreement having the object referred to in the resolution of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and signed in October 1933 by Brazil and the Argentine Republic.¹

¹ For full text, see pages 150.

PROBLEMS OF WIRELESS BROADCASTING.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation fully realises the important part which wireless broadcasting can play both in raising the intellectual level of listeners and in making them more conversant with life and thought outside their own countries. Wireless broadcasting knows neither limit nor frontier. It may well, therefore, if utilised in a spirit of mutual understanding, become one of the most important moral and spiritual factors in the promotion of international harmony. It is a marvellous instrument for imparting information and stimulating thought.

Following on its enquiry into the educational aspect of broadcasting, the Institute undertook a preliminary enquiry into the influence of broadcasting on intellectual life. For this purpose it requested a number of qualified persons to express their opinion as to the manner in which this work of general education could best be undertaken. The replies showed in particular that, in the still partly unexplored sphere of the international exchange of programmes and the broadcasting or relaying of news items and talks of special interest to foreign listeners, a vast field of action awaited development. There would seem to be no reason why the example set by the International Broadcasting Union in the domain of music in organising a series of European and international concerts and broadcasts of events of world interest should not be carried a stage further. In this connection, the International Broadcasting Congress, which met at Oslo at the beginning of June, requested the Institute to consider what methods would be most suitable for ensuring the international exchange of programmes. Subsequently, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation instructed the Institute to study, with the assistance of the experts on the Secretariat, the problem referred to by the Oslo Congress.

The Committee also noted the arrangements made by the Secretary-General to enable regular use to be made of the Radio-Nations station for broadcasts of a cultural and educational character.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNEYS AND INTERCHANGES OF YOUNG PEOPLE.

In conformity with the recommendations of the Committee, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has endeavoured to encourage the creation of new national centres for journeys of young people abroad. The network of these centres now covers twelve countries. The Institute proposes not merely to continue its efforts to promote the formation of new centres, but also to establish contact for the purpose between the international secretariats and the major organisations.

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL CORRESPONDENCE.

The Permanent Committee for International School Correspondence, for which the Institute acts as secretariat, continued its task of co-ordinating the school correspondence offices of the various

countries; it has also endeavoured to arrange for new centres in countries where none yet exist, and it has been fairly successful. It has been able to "recognise" the national bureaux of Australia, Hungary and Poland, and to negotiate for the establishment or reorganisation of the bureaux in Belgium, Roumania and Czechoslovakia. The sixth number of *International School Correspondence* has also been prepared by the Permanent Committee. It contains reports on the activities, during the school year 1933-34, of the international school correspondence bureaux recognised by the Committee.

LIAISON WITH THE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

Through the Liaison Committee and the major organisations of which it consists, intellectual co-operation maintains close touch with public opinion. The thirty organisations concerned are all, or almost all, arranged on a federative basis. Their national branches, their congresses and their meetings afford valuable means of international contact and exercise an influence in all countries.

With the aid of the Liaison Committee, the Institute is studying, from the point of view of unemployment among young persons, a problem which is on the 1935 agenda of the International Labour Conference—the question of post-school education for young people under 18 years of age.

The decline in international relations has put various obstacles in the way of the Liaison Committee's activities. Being concerned at the new difficulties, the Committee has placed on its agenda the following problems: "Peace, nationality and race in education"; "What are the present political, psychological, economic and other obstacles to international collaboration? Is the reconstruction of the notion of internationalism possible and how can it be attained?"

MORAL DISARMAMENT.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has devoted attention to the work accomplished by the Committee for Moral Disarmament of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. During the discussions, several members of the Committee expressed a hope that, without prejudging the subsequent course of the work undertaken by the Committee for Moral Disarmament, the first texts prepared by it would be brought to the attention of the various Governments, if necessary by the Assembly itself, at such time as it may deem to be suitable. The Committee was unanimously of opinion that the texts prepared by the Committee for Moral Disarmament might form a useful basis for further studies, in which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation would be willing to participate.¹

¹ See the resolution of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, page 138. The texts prepared by the Committee for Moral Disarmament were published in Volume IV, No. 2, December 1933, of the *Educational Survey*, page 220.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING.

REPORT ON THE FIRST SESSION, HELD AT GENEVA ON JULY 11TH AND 12TH, 1934.

The Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching, constituted in accordance with the decision of the Council of the League of Nations of September 22nd, 1933 (seventy-sixth session), held its first session at Geneva on July 11th and 12th, 1934, under the Chairmanship of Professor Gilbert Murray.

The Committee is composed of three members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, two members of the former Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations, appointed by the Chairman, and of assessors appointed by the Executive Committee of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation for the period of one session.

The following took part in the first session :

Members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

In addition to Professor Gilbert MURRAY (British), Chairman:
M. JOSÉ CASTILLEJO (Spanish), Professor of the Institutions of Roman Law at Madrid University;

Mr. J. T. SHOTWELL (American), Professor of History at Columbia University; Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Members of the Former Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations :

Mme. DREYFUS-BARNEY (French), President of the Committee on the Cinematograph and Broadcasting of the International Council of Women;

M. G. GALLAVRESI (Italian), who was unable to be present, was replaced by M. P. TOSCHI, Professor at the University of Rome.

Assessors :

Dr. Wilhelm CARLGREN (Swedish), delegate of the Œcumenical Council of Stockholm;

Dr. Amaranatha JHA (Indian), Professor and Head of the Department of Letters at the University of Allahabad;

The Abbé A. WOYCICKI (Polish), Doctor of Social and Political Sciences, Professor at the University of Wilno;

M. Marcel NYNS (Belgian), General Secretary at the Ministry of Education, Brussels;

M. J. PIAGET (Swiss), Professor at the University of Geneva, Director of the International Bureau of Education, Vice-Director of the Institute J.-J. Rousseau, Geneva;

M. T. RUYSEN (French), Professor, Secretary-General of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

The International Labour Office was represented by Mr. Mack EASTMAN, Chief of Section; the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation by its Director, M. H. BONNET; and the Secretariat of the League of Nations by M. M. PILOTTI, Deputy Secretary-General, and M. J. D. DE MONTENACH, Secretary of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

The meetings were also attended by representatives of five National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation : M. E. MONTARROYOS (Brazilian National Committee), M. B. FILOW (Bulgarian National Committee), M. A. LANGFORS (Finnish National Committee), M. V. SOBLYS (Lithuanian National Committee), Mlle. K. BONNEVIE (Norwegian National Committee).

The Committee discussed the various points on its agenda in the course of four meetings, and, in conclusion, adopted the following resolution :

“ The Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching,

“ Recognising that the task entrusted to it by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation chiefly consists in selecting from the data submitted to it the elements of a concrete programme of work for the coming year;

“ Having held a general discussion on the basis of the information communicated to it;

“ Emphasising the value of the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts, the efficacy of which has been proved by experience;

“ Bearing in mind the work done by the Sub-Committee of Experts in pursuance of the Assembly's resolutions;

“ Attaching the greatest importance to the texts drawn up by the Committee on Moral Disarmament of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, both to those adopted by the Committee and to those examined in the course of its work and which are of the greatest value from the point of view of the comprehension of the conclusions which the Committee on Moral Disarmament has reached;

“ Having discussed the special difficulties resulting from present circumstances in so far as they affect international co-operation in the matter of education;

“ Noting the value of the contributions made by the members of the Committee on the basis of their private experience in various fields :

“ Recommends to the Intellectual Co-operation Committee to base its action on the following general principles :

“ I. In accordance with the Assembly's intentions, instruction on the aims, organisation and activities of the League of Nations must continue to be given and the efforts made to carry out the Sub-Committee's recommendations must be pursued.

" These efforts might be more effective if they were closely associated with the endeavours made to propagate the international spirit, to promote a knowledge of other countries and of the mutual duties of nations, and more generally any instruction designed to bring out the value of the special contribution of the genius of the several nations as a part of the common heritage of civilisation.

" The development of the study of international relations is likely to further the aims contemplated by the Assembly and to promote a knowledge of the League.

" Similarly, the teaching of history and other subjects, such as political economy, geography, etc., might be imbued with the same spirit.

" Instruction regarding international co-operation, which, in accordance with the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts, should begin in the primary school, would be facilitated if lofty sentiments calculated to make this instruction more effective were inculcated upon the youngest children.

" The Committee, while advocating the application of the methods proposed in the recommendations drawn up by the Sub-Committee of Experts for instruction regarding the organisation and principles of the League, considers that account should be taken of the experiments that have been made, the changes in international relations, methods designed to ensure the pacific settlement of any problems or disputes which may arise and, lastly, examples of effective international co-operation which bring out more clearly the fellowship of the nations and their interdependence.

" The Committee concludes that, although it should remain a subject of instruction, the League of Nations, and particularly its basic principles, should not be regarded as a separate subject but should be incorporated, according to the requirements of the different disciplines and national mentalities, in the general curricula of the various grades.

" II. To give effect to these principles, the Committee recommends to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation a programme which is intentionally confined to a few measures, as it considers that the organisations or groups entrusted with its application should be left very wide discretion.

" (a) *International Action.*

" The Committee considers that Governments can only be usefully consulted by means of an enquiry, if this is confined to certain definite points and a method is adopted which, while it enables them to state what is being done in their own country, at the same time makes it possible for them to benefit by the experience of other countries.

" The Committee attaches very great importance to the action of the churches and religious associations. It considers, however, that it is not possible for the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to propose any definite action to them but that it should welcome any initiative on their part.

“ The Committee desires to state that the whole of the work of the Secretariat and institutes, such as the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation or the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, contributes towards the proposed aims; it can only express the opinion that the development of this activity in the various fields in which it is exercised is likely to add to the means of action at the League's disposal for carrying out the Assembly's recommendations.

“ It is accordingly convinced that, in determining the various tasks of those institutes, their governing bodies will bear in mind this special aspect of the consequences and repercussions of the work to be carried out.

“ The Committee desires to emphasise the fact that any official action will be incomplete unless it is accompanied by a corresponding effort on the part of the private international organisations. It accordingly considers that one of the main tasks of the Liaison Committee of the major international associations should be to co-ordinate the work of the private organisations and to encourage the extension of official activities to that sphere.

“ The Committee unanimously recognises that one of the most useful tasks of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in this field is to co-ordinate efforts, to promote contact and collaboration and to prevent overlapping.

“ A general programme in the international sphere should therefore aim at harmonising the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee, of its institutes and of the associations.

“ The Committee recognised the very great value of personal contact between the members of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee or its organs and national administrations or associations. It accordingly desires to draw the Committee's attention to the importance, should its members or the members of the Committees of Experts be sent on a mission to other countries, of their taking the opportunity to find out what has been done in those countries in regard to League of Nations teaching, the special methods employed, etc.

“ It considers that the advice and experience of those delegates might be of very great assistance to bodies whose duty it is to give effect to the recommendations made by the organs of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee.

“ (b) *National Action.*

“ The Committee,

“ Realising the number and importance of the relations which have already been established by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation with the national education authorities :

“ Considers that, during the preliminary period, action should be confined to utilising the contact already established as a means of ascertaining national tendencies and promoting the progressive application of the programme laid down.

“ The Committee stresses the extreme importance of the work of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation; it considers that the International Committee should associate them

closely with the action taken in the sphere of teaching on the League of Nations and moral disarmament.

“It proposes that, during this period of consultation, the National Committees should be enabled to study from the standpoint of national conceptions the work of the Committee for Moral Disarmament of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments and that they should be invited to submit any suggestions that they may think fit on the documentary material placed at their disposal.

“(c) *Special Action.*

“(i) *Survey of the Study of International Relations.*

“The Committee is of opinion that one of the most essential instruments of international understanding may be found in surveys describing the efforts made in each country for the furtherance of the study of international relations, whether official or private, educational or professional, institutional or individual. It recommends the preparation of such surveys in various countries.

“The Committee notes with satisfaction the completion of two such studies, those of Mr. Bailey for the United Kingdom and of Dr. Shotwell for the United States of America.

“It expresses the view that an enquiry of the kind that is now proceeding is bound to gain in interest if it periodically forms the subject of a report—if necessary, provisional—giving a synthetic view of the results obtained.

“Rather than recommend the closing of the enquiry, it thinks that the latter should be continued by stages without, however, waiting for its completion before communicating the first conclusions.

“(ii) ‘*Educational Survey*’.

“The Committee recommends to the Intellectual Co-operation Committee the adoption of the proposals contained in Note C.I.C.I./C.C.E.2, with certain modifications mentioned hereunder.

“It considers that the function of the *Survey* might be considerably extended if, destined as it is to give some idea of the execution of the programme defined above, it were placed at the disposal of the bodies and persons called upon to assist in the execution of that programme.

“The Committee thinks it desirable to recommend a new denomination of the *Survey*. It thinks that the Editorial Committee of that periodical might usefully take account of the suggestions put forward during the discussions, more particularly on the following points :

- “1. Abolition of the part entitled ‘Open Forum’.
- “2. Measures to be taken in order that the *Survey* may be placed more generally at the disposal of the organisations and persons associated with the work in question, more particularly the Liaison Committee of the major international organisations.
- “3. Desirability of framing the information contained in the *Survey* in such a way that it may be immediately utilisep

by the teaching profession in order to supplement the documentary material obtained by the latter from other sources. In particular, references should be presented bearing in mind the difficulties that users may have in obtaining the original documents.

" 4. Desirability of bringing out the annual edition of the *Survey* in such a way as to supplement but not to overlap with other periodical publications of the Information Section, the Intellectual Co-operation Institute and the International Educational Cinematographic Institute.

" 5. Possibility, according to the funds available, of bringing out occasional information sheets for the use of readers of the *Survey*.

" (iii) *Utilisation of Unemployed Young People's Spare Time.*

" The Committee considers that this is an extremely important problem from the point of view of the subject with which it is concerned—namely, League of Nations teaching—and is one which presents itself under a triple aspect : economic, pedagogic and social. It does not think that it would be expedient to recommend measures which are not of immediate practical utility. It accordingly recommends that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should entrust to the Educational Information Centre, working in agreement with the International Labour Office and the International Bureau of Education and enlisting the collaboration of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation and the big specialised associations, the task of drawing up a fairly general plan for dealing with the problems with which the Advisory Committee is concerned and which might be adapted to the special conditions in the different countries.

" As regards adult education in general, it asks that the various special activities already begun, in conjunction more particularly with the International Labour Office, may be continued and co-ordinated; as in the case of education in general, it considers it highly desirable to extend the scope of the curricula, in order to make known, in addition to national activities, the general progress of civilisation and to give an adequate idea of international relations.

" (iv) *Cinematograph and Broadcasting.*

" The Committee recommends for approval to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation the measures suggested in the notes which have been submitted to it with a view to the utilisation of the cinema and of broadcasting as means of making the League of Nations known and as factors in a *rapprochement* of minds and mutual knowledge of the peoples. It takes this opportunity, in conformity with the principles that it has enunciated, for expressing its conviction that the most effective use of these means of diffusion implies, not only giving information on the work done by the League of Nations, but showing the place of that work in the general framework of international life."

**SIXTEENTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.**

**RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING QUESTIONS
OF TEACHING.**

MORAL DISARMAMENT.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

Is gratified at the appreciation shown by the Assembly of the League of Nations, during its fourteenth session, of the draft text on moral disarmament prepared by the Committee;

Notes with satisfaction that the Committee for Moral Disarmament has taken this text into account and added it to the other proposals used as a basis for its discussions.

Having taken note of the new draft text submitted to the General Commission of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments by the Committee for Moral Disarmament,¹

Desires to draw attention to the very great value of the new text from the point of view which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has always maintained;

Notes that, while not deeming it advisable to submit proposals on these various points to the General Commission, the Committee for Moral Disarmament has nevertheless called its attention to the measures of execution that might be taken—the communication of an annual report and complaints in the event of infractions, and also to the final form which the draft might take;

Expresses the hope that the draft text submitted by the Committee for Moral Disarmament, together with the other questions concerning measures of execution, may be studied again at a suitable moment, when the Committee hopes to be in a position to call attention once more to the importance of ensuring that the financial resources which are essential to the realisation of its aims are made available for the work of moral disarmament.

EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION CENTRES.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

Notes with the greatest satisfaction that national centres of educational information have been formed in nearly thirty-five countries;

It regards this as a valuable result which will appreciably facilitate its task in the sphere of education;

¹ See the publication "Handbook of National Centres of Educational Information".

It consequently invites the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to continue the work of co-ordinating these centres undertaken by it since 1932, as shown by the list of existing centres which it has just published;¹

It considers that the annual publication of an international educational bibliography would constitute a second stage in the work and would be a first joint work;

It therefore instructs the Institute to arrange for the publication of this bibliography;

Being desirous, however, of immediately instituting closer collaboration between the centres, it requests the Institute to convene them, if possible, before the end of 1935 to a general conference of which the agenda, to be submitted to the Executive Committee, will be drawn up on the basis of the necessary technical advice; it should, in particular, deal with the problem of the part which should be assigned in national education to instruction on international relations.

SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS.

(a) The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

Confirms the opinion it has already expressed on many occasions as to the very important part that can be played by school text-books from the point of view of good understanding between peoples;

Once again draws the attention of the National Committees to the procedure laid down in what is known as the Casares Resolution, which has proved so useful for the revision of school text-books;

Approves of the continuation of the efforts made in this sphere by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation;

Recognises the importance of the chapter of *Intellectual Co-operation* devoted to the international movement in favour of impartial text-books;

Considers that, in future, that chapter should deal with the problem of history-teaching in general;

Is of opinion that the principles on which that teaching is based are of special importance;

Accordingly requests the Institute to collect the texts published by the Ministries of Education of the various countries in so far as they relate to the teaching of world history, civics, and good understanding between peoples;

Convinced that the compilation of impartial text-books is just as important as, or even more important than, the improvement of unsatisfactory text-books,

Awaits with interest the results of the further enquiry entrusted to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which aims at the collection in various countries, from the National Committees and possibly from teachers' associations, of chapters or passages in the history text-books used in schools which, in the opinion of those institutions, are written from an objective standpoint;

¹ See the publication "Handbook of National Centres of Educational Information".

Recommends that the results of this enquiry should be made as widely known as possible as they may set a valuable example and provide a concrete basis for efforts to introduce in the school books calculated to promote intellectual co-operation.

(b) *Proposal by M. Emile Borel.*

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

Requests the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to prepare a draft model bilateral agreement establishing a procedure calculated to remove, or at any rate mitigate, the differences due to the interpretation of certain historical events in the text-books in use in the schools of the countries in question;

The draft agreement should provide for methods differing according to the internal legislation of each of the contracting States as regards schools and school text-books. It would be submitted to the next plenary session of the Committee.

THE PROBLEM OF WIRELESS BROADCASTING.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation notes that the problems raised by the use of wireless broadcasting call for consideration by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation under several of their aspects—cultural and educational.

1. *Draft Convention regarding the Use of Broadcasting in the Interest of Peace.*

The Committee,

In view of the draft Convention drawn up by the Institute and submitted to the Governments for consideration in pursuance of the decision taken by the Council of the League of Nations;

In view of the numerous replies and observations received from Governments as a result of this consultation :

Instructs the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to revise the draft international agreement in question in the light of the replies received from the Governments and on the basis of such technical advice as may be required;

Requests the Executive Committee to see, if necessary, that the prescribed procedure in regard to the preparation of conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations is observed.

2. *Intellectual and Educational Rôle of Wireless Broadcasting.*

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

Considers that the enquiry undertaken by the Institute on the utilisation of wireless broadcasting as a means of educating the general public has already given interesting results;

Accordingly invites the Institute to pursue the enquiry and to publish its results as soon as all the necessary data have been collected.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

Notes the resolution adopted by the International Wireless Broadcasting Congress held at Oslo regarding the use of broadcasting as a means of promoting the spirit of understanding among the peoples;

Considers that it should give effect to the recommendation made by the Congress, and consequently instructs the Institute, in accordance with the suggestions contained in the Director's report, to institute a study, with the assistance of the experts on the Secretariat, of the problem of international exchanges of programmes.

3. *Utilisation of the Radio-Nations Station.*

The Committee, recognising the value of the efforts already made with a view to the utilisation of the Radio-Nations Station, recommends that these efforts should be continued with the assistance of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

The Committee is particularly gratified at the arrangements made by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to enable regular use to be made of the Radio-Nations Station for broadcasts which will be of a cultural and educational character, thus fulfilling the aims of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

The Committee consequently recommends its members, the members of the other organs attached to it, and the National Committees to co-operate as fully as possible in the preparation of programmes to be broadcast from the station.

WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL
CINEMATOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

Having considered the report of M. de Feo, Director of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, and heard the oral explanations of M. Oprescu, Rapporteur to the Governing Body of that Institute, regarding the work done during the year 1933-34 :

Is gratified to note the results obtained, and lays special stress on the importance of the conclusion of the Convention for facilitating the International Circulation of Educational Films, and of the preparation and holding of the International Congress on Educational and Instructional Cinematography.

The Committee desires to congratulate the Chairman of the Governing Body of the Institute, its Director, and the organisers of the Congress, and welcomes the success of their efforts as a promise of future achievements.

PROBLEM OF THE CINEMATOGRAPH.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

Recalling the resolutions adopted by it at its previous session concerning the problem of the cinematograph :

Notes with satisfaction the very great progress effected in the interval between the two sessions;

Thinks it advisable to refer particularly, in the following paragraphs, to questions to which it has devoted special attention :

(a) *Results of the International Congress of Educational and Instructional Cinematography (Rome, April 1934).*

• The Committee expresses its high appreciation of the results of this Congress and of the value of the preparatory information collected and of the resolutions adopted.

It considers that the International Educational Cinematographic Institute has thereby furnished very valuable material for work which will serve to guide and develop the activity of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in a sphere which it considers to be of the greatest importance.

(b) *General Aspects of the Problem of the Cinematograph.*

Desires, in connection with the various resolutions adopted by the Congress, to emphasise the importance of the one referring to the general aspects of the problem of the cinematograph;

Approves the principles set forth in the resolutions, more particularly those relating to the educational function of the cinematograph, the responsibility of authors, producers and renters, the importance of the international exchange of educational films and also the other measures recommended;

Fully approves the programme of work and accordingly requests the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to make the necessary arrangements to support the work of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute in accordance with the plan outlined by the Congress;

(c) *Intellectual Rôle of the Cinematograph.*

Further requests the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to undertake the enquiry suggested by the Rome Congress into the intellectual rôle of the cinematograph, it being understood that this enquiry should be conducted with the help of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute in accordance with the methods followed for the enquiries into the intellectual rôle of the Press and the educational aspects of broadcasting;

(d) *Production of Short-length Films dealing with the League of Nations.*

Highly appreciates the information given by the International Educational Cinematographic Institute concerning the negotiations at present in progress for the production of short-length films dealing with certain aspects of the work of the League of Nations;

Requests the Rome Institute to give this question its closest attention in view of the undertakings given by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to a large number of private associations, which are anxious to have at their disposal films dealing with the work of the League of Nations and suitable for educational purposes.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL
AND POLITICAL SCIENCES.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

Notes with satisfaction the steps taken during the past year by the Executive Committee, as well as by some of the National Committees and by the Institute, to give effect to the resolutions adopted by the Committee at its previous session with a view to extending the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in the sphere of social and political sciences;

Decides that full extracts from the valuable memoranda submitted on this question by the National Committees, particularly those of China and Czechoslovakia, shall be published in the *Bulletin* of the Institute;

With a view to defining the Organisation's programme of work in this field for the coming year, the Committee invites the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to prepare, with the help of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, lists of those institutions and organisations which, in the different countries, deal either with research or with instruction in the social and political sciences from an international point of view;

Likewise requests the Institute, side by side with this preliminary enquiry, to institute, with the help and advice of the National Committees and the competent experts, investigations into the principles and methods of the various branches of the social and political sciences;

Considers that the Executive Committee's proposal that a series of studies on certain specific problems arising out of the subject-matter of the social and political sciences may also offer an appropriate means of extending the activities of the Organisation in the sphere of those sciences—the first of these studies would relate to certain aspects of the effects of mechanisation on modern life;

Requests the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation :

(a) In conjunction with the International Labour Office, to proceed with the general survey of the scope of this problem, thus continuing the work undertaken by the Institute in preparation for an international study of the subject; and

(b) To submit an implemented report in due course either to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation or to its Executive Committee.

**INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF EDUCATIONAL
AND INSTRUCTIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHY, HELD
IN ROME FROM APRIL 19TH TO 25TH, 1934, UNDER
THE AUSPICES OF THE INTERNATIONAL EDU-
CATIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE.**

**RÉSOLUTIONS CONCERNING CERTAIN QUESTIONS
CONNECTED WITH TEACHING.**

THE CINEMA AND THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLES.

**PROBLEMS RAISED BY THE CINEMA IN CONNECTION WITH DIFFERENT
MENTALITIES AND CULTURES.**

The Congress,

Recognises the great importance of the problems raised by the diffusion of films among peoples of different mentalities and cultures;

Considers that it is essential to make provisions so that the films to be distributed in different countries or regions should not exert a pernicious influence in propagating from one country to another wrong appreciations of the characteristics of different civilisations;

Considers, on the other hand, that the task of the cinema, in the face of problems of this kind, must be the promotion of the development of the culture and the conservation of the traditions of the peoples concerned; at the same time, the cinema must favour intellectual exchanges between the various peoples, and further their mutual understanding;

Takes note of the reports presented by the Institute whereof it appears the enquiries which are now being carried on have already given some very interesting results;

Expresses the wish that these enquiries be pursued and that a large publicity be given to the results obtained through them;

Fully appreciates the valuable co-operation offered, especially that of teaching missionaries, as well as that of lay organisations having social and scientific purposes;

Considers that these collaborations must be accepted and encouraged, and expresses the wish that a close and continuous connection be established between these organisations and the International Educational Cinematographic Institute.

GENERAL RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL FUNCTION
OF THE CINEMA.

The Congress declares that the essential object of its work is to emphasise the influence of the cinema on the moral and intellectual formation of the peoples as well as on the development of a better understanding among them.

The Congress considers that this educational function of the cinema entails a heavy responsibility on the part of the authors, producers and exhibitors of films, and more generally on any authority, group or person responsible for the diffusion of films.

The Congress considers that an entirely free and unencumbered circulation, on the largest possible scale, of educational films from one country to another remains one of the best means to reach the goal of international amity and understanding. In this connection, the Congress considers that the censorship and Customs as well as the administrative regulations must consequently be drafted in such a way as not to interfere with the application of this principle.

The Congress, however, considers that suitable censorship and administrative restrictions must be put into effect in order to prevent the diffusion, by unscrupulous producers and distributors, of films likely to arouse animosity between nations.

The Congress wishes most sincerely that the Governments take in the future all possible measures to encourage the diffusion of unbiased and impartial films, and put a check to the circulation of those showing prejudice and negligence in this respect.

In order to put this recommendation into effect, the Congress proposes to the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, and more especially to its Consultative and Technical Committee working jointly with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and its Paris Institute, the following measures :

1. To call the attention of the Governments to the international importance of the cinema and its use as a means to further international understanding. The Governments might be requested to take suitable measures, either in their own countries or by means of international agreements. Consultations of experts and preliminary studies might facilitate the preparation of the texts to be eventually submitted to the Governments.

2. To promote "gentlemen's agreements" between producers and also seek their collaboration in order to encourage the production of films conceived in a spirit of impartiality, and presenting a real intellectual value, and likely to contribute to international understanding with the International Educational Cinematographic Institute.

3. To gather and classify, by means of the national committees or institutes corresponding with the International Educational Cinematographic Institute already existing or to be founded, all the cinematographic documentation capable of illustrating the material and spiritual life of the different peoples.

4. To this end, to establish all the necessary contacts with the Governments, institutions and international associations concerned.

YOUTH AND THE CINEMA.

Considering the growing development of the cinema which consequently results in the increasing participation of childhood and youth, not only in performances especially organised for them in schools and parishes, but also in public performances;

That this situation may produce dangerous effects especially in regard to the health of children and young people, unless special precautions are taken in the interest of youth; and,

That the cinema can, at the same time, exercise a deep impression on the senses and on the imagination of children or young people, and thus constitute a very powerful means of moral influence but also a very serious danger,

The Congress states :

(a) *From the point of view of hygiene* and considering that precautions are all the more necessary if the spectators are young;

It is indispensable to assure sufficient cubic air space in the halls; that this air be changed; that the spectators be placed at a certain distance from the screen in order to avoid visual fatigue; that, on the same principle, every means be used in order that the light should not tire the eyes; that films having been used too much should not be screened;

That projections in schools should cease in case of epidemics;

That the admission of children to cinema performances at a late hour and under conditions which may induce nervous fatigue and lack of sleep which may prove prejudicial to their health should be prohibited.

(b) *From the point of view of safety*, that every measure may be taken to avoid panic and the catastrophe which may easily result with a public composed of children in the premises : facilities to reach the doors, the equipment of the projection room and the fire escapes, as well as the necessary proportion of adults to assure discipline and order;

That the necessity of the use of non-inflammable films be enjoined for public performances where a majority of children and of young people is gathered and that, if possible, this obligation be extended to those performances to which children and young people are admitted;

That, at any rate, obligation to use non-inflammable films be strictly imposed in all the cinemas where all the measures of safety may not have been taken to provide against possible fires and possible panics.

(c) *From the point of view of the intellectual and moral formation of children and young people*, that the educational cinematography should help at the same time to give a more exact knowledge of life, in its complexity and its richness, and to develop in children the qualities of intelligence and character; that anything likely to result in mental passivity, a superficiality of knowledge, a lack of concentration, a tendency to inattention should be avoided; that the use of the cinema should be directed less towards knowledge

than towards developing the habit of observation and imparting personal reflection;

That one should try to develop in the child respect and desire for truth;

That, on the other hand, for entertainment performances as well as for the demonstration of films of a purely educational character, one should avoid showing children and young people any films which may, through their composition and their rhythm, disturb or spoil their artistic sense;

That it should be suggested to cinema owners to introduce in their programmes a certain proportion of educational films besides spectacles purely educational;

That, following an understanding established between the producers and the representatives of either public authorities or organisations dedicated to education, programmes should be established for families, on certain days and under certain conditions;

That, in important centres where such special programmes are possible and keeping in view the importance of the whole family being present together, it should be possible to foresee the provision by cinema owners of special programmes for children and young people;

That, in any case, efforts must be made in every country to forbid the presentation of any subject encouraging cruelty, crime, or immorality, as well as anything which may harm the efforts directed towards civilisation and better understanding among the peoples.

The Congress calls the attention not only of the public authorities, but also of all those who are interested in the moral formation of children and youth, to the necessity of encouraging the production of a greater number of educational films, and inducing famous writers to compose scenarios calculated to strengthen family life as well as those moral forces which are the very basis of society;

Especially as far as rural communities are concerned, and in order to offer to the population the attraction of moving picture projections, and thus help in the struggle against rural exodus, and for the defence of the moral health of the population :

(a) That, in order to offer to country people the entertainment they need, a methodical activity be organised for the development of rural cinematography, and that more particularly the methodical organisation be formed of distributing centres for educational and entertainment films;

(b) That a certain number of films should have as object the distribution of useful information for the benefit of rural populations, as well as the illustration of the social importance of rural life;

(c) That great care be given to the choice of entertainment films, which should have a large place in every programme, but that films giving a wrong illustration of town life, showing not its difficulties and its real dangers, but only its artificial pleasures, should be prohibited.

The Congress considers that the institution in all countries of a special Committee of censorship of films for children and young people is most desirable. In such a Committee, a special place should be given, not only to educators properly speaking, but also to the representatives of the organisations which are actively connected with the education of children and youth and more particularly to fathers and mothers. These Commissions should not limit their activity simply to publishing lists of films to which children and young people could be admitted; but, in order to help the work of those who organise the programmes either for public cinemas or for parishes, these lists should give some indication as to the moral tendencies of these films, and as to their best possible adaptation to the intellectual needs of different ages and different classes of peoples. Schools should be encouraged to teach photo-play appreciation to all pupils. Parents also should be enlightened regarding the influence of motion pictures.

In this respect, and as a conclusion to the international enquiry begun by the International Educational Cinematographic Institute on the systems of censorship now in force in different countries, the Congress recommends the drafting of a standard type of regulation which could be adopted in the different countries, considering possible modifications, which may be required to adapt it to suit the different mentalities and cultures.

The Congress states that the action to be exercised in behalf of children and adolescents should be not only of a preservative and somewhat negative character, but that it ought to be at the same time constructive. The film, like all scientific inventions, should not be merely harmless, but should be useful. It ought to contribute to the harmonious development of healthy and clean entertainment, to the diffusion of all such ideas as may guide young people towards the ideal of a higher life, of a large comprehension of international friendship and understanding.

• POPULAR EDUCATION.

The Congress,

On the relations between the cinema and popular education, has taken the following decisions :

1. *Documentary Films.*—The producers of documentary films should observe the greatest exactitude and the most scrupulous objectivity as to the historical as well as the geographical and the ethnographical truthfulness presented in the films produced by them. The same objectivity should be observed in the arrangement of programmes.

2. *Films dealing with Religious Subjects.*—In films dealing with religious subjects, the principles of religion should be respected and be represented with the most scrupulous exactitude. This applies also to the representation of ceremonies and symbols.

3. *Films presenting Some Political and Philosophical Character.*—Ceremonies and manifestations of philosophical and political character, whether in the past or present time, must be treated with the greatest respect and exactitude.

4. *Amateur Clubs.*—It is to be wished that the very efficacious activity, for the formation of public taste, of amateur clubs be directed more and more towards the diffusion of films presenting a real value from the point of view of culture, and that such clubs be ready to undertake the exchange of such films from nation to nation. To this end, the International Educational Cinematographic Institute should take care to maintain and develop its connections with amateur clubs and, according to the means at its disposal, should promote the creation of new clubs.

5. *Popular Arts.*—The International Educational Cinematographic Institute will undertake the study of the means through which it will be possible to establish a collaboration with the International Commission for Popular Arts and the national commissions which have been formed in connection with same, for the recording by films of different aspects of popular arts.

6. *Demography.*—The Congress recommends : (a) the organisation by the International Educational Cinematographic Institute of the study of the best methods of presenting animated pictures on all demographic questions referring to the existence of peoples and their mutual understanding; (b) the organisation of practical collaboration between the International Educational Cinematographic Institute and the International Statistical Union.

7. *Films on Sports.*—Films dealing with physical culture and sports should not bear entirely on the technique of sports but should contribute to the development of the taste for physical exercises.

8. *Workers' Leisure.*—The Institute will study, in agreement with those national and international organisations which are concerned with the question of workers' leisure, the best way to make use of the cinema in this essential work of popular education.

9. *International News and Events.*—The Institute will examine, in association with the international organisations and the big producers, what are the best means for securing a news report of international events with the object of circulating such news in order to develop good relations between the nations.

10. *Vaudeville Shows.*—The International Educational Cinematographic Institute is asked to use its influence to oppose itself against certain vaudeville programmes of a vulgar and immoral character which are sometimes inserted in cinema programmes, thus neutralising the efforts tending towards the education of the masses.

**AGREEMENT BETWEEN
BRAZIL AND THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC FOR
THE REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS ON
HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.**

The Republic of the United States of Brazil and the Argentine Republic, being desirous of further strengthening the friendly relations which exist between them, convinced that that friendship will in fact be further strengthened by the perfect knowledge that future generations will have of the geography and history of their respective countries when once school text-books no longer contain topics recalling the passions of earlier periods when the foundations of their nationalities had not yet been fully consolidated, confirming the recommendation passed by the first Congress on National History which met at Montevideo in 1928, and taking advantage of the excellent opportunity afforded by the presence in Brazil of His Excellency General Agustin P. Justo, President of the Argentine nation :

Have resolved to establish an Agreement for the revision of school text-books on history and geography, and have, for that purpose, appointed as plenipotentiaries : the President of the Argentine Republic, Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Ecclesiastical Affairs, and the head of the Provisional Government of the Republic of the United States of Brazil, Dr. Afranio de Mello Franco, Minister for Foreign Affairs :

Who, having communicated to one another their full powers, found in good and due form, agreed as follows :

Article I.

The Government of the Republic of the United States of Brazil and the Government of the Argentine Republic will take steps to have the texts used for the teaching of national history in their respective countries revised, deleting from them topics that may tend to excite in the defenceless minds of the young an aversion from any other American nation.

Article II.

The Government of the United States of Brazil and the Government of the Argentine Republic will cause the texts used in teaching geography to be periodically revised and brought into line with the most recent statistics, endeavouring to give in them an approximate idea of the wealth and productive capacity of the American States.

Article III.

The present Agreement shall be ratified at the earliest possible date, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Buenos Aires, it

being understood that the Agreement shall remain in force indefinitely until denounced by one of the contracting parties at six months' notice.

Article IV.

Any American State that so desires may accede to this Agreement by announcing its intention to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the United States of Brazil.

Each new accession shall become effective only after approval by the Governments of the Argentine Republic and such other States as may at the time be parties to the Agreement.

IN FAITH WHEREOF, the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Agreement in two copies, in Spanish and Portuguese, and have thereto affixed their respective seals, at Rio de Janeiro, on October 10th, 1933.

(Signed) A. DE MELLO FRANÇO;
Carlos Saavedra LAMAS.

**SOUTH AUSTRALIA:
THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN IN THE
WORK AND AIMS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.**

REPORT OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL OF EDUCATION.

A letter was received by the Premier of South Australia from the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth intimating that the Secretary-General of the League of Nations had brought to his notice a recommendation of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Young People in the Aims of the League, and urging that a National Conference be convened in each country with the object of adapting the Sub-Committee's general recommendations to the particular needs of each country. The Prime Minister was of opinion that the objects of such a Conference would be better achieved by a Conference in each State, and he desired to learn in due course of any action that the South Australian Government might take in this regard. The South Australian Government decided to refer the question to the Council of Education for consideration. The report of this Sub-Committee of Experts covers ten pages. The Assembly of the League of Nations desired that children and youth in their respective countries should be made aware of the existence and aims of the League of Nations and the terms of its Covenant.

The Director of Education reported to the Council that, some time ago, 1,000 copies of Dr. Ellis's pamphlet, "Australia and the League of Nations", were purchased, and one was placed in each school library. The teachers were given instructions to the effect that they

should gather from the book material suitable for three or four lessons to Grades VI and VII. Since this book was placed in the school libraries, copies of Fanshaw's "Reconstruction since the War" had been bought and placed in the high and higher primary school libraries, and similar instruction had been given in regard thereto. During the past few years, permission had been granted to representatives of the South Australian Branch of the Australian League of Nations Union to address the pupils and students of the Teachers' College and the various metropolitan high and primary schools on or near Armistice Day, provided that the work of the schools was not interfered with for more than fifteen minutes. Suitable notices at this time of the year had also appeared in the *Education Gazette* in reference to this matter. A chapter on the history and work of the League of Nations had been added to the history-book for Grade VII. This chapter had also been published in a book on "The Teaching of Civics" for the use of Grade VII. By this means the children of Grade VII of the primary schools in South Australia had been taught in a sympathetic manner regarding the history and work of the League. For some years the South Australian Branch of the Australian League of Nations Union had presented numerous prizes for scholars attending high, primary, central and private schools, to be competed for by children writing essays on some specified subject dealing with the work and activities of the League of Nations.

The whole question has been considered on several occasions by the Advisory Council, and it was felt by members that the Education Department was doing all it could in a reasonable way to instruct schoolchildren in the work of the League.

At the last meeting of the Council, it was resolved :

"That Professor J. McKellar Stewart confer with Professor Hancock, the Professor of History at the University of Adelaide, in regard to the education of children in the work and aims of the League of Nations, and that he report the result of the discussion to the Council at its next meeting."

Following on this resolution, Professor McKellar Stewart reported at the March meeting that he had seen Professor Hancock in regard to the education of children in the work and aims of the League of Nations. He handed to the Chairman a report in regard to the matter from Professor Hancock, who wrote :

"I do not believe that a few extra and special lessons, unrelated to the general work done in class, have much value. Appreciation of the meaning of the League (and of other important contemporary institutions) should result naturally from the study and the good teaching of history. Only when placed on this foundation will special lessons on the League be interesting to classes, and really intelligible to them.

"Most people agree that there is room for much improvement in the teaching of history; this improvement can only come from (1) University leadership, (2) the provision of better school books, and (3) the support and interest of teachers.

"Two things seem to me to be immediately desirable. The first is the provision of books which will treat history, not as the

record of things past and of dead people, but as the study of the present as it has grown and is growing out of the past. The second improvement, which could be achieved easily, is the modification of the curriculum, particularly in the lower school, so as to avoid the over-repetition of British history and to lay more stress on world history."

After discussion, it was resolved :

"That the Chairman, as Director of Education, select a committee of expert teachers in history to form a sub-committee to confer with Professor Hancock in regard to the teaching of history with special reference to the League of Nations; that the sub-committee consist of four representatives from the Education Department and two representatives from the colleges."

Subsequently the Director appointed the following Committee to assist Professor W. K. Hancock: Messrs. J. Whitburn (Secretary), D. A. David, J. R. S. Shaw, W. L. Davies, Mrs. H. R. Pash and Miss G. T. Law.

At the August meeting of the Council, Professor Hancock presented the report of the History Committee, which read as under :

"REPORT OF THE HISTORY COMMITTEE.

"1. We were invited by you to constitute ourselves as a Committee to study the instruction given in schools about the League of Nations, and to make recommendations for improving the quality of this instruction. We have the honour to submit our final report.

"2. We have held seven meetings of our full Committee, and in addition have divided ourselves into two Sub-Committees, which have studied the position in the primary-school classes and in the super-primary schools. It has been the task of these two Sub-Committees to prepare business for the full Committee.

"3. At our first meeting we formed the opinion that instruction given about the League of Nations would be useless unless it formed an organic part of the instruction given in history, civics and geography.

"4. We believe that it is desirable that there should be correlation, so far as possible, in the teaching of geography and history. We were, however, aware that a Committee had been appointed to revise the geography curriculum, and possibly to produce new text-books. In these circumstances, we did not think that it would be profitable for us to discuss the teaching of geography. At the same time, in making recommendations with regard to the history curriculum, we have endeavoured, so far as possible, to bring the history lessons into closer touch with the geography lessons. For example, since children in Grade VI study the geography of the British Empire, we suggest that they should study also the history of the British Empire. We believe that it might be advantageous to seek a fusion between history and geography in the lower classes of schools. But we make no recommendation with regard to this.

" 5. We were also aware that a departmental Committee had been appointed to study the teaching of history in the Government schools. We considered that our Committee, if it were to produce a useful report, would have to cover the same ground. We therefore got into touch with the departmental Committee, which expressed its satisfaction with our proposed plan of study.

" 6. Our report is, therefore, chiefly a report on the history curriculum in all classes below the intermediate examination class. We are of the opinion that, if we had adopted a narrower interpretation of our terms of reference, we should not have been in a position to make any useful suggestions with regard to instruction about the League of Nations.

" 7. We have based our report on the following principles, which we regard as fundamental :

" (a) That some knowledge of the League of Nations is a necessary part of that understanding of the present which it should be an aim of education to foster. That this knowledge can only be obtained by a study of history and its kindred subjects.

" (b) That the League of Nations should first of all be accepted as an important fact of historical development, but that it should not be presented to children as the one goal and the sole climax of that development. Propagandist methods in favour of the League, we felt, too often defeat their own end, which is, presumably, the creation of an intelligent understanding of international relationships and of an enlightened public opinion capable of supporting and producing wise statesmanship.

" (c) That 'national history' should not be ignored in favour of 'international history', or *vice versa*. We are of the opinion that a nation's life can be understood only in the context of a wider geographical and historical world, and, conversely, that international relationship can become intelligible to children only if they acquire some understanding of what a nation is—and particularly what their own nation is.

" 8. Chiefly in the light of these three principles, we proceeded to study the existing curriculum of history for primary and super-primary schools. At the same time, we thought it desirable that we should not exclude altogether all other considerations; for example, the general quality of the books which are now used.

" 9. We venture to submit the following criticisms of the present history course for primary schools :

" (a) The present course is based upon the 'concentric' method of teaching—that is, the same subject-matter is taught year after year, but with additional detail. We feel that this method fails to arouse the curiosity and interest of the pupil, and that the teacher also is afflicted with a feeling of monotony which has a bad effect on the quality of his teaching.

" (b) The present course is confined to British and Australian history. We criticise this in accordance with the principle

which we laid down above, 'that a nation's life can be understood only in the context of a wider geographical and historical world'. We also believe that instruction about the League of Nations cannot be satisfactorily integrated with purely nationalist history.

"(c) The present course is also almost exclusively political (in the narrow sense of the word). It leaves untouched the religious, intellectual, economic and other non-governmental aspects of man's life in society.

"(d) In the present history curriculum, there is very little opportunity for correlation between the lessons in history and those in geography.

"(e) In spite of such statements as can be found on page 107 of the Course of Instruction for the primary schools, we feel that the present course is too largely concerned with the mechanical memorising of 'dates and facts'. This seems particularly true in Grades VI and VII.

"10. We therefore beg to make certain proposals for a new history course for primary schools. We give these proposals in detail, not because we feel competent to present a perfect and complete scheme, or anticipate that this scheme will be adopted without change, but because it is only by giving concrete detail that we can make clear the character of the new courses which we have in mind. We are aware that there might be many alterations in the details which we set out, which would not affect the principles which we are seeking to illustrate.

" Grade III.

" A. Legends and Myths :

1. The Wooden Horse.
2. The Golden Fleece.
3. Romulus and Remus.
4. How Horatius kept the Bridge.
5. The Apples of Iduna.
6. Sigurd the Volsung.
7. Hereward the Wake.
8. Robin Hood.
9. Any Australian Legend or Myth.
10. Any Australian Legend or Myth.

" B. Stories of Great People :

1. The Maccabees.
2. Leonidas.
3. Socrates in Prison.
4. Regulus.
5. Fabius.
6. St. Augustine.
7. Charlemagne.
8. St. Aidan.
9. Alfred the Great.
10. Canute.

“ *Grade IV.* ”

“ A. Stories of Great Men and Women :

1. William the Conqueror.
2. Richard I.
3. St. Louis.
4. St. Francis.
5. Joan of Arc.
6. William Caxton.
7. Leonardo da Vinci.
8. Christopher Columbus.
9. Vasco da Gama.
10. Sir Philip Sidney.
11. Sir Francis Drake.
12. Hervey.
13. John Howard, the Prisoner's Friend.
14. Lord Shaftesbury.
15. David Livingstone.
16. Samuel Plimsoll.
17. Florence Nightingale.
18. Father Damien, the Leper's Friend.
19. Lord Baden-Powell.
20. Marconi.

“ B. Australian History :

1. Flinder's Voyage in the *Investigator*.
2. Sturt's Journey down the Murray.
3. Captain Barker.
4. Colonel William Light.
5. Governor Hindmarsh.
6. People in Early Adelaide.

(*Note.*—Grade IV geography is wholly South Australia.)

“ *Grade V.* ”

“ A. British History (55 B.C. to A.D. 1485) :

1. Britain before the Romans.
2. What the Romans did in Britain.
3. How the English came to England.
4. Men who taught Christianity in England.
5. Life in an Anglo-Saxon Village.
6. Pirates from the North.
7. How the Normans won England.
8. How the Normans built Castles.
9. Life and Work on the Manor.
10. How Men went on Pilgrimages.
11. How Men went on Crusades.
12. St. Giles's Fair at Winchester.
13. How Men lived in Monasteries.
14. How the English fought the French.
15. Discontent among the Peasants.
16. How English Merchants sold Wool.

“ B. Australian History :

1. Torres, 1606.
2. Pelsart, 1628.
3. Tasman, 1642-1644.
4. Dampier, 1688.
5. Cook, 1770.
6. Phillip, 1788.

(The choice is again guided by the geography curriculum.)

“ *Grade VI.*

“ A. British History (1485-1926) :

1. The King's Majesty.
2. The National Church.
3. Westward Ho!
4. Cavaliers and Roundheads.
5. Cromwell and the Dutch.
6. England in America.
7. 'The Glorious Revolution'.
8. Landowners and Merchants.
9. The East India Company.
10. English and French in Canada.
11. The Empire breaks.
12. Sea Power defeats Napoleon.
13. Building a New Empire.
14. The End of the East India Company.
15. Outposts of the Empire.
16. The Commonwealth of Nations.

“ B. Australian History :

1. The Mystery of the Western Rivers :
 - (a) Oxley;
 - (b) Sturt.
2. Edward John Eyre—the East-West Line.
3. John McDouall Stuart—the Overland Telegraph Line.
4. Burke and Wills.
5. Some Modern Explorations—e.g., Basedow, Terry, the Mackay Expedition.

(*Note.*—In this grade we have sought correlation between history and geography, particularly in Part II. Part II will be intelligible because of the geography studied in Grade V.)

“ *Grade VII.*

“ Grade VII is the pivotal grade around which we have attempted to build the curriculum which we suggest. This grade is particularly important, because the year spent in it is, for many children, their last complete year at school. In this year the geography course is a study of the world. Correlation with this course is desirable. We think it can be achieved

by a natural development from the work in history which has been recommended for Grades V and VI.

"The plan which we recommended is to begin with British history in the eighteenth century, to let this lead into European history (via the French Revolution) and then to follow, through the Industrial Revolution, the expansion of Europe in the world. Finally, a shorter part of the book could tell the story of Australian development since 1788 in relation to the story which has been told in the first part.

"Set out in greater detail, the suggested course is as follows :

"*Two Centuries of Change.*

"Part I.—Britain and Her Neighbours :

1. The Spirit of Change (English Liberty in the Eighteenth Century; Politics, Religion, Industry).
2. Change on the Land (Agricultural 'Revolution' and Enclosure, etc.).
3. Change in the Towns (Industrial 'Revolution').
4. Change by Revolution (Liberty, Equality, Fraternity in France).
5. Napoleon and the Nations.
6. The Family of Nations (Mazzini, Bismarck, the Balkans, etc.).
7. America and the British Empire (Commonwealth Theme).
8. Africa and Asia (their 'Opening-up').
9. The War.
10. Bolsheviks and Dictators.
11. The League of Nations.

"Part II.—Australia.

1. The Beginnings.
2. Australia pays her Way.
3. Liberty.
4. The Six Colonies.
5. Nationhood.
6. The Future?

"This concludes our recommendations for the revising of the history courses in the primary schools. We venture to suggest that, if our recommendations are accepted, the significance of the League of Nations in the modern world will become easily intelligible to children. We also believe that other aspects of history will also become more intelligible.

"11. We are, however, aware that there is great difficulty in obtaining suitable books at a suitable price. This difficulty seems, in fact, to be insuperable, unless the books are specially written.

"We therefore, with considerable diffidence, offer to make ourselves responsible for the writing of books of the kind which we have recommended for use in the various grades. Professor Hancock has already written the draft of a book for Grade VII and

has submitted it to us for criticism. We are prepared as a committee to allocate to some of our number, or, if necessary, to a person who is not of our number, the task of writing the other books. We shall as a committee be ready to criticise these books, as we have criticised the draft of a book for Grade VII.

“Two books would be necessary in addition to the book for Grade VII: one for Grades III and IV, and one for Grades V and VI. We assume that, by thus putting into one book the matter to be studied in both Grades III and IV, and into another the matter to be studied in Grades V and VI, we should save expense. At the same time, we should not wish to buy cheapness with mean and ugly type and paper. A reasonably attractive form is, we believe, very desirable.

“We realise that this offer may perhaps appear arrogant and that it may be unacceptable to the Advisory Council of Education; but we make it in the belief that it is our duty to be thoroughly constructive, as well as critical.

“12. Hitherto we have said nothing about civics. We think that the instruction at present given is, in general, suitable, but believe that this instruction should, so far as possible, be integrated with the lessons in history. In drawing up the history courses which we have recommended, we have not been unmindful of the desirability of this integration.

“ Super-Primary Schools.

“13. In making recommendations with regard to instruction about the League of Nations in super-primary schools, we have had less ground to cover. In the central schools there are, as a rule, only three grades (Grades VIII, IX and X). In the high schools and secondary schools, two years generally elapse before the pupil enters the class for the intermediate examination. Here the University fixes the course of study. In these super-primary schools we have confined our attention to the curriculum in history.

“14. We beg to recommend that the present course of history in Grades VIII and IX of central schools should be continued as it is at present. We are aware that certain portions of the suggested course for Grade VII (if it is adopted) will be repeated in the existing course for Grades VIII and IX (if it is retained), but we feel that sufficient new detail can be added in these parts to keep alive the interest of students. We have taken note of the technical and commercial bias of central schools, and we believe that the present history course is very well correlated with the other subjects in the curriculum. Instruction in the League of Nations is already well placed in the history course. In general, we believe that this course is excellent, and that it meets with the satisfaction of teachers and arouses interest in the students.

“15. At present this same course is also prescribed for Grade X. We feel that this third year, devoted to a repetition of the same subject-matter, is likely to be a year of flagging interest. This has, it would appear, been recognised already; for teachers in

Grade X are, in fact, allowed considerable latitude in selecting what history is to be studied. We therefore recommend that no set course be prescribed for Grade X.

“*Note.*—We give here a sketch of the course that is being followed in one central school as the result of allowing the free selection referred to above :

“ Ancient :

1. The Stone Age in Europe.
2. Egyptian Civilisation.
3. Babylonia and Assyria.
4. Persia.
5. Palestine.
6. Greece.
7. Rome.

“ Economic :

1. Goods and Services.
2. How we pay.
3. Exchequer.
4. Banking and its Growth.
5. Division of Labour.
6. England as a Money Centre.
7. Media of Exchange.
8. Capital.

“ Australian :

1. The Penal Settlement.
2. The Baby Colony.
3. Riot and Mutiny.
4. Expansion of the Colony.
5. Growth of Industries.
6. Whaling.
7. Sugar.
8. Early Settlement of States.
9. Land Settlement.
10. Self-government.

“ 16. There remains only the sub-intermediate course in high schools and secondary schools. We suggest that this should be devoted to British history. This is particularly desirable, as the work set at present for the intermediate examination does not include British history, with the exception of a study of London which is added to twelve other cities whose history is told in a book by Professor Eileen Power. British history re-enters the curriculum in classes which study for the leaving examination. Thus, in the high schools, as in the primary schools, our suggestions are designed to avoid the evils of the ‘concentric method’, and to carry into practice the principle which we laid down in paragraph 7 : ‘that a nation’s life can be understood only in the context of a wider geographical and historical world, and, conversely, that international relationships can be made intelligible to children

only if they are given some understanding of what a nation is—and particularly what their own nation is’.

“ We have found no satisfactory book covering all English history. The surveys by Lay and Warner are insular and dull, and teachers are generally dissatisfied with them. We believe, moreover, that boys and girls at this age can best understand the genius of their nation through a closer study of its great periods. These are dealt with in the delightful series ‘ Britain and Her Neighbours ’. We recommend two volumes from this series :

“ For first year : Vol. V, ‘ The New Liberty (1485-1688) ’;

“ For second year : Vol. VI, ‘ The Modern World (from 1688) ’.

“ If this plan were adopted, it might be excellent for the second-year class to read at the same time a good historical novel dealing with the same period.”

After the report had been read by the Chairman, it was resolved :

“ That the report of the Committee under the Chairmanship of Professor Hancock be received and that Professor Hancock and each member of the Committee be heartily thanked for their excellent work, and that the contents of the report be discussed at the next meeting of the Council.”

At the September meeting of the Council, the contents of the report of Professor Hancock’s History Committee were discussed and adopted.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Bulletin
OF
League of Nations
Teaching

No. 2.—December 1935

Published, every year, by the
Secretariat of the League of Nations

GENEVA

CONTENTS

	Page
"ANIMA SOCIETATIS", by Spectator.....	167
SECOND SESSION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING	173
GEOGRAPHY AND WORLD CITIZENSHIP, by Percy M. Roxby..	179
SOME SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING LEAGUE TEACHING, by Jean Piaget	187
UNIVERSITY TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, by Jiri F. Vranek.....	194
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK :	
The League's Assistance to China in Health Matters.....	200
The World Economic Situation.....	212
Unemployment among Young Persons.....	228
The Status of Women.....	237
Facilities to ensure Communications of Importance between the Seat of the League of Nations and the States Members	246
MACHINERY AND MAN	257
WIRELESS TALKS FROM THE "RADIO-NATIONS" STATION :	
Secretary-General's Message to the Children of the World.	265
What does Intellectual Co-operation mean? By José Castillejo	266
What is Intellectual Co-operation doing? By Professor Gilbert Murray.....	269
WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL TELEVISION CENTRE.....	272

Official Documents.

	Page
WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION DURING THE PAST YEAR....	275
ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING (Report).....	282
SEVENTEENTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION (Resolutions).	291
WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION (Report to the Assembly)	297
CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES :	
Fourth International Conference on Public Education (Report).....	312
Fourteenth Inter-Scandinavian School Congress, Stockholm (Appeal).....	317

“ ANIMA SOCIETATIS ”

Can education contribute to the establishment of an international order based upon respect for law and justice? Can it do anything to form a body of opinion capable of influencing the foreign policy of a country and inducing it to adopt an attitude favourable to the development of international relations?

Certain recent events would seem to provide an affirmative answer. A persevering educational campaign carried on year after year has yielded surprising results. Consulted in the form of an unofficial plebiscite, millions of men and women have pronounced in favour of a system of collective security and the settlement of international disputes by pacific methods. The proof is to hand. Education for peace and the League of Nations must be recognised to-day as a powerful and effective factor in the evolution of the life of peoples towards methods of intellectual co-operation.

But what is this education to be? What should be its objects, and what methods must it employ? Since the end of the world war, many experiments have been made, often inspired by conflicting doctrines. We possess, however, a most reliable guide in our judgments on contemporary history, which lead us continually to re-examine the educational objects that we are seeking to define.

One of the undoubted advantages of living in the present time is that we can see the realities of international life in their true perspective. The period immediately after the war was different. War-weariness, an immense desire for peace, the initial successes of the collective system, and a somewhat artificial trade boom induced a state of euphoria. The boldest hopes seemed justified; a new and better era was at hand. The millions who had fallen in the war had not died in vain.

To-day, all that is past history. The awakening has been bitter. Everywhere, we are faced with new and insurmountable difficulties. Economic nationalism has aggravated the world

depression. Attempts to lower tariff barriers and stabilise exchanges have failed. Awakening nationalism and the impossibility of reconciling in the collective system the determination of the "haves" to maintain the *status quo* which they regard as "order", and the demand of the "have-nots" for revision, which they look upon as "justice", have wrecked all efforts to strengthen the security of members of the international community through reduction and limitation of armaments. Thus the vicious circle remains unbroken : nations are arming because they mistrust one another, and they mistrust one another because of their armaments. The failure to enforce the principle of pacific settlement and to prevent recourse to armed force has also helped to undermine the confidence of Governments and peoples in the efficacy of the new collective system set up after the war.

This new system aims at no more and no less than the application, within the community of States, of the principles of law, justice and order, without which no organised human society can exist : the observance of the common law that no individual may seek justice by force, the use of methods of pacific settlement in case of disputes between members of the international society, and active co-operation among them wherever international action is needed. But—as in every organised group—certain preliminary conditions must be fulfilled, that the relations between the different parts of the whole may be governed by these general principles. The parts must realise that they belong to the whole and are all interdependent. They must also realise that the interest of the whole community is, in the highest sense, the best interest of each of its members. Lastly, there must be in every member a sustained resolve to co-operate with the other members of the community, a readiness to subordinate its private interests to those of the community as a whole, a readiness to submit to common rules in the event of a conflict between its private interests and those of one or more other members. In short, to borrow the terms of Roman law, a *societas* cannot exist under satisfactory conditions without an *anima societatis* informing the policy of all the members that compose it.

Transposed to the international plane, this *anima societatis* presupposes a consciousness of the solidarity of all human interests, proportionate to the degree of political, social and economic interdependence, which is one of the outstanding features of contemporary life. That consciousness—and this is one of the most striking phenomena to any student of international life—exists, as yet, only in quite rudimentary form. True, as a result

of great scientific discoveries, the industrial revolution and the development of communications have led to an immense increase in international trade; but the close links of economic solidarity thus forged were accompanied only to a very limited extent by any growing feeling that the world had become an interdependent whole. Indeed, the awakening of nationalism occurred at the very moment in history when these profound changes in economic and social life were bringing all parts of the world closer together and making it what it is to-day. How strange is the paradox of our situation! Nationalist feeling is growing side by side with the practical interdependence of the members of the international community, and in many cases the resulting attitude of mind is preventing the awakening of the international *anima societatis*. Not that enlightened patriotism need be incompatible with the interests of the international community: indeed, there are striking examples to the contrary. None the less, certain tendencies of present-day nationalism, its cult of the nation as the ultimate good, its worship of heroism and military glory, its innate mistrust of all "internationalism" do not provide a favourable atmosphere for the awakening of an *anima societatis* within the international community, an *anima* formed of an understanding of other outlooks, other national aspirations; an *anima*, as it were a consciousness of the inevitable necessity of reconciling conflicting national interests; an *anima*, as it were a determination to preserve one's own and other peoples from the madness of a general conflict imperilling the common heritage of our whole civilisation.

A *de facto* solidarity of which not all the members have a very clear consciousness, a *de facto* *societas* without an *anima societatis* determining the relations between the members—that is what we find if we examine the international situation impartially. We can then see more clearly the educational purpose that should be aimed at by "instruction in the objects of the League of Nations and of international co-operation". Its essential object is to arouse this *anima societatis* in the citizens of all the States Members of the international community. But how are we to set about it? Here the moralist intervenes and says: "Show young people that no organised form of human life can survive without a principle of order, peace and justice. Arouse in them an ardent faith in this noble ideal; that is all you can do." Whereupon the realist replies: "What you propose is all very well, but it is not enough. If you want to create intelligent and far-seeing citizens, if you want to awaken in them a feeling of

responsibility, as nationals of a country, in regard to the great problems of the international community, you must bring home to them the fundamental causes of war and the nature of the difficulties that start up at every turn in the organisation of peace. You must explain to them why there is a gulf between the ideal and the real; otherwise, you will create disillusionment and cynical disbelief. This *anima societatis* which you wish to awaken in young citizens must be the fruit of a new understanding, of knowledge; it must open up new horizons, extending beyond national frontiers."

The realist's objections appear to be well founded. Indeed, two facts compel attention when we survey the vast and complex domain of inter-State political and legal relations. In the first place, the reactions of the mass of citizens to international events appear to be governed by ignorance, incomprehension, fear, uncertainty, pride and a sense of prestige. There are no standards, no landmarks, no wider outlooks. Moreover, the moral principles that have a definite and specific meaning in the smaller groups within which we move, and with whose members, and their needs, we are familiar, become unreal and abstract when we try to apply them to the relations between those great human collectivities that we call States. The idea of justice, for instance, confounds us. What territorial claims described as "legitimate" by the nations that advance them can be regarded as "just" from the point of view of the international community? Are there any valid standards, and, if so, how are we to define them?

In order, then, to create an *anima societatis*, citizens must realise the bonds that exist between their own country and the other members of the international community. They must also grasp the nature of the efforts that are being made to establish common rules for ensuring order and the pacific settlement of international disputes. The facts of history make it our urgent duty to bring home to the individual the practical interdependence of all the social, economic and political phenomena of the contemporary world. Such a form of education will create an enlightened public opinion which, while still asserting itself within its national boundaries, will have a consciousness of responsibility towards the *societas* of all the nations.

Simple as this postulate appears, we find, on closer examination, that it implies a complete recasting of certain branches of education.

History and geography are the two subjects that offer the best prospect of enlarging the young citizen's outlook beyond the

narrower national horizon. In the teaching of history, various problems arise. Is it possible to teach contemporary history? What place is world history to occupy in proportion to national history? How is the history of civilisation to be taught side by side with political history? How much importance is to be attached to a survey of the economic history of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Lastly, how can we make sure that history text-books are imbued with a real *anima societatis*?

Other questions arise in the case of geography. History illustrates the action of human collectivities in time; human geography shows us the behaviour of human groups in space. Human geography again must be given the attention it deserves, side by side with physical geography, in the curriculum. No subject is better fitted to reveal the interdependent conditions of contemporary life, the demographic and economic data which so largely determine the foreign policy of a country.

Thus to arrive, through the study of history and geography, at a clearer conception of that practical interdependence which governs the contemporary world is a first step towards the *anima societatis*. There are two further stages.

The citizen of to-day cannot read a leading article on foreign policy intelligently without having some idea of the attempts that have been made to improve international relations since the great war. What part was the creation of the League intended to play in the preservation of peace? What is meant by a system of collective security? What is the nature of the difficulties that have been encountered? Generally speaking, there is no limit to the ignorance and prejudice that exist even among intellectuals. But how can a public opinion imbued with an *anima societatis* be created without a modicum of knowledge of the attempts that have been made to organise the international community?

No intellectual knowledge of conditions of life in the contemporary world can take the place of a living experience of the existence of other members of the *societas*. The *anima societatis* implies a very clear conception of the qualities of other peoples, as well as a sense of the necessity of co-operation. The living experience of another people, of another form of civilisation—the *Bildungserlebnis*, as the Germans say—penetrates more deeply into the human heart than the intellectual process by which we obtain a reasoned picture of reality. Thus the *anima societatis* develops in us, the consciousness of the reality of human life in foreign countries arouses in us a sense of responsibility that no purely intellectual process can give. Here, the immense value

of the study of foreign languages is clearly apparent. Foreign languages are the magic key that opens to us the comprehension of a national genius different from our own, a mode of life and thought other than that which we were disposed to regard as the only possible and the only valid one. The *anima societatis* presupposes a vision alike of the unity and of the diversity of the international community. The study of foreign languages enables us to realise this diversity, the chief source whence we can enrich our own culture.

Does education precede or follow historical evolution? Those who combine their pedagogy with philosophy have debated the question from time immemorial. Be the answer what it may, a large number of nations have grasped the lessons of history and are seeking to awaken an *anima societatis* by every available educational means. Without this *anima*, no *societas* can be built on firm foundations—a lengthy task, demanding endless patience and perseverance. But the perils inherent in the international situation cannot discourage us, once we are convinced that this is the way—the only way—that leads to the *anima societatis*.

SPECTATOR.

SECOND SESSION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING

Held at Geneva, July 10th and 11th, 1935.

At its first session in 1934, the Advisory Committee made a general survey, and took stock of all the efforts made to date to induce better understanding of other peoples in the teaching institutions of the different countries. It endeavoured also to arrive at certain methods of teaching on the basis of the different experiments already made.

Further, it noted the difficulties encountered by the movement in favour of instruction in international co-operation owing to the profound political and social changes which have taken place in various countries.

Encouraged by the progress made and by the favourable reception given to the "Recommendation" of its predecessor, the Sub-Committee of Experts, the Advisory Committee unanimately replied by an act of faith and courage to the dangers with which the educational effort to evoke sentiments of international solidarity is confronted. The Committee reaffirmed the fundamental principles on which teaching in regard to international relations should be based, and expressed the opinion that the international situation was such as to call for redoubled effort. It also recommended further study of the branches of education best adapted for instruction in the interdependence of the contemporary world and the scope of the principles of the Covenant.

In its agenda for the second session, the Committee set itself the task of drawing up a programme for the teaching of history, geography and modern languages. It endeavoured to formulate certain general considerations in this connection with regard to teaching in the matter of international relations and the League of Nations. It was of opinion that the object of such teaching should not merely be to give youth an objective knowledge of the international aspects of a number of international problems: it should also be inspired by moral motives in the sense of developing

the feeling for justice and human solidarity. All will admit that teaching of the aims of the League of Nations cannot consist of a few lessons on the machinery and activities of big international organisations: but how is it possible to create a new mental attitude adapted to the realities of the present day, an international sense of the phenomena of social and economic interdependence which are the features of the present time?

The views which were put forward differed. They are not incompatible views, and admit of synthesis. Those in favour of one view ask whether a knowledge of contemporary economic and social conditions is sufficient. The cult of the nation as the unit appeals, they say, to-day to all the evocative forces including the spirit of heroism and sacrifice, whereas the cause of peace and the legal organisation of peace is based on arguments of which the characteristic is moderation and reason. How are the resources of devotion and sacrifice, those moral elements which all too often are imprisoned in the closed vessel of the single nation, to be brought to bear on the organised life of humanity? Should not the essential object of instruction in the aims of the League be directed to the problem of conciliating this traditional morality with the wider morality called for by the interlocking of national interests in the international community?

The advocates of the other view admit that instruction in the aims of the League has no mystical appeal comparable to national sentiment. The community of nations exists as a fact; but it does not, one fears, as yet have any place in the consciousness of man, and consequently cannot evoke acts of loyalty. At the same time, the study of international relations in an objective spirit does not merely imply understanding of the facts of international interdependence and the resulting necessity of international co-operation. Such study cannot be complete unless it aims at finding a solution for international problems on the basis of the principles of right and justice, which are the basis of all organised human life.

To arouse in the schools the feeling for justice and the feeling of respect for others in such a way that the young are not afraid to sacrifice their interests to their ideals, and to teach them to approach in this spirit the problem of international relations—that is peace work.

To those who lay stress on the absence of any international mystical appeal capable of evoking real interest in teaching regarding international relations, the advocates of the second view reply that the most effective and realist method is to graft such

instruction on to national instruction in civics. They maintain that it is possible, on the basis of legitimate national interest, to build up an international ethic and an international logic. There is an obligation at the present day on every country, whatever the nature of its national feeling, to understand other points of view, to enter into the psychology of other peoples, and to understand and appreciate in advance the motives of foreigners. Careful study of international problems is accordingly to-day a condition of survival for every country which does not desire to let itself slip into an isolation which may ultimately prove fatal. Does not every effort at adaptation help to evolve a technique of reciprocal exchanges? By learning how to place one's country in relation to other countries one begins to understand, other national outlooks, since every genuine effort to understand others necessarily leads to rapprochement and to the search for methods of co-operation and release⁹ from egocentric nationalist illusions.

These different views which found expression in the Committee governed its attitude in regard to the teaching of history, geography and modern languages. The Committee expressed the view that it was unquestionably desirable in the matter of history and geography to consult the learned societies concerned with these two branches of study. It was not a question, the Committee noted, in this connection of the *principles* of history and geography as such, but of the *methods* of teaching them, and the choice of the facts on which—from the Committee's point of view—stress should be laid. It was desirable, therefore, to secure the co-operation, in addition, of the organisations of teachers, parents and philanthropic bodies concerned with the formation of public opinion and the moral education of youth, in order to take account—in addition to considerations of pure science—of the views of those entrusted with the civic and moral education of the coming generation. Without expressing any opinion on the relation between history and civic education, the Committee noted the fact that in many countries the teaching of history is made in a sense the basis of civic education, and that there would be great difficulty in attempting to separate the two.

The teaching of history and geography in a spirit of objectivity and understanding of other peoples further implies a knowledge of the psychology of children and young persons and the evolution of an appropriate educational technique. It is accordingly desirable during a preliminary period of consultation to establish certain fundamental ideas and essential facts constituting the proper material for instruction in present-day international

interdependence and methods of co-operation between States, and finally to indicate the best methods of instruction in these subjects. The results of this preparatory work will be considered at a subsequent session of the Committee, which will co-opt in the capacity of assessors, persons of special competence in the subject.

Side by side with history and geography, modern languages represent, of all the different branches of education, that which is best calculated to foster knowledge of foreign cultures and understanding of the special genius of foreign peoples. The relations between these different branches of education have not escaped the notice of educationalists concerned with the framing of programmes. While in the teaching of history and geography the teacher can draw attention to the significance of recent transformations in the relations between peoples, the study of modern languages (if properly imparted) affords the younger generation immediate contact with the life and culture of foreign peoples. The study of a modern language evokes the sense of the coexistence of different cultures and different traditions, which is a condition precedent to better understanding of the problems of international community. The special conditions of the modern world are such as to encourage to a remarkable degree the development of the teaching of modern languages. The multiplication of contacts between nationals of different countries, the rapid extension of new means of spreading knowledge, such as wireless, the talking cinema and the gramophone, which bring a spoken foreign language to the most remote parts of the world, stimulate and at the same time facilitate the study of languages.

In drawing attention to the importance of the teaching of modern languages, the Committee at the same time felt that the study of the different aspects of this matter from the standpoint from which it must consider it had not gone sufficiently far to justify the submission for the present of definite proposals. Desiring to make the widest possible appeal to the co-operation of specialised institutions, it instructed the International Bureau of Education, in conjunction with the International Association of Modern Languages, to proceed to a preliminary consultation jointly with the Secretariat.

Of the practical measures approved by the Committee, mention should also be made of a new publication on the objects and work of the League for the use of teachers. This little book meets an urgent need. It is intended to take the place of the publication "The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations", the original edition of which is exhausted after having been

translated into some thirty languages. The new work is compiled on principles which differ to some extent from those of the former publication. Long descriptions of machinery and procedure have been avoided, while prominence is given to the general ideas and current tendencies of the League. The development of the conception of collective security, for example, and the political and legal considerations which have governed the application of the Covenant, and above all the concrete achievements of the League in the various fields of its activity, have been dealt with in a competent manner. It is hoped that this little work, based strictly on the realities of current history and routine with a constant view to simplicity of thought, description and style, will create the impression that, in spite of the slow and indirect development of recent years, the world is proceeding little by little under the pressure of an increasingly inevitable necessity towards the idea—the realisation of which has so often been attempted—namely, the idea that the normal solution of disputes between States and problems which do not lend themselves to purely national solution should be sought by international and peaceful means. The Committee approved the scheme of the book submitted by the author, at the same time insisting on the presentation, in addition to the preventive action of the League, of the important work done in the organisation of peace by the system of international conferences inaugurated and developed by the League. It recommended that all requisite steps should be taken for the circulation of the new work and its translation into as many languages as possible.

It will be remembered that the Committee, in co-operation with the Permanent Conference for Higher International Studies, instituted an enquiry into the study of international relations in higher educational institutions, and that twenty-two countries contributed information on the subject. On the basis of this material, Mr. S. H. Bailey, of the London School of Economics and Political Science, was instructed to prepare a comparative study. The Committee drew attention to the importance of maintaining collaboration with the Permanent Conference of Higher International Studies, and expressed the opinion that it was desirable to consider the potentialities of economic studies as a means of promoting understanding of present-day social and economic interdependence.

The Committee devoted special attention to the proposal for study travel of educationalists and missions of representatives of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, which was submitted

to it by the Liaison Committee of the Major International Associations and by the International Union of Associations for the League of Nations. Bearing in mind the experience gained in connection with the exchanges of officials organised by the Health Section and the travels of Chinese educationalists in Europe, the Committee considered a scheme for study travels of qualified administrators or educationalists to be appointed by the national authorities. Each group, it was suggested, might be invited by a given country in agreement with the competent authorities of the latter. The Committee also expressed the view that missions by representatives of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation would form a valuable supplement to the work of consultation and enquiry undertaken by the Secretariat, with a view to encouraging instruction in the aims of the League and in international co-operation. The Committee made a recommendation through the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to the Assembly on this subject, and asked for a vote of the necessary funds in the budget. Unfortunately, the general situation of the League's finances was such that the sixteenth assembly was not prepared to act on this proposal, though the great interest attaching to the suggestion was unanimously recognised.

* * *

The development of international community is largely dependent on the formation of public opinion. The work of the Advisory Committee is a work which will take a long time. While other organisations of the League are concerned with settling current difficulties and instituting permanent co-operation between Governments, the Advisory Committee works for the future. The youth of to-day will constitute the public opinion of to-morrow. To open up to it new horizons beyond its national frontiers, to put before it other points of view, to bring home to it the difficulties in the way of the attempts made since the world war to organise the world—all this is to prepare those who will create the peace of to-morrow. There is no more important or more urgent task with which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is entrusted.

GEOGRAPHY AND WORLD CITIZENSHIP.

It is a fundamental concept of modern geography that, since the earth is a whole, made up of increasingly inter-connected and inter-sensitive parts, the place and potential contribution of each part in and to the whole should be sympathetically investigated until the web of regional relationships which makes up the complex life of the modern world becomes, in its broad outlines, apparent and significant to the average citizen. Until this is achieved, there can be no real conviction of the necessity for *world* citizenship, and, without that conviction and consciousness, the claims of *national* citizenship cannot be seen in their proper perspective and are easily exploited to the detriment of other peoples and to the cause of human progress as a whole. A recent writer has said : " We endeavour in human geography to describe and explain human activities in relation to the earth as now concretely expressed in the cultural landscape, but we also seek to look beyond that description and explanation, and try to see to what extent those relationships are stable, how long they are likely to continue, and how far man may use in better and fuller ways nature's gifts, and overcome her obstacles and limitations ". It is not only to the right use and conservation, as distinct from the wasteful exploitation, of natural resources by collective human effort that this principle can be applied—*e.g.*, in the use of forests and in the various aspects of " planning ", almost all of which involve an accurate knowledge of economic geography. It is of equal if not of greater importance that this conception of changing and expanding regional relationships should animate our view of the different human groups cradled in different environments, with qualities, aptitudes and temperaments still mainly shaped by experience of life in those environments but capable alike of cultural enrichment and fuller development or of impoverishment and demoralisation through the closer world contacts which the progress of science is forcing them to make.

Europe is the *fons et origo* of the mighty mechanical forces which necessitate a new conception of human unity, but Europe

itself, as a great human 'province', is very far from having adapted its cultural and political life to the new space relations and conditions of economic geography which its restless scientific energy has created. Why and how it has come about that the diversities to which it largely owes the richness of its culture have been allowed to obscure and destroy the deeper unity of which our mediæval ancestors were conscious? What is the real basis of national units—the sovereign nation-States—which at present dominate the stage? Are they inevitable and final territorial divisions, destined for all time to stultify progress by their fears and rivalries? To a large extent, at any rate, the great nation-States of Western Europe can be shown themselves to be the slow outcome of long centuries of increasing inter-regional contacts, leading to a wider social consciousness and expanding place loyalties, a process admirably illustrated by the emergence from a group of tribal kingdoms, once separated from each other by forests and marshes, first of England and finally of Great Britain. The union by consent of England and Scotland, through realisation on both sides of the border of increasing interdependence and common interests, reflected the operation of forces which we know to be working in the modern world on an infinitely larger scale. Yet it seems unlikely that Europe will be able peacefully to adjust her territorial and political schemes to the actual conditions of the stage until her citizens are taught to view the world in such a way that the narrow and wholly unscientific conceptions of racialism and ultra-nationalism current to-day are seen to be false and obsolete. In this educational process, geography, it is claimed, from the nature of its subject-matter and point of view, can play a vitally important part. Almost inevitably, unless it is wilfully distorted, and to a large extent unconsciously, through its teaching and study comes the wider vision of unity in diversity, alike the value of the part, the significance of the *genius loci*, and the greater value of the whole. It cannot directly solve the thorny problems of frontier revision, national minorities or trade-relations, but it can give a truer conception of their setting and develop an attitude towards them essential to an atmosphere favourable to their solution by statesmen.

In the period of commercial imperialism which reached its climax in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the greater part of Africa became virtually an economic annexe of Europe, and the average European view of African peoples is still shaped by conceptions of racial ascendancy derived from that and earlier

periods. But no one can make a serious study of the human geography of Africa to-day without realising the necessity of a very different outlook. This is not simply because the Dark Continent has been opened up and its resources made available for mankind. The most significant point which emerges from such a study is that the potentialities and future character of the native peoples are largely dependent upon environmental conditions which White contact is appreciably changing. More important for the future of mankind than the development of Africa is the development of the African, but this development, no less than the material wealth of the continent, must be studied in its geographical *milieu* if conditions for sound progress and mutual benefit of White and Black are to be established. Indeed the collection, sifting and interpretation of data bearing upon the present and future relations of African tribes to their habitat constitute a peculiarly important and imperative field of geographical research at the present stage of the world's development.

The old description of Asia as "A Beggar's Mantle with a Fringe of Gold" might well be extended to the Euro-Asian land-mass as a whole to express the vital contrast between the arid or semi-arid core, with its scanty groups of pastoral nomads, and the richly-watered marginal lands with their teeming sedentary populations. The European "peninsula", with its distinctive culture, is one such margin. Larger and still more populous is that Far Eastern margin whose prodigious significance in the destiny of mankind the western world, startled by recent events in China, Japan and Manchuria, is at last beginning to realise. Here, as a result of the high degree of isolation which great mountain barriers and vast stretches of thinly-peopled steppe and desert on the landward and the widest of the world's oceans on the seaward side have given it until recently, the great civilisation which has its roots in the classical culture-area of the Yellow River basin was able to maintain the essentials of its unique organisation and culture almost unmodified for several millennia. But now the impact of western industrialism on the greatest of the "traditional" civilisations has produced a situation which a modern Chinese philosopher at a recent congress has thus summarised: "China is now at a present that is not the natural growth of her past. . . . In the completely new situation that she has to face, she has been much bewildered. . . . She has to connect the new civilisation that she has to face with the old that she already has and to make them not alien but intelligible

to each other". He adds the very interesting and significant comment that "the interpretation and criticism of civilisations is the natural product in China of the meeting of the West and the East and is what has interested the Chinese mind and constituted the main current of Chinese thought during the last fifty years". Certain it is that the relative absence of external stimulus, due to its geographical isolation, has been the main cause of whatever immobility has characterised Chinese civilisation and that the present clash of cultures and ideas, if only there is the right attitude on both sides, ought to result in a great refflorescence of the Chinese genius.

Now it is not of course suggested that geographical study as such, even if the human aspect is emphasised to its greatest legitimate extent, can probe deeply into the complex problems involved in the relationship and inter-penetration of Eastern and Western cultures. The essential point is that the average citizen should have some conception of the significance and place of the Far East in the current of the world's life, of the character of the problems, arising out of their geographical conditions and new relationships, which China and Japan have to face, of the contributions which they have made and can still make to the sum of human culture. Nor is it too much to say that, for the average citizen, as education is now organised, whether in the school or in adult classes, geography is the only medium through which he is likely to get the essential outlines of such a world-picture. At the end he returns to the study of his own country to reinterpret its problems, responsibilities and opportunities in the clearer light of its intricate world relationships and to work henceforward, as one may hope, *pro patria* indeed, but *pro patria per orbis concordiam*.

* * *

To illustrate the theme of this article in relation to university work, I append the synopsis of a seminar class which is being held during the present session in the geography department of an English university. Its aim is to study the present and probable future relations of China, Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the background of the physical, social and economic geography of the Far Eastern and Central Asian stages. It will be seen that it begins with a study of the encroachment of the peasants from both the Chinese and Russian sides on the former lands of nomadic pastoral peoples and analyses the problems thus

created. The advent of Japan and of Soviet Russia has introduced industrialism into Manchuria and Western Siberia respectively. Between them lies Mongolia, where the traditional pastoral life is still maintained, but Mongolia too is entering world affairs and is generally admitted to be a very crucial factor in the future relations of China, Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Hence the present position in Western Siberia and in Manchuria, a borderland with many conflicting interests, is examined, followed by a study of the present status and outlook of the various Mongol groups. This is preparatory to a final study of the interests and prospects of China, Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in lands whose uncertain political future is a world problem of great significance.

Throughout the course, the international standpoint, as represented by the League of Nations, is emphasised and the prospects of harmonising the interests both of the local peoples and the three Powers are examined.

The procedure and organisation of the course are briefly explained in the notes which follow the synopsis.

* * *

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL : SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY.

PART II : SEMINAR CLASS : SESSION 1935-36.

Geographical Aspects of the Relations of China, Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Central and Eastern Asia.

Synopsis of Topics for Discussion.

1. Two introductory talks to state the problem and indicate the nature of the factors involved.
2. Advance of the Chinese Agricultural Front into former nomadic regions of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia—the economic, social and political problems involved in this advance.
3. The Russian Occupation of the Steppes of Central Asia :
 - A. The encroachment prior to the Russian Revolution of 1917.
 - B. The Soviet phase. Speeding-up of the process and introduction of industrialism. The Kuznetz Coal Basin and its connection with the Ural industrial centres. Economic development of the Turkestan Oases. Construction and effects of the Turk-Sib Railway.

Summary of the present position, and the place of Central Asia in the general plan of the economic development Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
4. Japanese economic needs on the mainland of Asia. § How far Manchuria and Mongolia can meet these needs—a survey of their actual and potential economic geography from this point of view.

5. The rival claims of China, Japan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Manchuria.
 - A. The political claim of China to Manchuria—China's case *vis-à-vis* Japan both prior to September 1931 and in the establishment of the new regime.
 - B. The probable attitude of the Manchurian Chinese and the factors affecting it.
 - C. Japan's case *vis-à-vis* China both prior to September 1931 and in the establishment of the new regime.
 - D. The nature of Russian interests in Manchuria and the ways in which they are affected by the new regime.
 - E. The proposals of the Lytton Commission for an international solution of the Manchurian problem.
6. The present organisation of the "Manchukuo" State. Two aspects :
 - (a) Treatment of Manchuria as an economic entity—*e.g.*, consolidation and development of railway system; economic relations of "Manchukuo" with Japan; (b) the new administrative geography of "Manchukuo" and its significance.
7. The distinction between Inner and Outer Mongolia and the present distribution and organisation of the Mongols.
8. The future relations of China, Japan and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Central Asia :
 - A. Factors in the integration of China and the policy of China towards the Outer Territories (Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang) still under her control.
 - B. Japan's probable aims and prospects in Mongolia.
 - C. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as affected by a "forward" Japanese policy in Central Asia, and the development of Japan as a continental Power.

* * *

REFERENCES.

Notes on previous lecture course on Far East.

- MACKINDER : "Geographical Pivot of History" (*Geographical Journal*, 1904).
- CRESSEY : "Geographic Foundations of China"; chapters on Manchuria, Mongolia and North China.
- OWEN LATTIMORE : "Manchuria, Cradle of Conflict";
— "Mongolia".
- HOSIE : "Peoples, Resources and History of Manchuria."
- PARLETT : "Diplomatic Events in Manchuria" (published by Royal Institute for International Affairs).
- Report on Progress in Manchuria, 1907-1932 (published by the South Manchuria Railway, Dairen).
- "Japan's Case in Manchurian Question" (published by League of Nations, Geneva, 1933).
- HUSSEY : "Manchukuo";
— "Puppet State of Manchukuo" (*China To-day Series*).
- ORCHARD : "Japan's Economic Position."
- NITOBÉ : "Japan : Some Phases of her Problems and Development."

- BOWMAN : " The Pioneer Fringe. "
- CHANG YIN TANG : " Economic Development and Prospects of Inner Mongolia ";
 — " Japan's case in Sino-Japanese Dispute. "
- CROCKER : " Japan's Population Problem ";
 — " Relations of Japan and Manchuria with Mongolia. "
- ROXBY : " Far Eastern Question in its Geographical Setting " (Reprint :
 1920);
 — " The Expansion of China " (*Scottish Geographical Magazine*, March 1930);
 — " China as an Entity " (*Geography*, March 1934).
- NORMAN : " The Peoples and Politics of the Far East. "
- SKRINE : " Chinese Central Asia. "
- NORTON : " The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia. "
 " Problems of the Pacific ", 1929.
 — — 1931.
 — — 1933 (published by Institute of Pacific Relations).
- " Pacific Affairs ", edited by Owen Lattimore.
- Peace Handbooks : " Siberia. "
- The Lytton Report.
- Year-Books : *Japan Year-Book*, 1934.
Manchukuo Year-Book, 1934.
Soviet Year-Book.
China Year-Book (several).

Various memoranda.

* * *

PURPOSE AND METHODS OF THE SEMINAR CLASS.

1. The students taking part in this class are either in the last year of their course in the Honours School of Geography, with two or more years' training in principles and methods behind them, or graduates of the school. They have also attended a detailed course of about forty-five lectures on the physical, historical and human geography of the Far East.

2. The idea underlying the course is that geography, broadly interpreted, and including its historical and economic aspects, is an excellent approach to the impartial study of world problems and that the Far Eastern stage and the problems which are developing there deserve close attention by students of world affairs.

3. The two introductory " talks " are given by the professor, but all the other topics are handled by the students in the form of papers, the preparation of which is guided to some extent by members of the staff. All the papers are followed by discussions, which in some cases—*e.g.*, No. 5 and No. 8—take the form of debates. Throughout the course responsibility for representing the " interests " of particular countries or groups (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Japan, Manchuria, the Mongols) rests upon particular students. The League of Nations' point of view is also represented.

The order of the topics indicates the method of approach; some of the papers deal primarily with social geography—*e.g.*, the encroachment of agricultural peasants on lands of pastoral nomads (No. 2 and No. 3) and the problems which it creates, some with economic geography (No. 4) and some (*e.g.*, the topics under No. 5 and No. 8) with the wider problems of

political geography, conceived as a synthesis of the different factors separately analysed.

All the material named under "References" is available in the room in which the class is held and with other material, available elsewhere, is used in the preparation of papers.

The class is held weekly throughout the greater part of the session; about twenty meetings in all.

Percy M. ROXBY,
*Professor of Geography in the University
of Liverpool.*

SOME SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING LEAGUE TEACHING

Teaching on the League of Nations, together with an adequate idea of international relations, should be imparted in such a way as to awaken keen interest in the young; it would be better to leave young people entirely alone than to create in their minds an association of ideas between the League of Nations and boredom, or between international relations and instruction received unwillingly.

Long association with young workers (in Switzerland and France)¹ involving the study of the psychology of young students attending optional classes has brought home to us certain dangers which should be avoided at all costs.

Young people are usually very willing to leave primary school for work: they are glad not to be treated any longer as children but as men and women responsible for their own acts. Many of them—and often their parents as well—feel that they will learn nothing new by attending general continuation courses but will merely mark time. They are often tired, for various reasons, of lessons and textbooks, and dislike the idea of going back to them.

It is therefore important:

(a) That League teaching and “an adequate idea of international relations” should be given in optional talks by those who have a real gift for teaching and are thoroughly familiar with their subject and with the environment from which their hearers come; or in the absence of such persons—who usually require a thorough psychological and technical training in addition to special ability to teach—at broadcast meetings where young teachers or voluntary workers who take a real interest in young people should listen with them to lectures by a very able speaker and should lead one or more discussions on the subject after each lecture.

¹ Our talks with leaders of the Worlds' Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations, Worlds' Alliance of Young Women's Christian Associations, Young Catholic Workers, etc., and our reading have shown that most young workers, of whatever nationality, display the same general characteristics.

(b) That the audience should not be treated as a class of schoolchildren, but as a gathering of young citizens who are presumed to be desirous of understanding the affairs of their country, of taking an interest in its future and a working for its welfare.

(c) That textbooks should be replaced by attractive well illustrated books on the subject, or, if none are available, by short multigraphed notes until such time as a reliable writer has produced a suitable book, or by such pamphlets as accompany courses of broadcast talks in some countries (for instance, the United Kingdom).

* * *

These are not the only indispensable conditions, however, and the following observations are also the outcome of direct experience. Young people leaving primary school (and perhaps in many cases secondary school) look back with distaste on lessons in civics, which were too theoretical, too abstract and too often described national institutions as perfect or, in any event, as sacrosanct. Nor are they interested in history when it is taught as the story of a past that is over, is dead; on the other hand they are interested when it is taught as a sequence of events with causes and effects—often bristling with formidable problems for which some solution had to be found, a solution that was sometimes good and sometimes bad—a sequence which is not complete, in which they have some responsibility. They do not care for subjects remote from their own lives, but they are in fact interested in any subject—even in uninviting subjects—if the teacher can link it up with their lives. They quickly tire of the monotonous and perhaps even more of the disjointed. They cannot for long keep their attention from wandering unless they themselves are actively occupied. They are more sentimental than they like to appear, and very apt to become enthusiastic over a great cause, a noble character or a fine life. They like people to have confidence in them, they like appeals to their youthful ardour, they like to be credited with intelligence and goodwill, to be allowed to help in work thought to be difficult; they are capable of making a sacrifice once they realise its utility or nobility.

It is therefore important :

(d) That instruction on the League and on international relations should go hand in hand with a thoroughly lively study of the institutions and affairs of their native land, that this

study should be extended to international institutions. (For instance, after a description of the health services of the country as they affect the daily lives of the hearers, they should be told about some of the characteristic work of the Health Section of the League. After a visit to a public library and a description of the catalogue, or a visit to a museum, one or two of the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should be described. After a talk on national defence and the great war, they should be told about the collective campaign against war, the obstacles encountered and their reasons, the Covenant of the League, the Pact of Paris, the Disarmament Conference, etc.). Care should be taken to explain that national and international institutions, however admirable, are by no means perfect and that it is for the citizens of the future to improve them. They are preparing themselves for this work by learning all about these institutions.

(e) That an attempt should be made to interest young people in the main features of the history of their own country, of which they know little, and in some of the features of the history of other countries, of which they usually know nothing. These two subjects should be treated as interdependent (for the method, see above). This also will often lead up to the League of Nations when international relations are involved. Young people should also be interested in the history of civilisation, the broad outlines of which should be studied in connection with visits to ethnographical and fine arts museums and public libraries and with concerts by voluntary performers, or broadcast music. (It might be advisable for young people living in towns to go singly, or in small groups, a special subject for study being recommended to them in advance.) A special place should be given in the history of civilisation to the immediate past and to the present. It should include the history of labour, economic history, scientific discoveries and the arts, religion, etc. (There is naturally matter in these two history courses for several sets of talks, some of which might take place concurrently as complementing one another). Care should be taken, in teaching both national history and the history of civilisation to link up the past with present day situations and problems, and constantly to appeal to the intelligence, reason, imagination and common sense of the young: "This is the problem: what would you do? What else could have been done? What are the advantages and disadvantages of these solutions?"

(f) That international relations should also be approached from the geographical standpoint: economic interdependence, travel, etc. Young people who are not interested in history will probably take an interest in geography.

(g) To avoid isolated lectures on subjects having little connection with one another (except where advantage is taken of the presence of a distinguished traveller or foreign visitor, or when an expert is asked to speak on some subject about which the young hearers want to learn). The courses should not be too long or too short and there should be plenty of variety. No attempt should be made to cover every branch of knowledge: the ideal to be aimed at should be a few subjects well handled beginning with personal studies or talks.

(h) Lecturers, masters and group leaders should not fear courteous or even heated discussion; they may even provoke such discussion themselves. Objections are only dangerous when listeners keep them to themselves or only confide them to ignorant persons. Leaders should not be afraid to show enthusiasm—without, of course, trying to force such enthusiasm on others—nor to discuss in a tolerant spirit the urges of the young.

(i) Though it may be somewhat difficult to secure the active participation of the young people themselves in the instruction we advocate, we believe that such participation is essential to success. Different listeners may be asked to compose explanatory diagrams, draw maps, various illustrations and caricatures, or to reproduce by drawing, modelling or paper-cutting, or any other means of which they are capable, certain objects connected with the course and observed in the museums. Some listeners may be capable of undertaking simple research work in the Public Library. Others may be told to follow a subject (connected for instance with foreign policy or the policy of the League) in the newspapers available at the Public Library, and to make summaries of this information for their comrades. The master or group leader should endeavour to give scope to all talents and aptitudes; he should never discourage a willing pupil, but should try to stimulate latent capacity. Thus, often without his knowledge, he may create in the minds of some listeners a permanent interest which will brighten their leisure hours throughout their whole lives.

The young unemployed have, alas, much time upon their hands: a leader who succeeds in persuading these young people to create, make or discover something useful to their comrades or to the community will have done a good deed. The interests

should never be factitious or artificial, but should flow from the work in common. (For instance, one group of girls took much interest in seeking out on the spot, by means of a copy made by one of them of a part of an old plan of their town, certain streets and houses that had been mentioned in a series of talks on history.) Most young people of the working classes are interested in economic questions or questions connected with the organisation of labour; they will therefore doubtless take a special interest in many subjects connected with the work of the International Labour Organisation; some may be led to collect useful facts, thus accomplishing an intelligent and necessary task. The families, particularly unemployed fathers, may be encouraged to help in these researches.

* * *

In the work we have under consideration it would be a pity to neglect the young people's love of play-acting. Histrionic talent may be utilised in two ways: (*a*) in the form of mimed or spoken and practically spontaneous play-acting, illustrating some specific event or idea (this is particularly useful in classes of youngsters between the ages of 14 and 16); (*b*) by occasionally organising a really fine show with costumes and scenery, all made by the young people themselves. (This idea is suitable for classes of young persons of 16 to 18 years of age and over.) The ingenuity shown by the girls in making costumes, practically without spending a penny and by the whole group in getting together properties and scenery, the judicious choice of the young actors for the various parts and their understudies—in short the gifts of organisation displayed, will surprise the master or group leader. According to the series of talks chosen for illustration by the play, it is quite feasible to prepare (in the form of a slightly abridged simplified translation) some ancient drama, a miracle play or farce of the Middle Ages, a foreign play revealing the mentality or customs of another people, etc. Inhabitants of the neighbourhood or town may be invited to the show, a nominal entrance charge being made to cover the small costs of costumes and scenery. (We have ourselves seen a play produced by young working boys and girls who had prepared it entirely themselves under the management of an unemployed painter. They had even dyed the very commonplace materials used for the costumes, as pretty shades were unobtainable in the quality of material used. The production almost amounted to high art. The whole neighbourhood was interested in this effort.)

Boys and girls of the working classes seldom know anything about psychology, but they soon get interested in its elementary and practical aspects, and their thirst for knowledge rapidly increases.

In this connection, it will be useful to include in the courses for young unemployed persons a few simple subjects concerning their attitude towards foreign peoples, for instance. The lecturer might try and get them to discover the frequency, cause and strength of their prejudices, the reasons of intolerance, the great difficulty everyone experiences in getting to understand another person.

One subject to be touched on would be that of over-simple points of view; to these young persons, people, events, ideas and opinions are either black or white—they know no half-tones; and that is a serious disadvantage to them in the conduct of their lives.

* * *

It is doubtless impossible to find a sufficient number of masters possessing, in addition to all the knowledge and qualifications necessary for the organisation of these courses, the indispensable moral force and elasticity of outlook. Fortunately, clubs or study groups can in many cases take the place of courses. Young intellectuals, or other willing helpers attracted to this work, which is as delicate as it is meritorious and absorbing, may become leaders of these clubs or study groups. Often a man or woman of good intellectual standing who studies the subject with the members of the group, obtains documentary material for it and discusses points with its members can do a great deal of good. Since, owing to the very organisation of these clubs or groups, there can be no distasteful idea of school classes—for their members can scarcely be treated as “pupils”—these members will come to relish their task, and thus the essential condition of success: that the programme be very elastic and the teaching free of all pedantry—will assuredly be fulfilled.

Jean PIAGET,
*Director of the International Bureau
of Education,
Assessor to the Advisory Committee on League
of Nations Teaching.*

* * *

A FEW SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARIES.

I. METHODS.

- M. R. GARRIC, P. TEZENAS, etc. : " Les équipes sociales " ; Editions de la Revue des Jeunes, Desclée et C^{ie}, 30, rue Saint-Sulpice, Paris (IX^{me}).
- I. O. EVANS : " Suggestions for Practical Work in World History " ; Revised Edition, World Service Series, Watts & Co., London. 6*d.*
- I. O. EVANS : " The Junior Outline of History " ; Denis Archer, London, 1932. 7*s.* 6*d.* Illus.
- H. C. KNAPP-FISHER : " The Modern World " ; a junior survey; Gollancz, London, 1933. 5*s.* Illus.
- Stephen KING-HALL and K. C. BOSWELL : " Tracing History Backwards " ; 2 vols., Evans Bros., London. Illus. 1*s.* 6*d.* per vol.
- Stephen KING-HALL : " News for Children " ; Ivor Nicholson & Watson, London, 1934. 5*s.* Illus.
- Daniel KNOWLTON : " Making History Graphic " ; Charles Scribners' Sons, New York, 1925. Illus.
- Joseph F. JOHNSON : " We and Our Work " ; American Viewpoint Society, New York, 1928. Illus.
- K. GIBBERD : " The People's Government " , Dent & Sons, London, 1931. Illus.
- Mabel BARKER : " Utilisation du milieu géographique " ; Flammarion, Paris, 1931. 249 p. Bibliogr. 12 French francs.
- Marion I. NEWBIGIN : " A New Regional Geography of the World " ; Christophers, London, 1929. 432 p. Illus.
- Leonard E. PACKARD and Charles SINNOTT : " Nations as Neighbours " ; Macmillan, New York, 1930. 671 p. \$1.92.
- M. J. FLEURE : " The Geographical Background of Modern Problems " ; Longmans, Green, London, 1932.
- M. BUTTS : " Quelques méthodes pour l'enseignement de l'histoire du point de vue international " ; Cinquième cours pour le personnel enseignant, Bureau international d'Éducation, 1932; pages 113 to 120.
- M. BUTTS : " L'enseignement de la géographie en vue de la collaboration internationale " ; Cinquième cours pour le personnel enseignant, Bureau international d'Éducation, 1932; pages 121 to 131.

II. PSYCHOLOGY.

- Edouard CLAPARÈDE : " Psychologie et collaboration internationale " ; Troisième cours pour le personnel enseignant, Bureau international d'Éducation, 1930; pages 43 to 51.
- P. BOVET : " Les instincts de l'enfant et l'éducation de l'esprit international " ; Quatrième cours pour le personnel enseignant, Bureau international d'Éducation, 1931; pages 69 to 76.
- J. PIAGET : " Les difficultés psychologiques de l'éducation internationale " ; Cinquième cours pour le personnel enseignant, Bureau international d'Éducation, 1932; pages 57 to 66 and 72 to 76.
- J. PIAGET : " Une éducation pour la paix est-elle possible ? " *Bulletin de l'enseignement de la Société des Nations*, déc. 1934, pages 17 to 23.
-

UNIVERSITY TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The teaching of international relations in the universities presents several problems. The very existence of the subject, its scope, purpose, organisation and methods are as yet uncertain. For the purposes of this article, however, the existence of a definite body of knowledge properly described as international relations will be already taken for granted—although some students still prefer to assign its different parts to disciplines previously recognised.

THE SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The next task is that of ascertaining the scope of international relations as an academic subject. A great number of books on international affairs reveal that by *international* relations is commonly recognised what should more correctly be called "inter-State relations".

In this sense, international relations clearly cannot comprise all the various relations of individuals or groups (which indeed fall within the scope of sociology), but only such as do affect the relations between States—namely, international relations in the proper meaning of the term. When, however, one attempts to survey the field more closely, new difficulties come to light. Such organisations as the Papacy, the Third International, the Congress of National Minorities affect the relations of States to one another. But so do, under certain circumstances, private groups: oil companies, armament firms, banks. Individual States often take the case of their private citizens or groups into the sphere of inter-State relations. As circumstances change, at any moment a purely private affair may rise above the dividing line and become a matter of contention between States. Such phenomena, therefore, although not constituting international relations by themselves, must yet be assigned a definite place in the framework of this new discipline.

Further, it is generally accepted that international relations is the study of *contemporary* relations. But, for the purposes of academic study, this vague term must be more clearly defined.

There is in everybody's mind an obvious difference between history and contemporary affairs. But at what point exactly does the second become the first? Any up-to-date school of history includes the settlement of the world war in its scheme of "Modern History". And Mr. Gathorne-Hardy in his "Short History of International Affairs" carries it down to yesterday—to 1934. A great deal will have to be left to the discretion of the individual authors. It is suggested, however, that in the study of international relations proper, there is a convenient starting point in the peace treaties of 1919, which represent a sudden advance both in kind and in degree in the long development of these relations.

Is it possible to establish the other limit of international relations as well? When does the "present" become eligible for scientific investigation? It may be submitted that *documentation* is the most reliable criterion. Scientific investigation is based upon facts and documents. Now the daily Press supplies both facts and documents in varying amount and with a variable degree of accuracy. Parliamentary reports, treaties and diplomatic notes, when published *in toto*, may be accepted. But how far is it possible to go beyond that? Is an article by "Pertinax" on the eve of an international conference a mere expression of opinion, or is it a fact which must be taken into account by anybody who tries to estimate correctly the influences bearing upon the decisions of the French Government? Perhaps another subtle distinction may be made here by way of an illustration: there is surely a difference between a talk on "Current Events" and a scientific lecture on international relations.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Having established the scope of international relations, I shall try to classify the various component parts of the province of international relations. The attached classification may serve as a suggestion:

International Relations.

A. *Non-Political* (private international relations):

- Commercial;
- Religious;
- Scientific, etc.

B. *Technical* (public international relations) :

The Universal Postal Union;
 The Red Cross Societies;
 The Atlantic Iceberg Patrol, etc.

C. *Political* (public international relations) :

I. *Inter-group relations* :

The Interparliamentary Union;
 The Congress of National Minorities;
 The Second International;
 The Third International;
 The Roman Catholic Church, etc.

II. *Inter-State relations* :

(1) Unorganised :

(a) Peace;
 (b) War;

(2) Semi-organised :

(a) Alliances;
 (b) Diplomatic Unions, etc.;

(3) Organised sectionally or regionally :

The British Commonwealth of Nations;
 The Pan-American Union, etc.;

(4) Organised universally :

The League of Nations;
 The Permanent Court of International Justice;
 The International Labour Organisation.

THE PURPOSE OF THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL
 RELATIONS.

Broadly speaking, university education has a twofold purpose : (1) to prepare the young men and women for their membership in society as citizens of a country, and (2) to equip them with specialised knowledge and enable them to earn their living. Although these two aims may be described as coinciding with the undergraduate and post-graduate stages of study, this division is by no means precise.

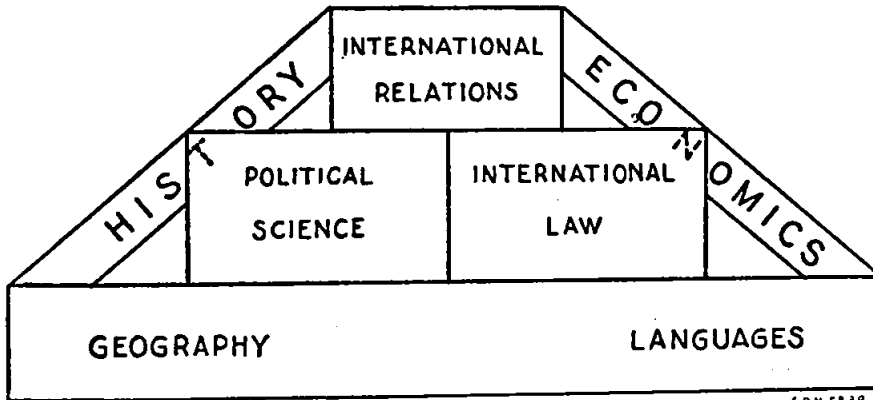
The purpose of instruction in international relations at the first stage of university studies may be summed up in this form : " To enable the student to read the centre pages of *The Times*

(London) intelligently". In other words, it aims at giving the student a sense of direction and some scale of value in the bewildering complexity of international affairs. It should so awaken his critical faculties that he can assess the relative importance of diverse documents, from a letter in *The Times* to an Advisory Opinion of the Permanent Court.

In the second stage of university studies, the usefulness of international relations may be less apparent. The knowledge of this subject has as yet little marketable value. Certainly, men entering into public life, civil service, journalism or international civil service will benefit by it. And, of course, there are students who intend to pursue international relations as an academic career. But in none of these cases is the number of available openings appreciable.

THE METHOD OF THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

International relations as a subject of instruction lends itself to a definite method of approach. It can be represented as the apex of an organic structure of several other disciplines, some of them essential, others complementary—but all of them treated from a special point of view.



The diagram shows another important fact: International relations by its very essence is definitely a subject which can be most profitably treated at the later stages of university studies. The first year will be spent in studying the complementary subjects: History, economics, geography and languages. The second year should be devoted to the essential subjects, political science and international law, and only in the third year can the

student reach international relations as a subject of instruction. Naturally, it is even more advisable for a student to continue his work at the post-graduate (or research) stage.

Given the original assertion that international relations in the academic sense comprise inter-State relations, such a study would fall within three distinct parts :

(1) A study of the elements and principles governing the political phenomena of human society—in short *Political Theory* (purpose, nature, organisation and functions of the State);

(2) A study of the individual existing units whose inter-relations it is our ultimate aim to investigate—namely, *Comparative Government* (the Governments, Constitutions and political systems of the most important States);

(3) A study of *International Relations* proper—*i.e.*, political relations between States. This would also include some references to inter-group relations and to public technical relations as furnishing both examples of the technique of international co-operation and a direct influence upon State policies (the development of international administration, the origin, constitution and work of the League of Nations, of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice).

THE ORGANISATION OF THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

International relations is a contemporary, living subject. It cannot be studied only in a university library. The teacher of international relations must not only know the countries themselves, but the mechanism of their relations as well. The attendance at international conferences and periodical travel abroad should be part of his duties. (The ideal arrangement would be the creation of several "peripatetic professorships".) This requirement indicates that a foundation of a single university chair of international relations is not sufficient. For the purpose of the continuity of academic work, a department (however small) is necessary. The Department of International Relations would thus be composed of at least two teachers. This points to a certain amount of specialisation which can be intensified with every increase in the number of the teaching staff. In a small department, however, no person can be an expert in five different

subjects. It would seem therefore advisable that special lecture courses should be provided by experts in various other departments, such as history, economics, law.

DOCUMENTATION.

Finally, we must consider the question of documents. Apart from books on international relations, political science, international law, history and economics, there should be a special library (or a section of it) containing such documents as treaties, official Government publications and the publications of the League of Nations, the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice, to mention only the most important ones.

3 Jiri F. VRANEK, B.A., Ph.D.,
Lecturer in International Politics,
University College of Wales,
Aberystwyth.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK.

THE LEAGUE'S ASSISTANCE TO CHINA IN HEALTH MATTERS.

Health conservation and disease prevention are two of the unmixed blessings which the progress of Western civilisation has brought in its train. During the last half of the nineteenth and first third of the present century, great progress has been made in discovering the causes of disease, in establishing its methods of spread, and in organising and applying measures of prevention. The results of these advances in our knowledge and practice are apparent wherever Western civilisation has penetrated. Death rates have fallen, epidemics have been wiped out, and children born to-day in Great Britain or North America, Scandinavia or Germany can look forward to a longer life and greater freedom from serious illness than those of almost any previous generation. About twelve persons in every thousand die during the year in these countries. In China, this general death rate is believed to be about thirty, nearly three times as great as in the most highly developed countries of the West. Serious epidemics are almost unknown in these countries, while they are commonplaces in China. The greatest contrast is found in the case of the newborn. In New Zealand, less than forty of every thousand infants born during a year die before its close. While there are few places in China where a true infant mortality rate can be computed, the rate in these reaches very large figures, amounting to a quarter, a third or an even greater proportion of all live births.

In these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that when China began to feel the influence of Western civilisation and became a republic, her leaders who had travelled and studied in the West should wish to bring to her people the benefits of modern medical knowledge and public health progress.

Public health and hygiene in Western countries rests upon a broad foundation of general education, police power, sanitation, hospitals, dispensaries and the practice of modern medicine, to say nothing of many other powerful but less closely-related factors.

In China, this foundation was lacking. Illiteracy was the rule, sanitation did not extend beyond the limits of a few cities having an international status and there were only five or six hundred hospitals, most of them small and poorly equipped, in the whole of the country. Other types of medical and health institutions were almost wholly lacking, and less than five thousand doctors trained in modern medicine were to be found, not scattered throughout China, but concentrated in the large cities. As far as modern medicine was concerned, China was a desert with a few oases, and the great mass of her people lived and died in complete ignorance of its benefits.

In 1922, a representative of the Health Organisation of the League visited Canton, Shanghai and Peiping in the course of a health survey of Far Eastern ports. The League's Eastern Bureau at Singapore was founded in 1925. A little later, the Health Organisation's director discussed the possibility of organising health work in China with some of the country's leaders. When the present Government came into power in 1928, these leaders turned to the League, which had shown such a tangible interest in the health conditions of the Far East. In 1929, the Foreign Minister asked the League to send a mission to China with the object of making a survey of port health and maritime quarantine. The Council of the League decided that full assistance should be given to China in her efforts at self-development and two members of the Health Section were sent on a mission to discuss the matter with the competent authorities. As a result of this visit, the Government made certain proposals to the League which may be summarised as follows :

That the League should assist China :

- (1) In reorganising and improving the port health services;
- (2) In organising a Central Field Health Station as the nucleus of a permanent national health service;
- (3) In establishing a national institution for undergraduate and post-graduate medical instruction;
- (4) In coping with the problem of smallpox and cholera control in the metropolitan area of Shanghai;
- (5) In the reform of medical education.

The reasons which led the Government of China to make these requests and the results of this international collaboration are described below.

1. REORGANISATION OF THE QUARANTINE SERVICES AT CHINESE PORTS.

There are a number of so-called Treaty ports in China in which are located foreign concessions, administered by the representatives of the foreign powers concerned. Maritime quarantine work in China originated in these ports, as a measure of protection against ships arriving from countries where plague, cholera or smallpox prevailed. Later on, the work was taken over by the Chinese Maritime Customs and placed as a rule under the harbour-master, who was assisted by one or more foreign and Chinese medical officers. There was a foreign Customs' commissioner in each port who was, in many instances, responsible for drawing up or approving the quarantine regulations which were enforced, and these varied from port to port. The quarantine services at Canton and Swatow were the only ones wholly in the hands of the municipal—that is, the Chinese—authorities.

In view of the large share in the control of quarantine which devolved upon foreign officials—although these were really in Chinese employ—foreign shipowners looked upon these services as non-Chinese, and were loath to see them taken over by the Government of China, which did in fact administer them, as the Customs service was under the Ministry of Finance. The Government desired to reorganise these services and to transfer them to the Ministry of Health, which would have been tantamount, in foreign eyes, to making them wholly Chinese. In order to avoid the probable difficulties to be expected from such a change, the Government of China, through the League, desired to obtain the benefit of the experience and the assistance of the health services of other countries, in this port sanitary reorganisation.

The following steps were taken by the League to meet this request :

(1) Members of the League's Health Section, together with Chinese medical officers, made a thorough survey of all the important Chinese ports.

(2) The League's Health Committee set up a Commission on which sat, in addition to Chinese medical officers, representatives of the Health Services of all the important maritime powers. This Commission discussed and approved a scheme for the organisation of a new National Quarantine Service.

(3) In drawing up the scheme, the Commission conferred with experts delegated by the Communications and Transit Organisation of the League.

By these means, the Government of China obtained through the League the benefit of the advice and assistance of the health administrations with the greatest experience in the practice of port health work. In addition, the views of the International Chamber of Shipping were expressed by experts delegated by the Transit and Communications Organisation. Any suspicion that the new National Quarantine Service would interfere unduly with the legitimate interests of shipping was thus dissipated. The creation of the new service was sponsored by the countries with whose shipping it would have to deal. That these steps were effective is shown by the rapid and uneventful progress of the National Quarantine Service, which was organised in 1930 and in the same year began to take control of the health services of the ports of China, one by one, beginning with Shanghai. Its staff of well-trained quarantine officers now numbers twenty-four, of whom seven received their training abroad under League auspices.

Maritime quarantine is usually looked upon as a means of preventing the introduction of disease from without. But it may also act to prevent the spread of disease from a given port to other parts of the world, by dealing with infected ships about to depart, by supervising the health conditions in the port, by assisting in the establishment of an intelligence system so that the presence of disease may be known in time to apply effective preventive measures. The limitations of space prevent a more extended description of the National Quarantine Service in China. It is sufficient to point out its real and potential value to China as well as to the ports of other countries and to mention its rapid and uneventful progress to show that the methods adopted by the Government of China and by the League were sound.

2. ORGANISATION OF A CENTRAL FIELD HEALTH STATION.

How to make the best use of the small number of trained medical officers in its service was the chief problem confronting the Government of China in its task of sanitary reorganisation. The demands upon this small group were heavy. Their two most important tasks were to organise training facilities for health officers, nurses, midwives, sanitary inspectors and the other

health staff of which China stood in such urgent need, and to work out a national health programme. Both were heavy tasks, but the latter much outweighed the former because it meant research into the unknown health problems of China as well as intensive study of the methods best adapted to solve those problems.

The first step taken by the League was to consult a group of directors of Western schools and institutes of hygiene, who were asked to draw up, with the assistance of Chinese colleagues, a scheme for organising such an institute. In this way, the Government of China obtained the advice of experts from many countries who had organised and were now administering such schools and institutes in the West. At the request of the Government, the Health Organisation sent a representative to China to assist in the initial stage of the organisation and development of the Central Field Health Station. The League also undertook to provide the training of Chinese medical officers who were selected for important posts in the station, by means of study tours abroad.

In these conditions, the Central Field Health Station developed rapidly, in spite of the difficult period in which it was established. Training courses were organised, field work was begun, laboratory work progressed rapidly, and the nine sections into which the station was divided began to take form. At present, the Central Field Health Station is occupying new quarters at Nanking in a splendid building specially designed for its use.

In 1934, more than five hundred students attended its courses, which included types of training adapted for medical officers, sanitary inspectors, health nurses, school teachers, pharmacists, midwives, internes and other hospital assistants. Indeed, so much of the time of the staff of the Central Field Health Station and the Central Hospital was taken up in training activities that it has been decided to establish a new institution, to be known as the National School of Hygiene. The station's laboratory work in 1934 comprised nearly twenty-eight thousand bacteriological and serological examinations, besides a large number of drug and patent medicine analyses. Field work included assistance and supervision to eleven provincial, three municipal and five rural organisations. The station is closely associated with the National Health Administration, the Central Hospital, the Central Hygienic Laboratory, the Central School of Nursing, the Central Midwifery School and the Nanking Municipal Health Station, this group of institutions forming one complete medical and health unit.

The station is also associated with laboratories in Peiping and Nanking which, up to the end of 1933, had produced vaccines and sera of an approximate market value of one million Mexican dollars. Specially equipped field-stations for the study of plague, malaria and parasitic diseases were set up in eight provinces and thirty-five localities. Twenty health centres were established in six provinces, and midwifery schools and maternity centres were opened at ten places in seven provinces.

It should not be forgotten that, while health work has been developed as described, the Government of China was extending other reconstructive activities as rapidly as possible under the ægis of the National Economic Council set up in 1933 to assist the Government in planning and carrying out an urgent development programme. At the beginning of 1935, the Council decided to promote agricultural, hydraulic, communications and public health activities in the north-western provinces, and the field work of the station was extended into Shensi, Kansu, Tsinghai and Ninghsia, where a number of medical and health institutions were established. In these provinces, it has been found necessary to conduct campaigns against animal as well as human diseases in view of the danger of their transmission to man and of their great economic harmfulness. In this work, one of the representatives of the Health Organisation in China took an important part.

The National Economic Council's efforts to improve communications in China resulted in intense road-building activity in many parts of the country. In this work, measures of health protection were needed by the workmen as well as by the employees and passengers of the bus lines, which developed rapidly. The work was undertaken by the Central Field Health Station, which provided safety measures and emergency medical aid, as well as sanitary supervision at suitable places.

It is impossible in a short report to give more than the barest outline of the station's work. The fact that it comes under the National Economic Council is an assurance that it will be closely associated with every development tending towards the reconstruction of China.

3. ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL INSTITUTION FOR UNDERGRADUATE AND POST-GRADUATE INSTRUCTION.

In making its request for assistance in establishing this institution, the Government of China emphasised the need of creating national traditions in administering large hospitals and stated its

intention of establishing forthwith the First National Hospital at Nanking.

The reasons actuating this request were based on the hospital situation in China at the time. While in well-developed Western countries there is at least one hospital bed per thousand inhabitants, in China the rate varied from one bed to nearly ten thousand inhabitants in the best equipped provinces to one to two hundred and fifty thousand in the more remote districts. Moreover, the existing hospitals were as a rule in foreign hands, and, while Chinese doctors were employed on their staffs, the medical direction was not in their hands. While the main function of hospitals is to treat the sick, they are also centres of medical research and training, and may become centres of preventive as well as curative medicine. If China is to enjoy the benefits of modern medicine, students must be trained in hospitals, doctors must go to them for post-graduate instruction, and there must be a sufficient number properly distributed throughout the land to serve as bases for the army of doctors needed to treat the sick.

Now hospital administration is a highly specialised task requiring actual experience as well as training, and this was difficult to secure in China in view of the small number of hospitals and the fact that most of them were poorly equipped and staffed and in foreign hands.

Faced with this situation, the Government decided to establish at once the First National Hospital at Nanking and to co-operate with provincial governments in founding others; these were to be used in training doctors, nurses and other hospital staff. The League's share in this enterprise was the organisation of study tours in hospital administration for selected medical officers, in order to train them for their future responsibilities.

Those who visit Nanking will find, near the Central Field Health Station, the splendid First National Hospital, which is a centre for treatment, medical research and post-graduate training and an institution which would do credit to any country. Its close association with the National Health Administration and the Central Field Health Station in training and other important work has been already described.

4. THE PROBLEM OF SMALLPOX AND CHOLERA IN GREATER SHANGHAI.

The metropolis of Shanghai is made up of an International Settlement, a French Concession and the Chinese city which

surrounds the other two municipalities. The combined population aggregates nearly three millions and the Chinese City takes in a wide expanse of territory, some of which is very sparsely settled. There is a separate health authority in each municipality. Vital statistics are most highly developed in the International Settlement, and these show that from 1919 to 1928 deaths from cholera varied from none in 1924—the only year in which no deaths occurred—to 680 in 1919. During the same period, deaths from smallpox reached 240 in 1922 and were altogether absent only in 1920; these figures relate only to the International Settlement, containing about a quarter of the population. It is evident that these two diseases constituted serious problems for Shanghai. Moreover, the three municipalities merged insensibly into one another, making for serious administrative difficulties unless the closest co-operation existed between the several municipal governments.

During 1929, when the League mission was discussing the possibilities of co-operation with the Government of China, 433 deaths from smallpox were registered in the Chinese municipality, and during the first eight months of that year cholera deaths numbered 161. The Government asked for assistance in dealing with these problems, and immediate steps were taken to meet this request. The Chinese Minister of Health called together the directors of the health services of the three municipalities, and these, together with League representatives, discussed the situation and decided on the initiation of a joint campaign under a single direction. The campaign was begun immediately, the principal measures consisting of epidemiological study, vaccination, protection of water supplies and foods, provision of hospital beds and supervision of the campaign by a special epidemic commissioner.

This campaign has been carried on ever since. In the case of cholera, its results have been even more successful than was anticipated, for no deaths from this disease occurred in 1933 and 1934. As far as smallpox is concerned, a very large number of people have been protected by means of vaccination against this disease, which occurs in a particularly virulent form in China.

5. THE REFORM OF MEDICAL EDUCATION.

Assuming that China has a population of 300 millions, 150,000 doctors would be needed to provide medical care which, in the West, would be regarded as reasonably adequate. As a matter of fact, there are in China less than 5,000 doctors trained

in modern medicine and in 1929 the existing medical schools had less than 500 students. Adding the comparatively small number of Chinese who go abroad for medical training, the yearly supply of graduates from modern medical schools was pitifully small in proportion to the need. Moreover, much of the medical training in China was below minimum requirements. The National Government decided to close practically all the provincial medical schools and to improve and develop the three Government institutions at Peiping, Shanghai and Canton respectively.

A National Commission on Medical Education was set up to advise the Government on this subject and the Minister of Education asked the League to supply information on the work of similar commissions abroad, and to delegate an expert to work with the National Commission in China.

There were two schools of thought in China as to the policy which should be adopted for the training of doctors. One school demanded that the Government should authorise the establishment of a number of second-grade medical schools aiming at quantity production, in order that the needs for medical care should be met as rapidly as possible. The other school held that such a programme would be impractical, undesirable and unnecessary. It would produce mediocrities, competent teachers could not be procured in sufficient numbers for the staffs of such schools, and the graduates would be handicapped throughout their professional lives by an inferiority complex, which would lead them to oppose progress.

Two facts stand out in any consideration of the problem of medical care in China. The first is that modern medicine is still strange and unfamiliar to the masses. This is especially true of the rural districts, and China is predominantly rural. The graduates of schools teaching modern medicine in China are absorbed by the larger cities where wealth is concentrated and modernisation has made some progress. Modern medical practitioners would starve in rural China, not only on account of the poverty of the people, but also because the Chinese would not seek their services. The second important fact is that a system of Chinese medicine exists to which the people are accustomed and they have not been trained to distinguish between modern medicine and the multitude of old type practitioners, quacks, healers and vendors of quack remedies which are to be found throughout the country. If the masses in China are to enjoy the benefits of modern medical care, the Government must organise medical schools, pay the graduates to settle at suitable

places, establish hospitals and dispensaries, in a word, organise a State system of medicine. And even this will fail unless the masses are enlightened by the organisation of a system of compulsory education along modern lines. This is not the place to describe the efforts being made by the Government to promote general education in China; the subject is treated in a number of League documents to which the reader may refer for further information. But it should be emphasised that these efforts are on a very large scale and are slowly but surely preparing the way for the penetration of public health, medical care and other social activities.

To comply with the Government's request as regards medical education, the Health Organisation initiated a series of studies in Western countries which culminated in the preparation of a report—"Medical Education and the Reform of Medical Studies", by Professor E. Burnet—which describes clearly modern trends and tendencies of medical training in the most highly developed countries. The Dean of the Medical School at Copenhagen, Professor Knud Faber, was sent to China on behalf of the Health Organisation, to work with the National Commission on Medical Education. Professor Faber travelled extensively in China, visiting the existing medical schools, and on his return presented to the Health Organisation a detailed report on the policy which he believed should be adopted. He emphasised the need for training teachers to staff the existing and future medical schools, and referred to the methods used in Western countries to provide the necessary intensive and specialised training. Suitable institutions for the training of medical teachers would require the improvement of certain of the best of the existing medical schools. On the other hand, practitioners of medicine were needed whose training must be as largely as possible clinical in type. They might require less theoretical instruction, but should be given ample opportunities to diagnose and treat the sick under competent direction. For this reason, a large, well-organised hospital must be associated with the medical school. Professor Faber suggested that a school for training such practitioners should be organised as an experiment; he described in detail the programme and curriculum which would be most suited to the purpose. Organising and maintaining such a school would be breaking new ground, so that the experimental approach was essential.

It is evident that the problem of medical education in China will not be solved in a few years. Nevertheless, since 1929, considerable progress has been made in improving and extending

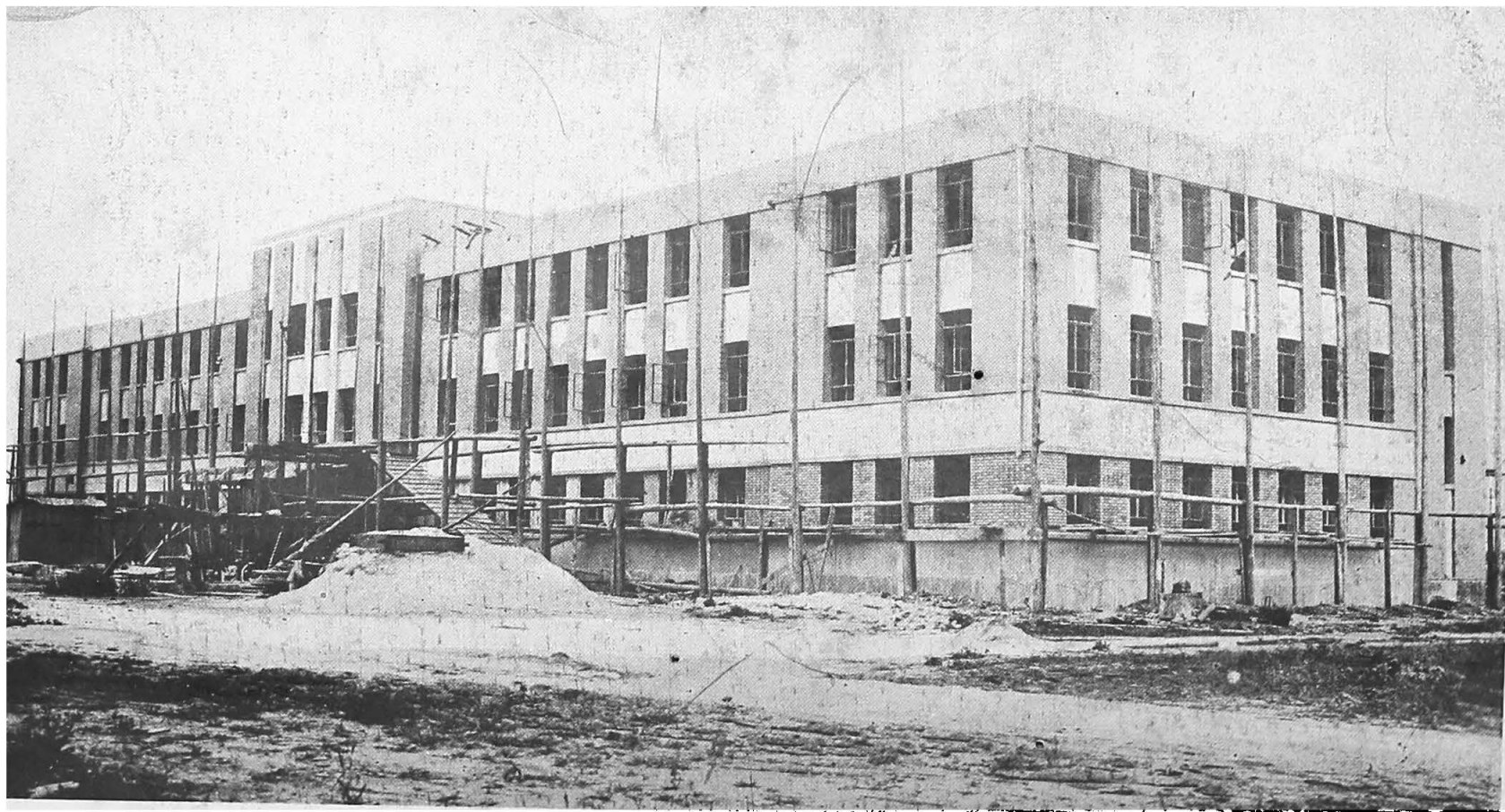
the existing medical schools. The establishment of the First National Hospital provided opportunities for undergraduate training, post-graduate work and refresher courses. Finally, after surmounting many difficulties, an experimental school of the type recommended by Professor Faber is being established. The future alone will reveal whether the present plans are the most practical and suitable in the conditions now obtaining in China.

6. THE LEAGUE METHODS OF WORK.

When the Government of China made its request for League assistance in health matters it drew attention to the methods which had been utilised by the League's Health Organisation in the past, in responding to requests for assistance from other countries, and suggested that they might be applied to China's request. Certain of these methods are described below.

The Health Organisation has set up a number of commissions which deal with such subjects as malaria, biological standardisation, the teaching of hygiene and preventive medicine, leprosy, etc. The Government hoped that it might have the assistance of such commissions in drawing up and carrying out specific health schemes. Such assistance has in fact been given, the best example being the despatch to China of the secretary and selected members of the Malaria Commission to advise in the organisation of the malaria section of the Central Field Health Station, and in planning the study of malaria along the Yangtse River.

The Government of China believed that the Health Organisation's system of interchanges and study fellowships offered a practical method of training Chinese medical officers for the posts which they could occupy in the new health institutions. The Health Organisation's response was prompt and complete. Medical officers of health selected for posts in the new quarantine service were sent to ports of the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, where, under the direction of the port health authorities, they followed day by day the routine work of quarantine. In no other way would it have been possible for them to acquire such valuable training for their future work. Doctors selected for the medical direction of hospitals were given similar opportunities of acquiring practical training and experience under League auspices in the hospitals of certain Western countries. The chiefs of the different sections in the Central Field Health Station also studied the practical aspects of their subjects abroad in the same way, and in fact



THE NANKING CENTRAL FIELD HEALTH STATION (JUNE, 1933).

this method was used for training medical officers selected for a very large variety of posts in the quarantine, central or local health services of China.

During the whole period of the collaboration between China and the League—that is, from 1929 until the present time—one or more representatives of the League's Health Organisation, have, at the request of the Government, been stationed in China, to advise and assist their Chinese colleagues in building up the various institutions and organisations which form the nucleus of a modern health service and in preparing their programmes of work.

During this period, Chinese medical officers have sat on the Health Committee of the League and on a number of its expert commissions. It is natural that this should be so when matters relating to China are being discussed, for League procedure calls for the presence of a representative of any Government concerned in the work of any League Committee, from the Council to a commission of experts. However, the Chinese experts mentioned above are sitting on these commissions, not only because matters concerning China are to be discussed, but also by virtue of their special competence or knowledge; their presence is due to the contributions they are able to make to the general work of the Committee.

During the period when China was developing these beginnings of her public health and medical services, the Government was engaged in quelling Communist uprisings, in resisting the attack on Shanghai, in dealing with the situation in Manchuria, in caring for the victims of two catastrophic floods, and in developing schools, roads, agriculture and the economic state of China generally. Many of these events threatened seriously to retard the health programme, for the services of the small group of technical officers were requisitioned for first aid work, for the prevention of epidemics among flood victims and for many other emergencies. In addition, the central services were inundated with requests for advice and assistance from provincial and municipal authorities who are rapidly awakening to the need for disease prevention, sanitation and health conservation.

Anyone who is familiar with the conditions in China during this period must be astonished at the progress made in organising on such sound lines the basic health and medical institutions and organisations. While it has been possible for China to secure through the League the disinterested advice and assistance of foreign experts, it should not be forgotten that the work has

been carried on and indeed could only be carried on by the Chinese themselves. It was in recognition of this fact that the Health Committee of the League of Nations at its last session adopted a resolution of which the first and fourth paragraphs read as follows :

“ The Health Committee,

“ Impressed by the success of the work already accomplished in China as a whole, which is wholly due to the efforts of the Administration of that country : . . .

“ Desires to continue its collaboration in the work undertaken and holds it desirable to reply favourably to the request of the Chinese Health Administration that the Health Organisation should continue to be represented in China.”

THE WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION.

RESEARCH STUDIES BY THE ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE SERVICE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

During the past five years, the problem of economic security has occupied to a constantly increasing extent the attention of all those responsible for economic policy, public or private. One Government after another has adopted measures of self-protection against the repercussions of the economic crisis, against forces which originate or are believed to originate abroad. Thus has the policy of economic nationalism developed, and this policy is acclaimed or declaimed as the essential characteristic of the day, or may be of the age. Behind economic nationalism lie, however, forces and phenomena from which it is the natural reaction; those forces are world wide; those phenomena are essentially phenomena of the evolution of the world into an economic unity. The scientist and the inventor reduce or eliminate the impediments to communication or knowledge caused by space. Knowledge is spread round the world by wire or wireless; inventions are sold from one country to another and patent rights expire or, when still confined to certain areas, may affect conditions throughout the world through price, if measures to control price are not taken. The measures actually taken are the deliberate local reactions to world forces. Thus, as man's power to move over the globe is increased is his right to move restricted; as mechanical invention or biological discovery augments man's power of production in one region or another or universally is his right to sell his products curtailed; or, more obscurely but no less vitally, as new economic ideals prove at any moment less or more potent

than the interests that resist them are they barred or broadcast. To every nation in the world, the world has become a more significant—in a sense a more threatening—reality.

Throughout the world, the business man and the statesman are faced by forces which spread through space either as waves of light or heat spread or as spread the microbes of infection. To be controlled they must be understood; to be understood it is necessary to have a knowledge of events and developments, not within a single country only, but throughout the world.

* * *

In the ultimate analysis, all economic activity is directed to the production of goods and services, and there can be no doubt that, over large areas of the globe, production has increased in the last year—indeed, in the last two years. We have passed, since the autumn of 1929, through various phases of a worldwide economic depression. The bottom of that depression, as far as we can judge, was touched during the summer of 1932, although, in certain countries, it may not yet have been reached. The aggregate improvement since the summer of 1932 may be judged by the following world figures that the League has recently published :

	1925-29	1931	1932	1933	1934
Production of foodstuffs	100	102	105	104	102
Raw-material production	100	92	81	89	94
Industrial activity	100	89	78	88	96
Quantum of trade	100	94	81	82.5	85.5
Stocks of raw materials: (excl. U.S.S.R.) (end of years)	100	190	188	178	164
Industrial activity: (excl. U.S.S.R.) (1929 = 100)	—	75	63	71	76
Employment (excl. U.S.S.R.): (1929 = 100)	—	84	75	73	84

There are two facts that emerge from these figures which should arrest our special attention. The first is the steady and very substantial recovery in raw-material production and in industrial activity; the second is the almost complete stagnation of international trade.

In 1934, industrial activity was 23% greater than in 1932, while the quantum of trade was only 5-6% greater.

These aggregate figures, however, although they throw the stagnation of trade into very clear relief, afford perhaps the most favourable picture of the situation that it is possible to give, for they conceal the lack of balance in the world, the unevenness of

the progress and the variety of national experience. While, in some countries, industry has been remarkably active, unemployment has been reduced and prices have been firm or rising, in others, conditions steadily deteriorated, at any rate up to the early summer of this year, and falling prices led to business pessimism and a reduction of activity.

Quite recently, however, the vigorous action which has been taken by the Governments of certain countries particularly affected by the later phases of the depression and the signs of a more widespread recovery in the United States of America have given rise to a sober and conditional optimism.

The revival has been greatest in manufacturing activity and the production of raw materials of mineral origin. The unevenness of the recovery cannot better be illustrated than from the figures of manufacturing activity in different countries.

(Base = Average 1929 = 100)

Country	Average 1932	June 1934	June 1935
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics..	183	244	260 ¹
Japan	98	128	143 ²
Chile	87	100	124
Roumania	89	126	122 ²
Greece	101	132	120 ²
Denmark	91	114	120
Norway	92	105	111
Sweden	79	102	109
Finland	83	113	107
United Kingdom	83	98 ³	104 ³
Hungary	77	98 ³	102 ³
Italy	67	79	94 ⁴
Germany	53	80	94 ⁵
Spain	88	84	84 ⁶
Canada.....	58	75	78
Austria.....	64	74	77 ¹
Belgium	69	64	73 ¹
United States	54	70	72
Czechoslovakia	64	69	68
Poland	54	62	68
Netherlands	62	69	67
France	69	71	66

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has almost trebled her industrial production in six years. In almost half of the other countries mentioned, the production to-day is greater than it

¹ May.

² March.

³ Second quarter.

⁴ 104 in May.

⁵ Includes Saar since March 1935.

⁶ January.

was in 1929; but even there the depression persists. It persists because the balance between one industry and another, between one country and another, has not been adequately re-established.

This unevenness in the degrees of recovery reached constitutes a possible impediment to stable recovery in the future.

Attention has already been drawn to the contrast between the recovery in industry and the almost complete stagnation in trade. If instead of the quantity of goods exchanged the gold value of international trade is considered, there has, indeed, not only been no recovery, but a continual contraction, although at a diminishing rate. By 1934, the value of trade had sunk to a little more than a third of what it had been before the depression started.

	1929	1933	1934	First half	
				1934 *	1935
World Imports	100	35.0	33.7	33.7	33.2
World Exports	100	35.6	34.4	33.9	33.2
World Total	100	35.3	34.0	33.8	33.2

The contraction in the value of trade has persisted in the present year. In 1934, the total trade of the whole world was less in terms of gold francs than was the trade of three countries—the United Kingdom, the United States and Germany—in 1929. It was less than the trade of these three countries five years earlier, and it was still contracting; the contraction continues. It continues, not because the actual quantity of goods exchanged diminishes—on the contrary, there was a slight increase in 1934—but because prices on the world markets still decline. The reduction in the value of trade in 1934 of approximately two-thirds compared with 1929 was due to a decline in quantum of just under a quarter and a decline in prices of just under three-fifths. The decline in gold prices has persisted during the current year and has given rise to a constant and painful pressure on the economy of gold-standard countries.

This constant fall in the prices of goods on world markets has been no doubt the major cause of the restrictions of all kinds that have been imposed in recent years upon imports. Those restrictions, while maintaining prices in certain areas, have further contributed to the decline on the world markets. The tendency towards falling prices, falling value of world trade and falling value of paper currencies persisted throughout 1934. But there were nevertheless certain signs of improvement during the course of that year, and there has been some further improvement in recent months.

One of the first signs of the onset of the depression of 1929 was the fall in the prices of raw materials. In 1934, though

raw-material prices still fell, they fell substantially less in the aggregate and foodstuff prices fell even somewhat less than did the prices of manufactured goods. In consequence, the less wealthy and less economically developed countries in the world can now obtain a greater quantity of the goods they require for what they export, and, since the majority of them are debtor States, the basis of international credit has been strengthened together with the demand for manufactured goods.¹

It was the fall in the price of raw products relatively to the price of manufactured goods that gave rise to restrictions on imports. Industrial States endeavoured to ward off the effects of low prices on their own producers of crude products. Agricultural States endeavoured to maintain their export surplus in the face of a falling market for their products. If the scissors close—if price tendencies are reversed—then at least certain of the causes which have given rise to policy will be affected.

But the improvement in the relationship between the prices of manufactured goods on the one hand and raw materials or foodstuffs on the other, although substantial and apparently still continuing, must not be interpreted as indicating that an equilibrium between agricultural and industrial countries has yet been achieved or is indeed even in sight. The situation of certain agricultural exporting countries has been relieved to some extent by extraordinary measures adopted in the United States of America and elsewhere, and over-production checked by drought. There was some increase in the demand for agricultural products in those countries where industrial activity revived the most. There has been some shift from cereal production to other forms of farming, meat production, dairy-farming, fruit-farming, etc. But the stocks of cereals and of wheat in particular are still excessive, and consumption remains adversely affected at once by the reduced income of many industrial countries and the high prices in certain areas resulting from the restrictions imposed on imports.

The population of the world (exclusive of China) is estimated to have increased in recent years at an average rate of about 1.2% per annum. The index of foodstuffs production prepared by the League has changed but little since 1928; it dropped by some 3% between 1932 and 1934. Perhaps this drop exaggerates

¹ Certain areas were, however, very adversely affected in 1934 by the heavy fall in the prices of their major raw products—*e.g.*, wool by nearly 24% and mutton 12% between December 1933 and May 1935.

the real reduction in supplies owing to the shifts in production referred to. But the figures are at least sufficient to suggest that the needs of a growing population are not being adequately met.

The relationship between the prices of raw and manufactured products is only one of the manifestations of that lack of balance that is impeding recovery. Not less important is the change in relative domestic price-levels as compared with a few years ago. These changes may be seen by comparing national indices of wholesale prices to-day in terms of gold with what they stood at in 1928.

Gold Wholesale Prices.

(71-)	(61-70)	(1928 = 100) (51-60)	(41-50)	9-40)
Germany .. 72	Austria ... 68	Bulgaria .. 58	France..... 50	Australia.. 38
	Latvia ¹ .. 66	Poland ... 53	Netherlands 49	India 38
	Hungary .. 64	China..... 52	Peru 49	Argentina ¹ 36
	Italy 63		Belgium ... 48	Chile ¹ 35
	Czecho-		Denmark .. 48	Japan 28
	slovakia. 62		U. S. A.... 48	
	Switzerland 61		Yugoslavia . 47	
			Egypt 47	
			Greece 47	
			Union of	
			S. Africa . 46	
			U. K. 45	
			Finland 45	
			Canada 44	
			Norway 44	
			Sweden 44	
			New Zealand 44	
			Estonia ... 41	

What, in view of the changes which have taken place during the last few years in national economic structure, may be the gold price-level for each country least apt to give rise to new disturbances in trade or in productive activity, it is impossible to foresee. But the range from 28 in Japan to 72 in Germany is clearly not one which can be permanently maintained. On the other hand, it is significant that the discrepancy between so many important States is to-day so small. Between five of the principal industrial countries—France, the Netherlands, the United States, Belgium and the United Kingdom—it is only about 10%; it is less than 10% between ten members of the sterling group.

Furthermore, although the range of the differences between gold prices no doubt illustrates a lack of balance in the world,

¹ May.

there is no reason whatever for assuming that, if perfect equilibrium existed, the price-levels would bear exactly the same relationship to one another that they did in 1928. On the contrary, there is every reason for thinking that they would not. To quote a single example—though an important one—there are very good reasons for assuming that the British gold prices index, which was perhaps too high in 1928, would be relatively lower and the French index relatively higher than it was then.

Moreover, in recent months, gold prices have with a few exceptions been tending to draw closer together; it would appear that a better equilibrium is gradually being established. That this is the case is confirmed by recent exchange movements. The dollar has been stable since February 1st, 1934, and the pound sterling, which dropped in value during the first eight months of 1933 by 2.6%, and by 6.4% in the same period in 1934, was higher at the end of August last than at the beginning of the year, and apart from the temporary depression in March, when it fell by 5%, has moved within narrow limits.

The gradual establishment of a better equilibrium in the world is facilitated by the fact that, in the majority of countries, the banking and credit situation has greatly improved in the last two years. Real progress has been made in the liquidation of frozen credits; in a growing number of countries banks are liquid and money is cheap; debts have been written down and it is estimated that international short-term debts have been reduced to well under a half of what they were four years ago. If the whole volume of short- and long-term debts still presents a serious and unsettled problem to certain States, in almost all cases arrangements and machinery for renewing arrangements have been made. On the other hand, the disparity of price-levels during the past two years has led to the accumulation in some centres of new commercial debts; certain countries with high price-levels have, in spite of their restrictions on imports (rationing of exchange, prohibitions, tariffs, etc.), imported more goods than they were able to pay for.

In the hope of liquidating this new short-term debt on merchandise account, creditors have demanded in certain cases that a system of clearings be established under which importers in the two contracting States pay the moneys due to them into special accounts in their respective central banks, on which accounts the exporters have a right to draw.

There is one other factor in the general situation to which reference must be made. The world has been suffering from a

triple disequilibrium : disequilibrium in certain areas between prices and costs; disequilibrium in prices and costs between certain areas, and disequilibrium in the degree of recovery achieved.

The domestic disequilibrium between prices and costs has been the major difficulty in all countries which have felt themselves compelled to pursue a deflationary policy in order to force down their level of value to that ruling in the rest of the world. Many elements of the cost structure, such as interest on debt, rent and frequently wages, have proved resistant to the deflationary pressure, with the result that profits have been reduced and economic activity checked.

The international price disequilibrium has already been dealt with.

The disparity in the degree of recovery is perhaps scarcely less important. As equilibrium is established in the world, the yield on capital where risks are not dissimilar will tend to approximate. To-day, the index of industrial securities in the United Kingdom stands somewhat above the level reached in 1928, in the United States at 62%, and in France at 46% of that level. These and similar differences may lead to large movements of investment capital as gradually in one country after another economic activity revives—as revive it must. It is necessary to consider, therefore, not merely the measures which will allow of a wider international exchange of a greater volume of goods, not merely the problem of national cost and price or international price disparities, but also the measures necessary to prevent rapid movements of capital from one centre to another from giving rise to new strains too great for the monetary systems to withstand.

* * *

It is the object of the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations to furnish a part—in fact necessarily a small part—of the information required for the acquisition of the knowledge of events, not within a single country, but throughout the world. The League endeavours to collate, analyse and record certain categories of facts relating to human economic activity that may constitute the raw material for the work of the economist and the legislator.

But the object of its Intelligence Service is by no means confined to supplying information necessary for an understanding of the world we live in and of the broad changes and underlying

forces which characterise that world. Perhaps the most immediate object is to render available in handy form individual items of information concerning a large number of different subjects of economic importance. It is useful, for instance, to be able to find within the covers of a single volume the population of any country in the world, the amount of its public debt, the value of its trade or the nature and quantity of its agricultural and mineral production. Indeed, in initiating this work, the League of Nations has had several, though closely allied, objects in mind. The co-ordination and centralisation of information made public by national administrations by a single organisation relieves each national Government of a considerable amount of work which it would require to carry out itself were this task not performed centrally.

The League is a governmental organisation and its first obligation is to the Governments composing it. Those Governments, however, are severally concerned with the interests of the peoples for which they are responsible, and, in demanding information on this or that question, have had in mind, not only the needs of their various departments, but also those of their general public. The two indeed are not, and should not be, distinct, and the economic intelligence work done at Geneva is intended for both official and public use.

In order to perform the task set it, two, possibly three, distinct types of publication are required.¹

In the first place, it is necessary to collect and display the simple numerical facts about economic structure, activity and development. This collation of facts is the beginning of all science. The three publications issued by the League which contain a simple collection of such numerical facts with explanatory notes are the *Statistical Year-Book*, the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* and *International Trade Statistics*.

The essence of the work lies, not so much in the discovery of the relevant figures, as in the clear definition of the facts to which those figures relate. The statement that a million men are unemployed in one country and two millions in another, does not

¹ Regular economic publications of the League of Nations :

Monthly Bulletin of Statistics (Thursday nearest to 15th), 48 p. ;
Statistical Year-Book, 1935 (May or June), 314 p. ;
International Trade Statistics, 1934 (late autumn), 366 p. ;
World Production and Prices, 1935 (late summer), 156 p. ;
Review of World Trade, 1935 (June or July), 80 p. ;
Balances of Payments, 1934 (late autumn), 199 p. ;
World Economic Survey, 1935 (September), 388 p.

necessarily mean that the total number of persons who did not obtain work in the latter is twice as great as in the former. The statement that a given Government has closed its financial year with a deficit may or may not imply that the national debt has been increased. The basic work therefore is that of understanding and subsequently defining the phenomena.

It was because of these differences in national phenomena and the need for their understanding, that historically the work of the League in furnishing economic information did not begin with, for instance, the *Statistical Year-Book*, but with special memoranda on subjects of importance at the moment. When a sufficient number of subjects had been studied intensively in this way the organisation was equipped with the necessary knowledge to issue its first *Statistical Year-Book*. This was in 1927. The statistics assembled in the *Year-Book* concern: first, the population of the world and of each country, territory or island that constitutes a recording unit, the area of these territories, the division of that population by age groups and occupations, births, marriages, and deaths, employment and unemployment; then the results of that population's economic activity: the production of a long list of foodstuffs and raw materials, indices of industrial output; the means of transport: railways, motor vehicles, registered shipping, etc.; finally, the financial structure: currency, commercial bank deposits, budget accounts, public debt, prices, exchange rates, discount rates, wages.

The amount of economic information available to-day affords a proof at once of the extraordinarily elaborate nature of modern economic organisation and, despite great local differences, of its universality. From the mass of statistics published it is necessary to make a restricted and manageable selection and the *Year-Book* is a selection. It is a selection of subjects—but to the principle of universality strict adherence is given whenever possible. Thus Uganda is not omitted from the table on tin ore production because her output amounts to only a few thousand tons, or Liberia from that on motor-cycles because there are there only ten. The object is to make it as complete a book of reference as possible on the subjects which it covers.

A different principle is employed, however, in a companion publication, also confined to numerical statements—namely, the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*. This *Bulletin* is intended to furnish a current indication of the state of business throughout the world. Such an indication can best be given by restricting the data selected within narrow, though not unchanging, limits. No

business man wants a monthly dictionary. No international institution can give him day to day information about the tone of the particular markets in which he is himself concerned. That he must get from his order book and his correspondents. What the League does endeavour to supply is general information about the broad development in all the main countries of the world of those economic affairs which necessarily go to determine the state of individual markets—the trend of production, of trade, of prices, of exchange rates, of employment.

Two criteria are actually employed when deciding the selection of data. First, there is no general agreement concerning what are the best indicators of business conditions and prospects, and indeed the value of any one varies greatly from time to time. In consequence, a sufficiently large selection must be given to allow for individual choice and for changes in significance.

The width of the choice is also determined in part by the second criterion mentioned above—the simple provision of a limited amount of current information, such, for instance, as the trade of any and all countries—and by the fact that the League has deliberately eschewed making prognostics. It has confined itself to the more modest task of trying to help others to form their own judgments.

Both the *Year-Book* and the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, and the same is true of the annual volume on *International Trade Statistics*, are works of reference intended to answer for each country and for a multitude of subjects “how much was it”; “how much has it changed”?

But most of the other economic and financial publications issued by the League are quite different from these strictly statistical volumes in their nature and they are intended to answer quite different questions. In such volumes as *World Production and Prices* and the *Review of World Trade*, for instance, the unit primarily considered is the world—not the individual State—and this unit is then divided up into continental, or empire groups, and subdivided finally into its original component parts, the State or the statistical area. It is believed that lessons of importance can be learned from this aggregation and subsequent analysis of information drawn from all the quarters of the globe.

What is the nature of the questions which these world reviews are intended to answer? The questions naturally vary from year to year as world conditions vary. But certain of them are considered regularly. Thus we attempt each year to answer the questions—how much has the value or the quantum of world

trade changed; has there been a greater or less production of raw materials, of foodstuffs, of industrial products?

Behind trade lies production, and the type of questions dealt with in the volume on production is naturally similar to those considered above. In the last review of *World Production*, three central questions are discussed—to what extent has the production of different commodities or groups of commodities been affected by the depression or recovered in recent months; what correlation is to be found between the visible stocks of commodities and their price; how far has the consumption of different commodities been affected in recent years, and, in this connection, has such reduction in stocks as has taken place since 1932 (or 1931) resulted from more effective control of production or from an expansion of demand?

For other branches of economics it is either necessary, owing to the nature of the subject, to confine the studies to a comparison of what has happened in different States or only possible to aggregate the information for a limited number of States owing to the insufficiency of the published data.

The studies that are made of the balances of payments of a number of countries illustrate both points. Estimates of the financial transactions on account of commodity trade, tourist traffic, services rendered, capital movements, etc., are available to-day for over thirty countries. Most of these are furnished direct to the League by Governments and drawn up on a common system. Were they complete and prepared by all countries, it would be possible to calculate the total movement of funds for each item of the account. But at present they are too restricted in number to render this possible. The majority of the most important countries of the world, however, do make at any rate partial estimates and it is possible from them to give a general survey each year of long-term capital movements, debt-service transfers, and tourist expenditure.

These particular studies afford a good example of the measures taken by the League to stimulate the compilation of economic statistics in different countries. The first edition was published in 1924 and contained thirteen estimates; the volume published in 1933 contained thirty-two; the trade of these thirty-two States amounts to 71% of world trade. Every year since 1924, the League has sent out a letter to Governments, together with a form and an explanatory memorandum, asking them to furnish returns. States vary widely in their economic structure, in their administrative practice and in the completeness of their statistical

organisation. The form circulated therefore is sent as a guide and not a prescription; it is a norm to which each State may with advantage approach and adhere to the extent to which local conditions permit. By this means uniformity is promoted without the facts to which the figures refer being distorted. It is only by respect for real differences that ultimate agreement can be reached.

This volume on the balances of payments, reviewing as it does in its introduction international capital movements and the state of the capital markets, forms a bridge between the economic and the strictly financial studies prepared by the League.

It is easier to-day to conceal a credit in a budget or hide an asset (when it exists) in a bank's balance-sheet than to escape the vigilance of a Customs official. The degree of accuracy in many of the financial statistics rendered available is therefore frequently much lower than in economic statistics. But the general tendencies with which, for instance, the volume on *Commercial Banks* are concerned cannot be concealed. The extraordinarily rapid increase in deposits in the four years up to 1929, amounting for the forty countries for which aggregate figures are given to approximately 20%, the subsequent collapse, the shift of funds during the year of depression from direct commercial business—discounts, loans and advances—to investments mainly in Government securities, the growth of cash reserves, all these broad movements are clearly illustrated by the figures, though the degree of real change in one country or another may be a question for speculation.

But it remains true that, in recent years, the presence or absence of confidence has been of such predominant importance that the most significant facts relating to banking, currency and credit are not those that can be expressed in figures. For this reason, the volumes on commercial banking, while summarising the balance-sheets of commercial banks in a number of countries, have been largely historical as well as statistical. Their introductions are principally concerned with the story of events, the outbreak of crisis here, the flight of capital from country to country, the hoarding of unknown quantities of gold, the liquidation of the frozen and the excessive liquidity of the unfrozen. It is not the primary object of the League to produce statistics, but to give information. When that information can be expressed in figures, figures are employed, for they have the merit of precision and brevity. But confidence, like faith that inspires it, is not measurable. The introduction to the last volume on

Commercial Banks is, in consequence, rather a review of events than an analysis of statistics. But as confidence returns and bank balance-sheets represent to a greater extent, not frozen positions, but business transacted, its form will change.

It has been shown that, in the series of volumes published, the *Statistical Year-Book* and *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, which state a fact simply as a figure without comment other than that required for definition, constitute one extreme. From that extreme, through the volume on *International Trade Statistics*, the more occasional studies on *Public Finance*, the reviews on *Production and Trade* and on *Balances of Payments*, to the volume on *Commercial Banks*, there is a gradual progression from collection and definition to analysis, and from analysis to review. The other extreme of the series is formed by the *World Economic Survey*.

The purpose of this *Survey* is to put together in a form that the layman may understand the results of the various studies carried out by the Service, to throw them into perspective and to supplement them both by information drawn from other sources such as the International Labour Office and by a simple historical account of recent events. It is thus an historical record relying largely, not upon the daily Press, but upon a prior scientific analysis of recent economic phenomena. It is because the League is equipped to make these prior analytical studies that it was considered a suitable organisation to undertake the *Survey*. Society is still so organised that the majority of major economic phenomena result from the independent though parallel action of millions of individuals acting upon their own initiative. Each act has a fractional influence on price, or production or demand; the nature of the aggregate of those acts becomes gradually apparent in the changes which take place in the mass of economic data which has been referred to above. To an understanding and survey of recent events in the world, a study and analysis of those data is an essential preliminary.

These regular publications of the League constitute the backbone of its economic and financial information service. They do not constitute the whole. From time to time, as, for instance, on the occasion of the Economic Conference of 1927, other subjects are treated—such as population, cartels, commercial policy, tariff levels, estimates of the working population of certain countries in 1931 and 1941, etc.

Among the more recent occasional publications issued by the League on economic or financial questions, two may be mentioned :

first, a volume prepared for a delegation appointed to study certain aspects of the monetary use of gold upon the legislation on gold in different countries, secondly, a complete collection of the monetary and central banking laws in force in thirty countries at the end of 1929. When in more recent years one country after another suspended vital parts of their monetary legislation, it was decided to print this collection so far as it was completed in proof form and not extend it. As it stands, however, it constitutes the most complete collection of its kind in existence and, it may be hoped, will before long be in demand by Governments desirous of introducing legislation not for suspension only.

A different class of information is furnished by the reports of League advisers resident in certain countries, such as Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria to-day, or of the Financial or Economic Committees. In all cases, these reports differ in one essential principle from those of the Secretariat of the League : they are concerned in one way or another with questions of policy. The Secretariat publications are concerned, not with policy, but with fact; they make no criticism of policy; they propound no doctrine.

In addition to these regular publications, others are occasionally submitted to the Council by special delegations appointed by it to study and report upon some question of public interest. Of these, perhaps the best known are the three reports of the Gold Delegation.¹

Complementary to the work of collation, analysis and review is that of endeavouring to secure that the gaps in available information are filled and that a degree of uniformity is secured in the manner in which national records are kept.

Very remarkable progress has been made in the last fourteen years in the amount and the accuracy of information made available to the public. But serious gaps still exist, the extent of which is not perhaps realised by amateurs of modern planning! The basis of economics is still supply and demand—production and consumption. About the production of crude materials, a vast mass of information is made public; about variations in industrial activity, we are very much better informed than ten

¹ Interim Report of the Gold Delegation of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, published 1930.

Second Interim Report of the Gold Delegation of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, published 1931.

Report of the Gold Delegation of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, published 1932.

years ago. But about the production in the majority of countries of all those goods which we buy when we have fed, housed and clothed ourselves—with the exception of motor-cars and radio sets—we know almost nothing, and, about consumption, we know less. It is changes in the pattern of demand, however, in the nature of our consumption that constitute one of the greatest dynamic forces in economics to-day. We shall only really understand what is happening when our information about retail business is as great as about our mines. This lack of information about the production of secondary articles and consumption in general constitutes two of what may be considered the three most important gaps in our knowledge to-day. The third is the absence of adequate information about the capitalisation of business and capital movements. Statistics of public capital issues are, it is true, available in a number of countries and the amount of long-term foreign loans raised can in most cases be ascertained. But in no country do public issues constitute more than a fraction—though in some cases an important fraction—of new capital employed for productive (or unproductive) purposes—and our knowledge of short-term international capital movements, which have so widely affected the economy of nations in recent years, is based on indirect inferences, at their best ingenious, at their worst crude guesses.

The League has, in fact, concerned itself with this problem almost from the outset of its existence, and, as a result of its endeavours, a Convention on Economic Statistics was signed in Geneva in 1928, which has been ratified by twenty-four States and is operative wholly or in part in a number of others. This Convention does not lay down rules so rigid that their application would prove impracticable in States with dissimilar economic systems, but certain guiding principles for action and certain essential definitions. It marks the first stage in a long journey. This journey is being continued to-day by experts appointed for that purpose in accordance with one of the articles of the Convention. They will have far to go before they reach their goal; how rapidly they will approach it will depend on the help they receive on their way, not only from Governments, but from bankers and industrialists, merchants and manual labourers—indeed, from all those whose daily work contributes to the national dividend.

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUNG PERSONS.

In broaching the problems of unemployment among young persons, the International Labour Organisation is dealing with one of the fundamental difficulties that the world has had to face since unemployment became rife in the majority of countries. Apart from their economic and social aspects, these difficulties constitute a direct menace to the future of civilisation, while their present effect is to impose a heavy load of daily care on millions of young persons who, do what they will, are deprived of all possibility of taking up a definite career.

A large proportion of the younger generation are in a sort of labyrinth. They seek to escape through the channels which formerly led towards work, independence and material betterment, only to find that most of the exists have become dead ends. Accumulated individual despair breeds discontent and discouragement which do not augur well for the future of society. The loss of taste and ability for work, the feeling of despair which gradually replaces the idealistic and optimistic conceptions innate in the soul of youth, and their undermining effect on the mind and character of masses of young persons condemned to involuntary idleness must certainly engender very serious consequences.

Now, while it has to be admitted that unemployment among young persons is merely one aspect of unemployment in general and that efficient remedies are to be found only within the general measures taken to combat the depression, it is none the less true that the magnitude of juvenile unemployment¹ and, even more so, its dangerous moral and cultural repercussions call for special measures, such as have already been taken in a number of countries.

Some of these measures aim at extending the school life of boys and girls, others at providing unemployed juveniles with opportunities for vocational or general instruction or some sort of material or moral assistance in centres specially set up for such purposes, while others, again, have as their object the establishment of centres of productive occupation for young unemployed persons.

In dealing with this question, the International Labour Office had to take account of the diversity of the plans proposed and of

¹ On the basis of statistics compiled in the different countries, the International Labour Office estimated that at the beginning of 1935 the number of unemployed juveniles under 25 years of age was approximately 6 or 7 millions.

the necessity of recommending measures which, on account of their variety and elasticity, would be adaptable to the requirements of the different States.

The nineteenth session of the International Labour Conference, which met in June 1935, was asked to prepare draft international regulations relating to unemployment among young persons, on the basis of a report submitted by the International Labour Office.¹ The report surveyed the measures taken in the different countries in this matter and suggested in the light of that analysis that a recommendation and two resolutions should be adopted. The International Labour Conference followed the suggestions of the Office. It set aside the idea of an international draft Convention, the preparation of which would have entailed the usual long procedure of double discussion, and declared in favour of the immediate adoption of a recommendation advising the States Members to adopt a certain number of measures already tried in a number of countries.

The debates of the Conference took place in a very animated atmosphere. Long before the opening of the session, public opinion had displayed lively interest in the action which it was expected would be taken. Private international organisations, national organisations of all shades and tendencies had discussed the problem and had forwarded to the Office the resolutions which they had adopted. Moreover, the Child Welfare Committee, an advisory body attached to the League of Nations, had also studied the effects of the economic depression and unemployment on children and young persons. International youth organisations of all tendencies had sent petitions to the Conference calling for energetic and prompt action in favour of unemployed juveniles. The Socialist Youth International and the International Federation of Trade Unions had collected over 150,000 signatures; the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions and the Christian Young Workers—more than 85,000. A number of other international organisations had also put their claims before the Conference.

From the opening day of the session, the President of the Conference received a large number of telegrams expressing the solidarity of numerous national and local groups with the petitioners. On June 5th, 1935, the Officers of the Conference received deputations from the international organisations desiring to back their petitions by word of mouth; during these proceedings,

¹ International Labour Office : " Unemployment among Young Persons " . Geneva, 1935.

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUNG PERSONS.

In broaching the problems of unemployment among young persons, the International Labour Organisation is dealing with one of the fundamental difficulties that the world has had to face since unemployment became rife in the majority of countries. Apart from their economic and social aspects, these difficulties constitute a direct menace to the future of civilisation, while their present effect is to impose a heavy load of daily care on millions of young persons who, do what they will, are deprived of all possibility of taking up a definite career.

A large proportion of the younger generation are in a sort of labyrinth. They seek to escape through the channels which formerly led towards work, independence and material betterment, only to find that most of the exists have become dead ends. Accumulated individual despair breeds discontent and discouragement which do not augur well for the future of society. The loss of taste and ability for work, the feeling of despair which gradually replaces the idealistic and optimistic conceptions innate in the soul of youth, and their undermining effect on the mind and character of masses of young persons condemned to involuntary idleness must certainly engender very serious consequences.

Now, while it has to be admitted that unemployment among young persons is merely one aspect of unemployment in general and that efficient remedies are to be found only within the general measures taken to combat the depression, it is none the less true that the magnitude of juvenile unemployment¹ and, even more so, its dangerous moral and cultural repercussions call for special measures, such as have already been taken in a number of countries.

Some of these measures aim at extending the school life of boys and girls, others at providing unemployed juveniles with opportunities for vocational or general instruction or some sort of material or moral assistance in centres specially set up for such purposes, while others, again, have as their object the establishment of centres of productive occupation for young unemployed persons.

In dealing with this question, the International Labour Office had to take account of the diversity of the plans proposed and of

¹ On the basis of statistics compiled in the different countries, the International Labour Office estimated that at the beginning of 1935 the number of unemployed juveniles under 25 years of age was approximately 6 or 7 millions.

the necessity of recommending measures which, on account of their variety and elasticity, would be adaptable to the requirements of the different States.

The nineteenth session of the International Labour Conference, which met in June 1935, was asked to prepare draft international regulations relating to unemployment among young persons, on the basis of a report submitted by the International Labour Office.¹ The report surveyed the measures taken in the different countries in this matter and suggested in the light of that analysis that a recommendation and two resolutions should be adopted. The International Labour Conference followed the suggestions of the Office. It set aside the idea of an international draft Convention, the preparation of which would have entailed the usual long procedure of double discussion, and declared in favour of the immediate adoption of a recommendation advising the States Members to adopt a certain number of measures already tried in a number of countries.

The debates of the Conference took place in a very animated atmosphere. Long before the opening of the session, public opinion had displayed lively interest in the action which it was expected would be taken. Private international organisations, national organisations of all shades and tendencies had discussed the problem and had forwarded to the Office the resolutions which they had adopted. Moreover, the Child Welfare Committee, an advisory body attached to the League of Nations, had also studied the effects of the economic depression and unemployment on children and young persons. International youth organisations of all tendencies had sent petitions to the Conference calling for energetic and prompt action in favour of unemployed juveniles. The Socialist Youth International and the International Federation of Trade Unions had collected over 150,000 signatures; the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions and the Christian Young Workers—more than 85,000. A number of other international organisations had also put their claims before the Conference.

From the opening day of the session, the President of the Conference received a large number of telegrams expressing the solidarity of numerous national and local groups with the petitioners. On June 5th, 1935, the Officers of the Conference received deputations from the international organisations desiring to back their petitions by word of mouth; during these proceedings,

¹ International Labour Office : " Unemployment among Young Persons ". Geneva, 1935.

the majority of the delegates to the Conference showed their interest in the question by remaining in the Conference Hall. Apart from the official reception, processions of unemployed juveniles from various countries and public meetings organised by youth organisations created an atmosphere of real interest around the Conference by establishing between its debates and the outside world a spirit of close contact extremely useful for the work of the International Labour Organisation.

It must also be said that, within the Conference itself, the necessity for prompt and efficient action on behalf of unemployed juveniles met with the support of a very strong majority. Conspicuous by their absence were those manifestations of opposition based on principle which more than once have paralysed the work of the Conference. In this instance, Governments, employers and workers were agreed to ask the States Members to apply measures which had already been tested in a certain number of countries. Some of the delegates would have preferred to see the Conference acting with less rapidity and the double-discussion procedure maintained, but finally, after a thorough study of the question in committee, the Conference adopted by 106 votes to none the recommendation which has now been submitted to the States Members for approval.

This recommendation is composed of seven parts, of which the first deals with the school-leaving age and the age for admission to employment, and to general and vocational education. The primary aim here is to hold up the influx of young workers to the labour market by fixing at 15 years the minimum age for leaving school and being admitted to employment. The adoption of proposals on this subject met with some opposition on the part of certain Government and employers' delegates, who put forward arguments both of a constitutional nature (incompetence of the International Labour Organisation to deal with educational questions) and of a financial order (the impossibility of applying the proposed reforms during a period of depression and budgetary difficulties). The great majority of the Conference was however of the opinion that the social and economic character of the proposals made fully justified their inclusion in the recommendation, and consequently, following the adoption of an amendment proposed by the employers, the following wording for the first paragraph was approved :

“ The minimum age for leaving school and being admitted to employment should be fixed at not less than 15 years, as soon as circumstances permit.”

The following paragraphs stipulate that juveniles over the school-leaving age who are unable to find suitable employment should be required to continue full-time attendance at school until suitable employment is available for them. The Conference further recommended that, in countries where compulsory education was not yet in force, it should be introduced as soon as possible.

In order to facilitate the enforcement of the measures proposed, the recommendation requires that the public authorities should, when necessary, grant maintenance allowances during the additional periods of education. The Conference considered that the curricula for juveniles whose education is prolonged should be designed primarily to promote their general education, but should also include a certain preparation for their future work. Measures should also be adopted to encourage juveniles with the necessary aptitudes to attend secondary or technical schools.

In addition to these provisions relating to elementary education and the encouragement of secondary and technical studies, the Conference urged that juveniles who are no longer in full-time attendance at school, should, until they reach the age of 18, be required to attend continuation classes and that where such attendance is not compulsory for all juveniles it should at least be made so for unemployed juveniles. Finally, the Conference urged that measures should be taken to allow young persons to attend continuation classes even after they have found employment.

All the above measures apply to juveniles under 18 years of age. But, in addition to this class of young unemployed person, the Conference also discussed the lot of young adults aged between 18 and 25 years. Whereas in the case of juveniles proper it was essential to consider measures intended to promote their general education and vocational training, in the case of young adults the measures to be taken refer more particularly to their placing in regular or casual employment or, in the absence of such employment, in vocational training and readaptation centres. The recommendation adopted by the Conference therefore calls for the establishment of vocational training centres with facilities for general education, such centres to be organised in conjunction with the workers' and employers' associations. The persons responsible for giving courses at such centres should be suitably remunerated and should be selected, whenever possible, from among qualified unemployed young persons. Persons attending a course or centre should be allowed supplementary grants to cover their necessary travelling expenses.

The Conference also discussed measures for young persons who fail to find employment on the termination of secondary, technical or higher studies. It recommended that steps should be taken to enable such persons to supplement their theoretical training by obtaining practical experience in industrial, commercial and other undertakings and in public administration, and to facilitate their continued attendance at the institution where they terminated their technical or higher studies or at some other institution where they might improve their technical knowledge or develop their general culture. Finally, measures should be taken to give such persons information concerning overcrowded occupations and to assist them to overcome prejudices which constitute an obstacle to their occupational readjustment.

Having thus laid down a system of general and vocational education for unemployed juveniles, the Conference urged that it should be supplemented by measures for the utilisation of their spare time and the organisation of social services. The recommendation proposes the creation of recreational centres, physical-training centres, reading-rooms, etc., stating that such centres should not be reserved exclusively for the unemployed, but should also, with a view to avoiding any systematic separation of employed and unemployed, be open to young employed persons. Such centres should be under the supervision of a qualified person, but their activities should be arranged as far as possible by co-operation with and among the young persons themselves.

In this connection, too, the Conference urged that the public authorities should assist educational and other social services organised for the young unemployed by trade organisations and other associations.

The following section of the recommendation deals with special employment centres for unemployed juveniles and gave rise to lively objections on the part of certain delegates to the Conference.

In preparing its draft recommendation, the International Labour Office had taken into account the many plans tried in various countries to provide productive work for young unemployed persons. In practically every case, such measures have taken the form of special employment centres where the young unemployed are brought together with a view to performing various kinds of manual work (very often, public work of different sorts) under other than normal conditions of employment and where educational facilities are provided. In most countries, the establishment of such centres had given rise to criticism especially

on the part of the workers' organisations who saw in them an element of unfair competition and who denounced the so-called "labour camps" as a pretext for giving a military training to the younger generation. After a study of the experiments made—all of them of recent date—the International Labour Office decided that, without positively recommending the establishment of employment centres, due account had to be taken of their existence in a large number of countries and their organisation so supervised as to prevent them from becoming a source of competition to ordinary workers and a means for giving military training to the young.

At the Conference, two different opinions were expressed. The employers' delegates and a few of the workers' representatives (the British and Canadian workers' delegates in particular) objected to the inclusion in the recommendation of any reference to employment centres, basing their opposition on one or other of the considerations already mentioned (danger of militarisation of the young and the risk of unfair competition for normally employed persons). Largely as a result, however, of the reports made by United States employers and workers on the fine achievements of the employment centres in that country, the vast majority of the Government and worker delegates expressed the opinion that it was preferable to insert in the recommendation safeguards for the organisation and working of such centres rather than allow them to develop outside all international regulations.

With regard to the safeguards themselves, the Conference recommended that the centres should be strictly voluntary and that every care should be taken to prevent them from becoming institutions for military training. Privately organised centres should be under the supervision of the public civil authorities. The work done in such centres should be such as to avoid competition with workers in normal employment and all work should as far as possible be appropriate to the age, sex, strength and occupation of the person concerned. The recommendation also embodies a number of provisions relating to the internal organisation of the centres, the remuneration and working conditions of young persons employed there, and the utilisation of their spare time. These provisions state that the time spent on productive employment should be considerably less than forty hours a week, so as to allow the inclusion in the programmes of centres of adequate provision for general education, vocational training, games, sports and free time. Other provisions deal with the recruiting and training of the staff of centres, which should be

placed under the supervision of a central supervisory committee composed of representatives of the most representative organisations of workers and employers and of the public departments responsible for placing, public works, education, etc.

The Conference was of opinion that the creation of special employment centres was not the only way of employing juvenile unemployed productively and that it was desirable to organise for them special public works, suitable to the age and occupation of the persons concerned and likely to serve as training for young persons who have terminated secondary or higher studies.

The next section of the recommendation deals with the organisation of placing facilities for young unemployed persons and the development of opportunities for normal employment, which obviously constitute the ultimate goal of all measures taken to alleviate unemployment. The necessity for special placing arrangements for adolescents has been universally recognised. The actual work of placing has to be accompanied by vocational guidance, the aim of which is not merely to put "the right man in the right place", but also to prevent the engagement of young workers in blind-alley occupations offering no future prospects.

The recommendation takes due account of the special nature of juvenile placing services. It urges that the national system of public employment exchanges should include special arrangements for the placing of juveniles. It suggests that the special services responsible for the placing of juveniles should seek to place young persons in suitable occupations and that they should include a vocational guidance department or be co-ordinated with independent bodies for vocational guidance.

Without going so far as to suggest that no juveniles should be placed in employment otherwise than through the medium of the public employment exchanges—a stipulation recently made in several countries—the recommendation urges that employers should be required to notify the local juvenile placing service of vacancies for juveniles and of any engagements of juveniles which they have made without recourse to the placing service.

Other provisions of the recommendation deal with the supervision of the results of placings made, with a view to furthering the prospects of the juveniles; the development of relations between the public employment exchanges and other public authorities and particularly the education authorities; and the vocational readaptation of young persons of 18 years of age and over.

The Conference further recommended that measures should be taken to transfer to expanding occupations and to districts in which such occupations are carried on young persons who are without employment in districts where the principal industries appear to be in permanent decline.

Another provision urges Governments to conclude agreements for the purpose of facilitating the international exchange of student employees—that is to say, of young persons desirous of improving their vocational qualifications by a knowledge of the customs of other countries.

Finally, present attempts to promote re-employment by a reduction in ordinary hours of work should be pursued with special vigour in respect of employment in which young persons are engaged.

The last section of the recommendation is devoted to statistics relating to young unemployed persons. The International Labour Office had come to the conclusion that juvenile unemployment figures are very incomplete and that at present it is impossible to form an accurate idea of the extent of this phenomenon and its acuteness in the various branches of employment, definite knowledge of which is essential to all efficient remedial measures. Following the suggestions of the Office, the Conference recommended that the unemployment insurance institutions, public employment exchanges and other institutions which compile unemployment statistics should extend the scope of their statistics so as to embody information on all aspects of juvenile unemployment. For the purpose of supplementing such statistics and in substitution for them where they do not exist, the Conference urged that special enquiries should be made with a view to obtaining information on such matters as the length of unemployment among juveniles and the occupational history of the persons concerned.

Finally, taking into account the difference still existing in certain countries between the school-leaving age and the age for admission to employment, the recommendation suggests that annual returns should be compiled showing the number of children still under the school-leaving age who during the year have been engaged in employment out of school hours.

The recommendation was completed by a number of resolutions, the most important of which requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to place on the agenda of an early session of the Conference the revision of the Conventions fixing the minimum age for admission to employment in industry,

at sea, in agriculture and in non-industrial occupations so as to raise the minimum age to 15, and also the questions of vocational guidance, apprenticeship and the technical education of young workers.

* * *

Such are the practical results of the debates of the International Labour Conference on unemployment among young persons. Before passing judgment on these results, it should be remembered that the International Labour Organisation has no power to impose international legislation on the States Members, and that it can achieve its aims only by persuasion. This is especially true when, as in the present case, it is a question of some problem which does not admit of a rigid or uniform solution, but which requires each State to make a choice from a number of measures calculated to alleviate juvenile unemployment. As the Swiss workers' representative stated at the Conference, in a matter of this kind, the mission of the International Labour Organisation is to collect rapidly what information is necessary in order to find remedies, to bring this information to the knowledge of those concerned, to co-ordinate the steps taken by Governments, and to do what it can to ensure that uniform legislation becomes a reality in the shortest possible time.

At the same time, even if applied in their totality, the recommendations of the Conference will certainly not provide a complete solution for the problem of juvenile unemployment. To quote another delegate to the Conference—namely, the Government delegate of the United States—juvenile unemployment is a complex problem which can be solved only by general measures of reconstruction affecting all other classes of unemployed persons. But, within the limit of its competence and even admitting that its proposals are mere palliatives and not a definite solution, the Conference has certainly accomplished a useful task in showing the States how the present situation can be improved. It has indicated that compulsory education can be reformed through raising the school-leaving age and by its authority and well-chosen economic and social arguments has furthered a reform which the interests of education itself demand. It has provided useful information on the organisation of the education of unemployed juveniles and on their occupational readaptation to the present state of the labour market. It has defined with clarity the conditions which should obtain in special employment centres for young persons by urging that they should be organised on a

non-military and voluntary basis. It has even put forward suggestions for the rational organisation of placing facilities and vocational guidance for young persons. And, finally, it has drawn attention to the necessity for extending the scope of statistics dealing with juvenile unemployment, so as to make the assistance of the unemployed more efficacious.

To sum up, the International Labour Conference has succeeded in including in its recommendation a number of suggestions which must now be taken into consideration by all States faced with the necessity of taking energetic measures against the grave menace to their future which the continued unemployment of thousands of young persons is bound to foster.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN.

The recent meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations took decisions which promise to make a substantial contribution to the solution of the fundamental social problem of our day—the adjustment which every country is being forced to seek between its traditional social organisation on the one hand and, on the other, modern modes of living in an industrialised world. It decided that the League should examine the existing political, civil and economic status of women under the laws of the different countries. It sent to the International Labour Organisation an expression of its hope that that body would examine the status of women as this touches their right to work. It requested that body to look again into the international labour Conventions which have been drawn up by its Conferences during the past fifteen years to see whether any of these may, in their endeavour to protect the health and well-being of women engaged in industrial or other work, actually be detrimental to women's right to work. The Assembly suggested that the women's international organisations too should continue their study of the whole question of the political and civil status of women and submit their findings and conclusions to the League.

A broadly based enquiry has thus been set on foot. At its conclusion, evidence will be collected by both official and unofficial bodies. Governments will present a picture of the place of women in national life under their constitutions. The view presented by the voluntary organisations may be sketched from another standpoint—that of the common experience of the working woman, the professional woman, the wife and mother—and will provide illustration and commentary for the legal exposition.

The process of obtaining this information in the fifty-nine countries Members of the League will scarcely go unmarked by those interested in the development of the organs and forms of social living. It would be surprising indeed, if the mere activity of collecting data did not result in readjustments here and developments there. Most important of all, this mere process of enquiry cannot take place without affecting, to however slight a degree, current thinking about the function of women in modern society. The terms of the enquiry contain no statement of view : but the existence of such study implies the recognition of a problem touching the welfare of people, and a predisposition to attempt its solution.

This does not mean, however, that the impulse to study this important aspect of modern social development has been imposed upon its Members by the League. On the contrary, there is substantial evidence in support of a quite opposite thesis. And, indeed, such a thesis would be more in keeping with the character of the League organisation and its usual method of work. Before a resolution calling for simultaneous action on the part of all Governments was adopted by a League Assembly, there should have been evident in the public opinion behind many of those Governments a strong urge for this action. Such an urge did plainly exist before the question of equality of status of women was placed on the agenda of a League Assembly. It was manifested in many ways, none perhaps more marked than the growing concern exhibited by the international organisations of women.

Different international organisations of women have been directing attention to this problem since the suffrage days. Two points are worthy of note in connection with their general treatment of the question : (1) the persistency with which the problem has been brought forward at conference after conference; (2) the progressive broadening of the basis of discussion, from the rather academic claim of equal rights under the law which did not pause to work out the conclusions of this claim in terms of every-day life to the not less sweeping but more realistic claim for equality of opportunity in the exercise of civil and social functions in modern society. This broadening process, it should be noted, was stimulated by the necessity of facing the new social problems produced by the economic depression.

The terms in which the question was first raised by organisations of women seemed, perhaps, rather academic. The legal experts who met at The Hague in 1930 at the Conference for the Codification of International Law were faced with appeals from several of these groups urging that they should not embody in any international convention on nationality, laws or regulations whose effect is to discriminate against women or limit their liberty of choosing their nationality. At the same time, these bodies presented an "Equal Rights Treaty" pressing for its adoption by all Members of the League. This treaty bound its signatories immediately to enact the necessary legislation to ensure equal treatment of men and women in all aspects of civil life governed by law. It was not, however, within the competence of the members of the Hague Codification Conference to discuss or recommend to Governments any new agreements touching the legal status of women. Their business was merely to codify existing legislation. For this reason, the "Equal Rights Treaty" was never officially discussed by the Hague Conference.

It made its next appearance in South America. At the Conference of American States held in Montevideo (December 4th to 26th, 1933), the Inter-American Commission of Women urged its principle upon the attention of the delegates present.

The Montevideo Conference as a whole decided that it could not conclude a treaty on the granting of civil and political rights to men and women without infringing the sovereignty of States. Equality of rights of citizens, they considered, could be assured only by each individual Government in keeping with its national laws, institutions and customs. They therefore adopted a resolution recommending the Governments of the American States "to endeavour, in so far as their own internal constitution and custom would permit, to establish the maximum of equality between men and women in all matters pertaining to the possession, enjoyment and exercise of civil and political rights".

Four States taking part in the Montevideo Conference signed the Equal Rights Treaty among themselves (not as an act of that Conference). These were Uruguay, Paraguay, Ecuador and Cuba. These States bound themselves to take sweeping action :

"*Article 1.*—The Contracting States agree that, upon ratification of this Treaty, men and women shall have equal rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions."

This treaty, declared its signatories, would remain open long enough for every country in the world to accede to it. It was to enter into effect in the States which ratified it as soon as two ratifications had been deposited with the Uruguayan Government.

Meanwhile, the economic depression continued. Many countries tried to stem the course of growing unemployment by taking women out of work in the hope that this would provide more work for men, the traditional breadwinners. Restrictions were imposed in particular upon the work of married women. Unfortunately, these strictures did little to relieve the general distress. In many cases, it was found that to impede the woman's work was to handicap the breadwinner of the family: while, in the professional classes, to remove a woman from her career was to throw into unemployment domestic servants, seamstresses, etc. It grew daily more clear that the "status" of women as it affects their opportunities for training and work was no mere question of privilege for one element of society. It was bound up with the material basis of the home in modern society, where the home is no longer a productive, almost self-supporting unit, but a small house or flat equipped with modern machinery and close to the resources of city shops; it touched the welfare of children, the integrity of the family group; it affected the inter-relation of all aspects of community life and hence the essential stability of the social economy. It is in this sense that the question of the status of women as a whole has been considered by the Assembly of the League.

* * *

The problem was officially brought to the notice of the Assembly on September 26th, 1934, when the President received a letter signed by ten American States¹ urging that "in consideration of the fact that the League of Nations is an international organisation designed to defend human rights, . . . the League take cognisance of the present widespread and alarming encroachments upon the rights and liberties of women"; further, "recognising that the League has no more loyal supporters in its work for international peace than the women of the world", they said they believed "that the League should show its appreciation of the services of women by giving immediate attention

¹ These were : Peru, Cuba, Bolivia, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Argentine, Haiti, Honduras and Uruguay.

to every circumstance imperilling their welfare". These ten States suggested that this could be done by bringing before the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations the problem of the "entire status of women", giving particular attention to the Equal Rights Treaty that had been signed by four Governments at Montevideo.

It was decided that the following Assembly meeting in September 1935 would discuss this problem. In January 1935, the Council decided that, in preparation for this coming discussion, the Secretary-General should be authorised to seek and circulate to delegations at the 1935 Assembly "statements from the women's international organisations, or any committee of representatives of those organisations, setting out their views and desiderata" on the status of women. The result of this authorisation was that, for the first time, an international conference of Governments was presented with a survey of the position of women in every part of the world. As time was limited, this record was of necessity rather fragmentary in character. As the event has proved, however, it is to be regarded as merely a preliminary sketching of the field. As such it provides a useful outline for the more complete study to follow.

It is interesting to compare the memoranda which came to the Assembly from the women's organisations in 1935¹ with those presented to delegates at The Hague Codification Conference. None of these groups had abandoned its concern for the purely theoretical aspect of the question—equality under the law as between men and women. But all showed deepened concern for the practical aspects, such as provision of opportunity and facilities for training and entry into gainful occupations. Most remarkable of all is the view implied or expressed throughout these documents that the question of the political and economic status of women is closely bound with the modern sociological problem of how to adapt old concepts and habits of living to the new facts of large-scale cheap production of the material means of living.

This wholesome development toward a more realistic view of the position of women in the modern world has probably been affected by two circumstances. The question which the Secretary-General of the League put to the women's organisations was quite specific and this explicitness no doubt guided their thinking to some extent. But beyond this is the fact that during the past

¹ Document A.19.1935.V, "Nationality and Status of Women : Statements presented by International Women's Organisations".

five years these organisations have seen how the world economic depression has touched, first, the woman's capacity and then her right to earn.

Miss Grace Abbott, the Government representative from the United States of America to the International Labour Conference of June 1935, said in the course of a discussion on the right of women to work: "Women work for the same reasons as men. They must work to live. A very small minority of women who are engaged in gainful employment might live comfortably without working. So could a small minority of men. We do not criticise the young man of independent means who applies himself seriously and effectively to business or the professions. The members of the Conference also know, I think, that gainful employment of women is no new development. In the days when subsistence farming was universal, men and women both worked on the home farm. Men and women have from necessity and not from choice followed their work from the home to the factory. Forces over which they have no control compelled them to do so, and the world has profited. If, in our industrial society, the opportunity of work is denied them, all that is offered to women, married or unmarried (or at least many of them) is the alternative of destitution or the pursuit of that ancient but outlawed profession for women." ¹

This and other evidence the women's organisations had before them. The conclusion was inescapable that the restriction of women's right to work offered no contribution to the solution of problems of employment and production.

* * *

The memoranda prepared by the women's organisations in response to the Secretary-General's invitation come from ten international bodies and reflect a great variety of experience. Some of these, like the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship and the Open Door International, are interested chiefly in the political aspect of the public life of women: some are associations for mutual benefit among women engaged in particular fields—as, for example, the Industrial Women's Organisations, the International Federation of Business and Professional Women; some are educational, social-working or benevolent societies, such as the World's Young Women's

¹ Provisional Record of the International Labour Conference, June 15th, 1935.

Christian Association, St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance and the Union internationale des Ligues féminines catholiques. The Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality is as its name suggests, an expert body set up by five organisations of women to deal with this special problem.

All of these worldwide groups were in agreement with regard to the seriousness of the problem. In some parts of the world, they pointed out, women had never been accorded the legal status of responsible adult citizen; in others, where this standard reigned, restrictions and discriminations were being introduced in the name of economy and as emergency measures in face of the crisis. All agreed that the League should be asked to take some action which would point to the importance of the problem and perhaps indicate some way of attempting its solution. °

But all were not agreed as to the best method to suggest. Some considered that members of the League should be requested by the Assembly to become parties to the Equal Rights Treaty. This they felt would bring the question to the attention of responsible elements of public opinion everywhere and lead immediately to the enactment of national legislation which would put its general provisions into effect in terms of the political, economic and social life of the various countries.

Another group, which included notably the organisations of industrial women, firmly opposed the wider adoption of the Equal Rights Treaty on the ground that its application would have the effect of invalidating protective legislation for women employed in industry. No industrialised country they declared could afford to forego this special legislation, whose purpose is to insure the childhood of the next generation and to constitute for one section of workers a standard of protection which, it was to be hoped, would eventually be applied to all workers.

Further opposition to the wider adoption of the Equal Rights Treaty was based upon what might be called considerations of strategy. It was felt that the signing of a treaty couched in such general terms, would have no result in specific action. In particular, the kind of action which was necessary to remedy present distress in the economic field might by no means be judged a logical conclusion from the statement contained in Article 1 of the Equal Rights Treaty. In any case, ran this argument, there exists nowhere sufficient data upon which to draw up an international agreement on the position of women throughout the world. What is needed at present is a thorough examination of existing circumstances; a complete account of

the legal and actual position of women in connection with the circumstances of living in the different countries. Only when it is known precisely what these circumstances are—and they vary from country to country—and what rôle women play in connection with them, will it be possible to say whether the status of women could be improved by the method of adopting an international treaty on the question.

From these three standpoints alike came the strong demand that the League should launch a general enquiry into the status of women in the world.

* * *

The considerations submitted to the Assembly by the international organisations of women found echo in the views expressed by the members of the First Committee of the Assembly. They finally expressed their conclusions in a draft resolution which was subsequently adopted by the Assembly as a whole.¹

* * *

The implications of the last paragraph (4) of this resolution will be considered by the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation when it meets in February 1936. A note prepared for the information of that body draws attention to the fact that, throughout its discussion, the first Committee of the Assembly "implicitly recognised the necessity of special protective legislation for women". The last paragraph of its resolution "seems to show that the Committee, at the end of its discussions and after examining the memoranda submitted by the women's international organisations, which almost unanimously raised this point, wished to indicate that the special object of the proposed study should be to examine the measures limiting the employment of women which have been adopted during recent years in some countries and which have no connection whatever with the protection of the health of women workers".

The International Labour Office already possesses some basis for such an examination. In 1931, it published a comprehensive study on "Women's Work under Labour Law", and a good deal of the data required to bring this work up to date has already been collected by its Unemployment Section and other departments.

* * *

¹ See text of resolution in Annex, next page.

ANNEX.

*Text of the Resolution on Status of Women
adopted by the Sixteenth Assembly of the League of Nations.
(Geneva, September 1935.)*

The Assembly,

Noting that the question of the status of women was placed on the agenda of the present session for examination, at the instance of a number of delegations, with particular reference to the Equal Rights Treaty signed at Montevideo on December 26th, 1933, by representatives of the Governments of Cuba, Ecuador, Paraguay and Uruguay;

Considering that the terms of the Equal Rights Treaty should be examined in relation to the existing political, civil and economic status of women under the laws of the countries of the world;

Recognising that the question of conditions of employment, whether of men or women, is a matter which properly falls within the sphere of the International Labour Organisation :

(1) Decides that the question of the political and civil status of women shall be referred by the Secretary-General to the Governments for their observations, including observations as to the action which, in their view, the League might take in this matter, and that the Governments shall be requested to supply to the Secretary-General, together with their observations, information as to the existing political and civil status of women under their respective national laws;

(2) Recommends that the women's international organisations should continue their study of the whole question of the political and civil status of women;

(3) Requests that the observations and information communicated by the Governments and the statements of the said international organisations shall be sent to the Secretary-General for consideration by the Assembly of the League of Nations at a subsequent session;

(4) Expresses the hope that the International Labour Organisation will, in accordance with its normal procedure, undertake an examination of those aspects of the problem within its competence—namely, the question of equality under labour legislation—and that it will, in the first place, examine the question of legislation which effects discriminations, some of which may be detrimental to women's right to work.

FACILITIES TO ENSURE COMMUNICATIONS OF IMPORTANCE BETWEEN THE SEAT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE STATES MEMBERS.

In 1925, the Assembly adopted a resolution stating "that all improvements in railway, telegraphic, radio-telegraphic, telephonic and radio-telephonic communications between the seat of the League of Nations and the States Members and non-members of the League are of the highest political and practical importance to the working and development of the League".

The Commission of Enquiry into the Greco-Bulgarian conflict of 1925 recommended that "it might be considered whether special facilities for communications and transit could not be granted to Governments and to the Secretariat in case of a threat of war—in particular, the use of wireless telegraphy and priority messages might be considered".

The Council soon after requested the Communications and Transit Organisation to examine this question as well as the whole problem of communications with the seat of the League, which had been raised in the Preparatory Disarmament Commission. In December 1926, the Council also requested the Transit Organisation to examine the question of placing a radio-telegraphic station at the disposal of the League, to enable it to communicate independently with the greatest possible number of States Members.

The resolutions adopted by the Assembly and the Council on the subject between 1926 and 1931 were based on the technical advice submitted by the Transit Organisation on the various elements in the problem—namely, (1) railway communications; (2) aircraft effecting transport duties of importance to the working of the League at times of emergency, including the facilities to be granted by the States Members, the identification of such aircraft, and the layout of an aerodrome near the seat of the League; (3) motor vehicles effecting such duties, including the facilities to be granted by the States Members; (4) telecommunications with the seat of the League, notably the League wireless station, and including telegraphic and telephonic communications.

Upon the completion in 1934 of the negotiations between the Secretary-General of the League and the States Members with regard to the facilities to be granted by the latter to aircraft and motor vehicles effecting emergency transport duties, there was

published under the auspices of the Transit Organisation a systematic survey of the regime of communications of importance to the working of the League of Nations at times of emergency¹ (document C.348.M.161.1934.VIII).

1. LEAGUE WIRELESS STATION.

Proceeding westward to Geneva by air, boat, rail or road, one notices near the village of Prangins, 28 kilometres east of Geneva, the masts of the short-wave League of Nations Wireless Station, which has since early in 1932 rendered valuable services to the League, notably in the rapid transmission of communications and documents to the States Members. Outside Geneva at Colovrex, may be seen the League receiving station.

The League Wireless Station has proved not only to be an invaluable auxiliary in the League machinery for the settlement of political disputes—the station's "extraordinary" or "emergency" character—but also in its regular and perhaps less generally appreciated work of broadcasting a daily bulletin during the Assembly and a weekly bulletin throughout the year, dealing with the activities of the League. The Saturday broadcasts are given in English from 11.30 to 11.45 p.m., in French from 11.45 p.m. to midnight, and in Spanish from midnight to 12.15 a.m. (Central European time), on wave-lengths of 38.48 metres and 31.27 metres. The International Labour Organisation similarly broadcasts a regular bulletin from the station during its Conference. In addition, since September 1st, 1935, there has been a weekly radio-telegraphic League bulletin on Friday morning at nine o'clock to European countries in French on a wave-length of 4,225 metres, and on Friday evening at midnight to extra-European countries in English and Spanish on wave-lengths of 38.48 metres and 31.27 metres.

The League Wireless Station has been particularly useful during certain political disputes between Members of the League—*e.g.*, the Sino-Japanese, Peruvian-Colombian (Leticia), Bolivian-Paraguayan (Chaco) and the Italo-Ethiopian disputes. The station has been of the greatest assistance in connection with the co-ordination of measures under Article 16 of the Covenant, in the dispute between Ethiopia and Italy. On October 30th, 1935,

¹ From the point of view of communications, a "time of emergency" occurs whenever, owing to a political situation, Governments are obliged to adopt measures modifying the working of the normal means of communications.

a note by the Secretariat (document Co-ordination Committee/63) described how the proposals of the Co-ordination Committee and the replies received thereto have been transmitted urgently to the Governments of the Members of the League by means of a system introduced on October 14th last at the request of the Committee of Eighteen. On this date, a telegram was despatched to every Member of the League (except the parties to the dispute) announcing that the Co-ordination Committee's communications and proposals would in future be officially submitted to Governments through the League's regular wireless service. The Governments were informed in the same telegram of the timetable and technical characteristics of this daily service. Each Government was requested to make arrangements to receive these communications and, if it found after experience that this method of transmission did not enable the communications to be received satisfactorily, to notify the Secretary-General accordingly by telegram not later than October 17th. Up to October 30th, only one Government had telegraphed to the Secretary-General that this method of communication could not be used—the Government of Luxemburg, which has no receiving station. Presumably, therefore, all the other Governments have found these communications practicable and satisfactory, with the probable exception of Haiti, which suggested that the position there is similar to that in Luxemburg. Although Governments were not asked to acknowledge receipt of the radio-telegrams sent out, confirmation has been received from the following countries : Argentine, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Iran, Irish Free State, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Poland, Roumania, Siam, South Africa, Sweden, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Yugoslavia. Communications with Chile seem to have encountered some difficulties of late.

Although the Radio-Nations Wireless Station has not been placed from the legal and financial point of view on the special emergency footing for the Italo-Ethiopian dispute, the station as a whole, consisting of the medium-wave station of the Société Radio-Suisse for European communications and the League's own short-wave station for communications with non-European countries, has performed exactly those technical services which it is intended to perform in times of emergency.

In Article 1 of the agreement between the Swiss Federal Council and the Secretary-General concerning the establishment

and operation in the neighbourhood of Geneva of a wireless station, signed in 1930, Radio-Nations is defined as "a wireless station, destined chiefly to meet the needs of the League of Nations in normal times and to ensure independent communications to the League at times of emergency". It is laid down that "the Radio-Nations Station shall be operated in normal times by the Radio-Suisse and, in times of emergency, shall pass under the exclusive management of the League". At such a moment, not only Radio-Nations, but the whole plant, including the long-wave transmitter belonging to the Société Radio-Suisse, would be operated by the League. Throughout the emergency, the staff of the station would be at the disposal of the Secretary-General and would be deemed to be part of the Secretariat. The Secretary-General is empowered to replace the station's permanent staff by temporary staff should he consider this step advisable in the interests of the League.

Radio-Nations is installed on land and in buildings belonging to Radio-Suisse. There is a central telegraph office, and a long-wave transmitter erected by and belonging to Radio-Suisse, for communications with European countries. There is a short-wave station with two transmitters of 20 kw. in the aerial, working on a directional (beam) and a non-directional system. The receiving station at Colovrex is capable of picking up communications from most stations in the world by directional and non-directional receiving aerials. The total cost of the installation was about 4 million Swiss francs, of which the League provided 2.4 million francs. The technical administration of the station is supervised by the League Wireless Expert, who is attached to the Transit Section, and who, at a time of emergency, would function as the director of the station.

Up to the Italo-Ethiopian dispute, regular radio-telegraphic communications had been maintained with the Argentine, Brazil, China and Japan, while successful communications had also been made with Australia and the United States of America, more particularly with the latter country.

Satisfactory radio-telephonic conversations have been held with North and South America, China and Japan. Radio-telephonic communications have also been made on several occasions with vessels in the port of Shanghai.

Radio-Nations is equipped to communicate with any extra-European country and could, in the event of a European crisis, effect communications with any European country with the equipment of Radio-Suisse.

2. TELEGRAPHIC AND TELEPHONIC COMMUNICATIONS.

In accordance with the proposals made by the Transit Organisation, provisions were included in the Telegraphic Regulations annexed to the International Convention on Telecommunications (Madrid 1932) under which telegrams regarding the application of Articles 15 and 16 of the Covenant, exchanged in case of a threat of war, between the President of the Council of the League or the Secretary-General, and a Minister member of a Government, a member of the Council of the League or a member of a mission despatched by the Council would be granted priority over Government priority telegrams. This priority was used for the first time in the sending of telegrams to Governments after the application of Article 16 had been decided upon in the Italo-Ethiopian dispute.

Since the establishment of the League, telephonic communications between Geneva and the European States have been materially improved and extended, there being at the present time telephonic connections with all European countries except Albania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Connections are available with thirty-seven extra-European countries.

3. RAILWAY COMMUNICATIONS.

The Transit Organisation, considering that the railway system in Europe would no doubt be adapted as far as possible to meet an emergency situation, did not believe it feasible to draw up an advance plan with respect to railway communications. In such an adaptation of the normal train services to meet an unusual situation, there might be an improvement in the already existing services and the addition of special services, as well as effective co-operation with, for example, air and motor transport.

In the first report prepared by the Transit Organisation at the request of the Council and approved by the latter in December 1926, it was suggested, in connection with transport by rail, that "each State might be requested to designate a central service, in possession of the necessary instructions and powers, with which Members of the Council and the Secretary-General of the League could get into direct touch upon notification of a state of emergency, in order to ensure that rapid means of transport are made available at once. It would naturally be understood that all extra costs arising out of exceptional conditions would be met out of League funds."

The official instruments approved by the Fourth General Conference on Communications and Transit, held in 1931, subsequently approved by the Council, included a recommendation, which is reproduced below, concerning measures to be taken in cases of serious interruption of transit routes. The Fourth General Conference had principally in mind an interruption of railway transit routes.

“ The General Conference on Communications and Transit is of opinion that, should international transit through the territory of one or more States suffer serious interruption, those States whose means of transport could be of help in establishing traffic temporarily in place of the interrupted traffic should co-operate, each in its own territory, in the establishment of this temporary traffic. It should be understood that, subject to the provisions of international undertakings concerning transport, the passengers or the goods carried would, as far as possible and as far as is compatible with the interests of these passengers or goods, be forwarded by a new route involving the shortest possible detour.”

4. AIR TRANSPORT.

Recognising that the special character of air transport would enable it to render important services to the League at times of emergency, provided that certain requisite conditions were clearly understood and agreed upon beforehand, notably the facilities to be granted by the States Members, an exhaustive examination was made of this question.

(a) *Facilities to be granted by the States Members.*

The report adopted by the Assembly in 1930 noted that the resolution adopted by this session of the Assembly aims, in the first place, at providing the measures necessary to assure to aircraft carrying out transport duties of importance to the working of the League all the facilities necessary for the discharge of their mission; and, in the second place, to provide full guarantees to States as regards their national security. The rules and routes to be normally followed by aircraft and the procedure contemplated for notifying the Secretary-General without delay of any changes in such rules and routes must be fixed in advance. These rules may stipulate, in particular, the conditions under which a State will be able to insist on an aircraft

landing for purposes of supervision. It is laid down in the Assembly resolution that each State retains the right to prohibit the whole or part of its territory being crossed by aircraft registered in another State or manned by a crew of foreign nationality when such prohibition appears necessary for reasons of national safety. The measures which in this case should be taken by the State in question to ensure the transfer of the passengers and the continuation of the air transport are also indicated. All the measures, and particularly those in accordance with which the aircraft used for air communications of importance to the working of the League must at no time be subject to any exceptional and temporary restrictions which may be imposed on air navigation, should be understood subject to the provisions with regard to national security. The Secretary-General of the League is bound to give the States flown over due notice by suitable means of the identification marks of the aircraft, of the route to be taken, and of the composition of the crew.

The aircraft in question are such as would be used for conveying League correspondence, agents of the League, or persons entrusted by the League with a special mission, official representatives, etc. It is clear that persons entrusted by the League with a special mission should include the members of the various advisory committees of the League, irrespective of the authority by whom they were appointed.

It was provided that the measures prescribed in the resolution would be defined during negotiations between the Secretary-General and the Governments concerned. The object of these negotiations was to be the application of the rules laid down in the resolution, it being felt that there was no doubt that the Members of the League who are under obligation to facilitate the working of the League by all means in their power, would consider themselves bound by this obligation to grant such facilities as the Assembly may deem indispensable to the means of air transport necessary for the working of the League at times of emergency.

Since the 1931 Assembly, virtually all States which had not replied fully or at all to the Secretary-General's request have done so in a satisfactory manner. There are no grounds for considering that the very few States which did not declare their readiness to comply with the resolution of the Assembly would co-operate any the less in facilitating aircraft communications with the League in the event of a crisis. While the decisions taken by the Assembly and the Council on emergency

communications with the League are equally binding on all the States Members, the Secretary-General has actually negotiated only with the European States Members with regard to the aircraft and motor transport regimes. There is no reason to believe that, for instance, the regime applicable to aircraft would not also be applied, if necessary, by extra-European Members of the League.

The following States expressed their willingness to comply with the aircraft regime as laid down by the Assembly in 1930. Most of these States have furnished the Secretary-General with a detailed account of the measures they are prepared to take to ensure that the regime is fulfilled.

Austria	Latvia
Belgium	Lithuania
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Luxemburg
Bulgaria	Netherlands
Czechoslovakia	Norway
Denmark	Poland
Estonia	Portugal
Finland	Roumania
France	Spain
Greece	Sweden
Hungary	Switzerland
Irish Free State	Turkey
Italy	Yugoslavia

(b) *Identification of Aircraft effecting Transport Duties of Importance to the Working of the League at Times of Emergency.*

In July 1931, the Transit Organisation submitted to the Council a proposal regarding identification marks for such aircraft, in accordance with the recommendation made by the International Commission for Air Navigation, which, according to the International Air Convention of 1919, is "placed under the direction of the League of Nations". The Council adopted a resolution in September 1931 which decided that the following measures should be adopted for the identification of national aircraft engaged in transport of importance to the League of Nations at times of emergency :

" National aircraft engaged in transport of importance to the League of Nations at times of emergency shall be identified by the inscription, under the normal nationality

and registration marks, of a black horizontal stripe, easily effaceable, of the thickness of the letters constituting these marks and underlining them completely.

“For radio communications the aircraft shall retain its normal call sign, preceded and followed in radio-telegraphy by the Morse sign for ‘underlining’ (..---).”

“The abbreviated call sign, provided for in Article 14 of the General Regulations annexed to the International Radiotelegraphic Convention of Washington, shall be constituted :

“ (a) In radio-telegraphy, by the first and last letters of the complete five-letter call sign;

“ (b) In radio-telephony, by the words ‘League of Nations’, replacing the name of the owner, followed by the last two letters of the registration mark.

“In order to harmonise the radio-telegraphic regulations with the above provisions, the Chairman of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit is requested to address to the International Bureau of the Telegraphic Union, through the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, proposals with a view to the adoption by the International Telegraphic and Radio-telegraphic Conferences of Madrid of such modifications as may be necessary in the General Regulations and the Additional Regulations annexed to the Radio-telegraphic Convention of Washington.”

In the report on communications of importance to the League of Nations at times of emergency, adopted by the Assembly in 1931, it was noted that with respect to the identification of aircraft, “the resolution adopted by the Council applies only to aircraft possessing a nationality. It was not considered fit to raise at this time the question of aircraft belonging to the League of Nations.”

The appropriate measures were inserted in the General Regulations on Radiocommunications, annexed to the International Convention on Telecommunications, adopted in Madrid in 1932, and in force from January 1934.

At the twenty-second session of the International Commission for Air Navigation, held at Lisbon in 1934, the modifications made at that time in the Regulations for the International Radioelectric Service of Air Navigation (C.I.N.A., 1931), included

the same measures for the identification of aircraft effecting transport duties of importance to the working of the League that were incorporated in the General Regulations on Radiocommunications annexed to the International Convention on Telecommunications (Madrid 1932).

(c) *Layout of an Aerodrome near the Seat of the League.*

In 1927 and 1931, a special Committee of Experts appointed by the Chairman of the Transit Committee examined, with the competent Federal and Cantonal authorities, the technical aspects of the question of the layout of an aerodrome near the seat of the League which would be suitable to accommodate aircraft effecting transport of importance to the working of the League at times of emergency.

The report of the 1931 session of the Committee of Experts was submitted to the Assembly in the same year. The Assembly noted that, while the technical examination of the question appeared to be concluded, it would seem that certain non-technical questions between the Swiss Federal Government and the Secretariat of the League had not yet been settled.

At the eighteenth session of the Transit Committee held in 1933, the Secretary-General of the Committee indicated that the questions still outstanding related mainly to finance; the Cointrin (Geneva) aerodrome could not be equipped in the manner desired unless the competent Swiss authorities or the League granted the necessary credits, an eventuality that was unlikely in present circumstances. The Committee decided to suspend for the moment the studies relating to the installation of an aerodrome in the neighbourhood of the League, and to record this decision in the annual report on the work of the Communications and Transit Organisation which was submitted to the fifteenth session of the Assembly (1934).

5. MOTOR VEHICLES.

In September 1930, the Transit Organisation, in a report to the Council, made certain recommendations with regard to motor vehicles effecting transport of importance to the working of the League at times of emergency, at the same time expressing the opinion that "the Assembly should be enabled immediately to give an opinion on the above views".

The observations made with regard to air transport apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to motor transport. The resolution concerning

motor transport adopted by the Assembly provides that the Secretary-General must inform by telegram the Government of the country to be traversed of the place where the frontier is to be crossed by a motor vehicle and the place of destination. In the report adopted by the Assembly on this question in 1930, it was mentioned that, if, in the course of the negotiations provided for between the Secretary-General and the Governments, certain Governments should agree that these communications should be made to them either by the Secretary-General or by the Government of the country from which the motor transport begins, the text should not be interpreted as opposing such an arrangement, which would be more elastic than that laid down in the resolution adopted in the same year by the Assembly.

The observations above apply equally to the result of the negotiations on the motor transport regime. The following States have expressed their willingness to comply with the latter :

Austria	Italy
Belgium	Latvia
United Kingdom of Great	Lithuania
Britain and Northern Ireland	Netherlands
Bulgaria	Norway
Czechoslovakia	Poland
Denmark	Portugal
Estonia	Roumania
Finland	Sweden
France	Switzerland
Greece	Turkey
Hungary	Yugoslavia.

MACHINERY AND MAN.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SEVENTEENTH
SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON
INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had decided, in order to stimulate contact between specialists in social science, to undertake a joint study of certain of the effects of mechanisation on modern life. In conjunction with the International Labour Office, the Institute for Intellectual Co-operation had been instructed to carry out a preliminary work of definition. Three themes had been examined, and finally the Institute and the International Labour Office had recommended the study of the question : " Machinery and Man ", a question which the International Labour Office proposed provisionally to study in the following terms : " The Adaptation of Mechanisation to the Conditions of Human Labour ". [*Editors' Note.*]

* * *

M. V. OBOLENSKY-OSSINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) referred to the following definition of mechanisation on page 29 of the report by the Director of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation :

" Mechanisation is understood to mean all those mechanical labour processes which are intended to assist, extend, supplement and replace man's natural powers, and thus to bring about an acceleration of labour resulting in an increase of production on a scale otherwise unobtainable."

As an economist, M. Ossinsky was not satisfied with this definition, since manual labour of man was also, to a certain extent, mechanical work. Man was a combination of organic forces and mechanical processes. La Mettrie, a French author of the eighteenth century, had, curiously enough, written a book called " L'homme-machine ". Even if this term were an

exaggeration, it contained some truth, because man also accomplished mechanical work, unaided by machinery.

Furthermore, it was recommended that man's natural powers should be replaced by mechanical labour processes. In this connection, it should be remembered that at present there existed, not only mechanical apparatus, but also a constantly developing chemical technology. Moreover, electric energy which transformed itself into mechanical force also in certain cases came within the domain of mechanics.

For all these reasons, M. Ossinsky thought that the definition quoted was not exact and suggested that in any case the word "mechanisation" should be replaced by the term "automatism", which had a wider sense.

Furthermore, the problem as stated, "Machinery and Man", reflected the fear that had seized men's hearts in the face of the invasion of machinery. That was rather a childish fear, but a comprehensible one in Europe or in America, where machinery was privately owned. It was unknown in Soviet Russia, because, in that country, machinery was made to serve the community and was only an instrument that facilitated human labour. Thus the theme, "The Adaptation of Mechanisation to the Conditions of Human Labour", was only one aspect of a much vaster problem which should be defined as follows: "Modern Tendencies in the Evolution of Industrial Mechanics". Thus defined, the question might be studied on a fuller and wider basis; it would enable those who examined the problem to consider the development of productive forces and modern technique.

M. M. ANESAKI (Japan) observed that, according to M. Ossinsky's conception, man was himself, up to a certain point, a machine, and, in working, displayed a certain degree of automatism. The conception in Japan was quite different; it was held that man was moved by deep forces, much more mysterious perhaps than present psychology imagined. That was why the Government and industrialists were endeavouring to awaken these forces in order that workpeople might live their lives to the full. In view of this difference of outlook, M. Anesaki ventured to ask M. Ossinsky the following question: If man is, up to a certain point, a machine, as the machine is driven by electric or mechanical energy, what is the energy which, in his opinion, provides the driving force in man?

M. Ed. HERRIOT (France) thought that this question of the relation between man and machinery was one of the most

important of all. It had already been studied in the previous year, and, at present, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the International Labour Office proposed to institute an enquiry into the problem, "The Adaptation of Mechanisation to the Conditions of Human Labour". If any result were to be achieved, the enquiry must be conducted on analytical lines, which would certainly make it possible to reconcile apparently contradictory views, for, in order to eliminate differences of opinion, it was always necessary to scrap synthesis and pass to analysis.

The research work should be guided by two ideas : The first was that mechanisation ought not—as was too much the tendency—to be regarded as a new factor. True, production had assumed enormous proportions owing to machinery, but that was only the consequence of a long-existent fact. Tools were in themselves machinery, and it might be said that the first mechaniser was Archimedes, when he discovered the lever. From that time onwards, mankind had followed the path of mechanisation. The considerable extension of mechanisation should therefore be regarded as the full or perhaps exaggerated development of a very ancient phenomenon. This problem had, moreover, for long been occupying the minds of sociologists and philosophers. The question of mechanisation had already become an acute one almost a century ago, and economists like Michel Chevalier and engineers like Enfantin had already studied the problem. Were not even Karl Marx's theories a result of the contact of a highly philosophic mind with the researches undertaken into materialism?

The second idea which ought to guide the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in this domain was this : it should be remembered that the effects of mechanisation were not everywhere the same. In this connection, M. Herriot desired to reply to M. Ossinsky, who had said that in Europe and America people were afraid of machinery. M. Ossinsky's outlook was comprehensible, because Soviet Russia was at present one of the very few nations of the world where production did not exceed the needs of consumption. Russia also had an enormous population which increased by about three millions every year; the country was engaged in a vast task of reconstruction, so that, in these circumstances, machinery was obviously regarded as a helper of whom no one need be afraid. That was not the case in other countries. France, for instance, a country where the level of consumption was practically stationary, where the population was hardly increasing at all, and which was fully equipped with

machinery, saw her production increasing very considerably owing to machinery. It was therefore possible to understand the anxiety that was beginning to manifest itself in that country. As the problem was not the same for all countries, it could not be solved on abstract lines. It would be interesting to study by analytical methods what happened in different countries in various stages either of national or of human evolution. M. Herriot believed, moreover, that, in studying this problem, account should be taken of a new phenomenon that was beginning to occur in certain countries—namely, the reaction of man against machinery. There had, in fact, been a renewal of the handicrafts in certain countries—for instance, in Japan. It was still an open question, therefore, whether human labour would not succeed in modifying the conditions of mechanisation. In short, the enquiry which the Institute and the International Labour Office proposed to conduct would be extremely interesting, provided account were taken of the historical point of view, the peculiar situation of each State and the possible reaction of mankind against machinery. If, in certain cases, there were a reversion to the handicrafts, that would undoubtedly prove to be a formidable rival to mechanisation, because man had always been, and would always be, superior to machinery, in that it was he who first created it and had modified it, whereas machinery only exercised an indirect influence over man.

M. DE MICHELIS (Italy) personally did not attach very much importance to the definition of “mechanisation”, because it was not so much the definition as the fact which counted. There could be no doubt that the phenomenon of mechanisation existed, although, as M. Herriot had pointed out, different countries reacted in different ways. Nevertheless, certain similar phenomena were encountered everywhere. These were the phenomena that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should study. The Committee might, at the same time, co-ordinate the work already accomplished in this sphere by other organisations, such as the Economic Committee.

The definition criticised by M. Ossinsky bore the mark of its origin; it had in part been suggested by the International Labour Office and the subject, “The Adaptation of Mechanisation to the Conditions of Human Labour”, limited, possibly, the studies that might be undertaken of the purely social aspects of the case, whereas another title might make it possible also to consider the problem from a technical, economic and educational point of view. M. de Michelis himself would suggest simply: “Mechanisation

and its Consequences ". This title would enable more complete studies to be undertaken, because the consequences of mechanisation were multiple : unemployment—without referring to the unemployment due to the present depression, but to that which resulted from a development of machinery; discharge of workers before the normal retiring age to make place for younger men, relief which had to be paid to these discharged workers towards whom the community had contracted a debt; specialisation of labour, since every new machine called for specialised workers, etc.

In view of the magnitude of this problem, one might wonder whether the Institute ought not, at the beginning, to apply to those organisations and persons who had already given it consideration, with a view to selecting those questions which were of more particular interest to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

M. C. BIALOBRZESKI (Poland) agreed with M. Ossinsky that there existed some fear of machinery, and this fear was rather absurd. Even the great French philosopher Bergson had stated in his book " *Les deux sources de la Morale et de la Religion* " that man would externalise himself from matter as soon as he had dominated it, and that he would dominate it as soon as he had learnt to rise above it thanks to powerful mechanical means. Nevertheless, the fear of machinery was of deep significance : it was the recognition of its usefulness, the admiration felt for the inventive genius of man which might lead even to the worship of machinery. Nevertheless, above machinery must be set those spiritual values which might be stifled if mechanisation forced man to seek only material well-being. Any such tendency, if it became general, would mean the ruin of civilisation. M. Ossinsky had reminded the Committee that the French philosopher, La Mettrie, had written a remarkable book entitled " *L'homme-machine* ". Personally, however, M. Białobrzieski thought that the philosophy of this work was doubtful. At the present time, there was a tendency to demechanise physics; consequently, this definition, " *L'homme-machine* ", was false from the standpoint of modern physics.

Sir Frank HEATH (United Kingdom), reverting to previous statements, thought that people were afraid, not of mechanisation, but of the machine. The machines were either too complicated or insufficiently adapted to the workers' needs, which had a depressing effect on them.

M. CASTILLEJO (Spain) said that it was impossible to speak

of "machinery" and of "man and the machine" without touching on the important problem of the distribution of wealth; the workers were opposed to machinery on account of the unemployment produced by its use, but that was not the only factor. The efforts made to save human life, for instance, from the ravages of yellow fever might give rise to protests on the part of those workers who were reduced to unemployment because certain of their fellow-workers had escaped the disease. Whether the question was looked at from the psychological standpoint adopted by Sir Frank Heath, or from the economic standpoint adopted by M. Ossinsky, there was always, in the end, the inescapable problem of the distribution of wealth and the workers, share in the profits.

For these reasons, the subject "the international repercussions of mechanisation" should be modified, and the theme "conflicts between nations with different theories as to the organisation of labour and the use of the machine" should be discussed instead. The Committee had heard two statements, one by the representative of Japan and the other by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which were based on very different ideas. When two nations organised their labour in different manners, an international problem arose.

In M. Castillejo's opinion, comparative researches ought to be carried out with a view to determining the international repercussions of the different systems of organising labour.

M. OSSINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) lay special emphasis on the fact that he had never meant to uphold the ideas put forward by La Mettrie in his book "L'homme-machine", but had merely attempted to show that that book proved that men also performed mechanical labour. Soviet literature on the subject bore witness that the philosophical doctrine of Marx and Lenin was the doctrine of dialectical materialism, which was not quite the same thing as La Mettrie's doctrine. Orthodox Marxists described the latter's theories as vulgar materialism. The Russian people had religious cults, but no cult of the machine was encouraged or extolled by the responsible leaders. Employing that term conditionally, it might perhaps be said that, in Russia, there was a cult of science and art, of thought as the liberator of mankind, of social activity, etc.

In reply to M. Anesaki, who had said that, in Russia, it had been forgotten that man was not merely a machine and that the great problem was to develop the mental activity of the worker so that he might make better use of machines, M. Ossinsky

stated that Karl Marx himself had declared that all human labour differed from animal activity, in the first place because man's activity was mental and conscious; the bee formed no plan of what she constructed, whereas even the worst architect made plans before carrying out his work, which itself involved mental supervision. The idea that the machine was no longer the private property of an *entrepreneur* encouraged the worker to produce a larger output, as he knew that it would be to his advantage.

In reply to M. Herriot, M. Ossinsky stated that it was necessary for the sake of accuracy to make a distinction between a tool and a machine. The former could only be used with the hand, whereas the latter was worked by an engine; in some cases, the strength of a machine was more than a million times greater than that of a man; moreover, a man's hands and fingers were not fitted to perform all operations. The differences were still more marked if the modern machine was compared with the artisan's implements. Modern mechanisation presupposed the existence, not only of a machine, but of all machinery.

M. Ossinsky was of opinion that the Committee should choose as a subject of discussion "Modern Trends in the Evolution of Industrial Technique". In some countries, efforts were now being made to produce entirely new machine-tools, as the result of the change in motor-car models. Those machine-tools might be termed "universal automata", since, with their help, a whole series of operations could be performed on different objects. When the machine travelled in one direction, it performed a given operation, and when it returned to its starting-point it performed another, etc. That would have a great influence upon the workers themselves. The problem should be studied from a concrete standpoint. When the preliminary study had been carried out, a conversation should be organised and might be held in Russia, where very keen interest was taken in the question.

M. Ed. HERRIOT (France) replied that, in his opinion, the machine was a development of the tool, and the machine-tool formed the connecting-link between the two. As an example, one might take the shuttle, which, though undoubtedly a tool, was still used in a large number of looms. It was therefore difficult to make a clear distinction between the tool and the machine, especially as the latter was often worked by a man's hand or foot.

M. F. MAURETTE (International Labour Office) thought it advisable, as M. Ossinsky had suggested, to restrict the scope of the problem. Serious students of the question of mechanisation of labour viewed it possibly with concern in the full sense of the

word, but certainly not with apprehension. The mechanisation of labour had always existed and the slaves who built the pyramids had been obliged to work quickly. That was, therefore, mechanised labour.

The question whether the machine involved more automatism than purely human mechanical labour was deserving of study. The International Labour Office was also specially interested in the question of the extent to which the worker, understood the working of the machine he controlled. The velocity of the machine should not be so great as to exhaust the worker, and the latter should be informed of the part he played in the huge mechanical organisation of the factory. If those conditions were fulfilled, the labour of the worker in charge of the machine might be much less fatiguing than that of the manual worker.

With reference to M. Castillejo's proposal concerning the international repercussions of mechanisation on the workers' standard of living, M. Maurette said that the International Labour Office had already published certain works on that question and that others were in preparation.

The International Labour Office would be very glad if some organisation would take up the study of the question raised by M. Ossinsky concerning the present trend of modern technique. The International Labour Office had published a volume dealing with the effects of mechanisation and industrial rationalisation in general on working conditions, the health of the workers, accidents and unemployment. Those investigations should be carried further and should include the question of the influence of the machine on the worker's mentality, and the way in which the worker understood the machine and co-operated with it. For these investigations, the International Labour Office would undoubtedly need the help of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, although it would be less necessary in that connection than in regard to the second part of the enquiry dealing with the social, intellectual, etc., aspect of the effects of mechanisation on man. Personally, and in view of the present position of the question, M. Maurette would prefer a fresh study to be made of the problem with the help of industrialists, workers, economists, etc. The correspondence to which the present discussion would lead might perhaps enable a wiser and more complete programme to be drawn up for next year, based upon erudition and knowledge. In short, it was necessary at each successive step to make sure of the ground before going further, which was the most satisfactory method.

WIRELESS TALKS FROM THE " RADIO-NATIONS " STATION.

SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MESSAGE TO THE CHILDREN OF THE WORLD FOR MAY 18TH, GOODWILL DAY.

I am addressing this message to children, and the purpose of my message is to explain why I think an attitude of goodwill between the children of different nations is of the greatest importance—more important to-day, perhaps, than it ever has been in the history of the world.

You to whom I am speaking to-day are still children. But very soon you will be men and women. Very soon it will be you who will be doing the work of the world, and who will determine what kind of world we are to have. Some of you have already met children of other countries. All of you, I think, can easily understand that children in all countries are very much alike in their joys and their sorrows. Different peoples have different coloured skins and speak different languages. But all children, and all grown-ups, are, after all, human beings, and beneath their different languages and their different skins human beings have the same human nature. In every group of human beings there may be some who are more or less bad and some who are good. Most of us are just middling, and trying to do the best we can.

If you can remember that, and just stick to it, you will have solved the problem of goodwill, and with it the problem of peace. Please therefore remember that the children you do not know in other countries are very much like the children you do know. The unknown children may speak languages different from yours, and their skins and faces may be different from what you are used to. But, really, they are just like the children you know, like your brothers and sisters, and your friends, and your play-mates at school. Please remember that. It is a very simple and obvious fact. It is so clear that it must be so that you hardly need to think about it at all in order to grasp that it is true. But, if you once realise that simple fact, get it really firmly into your minds, so that it stays there and you never lose sight

of it—once you do that, you will have done more for peace and you will understand what the world needs better than a great many grown-ups who think they are very wise.

I will now tell you why I think that is so. Many of you know that your father, or your big brother, or your uncle, was killed in the terrible war that raged all over the world between 1914 and 1918. Most of you know that your parents, and teachers, and other grown-ups are unhappy and full of anxiety because they fear another war may come. In all countries the people want peace, and in all countries they are increasing arms and soldiers.

Why is this so? Many complicated reasons are given, but at bottom they all boil down to the fact that people don't believe in the goodwill of other people, and fail to realise that men and women, as well as children, are much alike in all countries. If that truth were really grasped, the nations would trust each other. If they trusted each other they would see and respect each other's point of view. Then they would find it easy to work together. Even when they had different opinions about what ought to be done, they would find it easy to settle their differences.

Actually, nearly all the nations have promised, by accepting a treaty called the Covenant, to work together for their common good, and to settle their differences in peace and friendship. In order to do this they have banded themselves together into a worldwide League of Nations.

I am the Secretary-General of the League, which means that I am the servant of all the countries that have accepted the treaty called the Covenant.

That is why I hope you will believe me when I tell you that the most important thing that is needed to make the League of Nations work properly and to give the distracted world the peace it so sorely needs is goodwill, and the mutual understanding that springs from goodwill.

WHAT DOES INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION MEAN?

By JOSÉ CASTILLEJO,
Professor at the University of Madrid.

The present time is one of great anxiety and danger for the whole world. Apart from long-standing enmities, other occasions of strife are arising and it seems as though the defenders of the

peace were failing us and as though an epidemic of violence had settled down on the world. It is at this very moment that thirty delegates from twenty-three countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and America have met at Geneva in the endeavour to establish a work of intellectual co-operation between all peoples. Perhaps such a work is the only one that is capable of standing firm when conflicts threaten, and perhaps our efforts may in the future help to prevent or limit the severity of such conflicts.

Race, country, history, ambition, envy, pride—all these are disruptive factors. Their effects are twofold : they may impel men to acts of heroism or to acts of injustice and cruelty.

But there is something common to all mankind, something that admits of no differences nor grades of distinction, that serves as a light to men of all peoples and of all periods. I refer to reason, which the Greeks regarded as a human essence, a breath from Heaven which causes men to participate in the nature of the gods. Thanks to reason, races, languages, states and nations are without importance.

There is but little in common between the thoughts and feelings of the negro who does hard manual labour under a tropical sun, of the Chinese peasant steeped in centuries of tradition and of the American banker worn out by ambition and luxurious living.

Yet these different types of men, however widely different their interests may be, whether civilised or savage, are subject to the laws of nature, and for all of them reason is a common basis. Only with the aid of logic, of intelligence and of knowledge can they succeed in understanding each other.

This is why we may say that the idea of intellectual co-operation is founded on a rock that is unshaken by war or by the waves of economic conflict.

On that rock I take my stand when I speak to far-off peoples, inviting them to join in our enterprise.

Our task is to seek out, associate with us and organise thinkers, teachers and men of science throughout the world. In this way, we hope that the search for and the spirit of truth may enjoy full independence, untrammelled by frontiers or by political interests.

Knowledge is the heritage of all mankind. Thought cannot be coerced; no lasting barrier can be reared against it.

The universities, schools and laboratories of the whole world, though they may be differently organised, have a common purpose. We are therefore endeavouring to establish relations

between them by means of exchanges of books, professors and students.

We are helping in the preservation and enrichment of museums, libraries, collections of manuscripts and other treasures, which are the property of mankind although placed in the care of a single country.

We want to prevent the poisoning of teaching-manuals by human passion and their conversion into a source of hatred and calumny.

We are endeavouring to unite associations of students in different countries.

We arrange for periodic assemblies of international groups of thinkers who compare and discuss some of the great problems that are of concern to humanity. We encourage meetings of institutes already established in various countries for the study of international questions.

We are promoting the study of social science on new lines suggested by the formation of a League of Nations.

We place at the disposal of this intellectual co-operation those powerful modern instruments, the cinema and broadcasting. For the eye and ear are the doors of the understanding and of reason; they are the means of universal communication between mankind.

You distant peoples who from time to time receive through an uninspiring notice in the Press the warm appeal of the intellectual workers, you who suffer daily from the scourge of exploitation or of petty jealousy, reflect that the progress of medicine which alleviates your pain, of education which trains your children, of science which supplies you with machinery, clothing and food, of literature which delights you, of philosophy which comforts you—all these are not creations of a government or of a country, but marvellous products of the minds of all peoples and of all ages.

Tell your professors and your writers to join our crusade for the freeing of the intelligence from restrictions and from servitude; for placing it above petty interests and above the narrowness of national politics. The cultivation of truth for truth's sake is the greatest service we can render, not only to humanity, but to our own country.

Truth and knowledge have discovered a remedy for the most threatening dangers. They have raised mankind from the life of a brute to civilisation.

By truth and knowledge alone shall we find a solution for

international conflicts. Intellectual co-operation is the only path to peace.

The rougher this path is, the more glorious our journey. Brothers of distant continents and islands, will you follow us?

WHAT IS INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION DOING?

By Professor Gilbert MURRAY,

President of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

You have just heard the eloquent appeal of my colleague, Professor Castillejo. I will say a few words about the things we are actually doing and show how you can help.

One of our main tasks is to get men of intellect belonging to different nations to meet and to work together. We have established conferences between the heads of museums and libraries throughout Europe and between directors of university teaching, and now we are promoting a new enterprise in the field of social studies—namely, the co-operative study of international questions. In many countries there have been institutes or special societies for the study of these questions like the Council on Foreign Relations and the Foreign Policy Association in the United States, or the Royal Institute of International Affairs in Great Britain. All these bodies have studied international affairs, but each from its own separate national point of view. We persuaded some of them eight years ago to meet together and discuss these problems from a world point of view. The meetings have been a great success and many other institutes of the same kind have come into existence. In 1933, for instance, twenty-two different countries agreed to study for two years the great problem of collective security, and their studies resulted this year in the International Studies Conference, which met in London; after their discussions on Collective Security, the Conference chose for its next subject of study the problems of peaceful change—that is, how treaties can be modified or the existing state of affairs altered so as to allow for change produced by the rise or fall of population by migration and colonisation, or by the need of freer access to raw materials. Questions of this sort are at the root of most of the present suffering mankind. Sooner or later, the Governments will have to deal with them, and Governments will deal with them much better if the problems have first been studied and discussed in a scientific way by bands of disinterested students and historians.

This is an example of one kind of our work : the co-operation of savants of different countries in the interest of peace and human welfare.

Quite different is the co-operation of universities for the exchange of teachers and students and the comparative studies of the university systems of different countries; quite different, again, are the conferences of the various international student associations to discuss some of their own special problems— in particular, for instance, the problem of unemployment which now wrecks the life of so many young intellectuals. We held a students' conference on this subject last spring in Geneva, with the help of the International Labour Office, and have made proposals which would, in our opinion, very greatly reduce this kind of unemployment if Governments were willing to adopt them. But, even if we are disappointed in this respect, still, apart from any immediate practical result, these conferences are in themselves important. Many of those who are students now will be the statesmen and leaders of thought of the next generation. By these conferences, they will have got to know one another and become friends, which is a great thing for peace and good understanding between their countries.

I will not speak of the conversations and the exchanges of letters between leaders of thought in different countries on subjects which are not yet in the range of practical politics, but are soon likely to be so; of the agreements made for the protection and preservation of each nation's artistic treasures. I will not speak of the very interesting and useful work that is being done for co-ordinating scientific terminology so that the same scientific work shall have the same meaning in all languages. I will not even speak of the great plan that has been proposed for the collaboration of savants of many countries in a vast history of the origins of American civilisation from the times before Colombus onwards. Such a history would be a real work of international co-operation in the domain of the intellect, and if it ever takes shape, you will hear a great deal about it; but, while its fate is uncertain, the less said, perhaps, the better.

But let us get away from the savants and scientists and think of ordinary people.

The Assembly has directed us to think out one great problem of education so that young people throughout the world shall grow up, so far as we can manage it, in an atmosphere of peace and goodwill. We are to think out means whereby the young people in every nation belonging to the League shall, in the first

place, know the work and aims of the League of Nations, and, secondly, be trained to regard international co-operation as the normal method of world government. What an undertaking that is! But we are launched upon it, and in many countries, such as France, the United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries, it is being carried out with success. There are some exceptions; but, in general, the teachers throughout the world are co-operating admirably. What we need now is to have groups of teachers and directors of education enabled to visit other countries and see how this League teaching is given in nations other than their own. They will see, for instance, how such subjects as history and geography and modern languages are taught or ought to be taught, and I think they will get from their experience, not merely much useful knowledge, but also a sense of common effort and solidarity.

Will you help us in this great work of international goodwill? You can obviously do so, especially if you are teachers, if you are parents or in any sort of authority among your fellow citizens. But you can do so even if you have none of these special advantages. In all the science of radiology, there is nothing that radiates like human influence. If you care for peace between nations and for goodwill between man and man; if you will think about the aims and ideals of the League of Nations and let that thought help and guide your thinking on other subjects, you will be doing the true work of intellectual co-operation for which this Committee was created and for which Señor Castillejo and I are appealing to you from Geneva to-night.

WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL TELEVISION CENTRE.

A new invention, television, is well on the way to acquiring a firm footing in the modern world. It constitutes a new addition to the means available for ensuring the spread of knowledge and the interchange of ideas.

Since March 15th, 1935, there has been a regular service of radio-cinematographic transmissions at Berlin. These transmissions, which take place twice a day and represent a daily total of four hours, consist in the broadcasting of short news films, documentary films, etc. Receiving sets have been installed in several halls, to which entrance is free, in order to allow the Berlin public to form an idea of the present state of television and of what it may become in future. The range of the Berlin transmitting station is such as to ensure good reception throughout the capital. Meanwhile the construction of a new high-power radio-cinematographic transmitter is being rapidly pushed forward at the summit of the Brocken. The programmes broadcast by this new station will be able to be received in the towns of Leipzig, Brunswick, Hanover, Erfurt, Cassel and Halle.

In France, an experimental station of radio-cinematography and direct television is at present being put up on the top of the Eiffel Tower in Paris. The construction of this station was decided upon after a series of convincing experiments made in the last few months.

In England, in London, where the first practical demonstrations of television took place some ten years ago, two powerful transmitters of direct television and radio-cinematography are being put up which are expected to be the most efficient in the world.

In the United States, Italy, Hungary, Austria and nearly every other country, equipment is being constructed and regular television services are being organised.

As the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation said in one of its publications, "each important discovery in the sphere of

applied science brings mankind an additional responsibility and new duties ”.

Television consisting in the art of reproducing animated pictures at a distance, and being therefore the latest expression of the cinema, it was natural and logical that the International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome should decide to participate in a movement which comes directly within its province.

Whether the film is used as intermediary (and it will have to be so used for a long time to come for technical reasons, and for reasons connected with the composition of programmes), or whether images of life are taken and transmitted direct, television is nothing else than the cinematograph in its most highly developed form. In the first case mentioned, we merely replace the cinema lantern by a central station, which, with the help of Hertzian waves, throws pictures on to the screens of apparatus installed in private houses, societies, clubs, etc.; in the second case, we have to deal with a special new photographic apparatus capable of recording scenes of daily life direct and transmitting them direct (projection) through space on to the screens of receivers situated in various places.

It matters little whether the means of transmission or projection of the pictures is light or Hertzian waves; the important thing for the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, as the technical organ which is competent to deal with this question, is to endeavour, in agreement with the other organisations concerned, to contribute towards the development, particularly for cultural and educational purposes, of this great new instrument for the diffusion of thought.

Last February, the Institute published a special number of its review, *Interciné*, entirely devoted to the study of the different problems raised by the practical utilisation of television. Afterwards, in April last, on the initiative of the Institute, the first International Television Congress met at Nice under the chairmanship of M. Louis Lumière.

We need not describe here what happened at this meeting, which was fully reported in the international Press, and which brought together for the first time the qualified representatives of the cinema and radio worlds, as well as some of the most outstanding personalities in the scientific, technical and industrial branches of television. It was decided at this meeting to organise an effort of international co-operation for the purpose of ensuring the harmonious development of television.

In accordance with the recommendations adopted at Nice, the Permanent Executive Committee of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute decided last May to set up an Advisory Committee on television questions, as well as an International Centre for the study of these questions, also attached to the said Institute.

The Centre, which began work on July 1st last, is not merely intended to act as an executive organ of the Advisory Committee, it is also responsible for collecting information on the following points :

- Technical information (patents, applications, etc.);
- Experimental information (accounts of experiments and tests
 - in different countries);
- Information on practical applications, information on the principal stations in operation, working of these stations, etc.;
- Information regarding the interest displayed by the public and the Press;
- Information on the technical relations between television and the cinematograph and broadcasting;
- Information on the use of television for cultural and educational purposes and on its international rôle.

All this documentary material is kept at the disposal of the organisations and private individuals (scholars, journalists, etc.) concerned. The Centre also endeavours to establish liaison between the principal groups and scientific and industrial circles dealing with television in the different countries, and between these groups and those dealing with the cinema and broadcasting.

The Centre, whose funds are provided by the Italian Government, will also have an experimental television transmitting station and laboratory for demonstrations and tests (at present under construction).

The station and the laboratory will be placed at the disposal of savants of every country, who will be able to use it for their studies and experimental research.

The Centre will co-operate in the development of television by its activity in the sphere of documentation, by the liaison tasks which it is preparing to assume, by the publications which it will issue and by the research and experiments which will be carried out in its laboratories.

Official Documents.

WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION DURING THE PAST YEAR.

In order to enable readers of the *Bulletin* to gain some idea of the work of the Organisation in the matter of education, we have thought it desirable to review, in the following pages, the various plans and problems included in its programme.

More complete information, and, indeed, the full text of the resolutions of the July session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, will be found in this Committee's report¹ and in the *Bulletin de la Coopération intellectuelle* published by the Paris Institute. Furthermore, the text of the resolutions referring to questions of education is reproduced in this number on pages 291 *et seq.*

As regards the work of the Committee and its Advisory Committee relative to the instruction of youth in the aims of the League, the reader may consult the special article in this number concerning the work of the Advisory Committee and Professor Gilbert Murray's report on page 173.—[*Editor's note.*]

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES.

At its meetings on May 3rd and 4th, 1935, the Committee of Directors of Higher Education passed from the initial stage of negotiations and preparatory work to that of practical realisation. In the light of reports concerning the organisation of higher education received from a large number of countries, the Committee recommended the collection of this documentary information into a volume consisting of the following chapters: Historical survey and fundamental principles; relations between the State and universities; internal organisation of institutions of higher education; examinations, degrees, tuition fees; scholarships and student welfare organisations; university buildings; finance.

It will be remembered that the Committee had also decided to study national policies in the matter of scientific research. It sought to determine and define the measures taken to satisfy the increasing demands made on scientific research, demands which the universities,

¹ Cf. Document C.290.M.154.1935.XII.

at least within their traditional framework, can no longer satisfy. In the special reports submitted to the Committee, each of the countries considered explained the history, purpose, constitution and administration of the major national organisations for the promotion of scientific research.

In the light of the documentary material examined and the discussions which took place, the Committee decided that its future programme of work should be : (1) To complete the reports on higher education and the organisation of scientific research; (2) to extend the same enquiry to a further group of countries and take the necessary steps with the Governments of those countries; (3) study of the question of the distribution of professorships in universities; (4) examination of the conditions of admission to establishments of higher education; (5) the question of tuition fees; (6) legal protection of university degrees.

EDUCATIONAL DOCUMENTATION AND INFORMATION CENTRES.

It will be remembered that the Institute was asked by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to promote, in as many countries as possible, the formation of National Educational Documentation Centres and to organise regular contact and collaboration between these centres. During 1933-34, thirty-three countries responded to the invitation addressed to them by the Institute, and, during 1934-35, five further centres were established as a result of the Institute's intervention. A description of these recently created organisations and of their activities appeared in the supplement to the *Handbook of National Educational Documentation Centres* published last year. This supplement also contained new lists of educational journals.

The Institute also carried out a preliminary experiment in bibliography by publishing a volume entitled "International Educational Bibliography". The particulars given relate exclusively to national systems and international relations regarding education. On the basis of the experience acquired in the course of this first experiment, the Institute intends to continue this bibliography, adding information concerning notable works and articles relating to methods of teaching and philosophy of education.

Continuing its efforts to establish closer collaboration between national centres, the Institute also proposes to ask a small committee of experts to express an opinion as to the questions which might profitably be studied simultaneously. The Institute has received a great number of suggestions. Furthermore, it has already been found that these questions will need to be dealt with in detail from the point of view of documentation before any useful purpose can be served by convening a general conference of all the representatives of the different centres and official educational authorities.

REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS.

It will be remembered that the Institute was authorised to undertake the examination of the history text-books used in a certain number of countries with a view to collecting and publishing certain

chapters or passages illustrating the progress already made in the teaching of history. Replies have already been received from the Committees of Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden. Contributions from France, Norway and the United States of America have been promised for an early date. This study will, above all, bring out clearly the spirit in which school text-books are conceived in certain countries, which, generally speaking, have already made a serious attempt to improve school-books. Moreover, the enquiry on the teaching of world history and civic history and mutual understanding between nations has also been continued during the year. The section devoted to the whole range of these questions in the *Bulletin de la Coopération intellectuelle* has been enlarged and will henceforward embrace history teaching and the revision of school text-books.

In 1934, on M. Emile Borel's proposal that one or more models of bilateral agreements should be placed at the disposal of countries prepared to undertake commitments in this connection, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation drew up two texts, one in the form of an agreement and the other in the form of a declaration. The Committee decided in favour of the latter form; and the text which it is ready to recommend to the attention of Governments will be found on page 292.

BROADCASTING AND PEACE.

The preliminary draft Convention for the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace, which was first examined by Governments during the year 1934, has been amended in the light of the various observations made, and was again submitted by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to the various States at the beginning of April 1935.

At the time when this session opened, twenty-eight Governments had already sent in their replies. This promptness was taken to be a happy augury for the success of the Convention, as was noted by the Committee in a resolution requesting the Assembly to draw up the procedure to be followed with a view to the conclusion of the agreement. The Committee made no suggestion, but left it entirely to the Assembly to decide whether the draft should be discussed at one of its ordinary sessions or whether it was preferable to convene a special conference. The Assembly decided to request the Council to place the conclusions of this agreement on the agenda of the next Assembly, in order that the problem might be examined in 1936 by an *ad hoc* conference constituted during the Assembly by delegates provided with the necessary powers.

SCHOOL BROADCASTING.

In order that the enquiry, the results of which were published two years ago, might be supplemented and kept up to date, the Institute has kept educators informed on fresh initiatives and on the progress made in various countries in the matter of school and post-school broadcasting. These communications, experts' studies and reviews of works and articles dealing with this subject have been regularly published in the *Bulletin de la Coopération intellectuelle* in the section entitled "Radiodiffusion éducative".

The bulletin has also announced the principal measures taken by official and unofficial bodies for the promotion of better international understanding—*e.g.*, international broadcast, relays, programmes making known the civilisation of foreign countries, etc.

Lastly, a memorandum on the educational rôle of television was submitted by the Institute to the Committee of Experts which met in Nice in April 1935 under the auspices of the International Educational Cinematograph Institute.

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL CORRESPONDENCE.

During the past year, further links have been added to the chain of International School Correspondence Bureaux by the "recognition" of bureaux recently established or reorganised in Roumania and Czechoslovakia. Negotiations were also opened with a view to the constitution of new bureaux in South Africa, Bulgaria, India and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Lastly, the Bureau of the Standing Committee for International School Correspondence met in Paris on February 2nd, 1935. The principal question on the agenda was the consideration of the situation of international school correspondence in the United Kingdom.

The seventh annual number of the *International School Correspondence Bulletin* was issued in June; it contains reports on the activities of the bureaux and new proposals for the improvement of their operation.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL AND EXCHANGE OF YOUNG PEOPLE.

The Institute has remained in touch with the fourteen National Centres which were formed last year and which were entrusted with the co-ordination, in their respective countries, of the activities of organisations which concern themselves with the international interchange of young people. No further centres have been organised; the reason is to be found in the importance and the activity of the different institutions which, in one way or another, devote their attention to promoting and facilitating international meetings among young people. The fact remains, however, that, although it is desirable that each of these institutions be allowed to develop in its own particular sphere, co-ordinated action would present many advantages and would facilitate the settlement of common problems. This collaboration is all the more necessary, since the persistence of economic and political difficulties is not, generally speaking, conducive to the development of international travel. There has been an increase in applications for exchanges as compared with the number of "paying guests" and, in many cases, the applicants expressed a desire to take up residence in a locality as near as possible to the national frontier; on the other hand, there has been a falling-off in the number of offers for guests *au pair*. In this latter connection, the conditions regulating the employment of foreign workers in the different countries have seriously restricted the possibilities of placing young people abroad.

Mention should also be made of the restrictive action resulting from the drastic measures taken in many countries against the export of currency.

It must also be admitted that the political situation has had a very marked influence on these exchange movements. Travel between certain countries has declined and, in some cases, ceased entirely; while the establishing of fresh contacts has compensated in a measure for the cessation of the old; for example, several holiday camps have recently been opened, notably in Spain, and these promise very encouraging results.

Lastly, it is gratifying to note the steady development of youth hostels, over 3,600 now having been opened in twenty European countries; in 1933, five million young people passed through these establishments. Thanks to international congresses and the activity of the International Association in which the various leagues are grouped, liaison and mutual service seem to be definitely assured among them.

MEETING OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ORGANISATIONS.

This year, the Committee of International Student Organisations undertook a joint study of the problems arising out of the unemployment of young university graduates. The dangers resulting from a diminution in the possibilities of employment for this category of young people may ultimately lead to grave consequences, not only for the social order, but also for the future of the liberal professions and of intellectual life as a whole. The international student associations, whose members are directly menaced by this situation, considered it their duty to address an urgent appeal to all the competent authorities and, in particular, to the International Labour Conference, which discussed the more general question of unemployment among young people at its session in June.

The programme of this joint study was drawn up at a restricted meeting of the Committee held in Paris on November 26th, 1934. Each of the member organisations set itself the task of investigating a specific aspect of the problem of university unemployment, and agreed to submit a report, accompanied by factual evidence, to the tenth plenary session, which was to be devoted almost entirely to the discussion of their memoranda.

This session was held on April 10th and 11th at the Secretariat of the League of Nations, Geneva. The chair was taken by M. Oscar de Halecki, Professor at the University of Warsaw. Three representatives from each of the following organisations attended: International Confederation of Students, International Student Service, International Federation of University Women, World Student Christian Federation, International Universities Federation for the Study of the League of Nations and the Organisation of Peace, Pax Romana, and the World Union of Jewish Students. The meeting was particularly grateful for the support and advice given to it by M. Fernand Maurette, Assistant Director of the International Labour Office, and by several of his assistants entrusted with the examination of questions pertaining to unemployment among young people.

The discussion of this question was based on the reports prepared by the organisations affiliated to the Committee and circulated before the meeting, together with the documentary material assembled by the Institute with the help of the Ministries of public education, the University Statistics Bureaux and other similar organisations, on the steps taken in thirty-three countries to alleviate unemployment among young university graduates.

The results of the discussion are summarised in a resolution condemning certain measures calculated to restrict access to employment and to education, and advocating various steps that should be taken in the organisation of intellectual employment. The Committee decided to submit this resolution to the International Labour Conference, which met at Geneva in June 1935 and which placed the question of unemployment among young people on its agenda. The Committee considered it highly desirable that the Conference should concern itself with questions relating specifically to young unemployed intellectuals and that it should endorse the Committee's proposals in this connection. It recommended, *inter alia*, the formation of a Service of International Documentation on the placing of intellectual workers, to function as a section of the International Labour Office, and the development of statistics on unemployment and the filling of vacancies in the intellectual professions.

COLLABORATION IN THE REORGANISATION OF EDUCATION IN CHINA.

The collaboration instituted with the Chinese Government some years ago in the matter of education has been the subject of the report of a special Sub-Committee, which is included in the annexed documents.

All the members of the Committee who took part in the discussion of this report emphasised the great interest attaching to contact with Chinese students in Europe and America in its effect on the future of relations between the Far East and the West.

The Chinese Government is interested in the matter, and has established at Nanking a real centre for guidance in the choice of an occupation. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation will be happy to co-operate with it in regard to the placing of Chinese students in the West. It has decided to transmit to it the preparatory documentation it has collected for this purpose. The Committee has also noted with satisfaction the continued success of the work done by the commission of educationists which the Committee sent to China some years ago. It is anxious, in particular, to thank Professor Escarra, of Paris University, for his very remarkable study on the teaching of law in China.

The Committee has noted with the utmost interest the statement made by M. Haas, who, in the course of his recent mission in China, collected impressions calculated to make additions of the utmost value to the elements on which the Committee can count in its estimate of the situation in China.

LIAISON WITH THE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

The Liaison Committee for Major International Associations held two plenary sessions—one at the Institute on February 21st and 22nd, 1935, and the other at the Secretariat of the League of Nations on July 8th and 9th. On glancing through the concise reports which the major associations submit every year to the Liaison Committee, one is struck by the activity they are displaying throughout this trying period of crisis, in the cause of peace, in support of the League of Nations and, perhaps most of all, in promoting a proper training of youth. Their influence is exercised, not only through their central organisations, but also through their national branches, thanks to the publication of bulletins and the holding of periodical meetings. Several of them have held important congresses and assemblies during the past year. Exchanges, communications and visits have been organised among the national branches, and these activities have not been confined to Europe but have extended to countries overseas. Their recruiting activities have generally been crowned with success. In a word, a spirit of international life animates the work of these associations, and it is a matter of considerable interest to see them rely on the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and to associate themselves with its efforts, whose immediate bearing and future consequences they so well understand.

Their mission, moreover, prepares them for this collaboration. The agenda of the greater part of their meetings provide for the discussion of the organisation of peace, moral *rapprochement* and the protection of culture. Special attention is devoted to educational questions, not only from the point of view of the instruction of young people, but also from the point of view of moral training, even after they have left school and in their spare time, as well as to the training of teachers and educators.

Among the questions that received special consideration in February by the Liaison Committee, acting in collaboration with the Institute, mention should be made of the instruction of youth in the aims of the League of Nations.

Moral disarmament and unemployment among young people were also considered by the Committee.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING.

REPORT ON THE SECOND SESSION HELD AT GENEVA ON JULY 10TH AND 11TH, 1935.

The Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching, constituted in accordance with the decision of the Council of the League of Nations of September 22nd, 1933 (seventy-sixth session), held its second session at Geneva on July 10th and 11th, 1935, under the chairmanship of Professor Gilbert Murray.

The Committee is composed of three members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, two members of the former Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations, appointed by the Chairman, and of assessors appointed by the Executive Committee of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation for the period of one session.

The following took part in the second session :

Members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

- Professor Gilbert MURRAY (British), Chairman;
 M. José CASTILLEJO (Spanish), Professor of the Institutions of Roman Law in the University of Madrid;
 Mr. Waldo LELAND (American), Permanent Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, replacing Professor J. T. Shotwell; assisted by Mr. Malcolm DAVIS (American), Director of the Carnegie Endowment at Paris.

Members of the Former Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations :

- Mme. L. DREYFUS-BARNEY (French), President of the Committee on the Cinematograph and Broadcasting of the International Council of Women;
 M. F. RIMONDINI (Italian), Superintendent of Studies for Piedmont, replacing Professor G. Gallavresi.

Assessors :

- M. G. BOLKESTEIN (Netherlands), Inspector of Secondary Education, Amsterdam;
 M. C. BOUGLÉ (French), Director of the *Ecole normale supérieure*, Paris;
 M. I. NIELSEN (Danish), Secretary-General of the Danish Peace and League of Nations Society, Copenhagen.

M. E. RADL (Czech), Professor of Philosophy in the University of Prague;
 Mr. A. ZIMMERN (British), Professor of International Relations in the University of Oxford.

The following were also invited to attend : M. J. PIAGET (Swiss), Professor in the University of Geneva, Director of the International Bureau of Education, co-Director of the University Institute of Educational Sciences; M. Th. RUYSSSEN (French), Secretary-General of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, Geneva.

The representatives of three National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation also attended—namely : M. E. BLESE (Latvian National Committee), M. N. BRAUNSHAUSEN (Luxemburg National Committee), M. G. FINNBOGASON (Iceland National Committee).

The International Labour Office was represented by Mr. Mack EASTMAN, Chief of Section.

The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was represented by its Director, M. H. BONNET, and its Secretary-General, M. D. SECRETAN.

The Secretariat of the League of Nations was represented by M. M. PILOTTI, Deputy Secretary-General; M. J. D. DE MONTENACH, Secretary of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation; and M. G. G. KULLMANN, Member of the Intellectual Co-operation Section.

At its four meetings, the Committee examined the various items on its agenda :

LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The Committee took note of a report by the Secretariat on the results of the enquiry on the training of members of the teaching profession and the action taken on the suggestions of Governments. It also considered the introductory notes by the Secretariat containing proposals dealing with the work which the Committee might undertake in connection with the teaching of history, geography and modern languages.

The following resolution was adopted :

“ The Advisory Committee,

“ After an exchange of views regarding the basic principles of teaching on the subjects of the League of Nations and international relations, and upon the practical tasks which it should recommend :

“ Deems it desirable to put forward the following considerations :

“ (a) The object of teaching on the subjects of the League of Nations and international relations must be not only to give the younger generation an objective knowledge of the international aspects of a great many problems of contemporary affairs. It must also be based on moral considerations, with a view to fostering sentiments of justice and human solidarity.

“ (b) The experience already gained in regard to teaching on the subjects of the League of Nations and international

relations has brought out certain fundamental concepts and certain essential facts which constitute the substance of this teaching, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, has made it possible to determine the most appropriate technical methods of instruction.

“(c) The Committee’s task is not simply to promote instruction on the organisation and work of the League of Nations as a separate subject, but to propagate a certain ‘spirit’, an ‘international sense’, with which education as a whole should be imbued.

“Among the branches of instruction which appear to be best calculated to bring out the importance of international life to-day, the Committee, recalling its previous resolutions on this matter, considers that, at the present time, special attention should be paid to history, geography and modern languages.

“*History and Geography.*

“(a) In recommending this study, the Committee desires to define clearly the standpoint it has always adopted.

“It is anxious to prevent any kind of overlapping, and to avoid interfering in any way in the proper sphere of specialised congresses and associations, such as the International Congresses on History Teaching, the International Committee on Historical Sciences, the International Geographical Union, etc.

“(b) The Committee is of opinion, however, that the teaching of history and geography, considered from the point of view it is bound to adopt, involves not merely close co-operation with specialists, but also liaison with private associations, such as those represented on the Liaison Committee of Major International Associations, parents’ associations, and, more generally, those concerned both with teaching in the strict sense and with the moral education of the young.

“(c) In the course of a preliminary period, this co-operation, as now contemplated, might take the form of consultations appropriate to the different characters of the associations to be consulted and to the varying nature of their several probable contributions.

“*Modern Languages.*

“(a) In recommending to the attention of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation the importance of modern language teaching as a means of illustrating the intellectual contributions of different peoples, the Committee fully realises the part that may likewise be played by the study and knowledge of the classical languages as a common fund of culture and a factor of mutual understanding and *rapprochement*.

“(b) The Committee considers, however, that the examination of the various aspects of the question of modern language teaching, from the standpoint from which the Committee must regard it, has not yet been carried far enough to enable it to make any specific proposals.

"The Committee is of opinion that the study carried out by the British League of Nations Union, the results of which are embodied in a pamphlet entitled 'Modern Language Teaching in Relation to World Citizenship', might be taken as an example for purposes of guidance in similar consultations in other countries.

"(c) Being anxious to secure the utmost possible assistance from specialised institutions, the Committee proposes that these preliminary consultations should be carried out by the International Bureau of Education, acting in conjunction with the International Association of Modern Language Teachers and in liaison with the Secretariat.

"(d) The results of these consultations, carried out for, but not by, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, will be embodied in a report on the basis of which the Committee will draw up a programme of possible action at its next session.

"The Committee submits these various proposals for the approval of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and requests the latter to give any necessary directions to the Executive Committee for the purpose of fitting in the execution of this programme of work with the other activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation."

**PROPOSAL FOR THE PUBLICATION OF A WORK ON THE AIMS
AND ACTIVITIES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FOR THE USE
OF TEACHERS.**

The Committee considered the detailed plan of the work submitted to it by the Information and Intellectual Co-operation Sections. Various useful suggestions were put forward during the discussion, and will be borne in mind in the final drafting. The Committee approved the plan of the publication, in principle, in the following resolution :

"The Advisory Committee,

"Recalling the previous resolutions of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Teaching of Youth concerning the publication of a handbook to replace the 'Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations' :

"Welcomes the decision of the Information and Intellectual Co-operation Sections of the Secretariat to prepare a work of this kind during the present year;

"Notes that the plan which has been submitted to it represents in its main lines the views of the members of the Committee, and that it is the intention of the author to give the necessary prominence to a statement concerning the technical and humanitarian work of the League of Nations and the work of the International Labour Office and other League institutions ;

"Notes further that it is the author's intention to stress, in addition to the preventive work of the League, the importance, from the standpoint of the organisation of peace, of the system of international conferences instituted and developed by the League;

“Trusts that, as far as possible, account may be taken, in the compilation of the new work, of the special interest shown by the teaching profession in certain parts of the earlier publication ‘Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations’.

“The Advisory Committee requests the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to approve the plan of the handbook and to recommend any measures that may be useful in making it known —*e.g.* by the Secretariat’s fixing the sale price as low as possible and encouraging its translation into as many languages as possible.”

RELATIONS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL STUDIES CONFERENCE.

The Committee heard a statement by the Secretary of the Organisation on the present state of the enquiry into the study of international relations in higher educational institutions. It reaffirmed its desire to maintain co-operation with the Conference in the following resolution :

“The Advisory Committee :

“Confirms the importance it attaches to the maintenance of the links of co-operation established with the International Studies Conference since 1931;

“Observes that the first result of that co-operation has been the enquiry conducted by the Secretariat among the institutions of twenty-two countries, and that the replies received will enable Mr. S. H. Bailey, who has undertaken this work, to present the results of the enquiry in the form of a comparative study which will be submitted to the Committee at its next session;

“Considers that the completion of the work entrusted to Mr. Bailey will mark the close of an initial stage in that co-operation, and that it will then rest with the Committee to consider in what form and in what direction such co-operation is to be continued.”

The Committee observes that, since 1931, the International Studies Conference and the organisations of which it is composed have considerably extended their activities, and that it is necessary to guard against any risk of overlapping between their work and that for which the Advisory Committee is responsible, by adhering more strictly to the standpoint of League of Nations teaching.

It thinks it desirable that consideration should be given forthwith to the possibilities offered by economic studies as a means of bringing home the interdependence of the modern world.

It accordingly requests the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to make arrangements to enable representatives appointed by the International Studies Conference to take part next year in the preparation of a new programme of co-operation between the two bodies, on the basis of Mr. Bailey’s conclusions and such suggestions as may be received by the Secretariat in the meanwhile.

STUDY TOURS BY EDUCATIONAL EXPERTS.

The Committee considered the resolutions concerning study tours by educational experts, which were forwarded to it by the Liaison Committee of Major International Associations and the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. It unanimously recognised the desirability of these tours. It also considered that individual tours by officials of Ministries of education, either to Geneva or elsewhere, should be facilitated by all the means at the disposal of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. Taking into account the experience gained in the interchange of officials arranged by the Health Section, and the encouraging results of the mission of Chinese educationists to Europe, and having noted the results of the missions undertaken by representatives of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, the Committee formulated the following recommendations :

“ The Advisory Committee,

“ Having taken cognisance of the resolutions of the Liaison Committee of Major International Organisations and of the Federation of League of Nations Societies regarding collective tours by educational experts;

“ Recalling, moreover, the passages in its 1934 resolution concerning the organisation of missions of representatives of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation for the purpose of making known methods of League of Nations teaching and the work already done in this field :

“ Adopts the following resolutions :

“ I.

“ The Advisory Committee declares itself unanimously in favour of the principle of study tours by educational experts, and requests the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, if it shares this view, to ask the Assembly of the League of Nations for the means of putting this scheme into effect.

“ In view of the experience acquired in the course of the interchanges of officials organised by the Health Section and at the time of the tour of the Chinese educational experts in Europe, the Committee considers that these visits should be planned in accordance with the following main principles :

“ (a) The group of visitors should consist of qualified administrative officials or educational experts appointed by the national departments in charge of educational questions in their respective countries.

“ (b) This group should be invited by a particular country, after previous agreement with the responsible authorities of that country, to undertake a study tour, during which it should be given an opportunity of acquainting itself with the steps taken and the results obtained in the teaching of international questions at the various

stages of education. Lectures and discussions should be arranged during the tour.

“(c) The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should be entrusted with the preparation of these tours.

“ II.

“ The Committee,

“ Having taken note of the results of the missions undertaken by representatives of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in different countries :

“ Considers that such journeys usefully supplement the consultations and enquiries undertaken by the Secretariat with a view to promoting teaching on the subject of the League of Nations and international co-operation;

- “ Recommends that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should draw the Assembly’s attention to the utility of these missions, and should request it to grant the necessary credits in order to permit the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, acting in each case in agreement with the country concerned, to send such missions more frequently.”

RÔLE OF LIBRARIES IN THE DISSEMINATION OF PUBLICATIONS
OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Committee examined a note on this question prepared by M. Julien Cain, General Administrator of the Bibliothèque nationale, of Paris, and a memorandum by the Librarian of the League of Nations. The Committee unanimously endorsed the various suggestions put before it. It accordingly adopted the following resolution :

“ The Advisory Committee,

“ Having taken cognisance of the note by M. Julien Cain on the rôle of libraries in the dissemination of publications of the League of Nations;

“ Having heard the statement of the representative of the Librarian of the League of Nations Secretariat :

“ Notes that libraries can do much to make the objects, organisation and methods of the League of Nations known and properly appreciated;

“ Considers that this means should not be neglected, but should be brought to the attention of the public authorities and of the private organisations in the different countries, such as librarians’ associations and the National Committees for Intellectual Co-operation, whose representations to library authorities might prove effective;

“ Requests the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to recommend, in the most appropriate form, provisions with the following objects :

“ (a) To make better known the existing bibliographical works which deal with League of Nations publications and

which, though intended for libraries, might usefully be made better known among the public, particularly for the use of specialist associations.

“(b) To promote the publication in other countries of works on the lines of Professor C. Bouglé’s ‘ Guide de l’étudiant en matière de la Société des Nations ’, as such publications can always be so framed as to answer the requirements, not only of young people specialising in the study of certain questions relating to the League of Nations, but, in a more general way, of associations or personages who collaborate in the work of making the League of Nations known in their respective countries.

“(c) To urge library authorities to organise regular or occasional exhibitions of special collections of publications of the League of Nations.

“ With this object, private national organisations, such as the National Committees for Intellectual Co-operation, might make representations to the library authorities and supplement the exhibitions referred to by talks on the main lines of the activities of the League of Nations and the related institutions.

“(d) To direct the attention of the national educational information centres to the importance of keeping their collections of publications on the League of Nations up to date and of increasing the circulation of such publications.”

CONTACT WITH THE LIAISON COMMITTEE OF THE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

The Committee heard with great interest Mme. Dreyfus-Barney’s statement on the work of the last session of the Liaison Committee of the Major International Organisations which met for the first time at Geneva on July 8th and 9th, 1935. The Committee also took note of a recommendation by the Liaison Committee on the preparation of propaganda material. After hearing the explanations given by the Director of the Information Section on the work in progress with a view to the publication of popular handbooks and the production of a propaganda film and lantern slides, the Committee endorsed the Liaison Committee’s suggestions in the following resolution :

“ The Advisory Committee,

“ Having taken note of a resolution of the Liaison Committee of the Major International Organisations concerning the publication of popular handbooks, the production of propaganda films and lantern slides on the League of Nations;

“ Recognises the importance of the suggestions thus submitted;

“ Directs the attention of the competent Sections of the League of Nations Secretariat, of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and of the Educational Cinematographic Institute to the desirability of adopting practical measures in response to the recommendations of the many associations whose views the Liaison Committee has interpreted.”

CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES ON INTELLECTUAL
CO-OPERATION IN 1937.

The Committee unanimously endorsed Mme. Dreyfus-Barney's suggestions for the placing of the problem of League of Nations teaching on the agenda of the Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, to be held at Paris in 1937. In that connection, it also recommended that the Committee should be represented at that meeting with a view to enabling it to arrange for closer collaboration with the National Committees.

SEVENTEENTH PLENARY SESSION OF
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON
INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING QUESTIONS
OF TEACHING.

WORK OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS
TEACHING.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

Having heard Professor Gilbert Murray's report on the work of the second session of the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching :

Approves as a whole the programme of work outlined in the resolutions adopted by the Committee;

Requests the Executive Committee to arrange for the execution of the proposed programme, and particularly to bear in mind the Advisory Committee's recommendations as regards the choice of questions to be placed on the agenda of its next session;

Draws the Assembly's attention to the importance of facilitating tours by groups of educational experts and also missions of representatives of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and requests it to consider the insertion in the budget of appropriations for this purpose.

SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation desires to emphasise the considerable importance which, in its opinion, attaches, from the standpoint of the League of Nations and therefore of peace, to the scientific study of international relations as pursued since 1931 under the auspices of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, both in the Permanent International Studies Conference and in the numerous institutions associated with the latter in its work.

It congratulates the members of the Conference, who, by their very thorough researches over a period of two years into the question of collective security, have given the eighth Conference, held in London in June 1935, its great scientific value.

It expresses its special gratitude to the organisers of the Conference—viz., the British Co-ordinating Committee for International Studies, with the collaboration of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the London School of Economics and Political Science.

It observes with keen satisfaction the growing tendency to establish research institutes occupied exclusively with the objective and disinterested study of international relations.

It hopes that still closer contact may be established between national research centres through the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, thereby making it possible to develop fruitful collaboration in joint research.

SOCIAL SCIENCES.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is gratified to note that the Institute has taken steps to give effect to Professor Shotwell's proposal to extend the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in the field of the social and political sciences, through arranging for the preparation of surveys of the study of international relations in the different countries following the example of the survey published by the American Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and also through the study of a special subject, such as "the adaptation of mechanisation to the conditions of human labour".

In this latter connection, it thanks the International Labour Office for its valuable assistance in drawing up a preliminary programme of study.

After a full discussion of the choice of the subject in question and its possible development, the Committee considers it desirable that the study of the subject should be continued, and that experts should be consulted with a view to delimiting the problem and to define those of its aspects which should be studied in greater detail later. The Committee requests the Institute, in conjunction with the International Labour Office, to carry out the contemplated consultations and to report the results to the Executive Committee, which will decide upon the procedure to be followed, and will take whatever steps may be necessary to ensure the continuance of the work.

The Committee also requests the Institute, in view of the trends of opinion that emerged during the discussion, to consider the possibility of organising a meeting for study (Conversation) to follow up the Committee's own exchange of views.

BILATERAL AND REGIONAL INTELLECTUAL AGREEMENTS.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has noted with the keenest interest the report prepared by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, at the request of the Executive Committee, on bilateral agreements concerning matters of intellectual co-operation.

It notes that these agreements, which, before the war, were confined to certain specific problems, are not only steadily increasing in number but are also being extended to new aspects of international life.

It considers that these efforts, which run on lines parallel to its own work, are pursuing similar aims, and regards them as the culmination of its own endeavours.

While congratulating those Governments which have concluded

such agreements, it desires to draw attention to the advisability of their remaining open as far as possible to the accession of other States, instead of being confined to two countries, or to certain groups of countries.

It also considers that, in its numerous national committees, it possesses organs competent to participate, if necessary, both in the framing of the agreements in question and in their application.

It requests the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to consider the possibility of publishing a collection of intellectual agreements properly so-called, presenting at the same time, if possible, the results obtained.

BROADCASTING AND PEACE.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation recalls the interest it has always shown in the problem of broadcasting and the cause of peace. It has studied it in past years, not only in order to prevent the abuse of this powerful method of communication from envenoming international relations, but also in order to improve those relations by talks devoted to the mutual knowledge of peoples.

The Committee notes with satisfaction that, at the date of its meeting—only three months after the communication of the new preliminary draft international Convention by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to the Governments—twenty-eight States have already sent in their replies. It interprets this fact as a mark of genuine interest and expresses its satisfaction thereat.

It is also glad to note that its work has already been useful to certain Governments, particularly in South America, which have taken it as a basis for the special Conventions they have had occasion to conclude.

It hopes that the negotiations now in progress between the International Broadcasting Union and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation regarding interchanges of national programmes will be concluded on the lines most favourable to its aims, and in a general way it expresses the hope that co-operation between these two institutions will continue in the future as in the past.

It transmits to the Council and to the Assembly of the League of Nations the preliminary draft Convention for the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace, leaving it to the Assembly to choose between the different procedures likely to hasten the signature of this agreement, whether the Assembly decides to proceed with this matter at one of its ordinary sessions or whether it prefers to summon a special diplomatic conference for this purpose.

UTILISATION OF THE RADIO-NATIONS STATION.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,
Recalling its previous resolution on this matter :

Emphasises the value of the measures taken during the year with a view to the regular utilisation of the Radio-Nations Station for broadcasts which will be of a cultural and educational character, thus fulfilling the aims of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation;

Urges that these efforts should be continued and intensified; And accordingly recommends that the members of the Committee and of the other Committees connected therewith, as well as the National Committees, should readily accede to any requests for collaboration which the Secretariat may make to them.

REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

Having taken note of the work done by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in the matter of the revision of school text-books;

Being further informed of the work undertaken in the same field through the National Committees, national and international organisations of historians and organisations of school-teachers and educators;

Being happy to further these efforts, instructs the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to continue the work it has undertaken, recommending it to keep in touch with the other organisations concerned;

Desirous, further, of ensuring the greatest possible measure of support for this work, and, *inter alia*, the support of Governments in all cases where private initiative can be facilitated by official action :

Decides to submit to the Assembly of the League of Nations a draft declaration of principle in the matter of revision of history text-books, and to request it to be good enough, after examining the draft, to open it for signature by the States Members and non-members of the League of Nations.

Draft Declaration regarding the Revision of History Text-books.

The Governments of

Desirous of strengthening and developing the good relations uniting them with other countries;

Convinced that those relations will be further strengthened if the younger generation in every country is given a wider knowledge of the history of other nations;

Realising the necessity of obviating the dangers that may arise through the tendentious presentation of certain historical events in school text-books :

Declare that they agree, each for its own part, upon the following principles :

1. It is desirable that the attention of the competent authorities in every country, and of authors of school text-books, should be drawn to the expediency :

(a) Of assigning as large a place as possible to the history of other nations;

(b) Of giving prominence, in the teaching of world history, to facts calculated to bring about a realisation of the interdependence of nations.

2. It is desirable that every Government should endeavour to ascertain by what means, more especially in connection with the choice of school-books, schoolchildren may be put on their guard against all such allegations and interpretations as might arouse unjust prejudices against other nations.

3. It is desirable that in every country a committee composed of members of the teaching profession, including history teachers, should be set up by the National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, where such exists, in collaboration with other qualified bodies.

The committees so constituted would be empowered to co-operate among themselves, and it would in any case be their function to study the questions contemplated in the present declaration and to suggest solutions to the competent national authorities or organisations. They would, in particular, be empowered, should they think the revision of school text-books, necessary, to follow the procedure provided for in the resolution adopted on July 29th, 1925, by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, on the proposal of M. Casares, the recommendations of which were confirmed and amplified in 1932 and 1933 by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations.

4. The present declaration will be open for signature by States Members of the League of Nations and non-member States. It will be kept at the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CINEMATOGRAPH.

Action to be taken following the International Congress of Educational and Instructional Cinematography.

Having examined the steps taken with a view to the progressive application of the programme previously drawn up concerning the cinematograph,

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

Takes note of the steps taken by the International Educational Cinematographic Institute of Rome and the secretariat of the Organisation to associate the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation with the execution of the Congress's resolutions, and particularly to promote closer co-operation between the National Committees and the National Film Institutes, where such exist; and

Considers that this action should be followed up and extended.

Intellectual Rôle of the Cinematograph.

The Committee :

Notes with interest the explanations given by the Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation on the enquiries already in progress with regard to the intellectual rôle of the cinematograph;

Recognises the value of these enquiries conducted jointly by the two Institutes, which might lead to the organisation of a "Conversation" on the cultural rôle of the cinematograph (this "Conversation" might be attended by qualified representatives of the different groups concerned—film producers, art critics, scenario authors, educational experts, etc.); and

Relies on the Executive Committee to keep in touch with the development of the action undertaken by the two Institutes and to decide upon the date of the proposed "Conversation" and the conditions in which it might take place.

Production of Films on the League.

The Committee :

Takes note of the steps taken by the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, the International Labour Office and the Secretariat of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to promote the production of short films for the purpose of making known the activities of the League of Nations and other bodies connected therewith.

Welcomes the action taken in this connection by the International Labour Office, and expresses the hope that before long certain activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation will also be dealt with in scenarios likely to facilitate the production of short films conceived on the same lines.

THE INFLUENCE OF PRESS NEWS.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Having before it the resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations on September 28th, 1934, requesting it to consider what action might be taken on the proposal of the Madrid Press Conference (1933) regarding certain effects of Press news in political crises;

After noting the conclusion reached on this subject by its Executive Committee,

Expresses the following opinion :

The study suggested does not appear to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to come strictly within the province of its work; it does not think, moreover, that it is in a position to make any useful contribution either to the study of the problem or to its ultimate solution.

It respectfully draws the Council's attention to the fact that various studies on this subject are at present being made by private organisations and that, in its opinion, the completion of those studies should be awaited.

It considers that the problem raised by the Madrid Press Conference is one of those the study of which should preferably be entrusted to private organisations.

WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION.

REPORT SUBMITTED BY THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : His Excellency M. Edouard HERRIOT (France).

Those who had the historic task of organising the League of Nations naturally sought, when they considered its future, to render international intellectual relations more active and systematic and to promote exchanges on the plane of thought and culture between the different national communities. If, as I believe, the Covenant contains the germ of an international action which must embrace all the problems raised by the complexity of our time in order that they may be jointly solved by honest and combined effort and research, we must place intellectual questions and spiritual *rapprochement* in the forefront of our endeavours, and must appeal to those who devote themselves to the instruction and training of youth, to the education of the masses and to the progress of thought in all its aspects. All work that is done to increase the spiritual capital of humanity and to contribute to the mutual enrichment of individuals and peoples by raising the general level cannot but assist in laying solid foundations for peace.

Such an aim, however, contains the elements of so vast a programme that our Intellectual Co-operation Organisation cannot attempt at present to carry it out as a whole. Nevertheless, in examining its work, we see the vestiges of new connections and activities which we hope will one day give the League of Nations a moral influence providing a foundation for a predominant and decisive authority. I venture to add that the times in which we live prove the urgent nature of this undertaking. Behind political difficulties we can distinguish differences of mentality, and mutual ignorance and incomprehension. There cannot be any true community between groups of men and between nations which are not prepared to recognise the same moral principles and thus to fulfil their whole duty towards humanity. The economic depression and the far-reaching consequences of rapid changes in technique add still further to the disorder of political relations. A great effort of comprehension and intelligence is required. Scepticism, doubt and passivity in the face of events can never form a basis for right and progress.

It is therefore in the best interests of the League of Nations that it should turn towards those in every country whose task is to guide and form the minds of the young—that it should solicit their assistance and call upon them to play their part in international life. By assuring them of its interest and support at a time when in all the countries which

are suffering from the depression we hear talk of restricting access to culture, that essential conquest of modern times, the League will be paving the way for its own future greatness.

In the light of these observations, which I hope you will not regard as untimely, I must now briefly review the principal chapters of the report which has been submitted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, laying stress on the decisions which the Assembly is called upon to take.

I can assure the Assembly that these proposals formed the subject of extremely full discussion in the Sixth Committee—a fact which proves the growing interest attached to intellectual co-operation by the Members of the League of Nations, both overseas and in Europe. In this connection I would like to assure M. Rivas Vicuña that his remarks regarding the representation of the Ibero-American continent in the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation will be carefully considered. I would also say how much I appreciated the expressions of gratitude which I was requested to convey to the French Government for the support which it affords to the Institute in Paris, and would add that the same feelings of appreciation are due to the Italian Government, which places at our disposal the Educational Cinematographic Institute and the Institute of Private Law.

STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The study—indeed, the science—of international relations, which has developed more particularly since the war, embraces contemporary history, international law, economic and financial science and sociology. It is to be hoped that the League of Nations, through its Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, will actively associate itself with the development of this branch of a study and will do all in its power to encourage it. Under the influence of the Permanent International Studies Conference, we find new national institutions springing up for the study of contemporary events, side by side with the active and well-equipped institutions already existing in the United Kingdom and the United States, for example; while other study centres are appearing or improving their organisation in Scandinavia, Italy, Spain, France and Central Europe and in the Dominions. Increasingly regular collaboration will be established between them by means of an international secretariat provided by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which will thus increase the opportunities of contact and discussion offered to those institutions by the Studies Conference.

The last of these meetings took place in London from June 3rd to 8th, 1935, and was devoted to the problem of the collective organisation of security. It was opened by Sir Austen Chamberlain and was attended by some hundred persons. Owing to the number of scholars present and of countries represented, and to the high standard of the papers submitted, it marked a great advance on the previous conferences. I should like the Assembly to associate itself with the cordial thanks addressed to the hosts of the Conference by the Intellectual Co-operation Committee. Its success was largely due to the British Co-ordinating Committee and the Royal Institute for International Affairs. It was due to a no lesser extent to our colleague

Professor Bourquin, of the Graduate Institute of International Studies, who assumed the heavy task of General Rapporteur. The statement which he made in the Sixth Committee showed clearly and in detail the services which may be expected from this new collective enterprise.

I do not wish to leave this subject without mentioning the capital importance, in my opinion, of the new subject selected by the Conference. Its first subject of study—State intervention in economic life—and the discussion to which it gave rise between the supporters of the liberal school, of managed economy or the totalitarian State, were undoubtedly of topical interest. The second subject—the collective organisation of security—was likewise a matter of the gravest concern. But the subject selected for the next Conference—methods of pacific settlement, as applied to certain special cases—seems to me of particular interest, both from a legal aspect and from the point of view of the special cases contemplated—economic, social and territorial problems, with special reference to the following questions: (*a*) population, migration, colonisation; (*b*) markets and the distribution of raw materials. As we all observed, Sir Samuel Hoare, in his recent speech, laid great stress on this last-mentioned problem.

In selecting this subject, the members of the London Conference gave proof of their independence, and it is for us who represent our Governments here to respect this independence and this autonomy—which is, moreover, statutory. They showed courage, even boldness; lastly, they proposed to do practical and useful work by discussing questions which are of interest to every one of us. Our modern States represent centuries of labour on the part of law-givers and philosophers; the organisation of our respective countries was created by the thought of successive generations. A creative work, if it is to be strong and lasting, must first be conceived mentally before it is carried out in practice. I am convinced that international society will also need generations of men who are prepared to “think it out”.

SOCIAL SCIENCES.

Professor Shotwell, our American colleague on the Intellectual Co-operation Committee, drew our attention two years ago to the necessity for promoting international collaboration in social sciences.

It seemed to him that these studies, carried out in the nineteenth century, which was becoming more and more nationalist, were conceived in a different manner in different countries and that, if the methods and work were co-ordinated, they should also afford a valuable contribution to the organisation of the world of to-day. We agreed with him and outlined a scheme of work comprising an enquiry, not only into the research institutions of universities or other bodies in the various countries, but also a study of the principles and methods applied in the social sciences, and, lastly, the joint examination of a specific problem. Several countries are taking stock of their resources in this connection, as was done by Professor Shotwell for the United States. The Committee defined its first subject of study as follows: the adaptation of mechanisation to the conditions of human labour; or, man and the machine.

The work will be carried out by the Intellectual Co-operation Institute in collaboration with the International Labour Office. It may be necessary to supplement the preparatory work by a kind of "conversation", similar to those organised by the Intellectual Co-operation Committee during the last few years in various European cities on subjects of general interest.

" CONVERSATIONS " AND " OPEN LETTERS " .

The chief value of the " Conversations " arranged by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the volumes of " Open Letters " published by the Paris Institute undoubtedly consists in the exceptional distinction of the participants and authors themselves. It is no small thing for contemporary writers and poets, thinkers and philosophers, representing the most varied forms of national genius or the most divergent literary or philosophical opinions, to devote their attention to problems such as the causes of war, the part that can be played by the intellectual *élite* in the event of recourse to force, relations between Asia and Europe, or, again, to questions such as the future of our civilisation, of the European spirit, or, lastly, present-day education. The spiritual unity of the intellectual *élites*, at any rate in regard to certain essential concepts, would perpetuate and enrich contemporary civilisation. The " Conversations " are designed to proclaim this truth through the medium of the qualified representatives of the highest intellectual element of the population. They will be continued, and the last two meetings held at Venice and Nice will furnish subjects for further discussions of a more precise and more restricted scope, which will take place during the coming year.

Moreover, two interesting proposals were made to the Sixth Committee: one by the Spanish delegation requesting that particular attention should be devoted to the problem of the humanities, and the other by the Hungarian delegation very kindly inviting the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to convene an early meeting at Budapest to discuss this particular subject. These proposals will be forwarded to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which will consider them with all the attention that they deserve, together with the wish expressed by M. Rivas Vicuña that these activities of intellectual co-operation should be extended to the countries of Latin America.

INTELLECTUAL AGREEMENTS.

Is the desire of an increasingly large number of Governments to conclude among themselves intellectual agreements of a bilateral or regional nature to be regarded as an official reaction against the tendencies towards intellectual isolation? The number of these agreements has been calculated by the Intellectual Co-operation Institute at the Committee's request. They amount to about eighty. However, in order to judge of their value, they should be divided into two periods. Until the last few years, the object of these agreements was to settle some specific question between two countries—such as the equivalence of diplomas or the exchange of teachers;

on the other hand, the latest agreements cover the whole field of intellectual relations between two nations. The Intellectual Co-operation Committee regards this tendency as an encouraging symptom and a tribute to the spiritual values which it upholds. In order to enable this movement to reinforce the Committee's endeavours, it would like the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation to be associated with this work of *rapprochement*; it also hopes that the agreements in question will remain open as far as possible for the accession of other States.

PROPOSAL OF THE ROUMANIAN DELEGATION.

The Roumanian delegation, supported by numerous other delegations, proposes that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should extend its activities in the sphere of translations and that, in addition to the work which it already carries out (publication of the *Index translationum* and the Ibero-American Collection), it should publish a collection of translations, in one or more of the worldwide languages, of representative and classical works from the literatures of the various European regional languages.

The Roumanian delegation contemplates direct assistance from the Governments concerned, in order to make this magnificent enterprise successful. The Sixth Committee therefore submits a draft resolution to the Assembly on this subject.

TEACHING.

The field covered by intellectual co-operation in the matter of teaching is an extremely wide one. I shall confine myself to drawing your attention to a few of these activities. They cover relations between departments of public education of the higher, secondary and elementary grades, and the study of special problems, such as the use of the cinematograph and of broadcasting. Intellectual co-operation also endeavours to promote certain measures—such as international exchanges of young people and the revision of school text-books—likely to develop in the younger generation a spirit of respect for other peoples and mutual comprehension favourable to international *rapprochement* and consequently to the League and to peace.

(a) *League of Nations Teaching.*

An Advisory Committee of experts attached to the Intellectual Co-operation Committee is engaged in the special study of a problem in which succeeding Assemblies had always evinced a keen interest—that of teaching with regard to the League of Nations, its activities and its organisation. First of all, endeavours were made, for example, by publishing special text-books, to provide young people with information regarding the existence of the League, its more outstanding achievements and the working of its different organs. It was found that this programme was not sufficient and that it was also necessary to utilise certain branches of teaching, such as history, geography and modern languages, to bring pupils to realise the interdependence of

peoples and to consider contemporary civilisation in the light of a great collective undertaking. The distinguishing feature of the debates which took place this year in the Advisory Committee was the recognition of the primary necessity of basing teaching "on moral considerations with a view to fostering sentiments of justice and human solidarity". The Committee also considers that its chief task is to "propagate a certain 'spirit' and 'international sense' with which education as a whole should be imbued".

(b) *Directors of Higher Education.*

The most important event during the 1934-35 administrative period in the sphere of education was undoubtedly the holding of the third Conference of Directors of Higher Education on May 3rd and 4th, 1935, at the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris. The United States of America, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Hungary and Switzerland were represented. Preparations for this session had been in progress for two years. Original research had been carried out for the first time in some ten countries with regard to the organisation of higher education, its history, its relations with the State, the internal organisation of universities and their resources. The Committee put the finishing touches to these various reports, thus enabling the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to publish these original studies made by the authorities directly responsible for higher education. Those attending this meeting, who owe the collaboration established between them entirely to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, freely recognised the benefit they had derived from their mutual relations and adopted a new programme of work for the future. The Assembly will no doubt offer its best wishes for the continuation and success of this work, which has proved one of the most fruitful branches of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation's activity.

(c) *China.*

The assistance afforded for the last five years by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in the re-organisation of public education in China has been carried on in the past year and will continue in a systematic form. The plans of reform drawn up as a result of the visit of Western educationists to China in 1931 and of the visit of Chinese pedagogues to Europe in 1933 have, as you know, been favourably received by the Central Government at Nanking and the Chinese educational authorities. But China has need of specialists and technicians for the immense work of reconstruction which she has undertaken. This has led to the creation at Nanking of an employment bureau for intellectual workers, which is a centre for guidance in the choice of a profession. Co-operation is necessary between this bureau and the Western and American universities where there are young Chinese students. The China Sub-Committee of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee has been engaged in determining the form this co-operation should take and in ascertaining the services which can be rendered to the bureau by the universities of Europe and America. It has carried on this work in a spirit of the greatest sympathy for a great nation which has traditionally given full recognition to the rights of the intellect.

(d) Revision of School Text-books.

Since its inception, the Intellectual Co-operation Committee has dealt with the arduous problem of rendering school text-books as objective as possible. First of all, on the proposal of our colleague, M. Casares, the National Committees were asked to draw each other's attention to defective books. This procedure is now giving excellent results. Later, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation published, under the title of "The Revision of School Text-books", a volume revealing the existence of a worldwide movement in favour of such revision. Then, while endeavouring to rectify biased texts, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has endeavoured to do work of positive value by instructing the Institute to collect particularly reasonable texts in objective and impartial handbooks. Lastly, this year the Committee has decided to go a stage further. On the proposal of my friend and colleague, M. Emile Borel, it is submitting to the Governments which we are representing here a draft "declaration". Taking into account the differences of constitution and particularly the position of federal countries and of those which leave teachers free to choose their own text-books, the Committee has preferred not to give its text the form of an agreement, but simply that of an affirmation of principle or "declaration".

To give as large a place as possible to the history of other nations, to emphasise in the teaching of universal history the interdependence of the peoples, to put the younger generation on their guard against unjust allegations about other countries, to entrust the revision of text-books to committees of specialists—such are the objects of the fundamental provisions of the four articles contained in the declaration. I hope that the Assembly will recommend its signature to the Governments.

* * *

In the report which it submitted to the Council of the League of Nations on the work of its seventeenth session, the Committee did more than set forth its activities during the year 1934-35 and outline its programme of work for the following year; it passed a certain number of resolutions, some of which call for a decision by the Assembly.

TOURS OF EDUCATIONISTS.

In its resolution on League of Nations teaching, the Committee asks its executive organs to prepare tours of educationists. Those would be tours for group studies by high officials of the public education departments or by heads of educational institutions. They would be on the model provided by the Health Organisation, which, as we know, has successfully organised similar tours for public health experts.

COLLECTION OF ETHNOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL WORKS
ON THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN CIVILISATION.

The Assembly is also called upon to take a decision concerning the proposal made by M. Levillier, Ambassador and delegate of the Argentine Republic to the last Assembly. A special set of documents

had been prepared by the Institute and placed at the disposal of the Sixth Committee. I would remind you that, broadly speaking, the idea was to publish, under the auspices of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, a collection of ethnographical and historical works on the origins of American civilisation. The last Assembly approved this big undertaking in principle, but requested the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to examine the ways and means of executing the plan, both from the scientific and financial point of view. The documents which the Sixth Committee had before it (document A.VI.1.1935) contained a detailed plan in two parts: the first, ethnographical, on the native civilisations of America before the discoveries and conquests, and the second, historical, on Europe and the New World before Christopher Columbus, on the discoveries of the islands and coasts from Christopher Columbus to Magellan, on the great territorial explorations, on the extension of discoveries and conquests and the progress of civilisation, and, finally, in Europe and the New World at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The collection would be placed under the patronage of a committee consisting of persons of high standing in the scientific, historic and literary worlds, which would in itself provide a strong earnest of success.

The Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was further instructed to draw up estimates, which it has done. The draft budget consists of two parts. The first is administrative and is intended to provide for the secretariat of the collection. It is, of course, quite impossible for this new charge to be borne by the ordinary budget of the Paris Institute. These secretarial expenses, moreover, are directly connected with the liaison between the International Organisation as a whole, the League of Nations and South America. The second part refers to the costs of publication, estimated at about 50,000 francs per volume for editing, translation and printing. The necessary funds, on which the possibility of undertaking the collection depends, should be provided by grants from the Governments.

Some of our colleagues in the Sixth Committee have allowed us to hope for substantial support from their countries. I should like to thank them beforehand for any steps they may be good enough to take and also to express our gratitude to the University of Buenos Aires, which has generously promised to defray the cost of the Spanish edition.

In transmitting these various proposals to the Assembly, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is desirous of emphasising their provisional character. The chief purpose of the programme drawn up has been to show to the Assembly how rich is the subject-matter to be studied and what the nature of this enterprise would be. But the Committee has reserved the right to appoint a drafting committee, which would prepare the final plan of the collection and be responsible for the scientific aspect of the undertaking.

We have before us a scheme of undoubted scientific and historical interest, and, as the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation rightly points out in its report, it is one of high international significance. It is proposed to explore one of the most important events of world history; the work would be carried out by the scholars of our different

countries by means of international collaboration on a large scale. Our colleagues of the countries most closely concerned have themselves told us what importance they attach to the successful conduct of this endeavour by the League of Nations to bring about better mutual knowledge of Europe and America. I regret that it is not possible for me to summarise before the Assembly the discussion, during which so many interesting facts and ideas were expounded, in the Sixth Committee. In referring to one of the greatest epochs in history and to the marvellous epic of the navigators who set out from Spain and Portugal to conquer the New World, we affirmed our common desire to preserve the heritage of contemporary civilisation and to make it clear that, although the most varied contributions have been made to it, the whole has become common property.

I hope that the work will be actively pursued, that the necessary resources will be placed at the disposal of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, that, in accordance with the Spanish delegation's suggestion, we shall have before us next year a final scheme of work, drawn up on strictly scientific lines, with all the details clearly indicated.

DRAFT CONVENTION FOR THE USE OF BROADCASTING IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

The point to be decided by the Assembly is the following : Should the draft Convention prepared by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation at the express request of the Assembly form the subject of a special diplomatic conference, or can it be finally discussed and signed at an ordinary session of the Assembly? The Council has on two occasions communicated it to the Governments for their consideration; the draft has therefore been fully studied. In these circumstances, the Sixth Committee proposes to the Assembly that a special meeting be convened at the same time as the next Assembly, and that it should draw up the final terms of the Convention and open it for signature.

RELATIONS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF SCIENTIFIC UNIONS.

The Scientific Unions, of which there are about a dozen, and the International Council of those Unions represent the largest organisation and the most authoritative institution in the field of the exact and natural sciences.¹ The General Assembly of this Council had before it in July 1934 at Brussels a proposal to make the International Council of the Unions an advisory organ of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. This problem was studied two months ago at Geneva by a joint Committee, which drew up a provisional scheme of co-operation. The text is reproduced on page 13 of the Committee's report to the Council.¹ If the draft is ratified by the International Council of the Unions and by the Intellectual Co-operation Committee itself, the proposed collaboration could be established in the coming year. The proposal is important. By giving the exact sciences their

¹ See document C.290.M.154.1935.XII.

rightful place, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, which has greatly extended its activities in the fields of the fine arts, literature and the human sciences, would be strengthened and become better balanced. Our Secretariat should therefore be given the means of carrying out this new task by a further appropriation of 6,000 Swiss francs in its budget. M. de Madariaga, our Spanish colleague, has already emphasised in the Council the great importance of the question and I fully associate myself with his observations.

CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

On various occasions the Assembly has expressed the hope that it will be possible to resume these meetings regularly, but the resources of the League have no longer permitted it to convene them. The last was held at Geneva in 1929. During last winter, the Institute in Paris consulted the forty or so existing National Committees on the desirability of a new meeting. It has received more than thirty affirmative and even enthusiastic replies. For the greater part, the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation state that they are prepared to bear the costs of their journey and residence. In the circumstances, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has fixed 1937 as the date of the Conference. This will be held in Paris, within the framework of the International Exhibition of Civilisation, from which I can assure you they will receive all the help desired. These "States-General" of intellectual co-operation are bound to be of concern to the League of Nations. We therefore express in a resolution our hope for the complete success of the Conference of 1937 and our earnest desire that the Governments should facilitate the realisation of the scheme and give substantial help to our National Committees.

INTERNATIONAL MUSEUMS OFFICE.

I should like to thank the Spanish Government for the cordial hospitality which it extended in October 1934 to the General Conference of Museography organised by the International Museums Office. Thanks to the generosity of Spain, the documents of this Conference, which constitute a veritable treatise on modern museography, have appeared in two monumental volumes offered for sale at a relatively moderate price, which will be good news to the curators of museums.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation suggests that we should ask the Museums Office to study the question of art exhibitions.

For the present, it would be asked to draw up a preliminary draft international arrangement similar to the International Convention on Exhibitions. The purpose of this arrangement would be to introduce more order and method into what is still more or less chaotic, to avoid overlapping and to secure the assumption of certain obligations with regard to the transport and preservation of works of art. The Sixth Committee submits to the Assembly a draft resolution embodying this point of view.

INTELLECTUAL RIGHTS.

The year 1935-36 will be marked by an important event: the meeting at Brussels of the Conference to revise the Berne Convention for the protection of literary and artistic property. The last revision took place in Rome in 1928. The Institutes specialising in the study of intellectual rights, which have been summoned to a meeting every year since 1931 by the Institute of Paris with a view to joint action, met last June at Brussels and drew up in final form the conclusions and suggestions which they will put forward at the 1936 Conference.

With reference to the Paris Convention on Industrial Property, revised last year in London, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation requests the Assembly to ask the States to hasten their ratification. The Sixth Committee is glad to submit to the Assembly a draft resolution to this effect. It asks the Assembly to show its interest in the work being done both in South America and in Europe to harmonise the two great systems of copyright, those of Berne and Havana.

EDUCATIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHY.

The Assembly will be asked to give its approval in a resolution to the work carried on with perseverance and success by the International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome. You know that it suffered the sad loss some weeks ago of its eminent President, our colleague Alfredo Rocco, former Minister of Justice, Rector of the University of Rome, and a member of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, one of the men who have most contributed to make Italy play a leading part in the work of intellectual co-operation for the common good. The Assembly will certainly add its heartfelt tribute to that which the Council of the League of Nations has already rendered to the memory of our deeply regretted colleague.

It will be happy to learn, further, that new activities have been included in the programme of the Rome Institute—transformation of the monthly publication of the Institute, *International Review of Educational Cinematography*, into a review, *Interciné*, published in four languages, but produced in a more original manner and containing contributions by many well-known cinematographers; the termination and publication of the "Cinematographic Encyclopædia"; the creation within the framework of the Institute of a centre for the study of television.

* * *

This report is both too long and too short. It has imposed a strain upon your attention, which I thank you for having endured, but it was my duty to sum up frankly the different aspects of the work which you have been called upon to judge and for which I would pay a tribute to my colleagues of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and our distinguished Chairman, Professor Gilbert Murray.

It is only too obvious that our remarks are open to criticism. Attention may be drawn to their fragmentary character and their omissions. There may be some scepticism. But it is easy for experts or nations to indulge in scepticism if they are lazy or weary. To

accomplish the only work which is worth while—creative work—one must be able to put up with scepticism. At different periods in history, peoples, groups of peoples or *élites* have attempted to bring humanity spiritually together in this way. It was the incomparable privilege of Hellenism to do this, and its bold logic bears fruit to this day. Later, in the sixteenth century, the Renaissance was a generous and magnificent attempt to formulate the rules of European ethics. Later still, in the eighteenth century, there were thinkers, among whom England, Italy and France were widely represented, energetic and fortunate enough to bring about the reform of certain institutions, the transformation of criminal law, and, for example, the abolition of torture. Many forms of national freedom, whose strength is our admiration to-day, were born of the efforts of these thinkers. The realities of politics have often cut athwart or dammed these currents, but to-day the nations have a common centre—a permanent Assembly. Has not the time come to resume and pursue, without illusions as to its duration, but without faltering, the work of emancipating and reconciling mankind under the sovereign law of the intellect?

DRAFT RESOLUTION.

“ 1. *General Resolution.*

“ The Assembly of the League of Nations,

“ Having taken cognisance of the various documents submitted to it concerning the activities of the International Intellectual Co-operation Organisation—viz. :

“ (1) The Committee’s report on the work of its seventeenth plenary session, and the various documents annexed thereto (document C.290.M.154.1935.XII);

“ (2) The report of the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (document C.278.M.145.1935.XII) :

“ Notes with satisfaction the continued development of the work of this Organisation described by the Governing Body;

“ Associates itself with the congratulations offered by the Governing Body to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation on its excellent administrative and financial management;

“ Approves the programme of work for the year 1935-36 embodied in the reports and resolutions of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Governing Body of the Institute.

“ 2. *Tours of Educationists.*

“ The Assembly stresses the great importance, both from an educational standpoint in the proper sense of the term and from an international standpoint, of the organisation of tours of educationists, who would be invited to visit one or more countries for the purpose of studying all matters relating to League of Nations teaching and international questions.

“ 3. *Proposal by the Roumanian Delegation.*

“ The Assembly :

“ Approves the proposal of M. I. Pillat, Roumanian delegate, that the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation should publish through an international committee, assisted by national advisory committees, a selection of translations, into one or more of the worldwide languages, of representative classical works from the literatures of the various European regional languages;

“ Refers the proposal to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation for investigation by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, so that reasoned suggestions may be put forward by the Committee at the next session of the Assembly.

“ 4. *Collection of Ethnographical and Historical Works on the Origins of American Civilisation.*

“ The Assembly,

“ Having studied the scientific and financial plan which the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was asked to put forward by the fifteenth Assembly of the League of Nations with regard to a collection of ethnographical and historical works on the origins of American civilisation :

“ Emphasises, like the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation itself, the great value of this scheme and its importance to a better mutual comprehension between America and the other continents;

“ Observes that it is chiefly for the Governments themselves, and the learned institutions concerned, to provide for the scientific realisation of the project by means of special contributions;

“ Shares the opinion of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation that the proposed publication should be further examined by competent persons appointed to draw up the final plans for the collection in such a way that it may provide a wide survey of the period envisaged in a comparatively small number of volumes, and to direct the undertaking. The latter, which will be carried out under the auspices of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee, will be under the scientific management of the persons thus appointed.

“ The Assembly will be glad to hear next year of the stage the project has reached.

“ 5. *Broadcasting and Peace.*

“ The Assembly,

“ Having examined the draft International Convention for the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace which has been drawn up by the Intellectual Co-operation Committee at the request of the Assembly itself, and which has twice been studied by the States Members and non-members of the League of Nations :

“ Requests the Council to place the conclusion of this agreement on the agenda of the next Assembly. The problem can be examined in 1936 by an *ad hoc* Conference constituted during the Assembly by delegates provided with the necessary powers.

“ 6. *Declaration concerning the Revision of History Text-books.*

“ The Assembly,

“ Noting the persevering efforts carried on for many years by the Intellectual Co-operation Committee for the purpose of ensuring the impartiality of school text-books, and especially of history books :

“ Recognises that Government action would give the most effective support to these efforts;

“ Accordingly requests the Council to communicate to the States Members of the League of Nations and to the non-member States the declaration prepared by the Committee concerning the revision of history text-books and to ask them to sign it.

“ 7. *Relations of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation with the International Council of Scientific Unions.*

“ The Assembly,

“ Convinced that the establishment of closer relations between the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the International Council of Scientific Unions is in the best interests of both institutions :

“ Takes note of the basis of collaboration suggested by the Intellectual Co-operation Committee at its seventeenth session;

“ And decides, in order to facilitate the carrying-out of the proposed programme by the convocation of a committee of scientific experts, to insert an appropriation of 6,000 francs in the League's budget for the financial year 1936.

“ 8. *National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation.*

“ The Assembly :

“ Draws the attention of Governments to the General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, which is to be held at Paris in 1937, in connection with the Universal Exhibition of Civilisation;

“ Expresses the hope that the Governments will facilitate the realisation of this project by affording substantial aid to their National Committees.

“ 9. *International Agreement on Art Exhibitions.*

“ The Assembly, endorsing the resolution of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee, approves the proposal that the International Museums Office should study a national agreement for the regulation of art exhibitions.

“ 10. *Intellectual Rights.*

“ The Assembly :

“ Requests the Governments signatories of the Paris Convention on Industrial Property, as revised in London, to expedite their ratification of this Convention as far as possible;

“ And to introduce, if necessary, into their municipal law

provisions for maintaining for at least a certain period the patent rights in respect of discoveries divulged by their own authors in the form of scientific communications;

“Asks the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the Institute for the Unification of Private Law, acting in concert, to pursue their studies and efforts to promote, by bringing into harmony the Berne and Havana Conventions, the conclusion of a general agreement affording effective protection to intellectual works in the countries of both continents.

“11. *International Radiobiological Centre.*

“The Assembly draws the favourable attention of the States Members of the League of Nations to the creation of an international radiobiological centre at Venice.

“12. *International Educational Cinematographic Institutz.*

“The Assembly fully endorses the terms of the various resolutions adopted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation regarding the problem of educational cinematography. In particular, it congratulates the Rome Institute on the publication of the review *Interciné*, on the completion of its ‘Cinematographic Encyclopædia’, and on the recent creation of a centre for the study of television.”

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION.

The Fourth International Conference on Public Education organised by the International Bureau of Education was held at Geneva on July 15th to 19th, 1935. The following forty-two Governments were represented: Albania, Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada (Province of Quebec), Chile, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Union of South Africa, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia. The Government of Afghanistan was represented by an observer, as were the Secretariat of the League of Nations, the International Labour Office and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

The officers of the Conference were M. Julio CASARES, of the Academy, delegate of Spain, President; and the three Vice-Presidents—M. HUHNHÄUSER, Oberschulrat, delegate of Germany; M. BARRIER, Inspector-General, attached to the Director of Elementary Education, delegate of France; M. PICON-FEBRES, Chargé d'affaires, delegate of Venezuela.

The agenda of the meeting was as follows:

- I. Reports of the Ministries of Education on the educational movement in 1934-85.
- II. Professional training of elementary teaching staff.
- III. Professional training of secondary teaching staff.
- IV. Boards of Public Education.

I. REPORTS OF THE MINISTRIES OF EDUCATION ON THE EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT IN 1934-85.

According to precedent, each delegation submitted a report on the work done by its Ministry of Education in the past year. These reports gave rise to exceedingly interesting exchanges of views and discussions. They showed once more the utility of an annual Conference on public education. As M. Paul Lachenal, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Bureau of Education, said: "The world has become too small and the international community has too great a need of solidarity and interdependence between its members to allow us to remain indifferent to anything that is done in relation to one of these points. And what is true of the problem of humanity as a whole is still truer of the educational problem, the solution of which is awaited and must be sought as one of the remedies for the present ills of mankind". All these reports will be reproduced in the *International Year-Book on Education and Instruction, 1936*.

II. PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF ELEMENTARY TEACHING STAFF.

There is no need to emphasise the importance and urgency of this question, which constitutes the crux of the whole educational problem. It is, indeed, on the training given to the teaching staff that educational results in the last resort depend. The school authorities have clearly realised this, and it is on the improvement of the professional training of future teachers that the efforts of the past few years have been concentrated. If any further proof were needed of the interest everywhere aroused by this question, we should find it in the fact that the Ministries of Education of sixty-two States have replied to the enquiry which has served as a basis for the preliminary report published by the Bureau.¹ This problem was laid before the Conference by M. Maciszewski, first delegate of Poland, and led to the adoption of a series of recommendations, the principal of which are as follows :

After stating that the personality of the schoolmaster is the decisive factor in educational work and that special account should be taken of moral qualities in his training, the Conference observes that there exists a current of opinion in favour of the training of elementary teaching staff at the universities, in the university pedagogical institutions or in the pedagogic academies after previous secondary studies.

The Conference recommended that the age of admission to the teaching profession should be fixed in such a way that the young teacher assuming his duties should have had an opportunity of acquiring sufficient intellectual and moral maturity. The selection of candidates should not be based solely on the knowledge acquired, but should take into serious account moral, intellectual and physical capacities. The studies of future teachers should be free of charge, or at any rate scholarships should be granted to needy candidates.

In its recommendations, the Conference also lays stress on the fact that professional and specifically pedagogic training must be accompanied by a good general education. The duration of studies should be long enough to enable pupils to acquire without overwork a sufficient degree of general culture and professional training.

The Conference considers it essential that curricula and timetables should provide, not only for the theoretical study of pedagogy and the auxiliary sciences, but also for an adequate degree of practical training; it hopes that the professional training (pedagogy, social and practical psychology) of future teachers will be based on the principles of the active school and will give a sufficient place to individual research. Particular weight should be given to attached model schools, which should include rural as well as urban schools.

The question of the rural schoolmaster engaged the attention of the delegates and was dealt with in a special recommendation : in cases where it appears necessary to deal with them separately, the training of rural and urban schoolmasters should be at the same level and confer the same rights.

¹ "The Professional Training of Elementary Teaching Staff"; collection of publications of the International Bureau of Education, 1935. 402 pages, 8 Swiss francs.

As regards the appointment of future schoolmasters, the Conference considered that young teachers should only be finally appointed after a sufficient period of probation, rationally organised and duly supervised.

The last recommendation relates to the methods of perfecting themselves available to schoolmasters already in the profession. Such measures of improvement should be made generally and permanently available.

III. PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF SECONDARY TEACHING STAFF.

The placing of the professional training of elementary and secondary teaching staff on the agenda of the same conference was not fortuitous. The Executive Committee of the International Bureau of Education had thought that a parallel though independent study of these two questions could not but prove fruitful and effective. Its hopes were not disappointed, and the recommendations adopted by the Fourth International Conference on Public Education with regard to the training of secondary-school masters are no less important than those concerning the training of elementary-school masters. The delegations had before them the analysis prepared by the Bureau containing the replies of the Education Ministries of fifty-one countries to the questionnaire which had been sent to them.¹ Before the opening of the discussions, the Portuguese delegate, M. Oliveira Guimaraes, submitted a report which provided a basis for the Conference's recommendations. These recommendations may be summarised as follows :

As secondary teaching is at present undergoing far-reaching reforms and sometimes even a complete reorganisation in nearly every country, the Conference considers that this opportunity should be taken of improving the general professional and specifically pedagogic training of future secondary teachers.

It recognises the necessity for secondary teachers of a high degree of scientific training, compulsorily accompanied by a certain degree of specialisation, and given in university institutions. But it considers that this specialisation should not be premature or too narrow. On the contrary, this preparation should include a study of the kindred branches of learning, moral training, theoretical pedagogic studies (relating in particular to the psychology of the adolescent and modern methods of testing the results of instruction), and practical training given either in special schools or in the course of methodically organised periods of probation.

In the recommendations adopted, special mention is made of future teachers in secondary schools for girls. In their training, account must be taken of the tasks which the pupils of these secondary schools will later have to perform in the home. The studies of future teachers in secondary schools for girls should include domestic economy, housewifery, hygiene, puericulture and family education.

¹ "The Professional Training of Secondary Teaching Staff"; collection of publications of the International Bureau of Education, 1935. 206 pages. 4 Swiss francs.

As in the case of elementary-school masters, the Conference expressed the opinion that preparatory studies for secondary-school masters should be sufficiently long to reconcile the demands of general education, theoretical pedagogic instruction and practical training.

As regards the procedure of appointment, account should be taken, not only of the theoretical knowledge of candidates, but also of their moral character and professional capacity. The Conference recommended that suitable tests should be instituted in order that students not possessing the requisite abilities should be eliminated before obtaining the final certificate.

The last recommendation deals with the necessity of providing every facility to enable present members of the teaching staff to perfect themselves in their profession.

IV. PUBLIC EDUCATION BOARDS.

The International Conference on Public Education lastly examined the question of the organisation, powers and operation of the provincial and communal central boards of education. Although apparently of less pronounced pedagogic interest, this problem is at present engaging the attention of a large number of school administrations. Fifty-one Ministries of Education contributed to the preparation of the report published in this connection by the International Bureau of Education.¹ M. Paul Lachenal, first delegate of the Swiss Government, consented to act as rapporteur on this question.

The recommendations adopted by the Conference on the problem of school policy are based on a recognition of the growing interdependence between education and the other manifestations of national life, and on the advantage of enlisting the widest possible support for the work of public education.

While recognising that the diversity of circumstances obliges countries to have different organisations, the Conference emphasised the valuable work which may be done by the bodies usually known as central education boards, and points out that the advisory functions of these bodies may be of great utility to the school administrations of the different countries. It considered, however, that their effectiveness largely depends on the extent to which they include representatives of the school administrations, of public opinion, and of parents, as well as representatives of the teaching staff and educational specialists. It noted with interest that, in several countries, a place is given on the central boards to members of the different grades of education.

The Conference also considered that the efficiency of the regional or provincial boards of education—which can render valuable services in countries where the administrative organisation allows of their existence—also depends to a large extent on their composition, and emphasised the importance of local school boards or commissions in certain countries (with special reference to lay activities connected with schools and in relations between the school and the public).

¹ "Public Education Boards"; collection of publications of the International Bureau of Education, 1935. 180 pages. 4 Swiss francs.

A last question which engaged the Conference's attention was that of parents' associations; it emphasised the services which such parents' associations, whether official or private, could render to the cause of education by their participation in the work of the boards.

* * *

In closing the Conference's proceedings, the President, M. Julio Casares, said that, despite the strong views expressed in some of the reports and the fact that these reports were divergent in many respects, the common desire for the improvement of public instruction and education had won the day, and the tradition of cordiality and mutual comprehension which characterises the conferences held under the auspices of the International Bureau of Education had once more prevailed.

As in previous years, the Conference had refrained from adopting imperative resolutions difficult to carry out, and from engaging in purely academic discussions. It had preferred to adopt recommendations recognising the diversity of possible solutions and emphasising particularly successful experiments. The importance of these recommendations, unanimously adopted by the responsible delegates of some forty Governments, is obvious.

* * *

As the Director of the Bureau, M. Piaget, pointed out, thanks to those recommendations, "each Government, being informed of what is being done by the others, will be able to legislate with a knowledge of the pedagogic movement as a whole, and will be conscious of a greater solidarity, while retaining its full independence, with the general work which is being done in the world in these years of transformation and reconstruction".

P. ROSSELLO,
*Assistant Director of the International
Bureau of Education.*

FOURTEENTH INTER-SCANDINAVIAN SCHOOL CONGRESS.

(Stockholm, August 6th to 8th, 1935.)

APPEAL.

Hundreds of teachers belonging to the different peoples of the north—Danes, Finns, Icelanders, Norwegians and Swedes—who met in congress in the Swedish capital to discuss questions relating to the education and training of the new generation, are firmly convinced that the most urgent task of educationists all over the world is now, more than ever, to create a type of men mindful of truth and justice, and ready to devote themselves, in an atmosphere of calm and peace, to the common weal. Only citizens imbued with those principles will be capable of guarding intact the ideal of peace.

Only under the auspices of peace can civilisation take form and shape. War is not only the destruction of all forms of culture; it is a thundering indictment of the vanity of all cultural effort. Pacific evolution is thus alike the object of the school and the essential condition of its existence.

Holding firmly to this conviction, we view with the deepest anxiety the present world situation and the menace to peace that it implies. Unable to believe that the League of Nations can have ceased to represent the world conscience, we address a respectful and urgent appeal to the Powers in concert. Sure of the support of an overwhelming majority of world opinion, may they continue their tireless and loyal efforts to discover such means as may still be available for the prevention of war. We urge that no means should be neglected whereby mankind may preserve its faith in the possibility of achieving—through mutual support and the repudiation of all forms of race prejudice—a situation based upon peaceful relations, which was, and must remain, the lofty purpose of the League.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching

No. 3.—December 1936

**The Teaching of History and Geography
and the Interdependence of Nations.**

The League of Nations at work :

**The League of Nations and the Franco-
Anglo-American Bid for Economic
Recovery. The Reform of the League
of Nations. The Refugee Problem
from an International Standpoint.**

Speeches broadcast from Radio-Nations :

**Léon Blum, Bruce, Malcolm J. Mac-
Donald. Messages by the Secretary-
General to the Children of the World.
The League on Armistice Day 1936, etc.**

**Published, every year, by the
Secretariat of the League of Nations**

GENEVA

CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTORY NOTE	5
THE MISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION, by Professor Gilbert Murray	7
THE THIRD SESSION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING	9
THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY : Memoranda by Messrs. Benda, Roxby and Fitzgerald, Hankin, Maurette, Schibsted, Schmid	16
SUGGESTIONS REGARDING THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.....	43
PROPOSED LEAGUE OF NATIONS' ATLAS OF EUROPE, by W. Fitzgerald	55
THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES, by Jean Piaget.....	57
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK :	
The League of Nations Economic and Financial Organisation and the Franco-Anglo-American Bid for Economic Recovery	63
The Problem of Nutrition and the League of Nations, by Henri Queuille	78
The Reform of the League of Nations	82
The Refugee Problem from an International Standpoint, by Michael Hansson	95
THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION AT WORK :	
Holidays with Pay and the Workers' Spare Time	106
MAN AND THE MACHINE (Extract from the Minutes of the Eighteenth Session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation).....	113
RELAYS BY THE " RADIO-NATIONS " STATION :	
Message by the Secretary-General to the Children of the World.....	122
The League on Armistice Day, 1936	123

	Page
Messages to Australia and New Zealand, by Messrs. Léon Blum, Bruce, Malcolm MacDonald	126
The Budget of the League of Nations	133
THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION	135

Official Documents.

WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION DURING THE PAST YEAR	141
ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING (Report).....	147
EIGHTEENTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION (Resolutions)....	155
WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION (Resolutions adopted by the Assembly).....	158
DECLARATION CONCERNING REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS..	160
THE USE OF BROADCASTING IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE (Convention)	168
SCHEME OF COURSES CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL PEACE	178

Erratum : Volume No. 2 of the "Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching" contains an article entitled : "Some Suggestions concerning League Teaching" which by mistake has been attributed to M. Jean Piaget instead of to Miss Mary Butts who is the author of the article.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

For some years past, the *Bulletin* has been endeavouring to present as faithful a picture as possible of the Advisory Committee's work. The latter's aim is to widen the scope of the conception of League of Nations teaching. It advocates an impartial study, adapted to youthful minds, of the social, historical, economic and political phenomena which have led human communities to introduce new methods of international co-operation. For this purpose, it is investigating how the teaching of subjects already contained in the curriculum, such as history, geography and modern languages, could be organised so as to bring out more clearly the problems raised by the interdependence of peoples considered as a new factor in human development, and the coexistence of different civilisations.

* * *

This new programme for the Committee's work necessitated this year an exchange of views on the teaching of the principles of the Covenant and of the work of the League of Nations in history and geography lessons in the secondary schools. Accordingly, the first part of this number deals with these questions. In addition to a summary of the Committee's discussions on this subject, the reader will find a series of memoranda by experts describing the experience of their countries in these different branches of education, and putting forward suggestions regarding the development of these subjects. The professional organisations and specialised associations of the different countries are now being consulted in accordance with the Advisory Committee's instructions, and the readers of the *Bulletin* will be kept informed of the most interesting results of this enquiry.

The favourable reception given in many countries to the section "The League of Nations at Work", introduced two years ago, has encouraged the editors of the *Bulletin* not only to continue on those lines, but to endeavour to make this section an essential complement to the work recently published for the use of the teaching profession under the title "The Aims, Methods and Activity of the League of Nations". The present number contains accounts of the different aspects of the work of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Organisation which have attracted most public attention. They provide useful material for all those who have to give lectures or lessons on these questions.

* * *

Two aspects of moral disarmament have been the subject of special work undertaken under the auspices of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. To give effect to the decisions of the Council and of the Assembly, a brief statement concerning the revision of school textbooks has been submitted to Governments. This statement and the replies hitherto received from Governments are reproduced in the present number.¹ It also contains an account of the work of the Inter-Governmental Conference for the adoption of a Convention on the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace, and the full text of that diplomatic instrument.

* * *

The section dealing with the activities of the "Radio-Nations" station gives information on efforts that are being made to utilise broadcasting in order to make the work of the League of Nations known to the public, particularly in overseas countries. Various messages from statesmen have also been broadcast in deference to the wish expressed by school administrations and private associations, that the Secretariat should arrange for speeches and messages by prominent political personalities to be issued for the benefit of the teaching profession.

¹ See page 60.

THE MISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

(Extract from the Opening Speech made by
Professor Gilbert MURRAY,
Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual
Co-operation, on July 13th, 1936.)

This Committee does not occupy itself with politics. But all human activity must be affected by the political condition of the world, and it would be fanciful for us to ignore the grave dangers that surround the civilisation which we are trying to preserve and improve. It may be that we are like workmen carefully decorating the ceiling of a house which is about to be blown to pieces by artillery.

The civilised world is striving both consciously and unconsciously to realise its unity, but it is still governed by some sixty sovereign independent States, each claiming freedom to pursue its own greatness, regardless of the rest and utterly indifferent to their welfare. While that contradiction remains unresolved, we shall not merely be in danger of war, but civilisation itself, with all the achievements of man's long effort of intellect and conscience, may well be, if not lost for ever, at least merged in some unknown period of darkness.

At the end of the Great War, it seemed as if the whole world had learnt a lesson—the lesson taught by all the religions, by all systems of ethics, that nations, tribes, groups, individuals are members one of another and can only attain a good life for themselves by caring for the general good. At that time, the nations seemed ready to disarm, to co-operate, to form a society. Now in various important quarters we find that lesson not merely forgotten, but definitely repudiated and condemned, and a hostile philosophy uplifted in its place.

This is serious, but for us we must go on with our work. When I look away from Governments and their politics, I do not see an evil world. On the contrary. This week, for example, I was sitting in the meetings of the Comité d'Entente and noting the widespread beneficent influence of the great international associations. Afterwards I was hearing of the various kinds of

educational work which comes before our Advisory Committee. I cannot but be impressed by the goodness of individual men and women and the immense amount of kindly will, of public spirit, of activity in good causes which I see around me. If this civilisation is to perish, it will perish, not from its own wickedness, but from some mere maladjustment in the world order.

The forces of good-will are far stronger than those of ill-will; the forces of peace, even from the material point of view, far stronger than those that aim at disturbing the peace, if only they can stand firm together. In my more depressed moments, I often think of an age in many ways like our own—the Hellenistic period of the successors of Alexander, when a civilisation of great intellectual power and a tender conscience was struggling against a very similar series of maladjustments—social, economic and political. The Hellenistic world was one civilisation, but governed by a number of separate warring Governments. Like us, they did great things in science and philosophy, in art and letters; like us, they strove passionately and continuously for peace and concord, and it is their failure after infinite effort, so historians tell us, that is recorded in the most melancholy of books, the Book of Ecclesiastes, written about 200 B.C. “Vanity of vanities”, said the preacher, “all is vanity. What profit hath a man of all his labour wherein he laboureth under the sun?”

On the other hand, we modern men of good-will have enormous advantages as compared with the ancients, and, as I envisage the possible future work of this Committee and those other bodies, so numerous and powerful, to which I have referred above, I see them inevitably linking together the forces of intelligence and good-will in the different nations, even those whose views of the world are very different from ours, until the general determination of humanity to live in peace and in some approach to brotherhood is too strong to be shattered by any maladjustments of the social order or blunders of men in power. The permanent interest of mankind must be so kept before men's eyes that it may become a natural thought to the ordinary citizen.

And, even if things do go wrong, I am reminded of a conversation which I had with the head of a large shipping line about the Chinese Civil War. He mentioned that, from the province where the war was worst, his ships had lately imported a cargo of a million eggs, and to the best of his belief none of them was broken. Perhaps our “intellectual eggs” may be equally fortunate.

**THIRD SESSION OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING**

Held at Geneva, July 8th and 9th, 1936.

**THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE TEACHING
OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.**

The Advisory Committee decided at its second session to make a special study of the teaching of history, geography, and modern languages in connection with instruction in the interdependence of peoples and the coexistence of big cultural groups.

Various steps had been under consideration to facilitate the Committee's labours. The Secretariat had been instructed to consult the professional teachers' organisations and the national or international associations concerned with the education of public opinion, particularly in the cause of peace. The experience gained in a number of countries and the suggestions made in the course of this consultation were summarised in a Secretariat memorandum which was submitted to members of the Advisory Committee.

Steps were also taken to associate a number of specialists with the Committee's work. These included teachers of modern history and geography in secondary schools and higher institutions, and inspectors of secondary schools specially concerned with those subjects. The specialists were invited to submit memoranda to the Committee on recent experience in their respective countries, and to make suggestions as to future action by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in this connection.¹

Teaching of History.

In view of the work already done by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation on the revision of school textbooks and the teaching of these subjects, the Committee had decided at its previous session to limit its work to the subject of the presentation of the ideas and activities of the League of Nations in secondary-school history teaching.

¹ See the memoranda figuring under the heading : " The Teaching of History and Geography ", page 43.

There is no question but that the teaching of history affords a great many opportunities of inculcating upon the younger generation the idea of an international order, the need for collaboration between peoples, and the ideas of humanity and peace which are the foundation of the Covenant. The fundamental principles of the League are, indeed, inherent in all studies of human development, and especially of the evolution of law and the State in the modern world. Two tendencies became apparent in the Committee. One group was in favour of unitary treatment of the theme and the presentation to young people of an impartial and expurgated view of the truth; the other group was in favour of bringing out the different national standpoints.

The teaching of a dogmatic historic truth is a matter of considerable difficulty, and hardly allows of justice being done to national points of view. The other method, on the contrary, enables the younger generation to realise the relativity of historic truth and to appreciate the motives behind different national interpretations of the same events. This method implies either recourse to history teachers of different countries (to which there are many objections), or the use of textbooks which would not record history from an international standpoint, but would give the different "national" interpretations of disputed events in synoptic form.

The suggestion was also made that the teaching of contemporary history might with advantage be supplemented by accounts of present-day issues between the different countries. It was further proposed that a textbook on the League of Nations should be produced, indicating to young people the mistakes and disasters that would have been avoided, and the achievements that would have been attained, if the principles of the Covenant had been applied in their entirety in the past.

All these proposals encountered objections, the force of which was undeniable. It was pointed out that the teacher's personality is really a far more important factor in the teaching than the textbook. Belief in the effective influence of the teacher on the minds of his pupils implies admission of the fact that books take second rank in comparison.

Two suggestions were, however, taken up by the Committee. The first was for the preparation of a collection of texts taken from the textbooks approved in connection with the enquiry conducted by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. These texts, it was considered, would serve clearly to indicate the different attitudes taken up in relation to specially controversial

events. The other suggestion was for a collection of texts dealing with the principles and activities of the League, to contain model lessons, programmes of study, and extracts from important League documents. The model lessons and programmes of study might be based, it was thought, on the handbook recently published by the Secretariat on "The Aims, Methods and Activity of the League of Nations".

Teaching of Geography.

The great importance of the teaching of geography in connection with education in international co-operation is beyond question. Such education calls for a new intellectual attitude, comparable to the sense of mutual respect between individuals. The natural attitude of the human mind is egocentric; and the teaching of geography affords a favourable opportunity for the transformation of this attitude and the enlargement of its horizons. Relative, as opposed to absolute, conceptions, and scales of magnitude, are even more readily combined in geography than they are in history, because they leap to the eye.

Geography has the advantage of being able, from the first studies in physical geography, to give an equal place to all countries and all regions of the world. Individual countries are always viewed in relation to their climate, configuration, and resources, in that part of the world to which they belong; and the unity of the world is thus brought into prominence. Such teaching cannot, by its very nature, be other than objective, since it implies the idea of natural regions, which, by definition, are opposed to the artificial element inherent in political frontiers. The idea of hostility between peoples is excluded from it, and the mind is imbued with a spirit of "relativism" which is well calculated to foster mutual understanding between nations and to make the younger generation feel that co-operation is the fundamental principle of the existence of every human society.

In the case of political geography, particular emphasis was laid upon the exaggerated importance attached to political frontiers, as though they were as fixed as natural frontiers. The difficulties arising in this connection are most prominent in connection with the study of the continent of Europe. Many textbooks, after a preliminary section on physical geography, proceed to take each country separately in detail, dealing with its economic and social conditions, and losing sight of its relations with other countries. As a remedy for this state of things, which conflicts

with the aims pursued by the Committee, it was suggested that a better method would be to explain the general characteristics of each continent as a whole, and then to study it in detail in large natural geographical units, and not according to its political divisions. Under this system, the textbook dealing with Europe, for example, would be divided into natural units such as the Northern European plain, the Danube Basin, and so on. A similar suggestion was for the publication of an atlas of Europe giving equal prominence to all countries. It was proposed that it should contain maps illustrating physical geography, historical geography (in which the League of Nations would have its place), the density of population in the different countries, raw materials and centres of industrial production, and historical evolution and linguistic zones.¹

The geography of man and economic geography may play a very important part in developing a sense of the solidarity of peoples in the younger generation. They show, in the case of any given people, what natural resources it has and what it lacks; and the comparison between what it has and what it lacks induces a sense of solidarity, inasmuch as it proves that no one people is sufficient unto itself. The idea of the connection between peoples, in all its forms, further leads to study of the part played by communications and natural connections between countries. The intention behind all these conceptions is in perfect conformity with the idea of the League of Nations. Attention is drawn to the obstacles in the way of mutual relations between peoples—economic nationalism, tariff barriers, etc.; and the pupil is struck by the paradoxical features of the present age.

The Committee was further unanimous in the view that the teaching of geography should begin with the two fundamental ideas that there is only one world and only one human race. The teaching of geography should begin with physical geography as a basis for economic geography. The latter should make it its business to paint a picture of the great resources of the world and its raw materials, and should go on to draw the moral of the interdependence of the different areas. This teaching of economic geography should be followed by the geography of man, showing the distribution of populations and races in the world. The facts in this connection should be made the basis of teaching in regard to the co-operation of human societies, the natural flow of trade,

¹ The proposal for the publication by the League of an atlas of Europe is discussed in a special memorandum written at the Committee's request by Mr. W. Fitzgerald, Lecturer at Manchester University (see page 55).

and the difficulties and dangers arising in connection with all political organisations which do not take sufficient account of the problems raised by the coexistence of races, the different stages of civilisation, and the problems of population and access to raw materials.

In any teaching of geography on these lines, the League of Nations should figure as one of the main political and human factors of the civilised world. The great international problems with which the League is called upon to deal can usefully be discussed from the standpoint of economic geography and the geography of man. Any teaching which endeavours to spread a knowledge and comprehension of the diversity of interests and attitudes of the different human societies, with a view to reconciling them and so establishing peace, is teaching in the spirit of the League; for the knowledge of human societies is the origin of the peace spirit, and the teaching of geography (if treated as the spreading of that knowledge in a form suited to the different ages of those instructed) cannot but contribute to engender the peace spirit from the earliest beginnings.

In this connection, the Committee unanimously agreed to proposals by M. Maurette for the reservation of space in atlases and textbooks, as well as in moral instruction, at points indicated in the programmes concerned, for the following: the official institutions at Geneva (League of Nations, International Labour Organisation) and the cognate institutions at The Hague, Paris, and Rome; the States Members of the various League institutions, with exact particulars as to the territories and populations they represent; the territories subject to the administration and supervision of the League; and the territories under colonial mandates subject to League supervision. The above examples by no means exhaust the services which the teaching of geography can, and should, render to the League and to the spirit of the League. They represent merely a first list, an indispensable minimum.

The Committee felt it would be premature to evolve anything like a body of official dogmas from its exchange of views, fertile and suggestive though the latter proved. Instead, it instructed its secretariat to continue the consultations already begun, with a view to assembling the experience and suggestions of all quarters concerned.

A number of practical suggestions were also discussed by the Committee. It was proposed that an international geography should be published, equally suitable for elementary and secondary schools. Each national section in the work was to be prepared

by a teacher belonging to the country concerned, and considerable space would be reserved for the League of Nations. Another proposal was to establish an international geographical periodical to discuss questions raised by the Committee and to publish articles of general interest.

A number of experts pointed out that geography was still in the position of a poor relation among scientific subjects, in comparison with history. The teaching of geography suffers from inadequate resources. There is little progress in respect of such visual aids to teaching as maps, photographs, etc. The cinematograph is not yet much used, and the possibilities of broadcasting are not being exploited as they might. It was suggested in this connection that all national administrations should be recommended to establish a special geographical section in their film collections, and to arrange for broadcasting programmes to assist teaching.

The question of international exchanges of pupils and inter-school correspondence in the interest of the Committee's aims was also raised. In view, however, of the work already carried on for years past under the auspices of the International Co-operation Organisation and other national and international organisations in this field, the Committee did not think fit to draw up any programme on the subject.

In the course of the discussions, the preponderant position of the master in connection with teaching was very properly emphasised. The Committee was invited to continue its enquiries into the attitude and training of teachers. It was pointed out in particular how important it was to eliminate racial and national prejudices; and it was suggested that an enquiry might be made in universities in order to ascertain the extent to which indirect prominence was given to the idea of racial superiority. All teachers of geography, it was contended, should be required to study for a long period abroad, and should be given opportunities of attending international courses of geography from time to time, in combination with excursions.

Without attempting to express an opinion on these various suggestions, the Committee decided to communicate an explanatory account to Governments, giving the various proposals put forward and asking whether the subjects of those proposals had already been considered by their respective national authorities, from the standpoint of the adoption of programmes and methods for the teaching of geography. It was at the same time proposed to ask whether the Governments did not feel that the explanatory

account raised important questions on which the national authorities might well be asked to express opinions.

The Committee further decided simultaneously to consult the principal international and national associations concerned with the subject, and to ask them for particulars as to their experience in the matter, together with suggestions for facilitating the enquiry.

In the matter of the various suggestions in regard to a text-book, the Committee instructed its secretariat to consider the possibility of publishing a work on the aims and activities of the League of Nations in connection with the teaching of geography, for the use of geography teachers.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

LEAGUE IDEAS IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

Memorandum communicated by Dr. Oscar BENDA,
Inspector-General of Secondary Education, Vienna.

The teaching of history and geography undoubtedly offers ample opportunity for implanting in the hearts and minds of young people League ideas, such as the guaranteeing of an international system of law involving the limitation of national sovereignty in consequence of the renunciation of war as a final argument, the necessity for collaboration between peoples in the economic and intellectual sphere, and the ideal of humanity and peace.

There are many reasons for this. In the first place, history, necessarily in the nature of a synthesis showing the broad sweep of events, and geography, touching as it does upon natural science and the history of civilisation, include in their scope the various aspects of human existence and are hence capable of arousing and satisfying the desire of pupils for knowledge. The ideal of the League is, moreover, essentially inherent in these two subjects, and in history in particular. Any study of the development of mankind, ranging from a state of nature to civilisation, from the institution of States and of law to the development of the modern world, must touch upon these problems. The main issue from this standpoint, in the teaching of geography, is the facts emerging from human, economic, commercial and political geography.

From the point of view of the League, pedagogic results of the teaching of geography and history will largely depend on the use of the right methods. The object of such teaching will be to communicate and commend League ideas to pupils and, more important still, to make them living realities in the minds of the younger generation. To achieve this object, not only must the teacher give clear and stimulating demonstrations, supported

wherever possible by concrete instances (individuals, events and actual facts), but also the individual pupils themselves must share in the work.

SUGGESTIONS.

General proposals, some of which lie outside the scope of the present study, but which are none the less closely connected with the subject:

It would seem essential to found international schools at which the pupils from various countries could learn in practice what communal life between nations means.

Further, the League should organise periodically international camps for young people conceived and run on the lines of the scout jamborees, which have the same object in view.

General extension and development of exchanges of pupils.

All States Members of the League should undertake to attach to their higher education authorities a representative responsible for spreading League ideas in education (more particularly in the teaching of history and geography).

Editing of a history textbook for the use of teachers, published by the League, expounding history from the point of view, not of any specific nation, but from a "super-national" standpoint. This textbook should consist of three parts: (a) general statement; (b) statement of methods for the use of teachers of different grades; (c) statement of sources and reference works (classified from the point of view of their use in teaching, according to size, contents and degree of difficulty).

Until this history textbook for the use of teachers is ready, instructions should be published by the League, not in the form of a Committee's report, but in the form of a textbook or pamphlet for the use of teachers. These documents should contain, for instance, the following information:

(a) *General.*

All history teaching should start from the idea that any progress in history has been marked by an advance in the ideas which constitute the very essence of the League. This must be brought out in relation to events in every sphere. Examples: When studying wars of the past, it is important to draw up a human and economic balance-sheet, to take account of the loser's point of view, and to show, in particular, that practically

every war has had results quite different from those intended by the victors themselves (for example, the Peloponnesian War, the War of the Spanish Succession, the Napoleonic wars, the World War). Discussion of the League as it now exists and of its statute must be prepared and led up to by a study of early attempts at organisation on the basis of a super-State, as, for example, the Persian Empire (tolerance), the Greek Amphictyonic Councils (arbitration), the Roman Empire (expansion of civilisation), the organisation of the Church in the Middle Ages (truce of God), the attempts at organisation of Napoleon and Metternich, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, etc. In the teaching of civics, it should be shown that the limitation of national sovereignty under an international system of law and the renunciation by States of the use of force offer great advantages to the various States and have, in point of fact, become in daily life and in the sphere of science and communications a reality the need for which has long been felt and which is prejudicial neither to the individual nor to the State. Instruction should be given in such a way that young people may understand clearly, as a logical consequence, that from nations emerge super-national organs, just as formerly out of the tribe, the clan, the family arose the States of to-day, and that to future generations wars between peoples will appear no less barbarous than the vendettas of the past between individuals now appear in our eyes.

In the teaching of geography, when studying economic geography, it is important to show how the diversity of places in which the wealth of the earth and crops dependent upon climate are situated (question of raw materials, which can very well be dealt with when studying tropical Africa) and the necessities of communications and modern technical requirements demand imperatively that there shall be collaboration between all the peoples of the earth. When studying means of communication in geography (and in modern history), pupils must be made to realise that we are living in a transitional period between the geo-political and the ethno-political era, and that, in consequence of world trade, territorial frontiers, however well fortified, are daily declining in importance.

If pupils realise that races depend upon climate and environment, they will learn not to exaggerate the value of their own race, and this knowledge will help to do away with many prejudices and much presumption in such matters.

(b) *Questions of Method.*

Mural newspapers,¹ which are much used in Austria by teachers of geography and history, should devote a special column to questions relating to the League and international problems (politics, economics, public health, communications). In the higher forms, the study of international problems can be carried on more intensively by setting up working organisations or appointing one or more pupils as "League experts".

Reference notebooks for the use of pupils, supplementing history and geography textbooks. These notebooks should include material on the following lines :

Opinions expressed in the past and at the present day by important persons on the subject of League ideas. In this connection there might also be collaboration with teachers of ancient and modern languages.

Portraits of heroes and pioneers of the ideal of peace and of the League of Nations (for example, Bertha von Suttner, Nansen, A. Schweitzer). A collection of select extracts on geography such as was published about 1920 by the firm of Hirth, of Breslau, for the various chapters of the geography syllabus, but based upon ideas of solidarity and collaboration, as being essential between peoples, and upon the technical necessities of world communications (for example, organisation of the World Postal Union, means of international transport : gauge of railway tracks, establishment of time-tables, etc.); it would be possible, of course, to imagine a number of brochures on those lines according to the subject and the age of the pupils. Something of the kind has already been done : H. G. WELLS' "Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind" might perhaps be used for this purpose.

International correspondence between pupils, which so far has been employed almost exclusively for the teaching of modern languages, might be of use in the teaching of geography if suitable subjects were chosen and the scheme were adequately organised.

Certain days should be set apart as holidays and anniversaries commemorating League ideas in order that young people may be

¹ Pupils are encouraged to bring to school illustrations and articles from newspapers and reviews concerning questions taught in the history and geography syllabuses. These cuttings, after having been submitted to the teacher, are affixed by an editorial committee on a big cardboard hung on the wall. The "newspaper" usually appears weekly, but important articles are left posted up for longer.

made to realise, at all events to some extent and from time to time, by being invited to a quiet celebration, what is meant by international solidarity and the interdependence of peoples.

The only international anniversary that is celebrated at present (Message from the Children of Wales, on May 18th) should appear officially in the school time-table. As regards such anniversaries, what is important, of course, is not their number but the way in which they are celebrated.

* * *

At the same time, anyone firmly determined to stress and take advantage, from a pedagogic standpoint, of the spiritual and moral assets underlying the conception of the League of Nations must start from the principle that even more important than the inclusion in the syllabus of the various studies relating to the League of Nations—important as those studies undoubtedly are—is the *cultural* ideal, which, when all is said and done, should dominate public education in any State and is the ideal that should be placed before the younger generation. This cultural ideal determines the *spirit* that animates every form of instruction and education; it determines the moral atmosphere in which the generations which will be the men and women of the future live and breathe. The League's main care should therefore be to see that the national cultural ideals embodied in pedagogic terms in the official education syllabuses are imbued with the League spirit.

METHODS ADOPTED IN AUSTRIA.

Austria, by reason of her history, past and present, and the fact of being situated in the heart of Europe, is pre-eminently fitted to take an active and successful part in propagating League ideas in connection with the teaching of history and geography. These particular features are represented also in the new curriculum for secondary schools. The history course in the upper forms, for instance, includes a "survey of the intellectual history of the chief civilised peoples of the West", while the geography syllabus embraces, in principle, Europe and the whole of the civilised world as one organic, economic and commercial unit. Items in the curriculum stressing the Austrian patriotic aspect also offer in practice numerous opportunities of inculcating ideas of international collaboration and intellectual co-operation. Such

opportunities present themselves in a general way in connection with the constant, detailed and clear comparison with other peoples and other civilisations which is calculated to make Austria better understood, and more particularly in connection with the history of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which constantly had to deal with problems of this nature. As regards the post-war period, mention may usefully be made, in the teaching of geography, of the assistance given by the League to Austria in 1922, with a statement on the situation of Central Europe, and national economic and commercial questions.

Examinations and surveys, at the end of lower- and upper-school history courses, and the further rearrangement of facts centring on one particular historical problem provide useful opportunities for studying League history and the idea of peace and for the study of the more important international agreements, etc. Special importance attaches, for the purpose of the present study, to the civics course (during the last three months of the history syllabus in Standard IV and in the national history and geography syllabuses in Standard VIII). A separate study may be made, at this stage in the teaching of history, of the League and League ideas. In the upper classes, extracts are generally studied from the actual sources of the League Covenant, and open debates between the pupils in class also give rise to lively discussions. Such discussions help to fix in their minds the ideas acquired by the pupils and suggest to them useful criticisms. If the conceptions of a mentality favourable to the League are to become firmly implanted in the pupils' minds, some effort must of course be made to distinguish frankly and clearly between ideals and realities, and pupils must be made to realise that the defects of the League as it now exists are merely in the nature of bad growing pains, while the future, at all events, lies in its hands.

GEOGRAPHY TEACHING (IN GREAT BRITAIN) IN ITS RELATION TO INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS ACTIVITIES; WITH SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER ACTION.

Memorandum submitted jointly by P. M. ROXBYP,
of the University of Liverpool,
and W. FITZGERALD, of the University of Manchester.

The most valuable principle that geography teaching, rightly interpreted, can inculcate is that, both in its physical and human

aspects, the world functions as a unit. Diversity in unity is the keynote, and the complexity of the pattern provides the fascination of the study of geography. The recognition of an integrated world makes possible the conception of a comity of peoples, of a world order in the affairs of mankind, and of the extension of the idea of citizenship beyond the national to the international sphere. Such a conception, though more suited to the mature mind, may be introduced at a very early stage of school teaching.

THE GEOGRAPHY CURRICULUM IN BRITISH SCHOOLS: ITS SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS.

It is implicit in school curricula of geography teaching that the scope of the subject is the world as a whole. Yet the study of international relations is not, as a rule, specified; and where, as is general, attention is paid to political geography, that subject is frequently interpreted in such a way as to (a) lay undue emphasis on the divisions between the nations (*i.e.*, the political boundaries that separate them from each other), (b) underestimate the importance of international relations and the need to strengthen and extend those relations. Most teachers are aware of the significance of the study of international affairs, but to them as individuals is left the responsibility of introducing the subject quite unofficially and indirectly into their teaching. Many of them complain that their teaching is rigidly conditioned by the requirements of the curriculum and that the study of international affairs is thereby neglected. To some extent, however, the deficiencies of the curriculum in this respect are repaired, in a certain number of schools, by the activities of societies (including League of Nations societies) which are concerned with the discussion of international problems. Such activities often take place in the evening after school hours, but there are schools where the afternoon sessions are reserved largely for private study and discussion outside the scope of the curriculum, and it is in such schools that the teaching of international relations is most successful.

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY: METHODS OF INTERPRETATION.

There is a tendency in certain schools to encourage, through the teaching of political geography, the imperial idea as, for example, it is expressed by the British Empire. Moreover,

account must be taken of the many teachers who are frankly imperialistic in outlook and to whom the permanence and absolute sovereignty of the British Empire are the ultimate ideal. In such cases, the interpretation of "empire" as the extension of the authority of a governing people over a subject people, supposedly inferior, may be difficult to eradicate. Much work has still to be done to remove from teachers' minds deep-rooted prejudices of a racial or national character. All too often the geography teaching leads to the suggestion of the essential superiority of Western European peoples, and, conversely, of the inferiority of those peoples to whom the term "backward" is applied.

Other detrimental consequences that may follow from a narrow interpretation of the teaching of empire geography (as a part of political geography) include: (a) Emphasis upon the differences between one form of imperial rule and another in such a way as to suggest credit to one and discredit to another; (b) the impression that an empire is a world in itself. Powerful influences in Great Britain are at work, in the Press and elsewhere, to encourage the utmost possible concentration on the teaching of the geography of the British Empire, almost to the exclusion of other countries, and some university and school textbooks of geography have been designed along such lines.

On the other hand, certain advantages, mentioned below, may be derived from the teaching of empire geography. Considered in relation to its evolution, the empire may be regarded as a stage in the development of a world order; for example, the British Empire may be taken to illustrate an evolving growth, beginning with the consolidation of England, through the coalescence of such principalities as Mercia and Wessex; of the later association with England of Scotland and Wales; of the partnership of the Dominions (Australia, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand) with the mother country. But the teaching should not stop there. Granted that the modern system of sovereign nation States represents merely a stage in political evolution, it is possible to foster the idea of a further evolution leading towards a world federation of nations. Just as in the case of Great Britain school-children are accustomed to the idea that a local patriotism—*i.e.*, English, Welsh or Scottish—is not incompatible with a wider loyalty or patriotism—*i.e.*, British—so in the teaching of the political geography of the world the idea should be implanted that national loyalty is not incompatible with world citizenship. Teaching must not create the impression that political frontiers are unchanging or unchangeable, as are natural phenomena; while

too much emphasis on the rigidity of boundaries may prevent the realisation of the cultural and economic interdependence of peoples and of the essentially fluid condition of their political interrelations.

On the other hand, there may be real gain from the teaching of empire geography if, abandoning the idea of domination, the conception of a commonwealth or federation of peoples within a single political system can be introduced. In Great Britain, it is easier for the child to grasp the significance of the needs for harmonious relations between the component parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations (now the official title that has replaced the term "British Empire") than it is for him to appreciate the need for free and friendly intercourse between all the peoples of the world; because he has become accustomed to the fact of the coexistence of many diverse types of people living under one flag and all sharing in the responsibilities of the Commonwealth. So that the international idea is, however limited, always present in the mind of the child, and it can be used by the teacher in such a way as to enlarge the conception to the extent of an international order embracing the entire world.

The principle of trusteeship in the government of "backward" peoples of the British Commonwealth is now officially established and is so closely akin to the mandate principle enunciated by the League that, in Great Britain, geography teaching concerned with mandated territories under League supervision might well begin with an understanding of government by trusteeship within the British colonies and protectorates.

The teaching of physical geography is not affected by nationalistic prejudices, such as have been mentioned, because of the admitted impossibility of studying the physical conditions (*e.g.*, the climate) of a single country without relating them to the wider setting of the region in which the particular country is situated. If a similar width of outlook could be extended to the teaching of economic and political geography, the conception of the interdependence of the nations would naturally follow.

It is particularly unfortunate, in view of the strained relations between certain European countries during the post-war period, that the narrow interpretation of political geography which, as mentioned above, is given by certain teachers, should be most prominent in the teaching of the political geography of Europe. In that continent, the emphasis laid on the immutability of frontiers is greater than in the case of other regions of the world. It is found to be impracticable to teach the human geography of

Africa, for example, on the basis of separate political units (*i.e.*, colonies, mandated territories and protectorates) which have not cultural, economic and political individuality or distinctiveness comparable to that of European countries. Consequently where concerned with the politically backward areas of the world (*e.g.*, Tropical Africa), it is usual to find that geography teaching is on a regional basis; whilst in the case of Europe, where stress is laid on national rather than on regional divisions, the unity which geography gives to the major regions of the continent is obscured by the method of teaching.

It is not suggested that political frontiers should be disregarded, but that, at any rate in the higher forms of secondary schools and in the universities, they should be critically appraised in the light of all the distributions of physical, economic and cultural geography which give them significance.

One of the main difficulties in the way of introducing a regional rather than a national outlook into the teaching of European geography is that the information (*e.g.*, statistics of economic production, population, etc.) available to the teacher is arranged in national and not in regional categories. Similarly, most textbooks on the human geography of Europe refer to countries individually in separate chapters—a method which conceals the interrelations of countries.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TEACHER'S ATTITUDE OF MIND.

It cannot be too strongly urged that the attitude of mind of the teacher is as important for the promotion of an understanding of international affairs as the definite instructions of a curriculum as to the lines that the study should follow. As the teacher derives his ideas very largely from his university training, the attitude of the universities to the study of international affairs becomes a matter for consideration, though rather beyond the scope of this enquiry. In this connection, it may be mentioned that, in the near future, the activities of the National Council to promote the Teaching of International Relations are likely to be of interest to the geography teacher. The Council has decided to constitute a geography panel, and the Geographical Association of Great Britain, which is composed of teachers, has been invited to co-operate. Many geography teachers who are opposed to the special mention of League of Nations activities in the curriculum are readily giving their support. It appears to be the general

experience of geographers that instruction in international affairs should be indirect and without special emphasis on the work of the League of Nations. This they consider desirable in order that there should be no suggestion of propaganda on behalf of an institution, the activities of which may be the subject of controversy among people who are yet enthusiastic in the cause of international understanding.

HISTORY TEACHING IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND LEAGUE TEACHING.

A Personal Memorandum by Mr. G. T. HANKIN, H.M.I., Secretary of the International Committee of the Historical Association (Great Britain) and Secretary of the Committee on the Teaching of History of the International Committee of the Historical Sciences.

In accepting the invitation to submit a memorandum to the Advisory Committee, I recall with pleasure my previous connection with the Committee of Experts, dating back as it does to its first meetings and indeed to the discussions prior to its formation. With the memory before me of the frank and full discussions of those early days, I offer no apology for prefacing any suggestions I may make with some analysis of the difficulties inherent in the position. I will not endeavour to estimate the attitude of Governments to-day towards League teaching: I will not even hazard a guess as to the freedom of the teacher in secondary schools. I will confine myself to a consideration of the position of the history teacher who has thought seriously of his responsibilities.

1. THE DUTY OF THE HISTORY TEACHER.

The primary duty of the teacher of history is to endeavour to put before his pupils the truth as objectively as lies in his power, regardless of personal, national or international predilections. Such a task implies objective selection as well as objective presentation of facts. It is impossible, I admit, for any of us to achieve this ideal permanently: the forces working against it are too strong—our prejudices, our education, the influence of public opinion in our own country, perhaps the wishes of Government. But it is of supreme importance to maintain this ideal at the present time. If it is put aside for any one purpose, it will be put aside for another.

I admit also, in actual teaching in the classroom, such objectivity would be ineffectual; the purely intellectual approach fails to arouse interest in the minds of the majority of our pupils. Illustrative detail is necessary and emotion cannot be ruled out of vivid narrative. Nevertheless, the ideal of objective presentation should always be at the back of the mind of the teacher.

2. PROFESSIONAL DIGNITY.

The strongest barrier against a propagandist use of the history lesson is professional pride. A turn of phrase or a tone of voice can pervert the meaning of a perfectly accurate statement. The history teacher who is proud of his independence in the classroom and who realises his responsibility to an honourable profession will be on his guard against personal prejudice or unfair presentation. Any attempt to persuade him to teach with a bias in one direction or another will rouse antagonism in his mind, an antagonism which deserves to be encouraged.

The teacher, again, considers that he understands his craft. He is not prepared to receive instructions from even the best-intentioned amateur as to the methods he should adopt. All the world seems to think it knows how to teach history. The teacher thinks otherwise, and his pride in his skill is again an important factor in building up the professional self-respect which will, it is to be hoped, strengthen him against any attempts to force him to teach what he does not believe to be true.

3. CHANGES IN THE POSITION OF LEAGUE TEACHING.

When documents A.10.1925 and A.26.1926 were first issued, when, indeed, the first edition of "The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations" was published, the League itself was young and League teaching was a new idea. There was need for the dissemination of the new idea and need for a simply written book which would help teachers to understand a new type of international organisation. The rule of unanimity was, for example, a very difficult conception for those whose training in political theory had not been profound. Moreover, the interdependence of nations had hardly been realised by the majority of teachers. The suggestions in document A.26.1926 were therefore defensible on these grounds as well as the publication of "The Aims and Organisation", inasmuch as teachers could not at that time obtain without difficulty the facts contained therein. It is true that a propagandist organisation like the League of Nations Union

experience of geographers that instruction in international affairs should be indirect and without special emphasis on the work of the League of Nations. This they consider desirable in order that there should be no suggestion of propaganda on behalf of an institution, the activities of which may be the subject of controversy among people who are yet enthusiastic in the cause of international understanding.

HISTORY TEACHING IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND LEAGUE TEACHING.

A Personal Memorandum by Mr. G. T. HANKIN, H.M.I., Secretary of the International Committee of the Historical Association (Great Britain) and Secretary of the Committee on the Teaching of History of the International Committee of the Historical Sciences.

In accepting the invitation to submit a memorandum to the Advisory Committee, I recall with pleasure my previous connection with the Committee of Experts, dating back as it does to its first meetings and indeed to the discussions prior to its formation. With the memory before me of the frank and full discussions of those early days, I offer no apology for prefacing any suggestions I may make with some analysis of the difficulties inherent in the position. I will not endeavour to estimate the attitude of Governments to-day towards League teaching: I will not even hazard a guess as to the freedom of the teacher in secondary schools. I will confine myself to a consideration of the position of the history teacher who has thought seriously of his responsibilities.

1. THE DUTY OF THE HISTORY TEACHER.

The primary duty of the teacher of history is to endeavour to put before his pupils the truth as objectively as lies in his power, regardless of personal, national or international predilections. Such a task implies objective selection as well as objective presentation of facts. It is impossible, I admit, for any of us to achieve this ideal permanently: the forces working against it are too strong—our prejudices, our education, the influence of public opinion in our own country, perhaps the wishes of Government. But it is of supreme importance to maintain this ideal at the present time. If it is put aside for any one purpose, it will be put aside for another.

I admit also, in actual teaching in the classroom, such objectivity would be ineffectual; the purely intellectual approach fails to arouse interest in the minds of the majority of our pupils. Illustrative detail is necessary and emotion cannot be ruled out of vivid narrative. Nevertheless, the ideal of objective presentation should always be at the back of the mind of the teacher.

2. PROFESSIONAL DIGNITY.

The strongest barrier against a propagandist use of the history lesson is professional pride. A turn of phrase or a tone of voice can pervert the meaning of a perfectly accurate statement. The history teacher who is proud of his independence in the classroom and who realises his responsibility to an honourable profession will be on his guard against personal prejudice or unfair presentation. Any attempt to persuade him to teach with a bias in one direction or another will rouse antagonism in his mind, an antagonism which deserves to be encouraged.

The teacher, again, considers that he understands his craft. He is not prepared to receive instructions from even the best-intentioned amateur as to the methods he should adopt. All the world seems to think it knows how to teach history. The teacher thinks otherwise, and his pride in his skill is again an important factor in building up the professional self-respect which will, it is to be hoped, strengthen him against any attempts to force him to teach what he does not believe to be true.

3. CHANGES IN THE POSITION OF LEAGUE TEACHING.

When documents A.10.1925 and A.26.1926 were first issued, when, indeed, the first edition of "The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations" was published, the League itself was young and League teaching was a new idea. There was need for the dissemination of the new idea and need for a simply written book which would help teachers to understand a new type of international organisation. The rule of unanimity was, for example, a very difficult conception for those whose training in political theory had not been profound. Moreover, the interdependence of nations had hardly been realised by the majority of teachers. The suggestions in document A.26.1926 were therefore defensible on these grounds as well as the publication of "The Aims and Organisation", inasmuch as teachers could not at that time obtain without difficulty the facts contained therein. It is true that a propagandist organisation like the League of Nations Union

made little use, if any, of it, but that was a recommendation. It was written primarily to help the teacher, not to guide him along any prescribed path.

The position is now changed. Every teacher whose course reaches 1920 is bound to mention the League in any study of international relations. There is no need to-day to stress the importance of mentioning the League in the teaching of history. How to treat the problems connected therewith is a different question.

4. THE POSITION OF THE HISTORY TEACHER IN RELATION TO LEAGUE TEACHING.

A distinction must here be drawn between the teaching of history and the moral instruction that can be superimposed upon that teaching. It is of course the duty of all concerned with the education of the child to support certain general principles of morality—*e.g.*, abstention from cruelty for its own sake. But it seems hopeless to-day to include, among the moral principles that are generally accepted, even such as seem to many of us self-evident—*e.g.*, “that international co-operation should be the normal method of conducting world affairs” or “faith should be kept between nations as between individuals”. If an effort were made to lay down internationally such general principles, every nation might want to add to the list other moral principles relating to the conduct of nations one towards another, and agreement would be impossible. It seems to me, therefore, unreasonable at the present time to expect teachers of all countries to agree to any rules of international conduct which could be taken for granted and inculcated universally.

Probably in all countries history teachers refer to the growth and to the activities of the League, etc. On the other hand, it is probably true that, for various reasons, the teachers do not give sufficient time to the League and its activities—*i.e.*, their selection and presentation of facts is not adequate to the needs of the world to-day. Moreover, in the whole of the history course there is the constant danger that a nationalist view may permeate the instruction, that other nations may be unfairly treated and that the interdependence of nations may be neglected—*i.e.*, that the teaching of history may only reach a low standard. It may be worth while to consider the position under the customary headings of aim, scope, content and method, and to consider what action is possible under these divisions.

5. THE AIMS OF HISTORY TEACHING.

The statement in the last paragraph that the teaching of history only reaches a low standard implies that the aims of the teaching of history in the various countries are not being carried out successfully.¹ If one is allowed to generalise, one might discern a tendency to desire to foster a certain attitude of mind rather than a mere knowledge of facts. There is a clear agreement that the study of history ought to help boys and girls to understand the world of to-day, firstly their own country and secondly the world beyond.

There is no need to mention the proceedings of the International Conference on the Teaching of History either at The Hague or at Basle, inasmuch as their resolutions must be taken as aspirations rather than facts. The *Bulletin* quoted above records, in most cases, the official attitude towards the teaching of history. In the light of those facts and tendencies, I venture to put the following questions before the Committee, with my own replies to them.

Question I.—Does the Committee wish to see introduced into the aims of the teaching of history the inculcation of maxims of international morality?

My personal opinion is against such a view. I consider that the primary aim mentioned above of training a historical attitude towards the present is all-important, and that the best hope of diminishing political and nationalist propaganda in the history lesson is to stress the importance of objective selection and presentation of facts with the object of understanding the world of to-day.

6. SCOPE OF HISTORY TEACHING.

The recent Declaration transmitted by the Council of the League for signature to all States in January 1936 presses for an enlargement of the scope of the history course. There is the objection that such an enlargement detracts from the intellectual value of the work, in that a more intensive study of a more limited field tends to a better understanding of the difference

¹ Those aims may be studied in Vol. VI, Part II, of the *Bulletin of the International Committee of the Historical Sciences*.

between one epoch and another. On the other hand, the growing realisation of the interdependence of nations and of the importance of the Far East is a strong counter-argument.

Question II.—Does the Committee desire to take any further action in the hope of broadening the scope of the history course?

My personal view is that the teaching of world history or of the history of civilisation is an exceedingly difficult task in the classroom and that the alteration of programmes of work is a long and laborious business. It is probably advisable to wait and see how the Declaration will be received by Governments.

7. THE CONTENT OF THE HISTORY COURSE.

There is little doubt that political history still holds far too prominent a place in the content of many courses. The social and economic aspects of history are still neglected and the interdependence, both economic and cultural, of nations is correspondingly obscured. Moreover, the events of political history seem to lend themselves to a narrow nationalist treatment. These shortcomings may be ascribed to the traditional view of history, which still exercises its effect on teachers and examiners, as well as on public opinion and on officials connected with ministries of Education. The schools are, in fact, lagging behind modern thought and knowledge, particularly in so far as their textbooks do not represent the results of modern research.

Question III.—What does the Committee feel ought to be attempted in order to improve the textbooks of various countries and as far as possible to harmonise them?

My personal view is that the whole question ought to be handed over to the historians, not to teachers or Governments. The historians of two or more countries ought to meet together, and confer upon the question of the historical accuracy of the textbooks in use in the countries represented. The results of their meetings should be published and the differences remaining after the conferences left on record. No one would be under any compulsion to adopt any of their findings, but the moral effect would be slow but sure, as the chain of conferences was completed.

I know of no other means to secure an atmosphere of frank, free and informed discussion. The work of the Norden Association is, of course, profoundly interesting, but the conference

between French and German professors in November 1935 probably affords a more valuable model for the future. Clearly a complete scheme could be evolved on these lines. The approval of Governments would be necessary in the first instance. But the essence of the scheme would be untrammelled discussion between eminent historians of different nationalities, generously financed and adequately organised and free from all political interference.

Those participating in such a conference would be forced to consider in the first instance the textbooks in use in their own countries before tackling those of another nation. Their work would go far beyond anything contemplated in the Casares resolution, and the machinery for placing their verdict before the world would be far more rapid and effective. It will require courage as well as expert knowledge. But their verdict would be supported by all those who realise the eventual importance of such an enterprise.

My feeling is that the work of the Advisory Committee at Geneva ought to proceed by a series of bounds. Document A.26.1926 was a great step forward, the publication of "The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations" another. The time seems ripe for something which might be described as spectacular; a scheme for the harmonisation of history textbooks by eminent historians would arouse worldwide interest. Whatever views may be held about the future development of the League, there are very few educationists who would deny that the children of all countries have the right to hear the truth about the past and that the teachers should be supplied with the best possible aids to their work.

8. METHOD IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

Methods seem to me to be changing in many countries. More stress is being laid on individual intellectual effort and less on memorisation. More efforts are being made to make history come to life by visual aids, dramatic episodes over the radio and similar devices. The life of the people in past ages is being treated more fully and the importance of economic movement is being increasingly realised.

Question IV.—Can the Committee help in making League teaching more real and vital by suggesting new methods of teaching the history of the League or of the interdependence of nations or by the provision of aids of various types?

For years the idea of teaching films dealing with the activities of the League and the International Labour Office has been bandied about from committee to committee, from Geneva to Paris, from Paris to Rome and from Rome to Geneva. I forbear to make any further suggestions on this matter. I have learnt my lesson.

Radio talks from Geneva for schools would be impracticable, I think, for time-table and technical reasons, even though the problem of language were overcome.

It is possible that there is an opening for one or two books to be published by the Secretariat. The growth of the idea of international co-operation might provide the subject for a book for school libraries. Again, a book might be published under international auspices, containing a series of diagrams showing the growth of interdependence of nations : how trade has bound the world together, how the means of transport and communication have grown. It might, again, be possible to publish carefully selected statistics from the records of the International Labour Office for the use of senior pupils in secondary schools, who realise the value of statistics in the study of modern history and are beginning to study the elements of economics.

I have used the term "League instruction" throughout this memorandum, but I feel that the "study of international relations" would be a more suitable title for the work in the senior classes of a secondary school. Political theory and economics are not everywhere studied as separate subjects, but the introduction to such studies can well be made from the historical standpoint and such beginnings are not beyond the capacity of boys and girls of 16 to 18. It is hardly the work of a committee at Geneva to lay down the curriculum for such pupils, but the provision of such books as I have suggested might assist in the development of such senior work with a very useful orientation.

9. CONCLUSIONS.

I must admit that I have committed myself to many rash generalisations in the course of a few pages without due documentation. The gap will doubtless be supplied by the forthcoming publication of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation on the subject of history teaching. But I would venture to suggest that the proposals I have put forward are in accord with modern developments of history teaching, if I may judge by the impressions I have received in Canada, South Africa and various

countries in Europe. Of their value and practicability, it is for the Committee to judge.

GEOGRAPHY TEACHING IN ITS RELATION TO LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING AND INSTRUCTION IN LEAGUE PRINCIPLES.

Preliminary Note submitted by M. F. MAURETTE,
Assistant Director of the International Labour Office.

As one of the great political facts of modern times—a landmark in the history of man—the League of Nations must be given a place in the teaching of geography or, at least, of human, political and economic geography. Furthermore, if based upon appropriate principles, geography teaching should and can be used as a means of awakening and developing in the pupil's mind an understanding of the League of Nations, its principles and its aims, which will grow and ripen in future years.

1. PLACE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN GEOGRAPHY SYLLABUSES.

The League's place in such syllabuses is bound to be a small one, but a place it must have. It would appear natural and, indeed, indispensable that atlases, textbooks and oral tuition should, at the points specified in the programmes, introduce references to the following :

(a) The official institutions at Geneva (League of Nations and International Labour Organisation), together with the connected organisations at The Hague, Paris and Rome;

(b) The names of the States which are Members of the various League of Nations institutions, together with particulars of their territory and population;

(c) The territories under League management or supervision;

(d) The colonial mandated territories under League supervision.

Mere enumeration of the above does not, indeed, by any means exhaust the ways in which geography teaching can and must help the League of Nations and the League spirit. The above is nothing more than an introductory, though essential, minimum list of names.

2. IMPORTANCE OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE PROPAGATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SPIRIT.

In the present section, reference is made to human geography—that is to say, to the description and explanation of man's life on this planet, his different modes of life and the economic progress of mankind. It would seem obvious that, properly conceived, geography teaching could be used to promote the development of the League spirit, if it be assumed that the essence of the latter is knowledge and understanding of the different interests and mentalities of the various human communities with a view to their reconciliation and hence to the establishment of a state of peace. Knowledge of the various human communities is the beginning of peace-mindedness. Regarded as the inculcation of such knowledge in a manner adapted to the various ages, geography teaching is bound to help in creating such a frame of mind from childhood on; for example, consideration of the ingenuity and enthusiasm with which men strive to adapt their lives to varying conditions of soil and climate must awaken in the pupil's mind sympathy and respect for human toil and its achievements. Knowledge and understanding of the multiplicity and variety of man's efforts in different parts of the world, and of the different modes and habits of life which result, is bound to awaken in him understanding of and respect for the economic, ethnic and ethical differences of the various branches of the human race. In the last place, realisation of the interdependence of the human effort as shown both in the complementary character of production and in the exchange of goods and men and the creation of great lines of communication on land, on sea and in the air must ultimately bring the pupil of a firm belief in the necessity for peace.

Such teaching cannot yield all the results expected of it, unless certain conditions are fulfilled in regard to the syllabus, the subject-matter and the spirit in which it is approached.

(a) *Geography Syllabuses.*

All geography teaching must naturally begin by physical geography, or the study of the earth on which men live. It is, however, in the interest of the League of Nations and of the spirit of mutual understanding by which it is actuated that, side by side with physical geography, an appropriate place should be given, in the syllabuses in force in all grades of schools, to human, political and economic geography.

Naturally, geography syllabuses everywhere give pride of place to the home country; it is there that the pupil lives and, in all probability, there that he will remain throughout the greater part of his life. At the same time, it is indispensable that the geography of other countries should receive proper attention and that textbooks and oral tuition should go beyond a mere listing of their names. If reasonable emphasis is to be laid upon national geography, geography syllabuses in keeping with the League spirit should give each region and each State the attention appropriate to its extent, population and importance in the life of the world. In this way the pupil will be able to obtain an exact and comparative notion of the life of the various countries of the world, their varying interests and the different communities by which they are inhabited.

It is natural that in the case of human geography, which is the description of the varying reactions of human communities to different natural conditions, the syllabus should include, in the first place, an explanatory description of life in the various parts of the world. But it is also indispensable that it should include an account of the means by which these various regions are *linked together*: major lines of communications, international trade, etc.

(b) *Subject-matter of Geography Teaching.*

As a means of creating that desire for mutual understanding which is the essence of the League spirit, the subject-matter of geography teaching is even more important than the syllabus.

Above all, it should, needless to say, contain nothing contrary to truth. By this is meant, not merely the, as it were, material truth, the mere avoidance of falsehood in the statement of fact, but that higher form of truth which gives each fact its proper place and its appropriate emphasis. For example, an atlas, showing the different countries on different and arbitrary scales by which Switzerland or France were made to appear as big as the United States of America or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics would include no fact contrary to truth in the literal sense of the term. At the same time, unless it included some clear indication of the relative size of these various countries, it would fail to convey an accurate idea of the different parts of the world; and the same applies to geography teaching in general, of which it may be said that, to give a correct account of the facts, it must keep them in their just proportions.

(c) *The Spirit of Geography Teaching.*

In the last place, geography teaching will not achieve the desired ends unless it is imbued with the threefold spirit defined above : sympathy with and respect for human effort in all places and under all conditions; understanding of and respect for the economic, racial and moral differences between communities; realisation of the necessary and growing solidarity of such communities. Unquestionably, the inculcation of this spirit depends, in the main, upon the spirit of the teacher in charge. It is nevertheless to be desired that its fostering should be recommended in the instructions of the national educational authorities by which the syllabuses are, as a rule, accompanied.

3. SUGGESTIONS FOR A LIMITED PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

If these opinions commend themselves to the Committee on League of Nations Teaching, it might adopt and submit to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation a limited programme of action the initial stages of which might be outlined as follows :

(a) An enquiry into geography syllabuses and teaching methods in the different grades of school in the various countries; into the attention devoted to the constituent organisations of the League of Nations and, above all, to the extent to which teaching is imbued with the spirit defined above, together with appropriate means of instilling that spirit;

(b) Consideration of the results of the above enquiry by the Committee, with expert assistance;

(c) If thought desirable, a recommendation could be addressed to Governments on the best means by which, in the opinion of the Committee on League of Nations Teaching and of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, geography teaching might be made to contribute to knowledge of the League of Nations and understanding of its spirit;

(d) Again, if thought desirable, a publication could be issued describing the ways in which geography, if properly taught, might be used to further League of Nations teaching.

GEOGRAPHY TEACHING IN NORWAY.

Memorandum submitted by Lektor Stein SCHIBSTED,
Professor at Nissens Pikeskole, Oslo.

There is no doubt that the world situation has recently become so much worse that the question arises whether it is worth while to consider how the ideals of peace and mutual understanding can be inculcated in mankind by propaganda, instruction and training. Could not peace and understanding between the nations be arrived at by quite different, radical means? I am convinced that a complete change in the prevailing economic system is absolutely essential. But, in order to prepare the way for such a reform, it is undeniably of great importance that steps should be taken to enlighten young people in all countries as to the extent to which the countries are dependent upon each other, and to show that it is in the interest of the individual nations that international co-operation should be as effective as possible, since national isolation will, in the long run, undoubtedly prove disastrous.

The position in this respect is undoubtedly much more favourable in the smaller countries. They are obviously more dependent than the larger countries on international trade and intercourse, and it is therefore in their interest to develop international co-operation. In addition, we in the small countries are comparatively unaffected by the violent struggle for the possession of raw materials and markets which is rife throughout the world and is characteristic of our time. There are, therefore, correspondingly fewer conflicting interests between a small nation like the Norwegian and other nations, and there is very little real antipathy towards other nations. In my opinion, therefore, the conditions are favourable in my country for the high ideals upon which the League of Nations is based.

As the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching² has pointed out, it is true that in the higher schools the most suitable subjects for promoting sympathy between the nations are history, geography and modern languages. I may, moreover, point out that instruction in the mother tongue in our country, at any rate in the higher classes, may to a great extent be a means of training for world citizenship.

But, in my opinion, this may be said particularly of modern geography, provided the instruction aims at the right objects and uses the right methods. This, however, is not so easy for the traditional method of geography teaching, which includes

primarily topography as its essential task and attaches the greatest importance to descriptions of countries and peoples.

In the course of discussions regarding the impending reorganisation of the higher schools in Norway, the Educational Council submitted a plan for modernising geography teaching. The main stress is to be laid on "human geography", and the textbook must attach importance to showing how nature and climate to a great extent create the conditions for a different development of the social life of the peoples. Great importance is also to be attached to the causal connection between the various physical phenomena and between them and the industrial life of the people.

In accordance with the plan of the Education Council, Dr. Axel Sømme and the undersigned have prepared a geography textbook for higher schools (Stein SCHIBSTED and Axel SØMME : "Geografi for den høiere skole", published by Cappelen, Oslo, 1936). It is based on the labour-school principle of promoting the independent activity of the pupils and increasing their interest in and understanding for the connection and mutual dependence between the various geographical factors. While, as mentioned above, geography to a great extent at present attaches importance to topography and descriptions of countries and peoples, this textbook presents the subject by showing the great variation between the real and the regional factors and, by constantly putting questions and problems, compels the pupils to think about the causal connection. It will thus undoubtedly give them a clear idea and understanding of the reason why the life of the people varies so greatly in different parts of the world, how most nations are dependent on each other in the present age of extensive interchange of commodities, and why this must be so. It is obvious therefore that the textbook, which makes allowance for the age of the pupils, must attach the greatest possible importance to industrial life and economic factors.

I will endeavour by a few examples to make clear how we endeavour to encourage an objective understanding of various anthropo-geographical phenomena.

In referring to races or peoples, we deliberately avoid mentioning the view, which is regrettably widespread, of the inferiority of individual races in various ways, and state expressly that the differences between the great groups of nations in the world are mostly physical. We state that the Semitic race is closely related to the Indo-European race.

In the section on religion, we mention the natural man's worship of the powers upon which he is dependent in various ways and we ask what these powers are. Then we continue: "The civilised nations have, by increased experience and thought, reached a better understanding of natural forces and created higher forms of religion. How has this been brought about?"

It is obvious that the "negative" method must often be used. While earlier and existing textbooks, when dealing with Spain, give much space to the cruel bullfights, we make no reference to this subject. Instead of categorically condemning the Spanish people as a lazy people, we say that the Catalans are an enterprising and hard-working race.

In referring to the Indian caste system, we say that an Indian cannot choose his occupation or profession, but we ask the pupils immediately afterwards whether it is easy for everyone to do so in our country.

We take every opportunity of showing how the distribution of work and the exchange of commodities have developed in the world. As a small example, it may be mentioned that we say that an industrial country like Great Britain can only supply itself with bread for a few months and provide meat, butter and cheese of its own production for half a year, but that the farmers in the Netherlands sell cheese and butter to the industrial workers of England, while themselves purchasing corn from the Canadian farmers, since practically all the fertile marshland in the Netherlands has been converted into pasture.

Great Britain offers a good opportunity of illustrating the intensive exchange of commodities; we show how British industry lays in stocks of raw materials coming mostly from other parts of the world (examples?) and sells manufactured goods throughout the world; for this reason the country has an enormous trade and requires a large mercantile marine. A great part of the Norwegian mercantile marine also plies between British ports.

In describing the British inter-Empire trade and preferential duties and enquiring whether these phenomena have any influence on Norwegian conditions, the pupils, who know that Great Britain is the country with which Norway has the most active trade, perceive that these conditions may be of enormous importance for us. They also perceive that the self-supporting policy recently adopted is indeed a two-edged sword.

The statistical tables in the book enable the pupils to see, for instance, that many countries in the world are engaged in producing goods of importance for world economy. The statistics

on the foreign trade of a number of important countries show the extent of the imports and exports of the various countries and the pupils learn how, in the first place, only expensive articles of small weight entered into world trade, such as silk, but that in the last century, when sailing vessels were replaced by steamers, heavy and cheap goods, such as corn and ore, began to be transported.

With regard to languages, we endeavour to make the pupils understand how the nations are hampered by not being able to understand each other and that a generally understood commercial language plays a very important part.

As regards the methods of facilitating intercourse between the nations, the pupils are made to realise that, for instance, the laying of telegraph cables and the construction of important ship canals, together with the arrangement of posts and communications, are subjects of international importance.

In dealing with Greenland, we explain how it was a country occupied by Norway, who was deprived of it by the Hague Court in 1933. Naturally we refrain from stating that opinions differ here in Norway regarding the justice of this decision. But the most important fact is that everyone knows that Norway loyally accepted the decision of the international court.

Further, I may mention that, in dealing with Switzerland, we ask in what town the League of Nations is established and what the pupils know about the work it carries on. In dealing with Greece, we mention the great exchange of population which has taken place after the war between Turkey and Greece, and how the League of Nations, with the assistance of our compatriot Fridtjof Nansen, has undertaken the difficult work of organising labour and building homes for the new citizens. In the school libraries, the booklet "The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations" is at the disposal of enterprising pupils and geography teachers, who naturally take the opportunity of tracing the outlines of the League's work and significance.

The above are merely a few scattered examples showing how the new textbook endeavours to teach young people in the higher schools of Norway how and why the nations of the world are dependent upon each other and how the textbook endeavours in various ways to train the young people in world citizenship.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO WHAT MIGHT BE DONE
BY THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE
IN REGARD TO THE TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY.

Memorandum submitted by Professor E. SCHMID,
Chairman of the Swiss Society of Geography Teachers.

ENQUIRY INTO THE TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY
IN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

This enquiry should cover the following points in particular :

(a) Time given to geography in the curricula of secondary schools; the number of hours per week devoted to this subject in the various classes should be ascertained.

(b) How the course is planned and, in particular, what proportion is allotted to human and economic geography.

(c) Place given to the League of Nations in textbooks, atlases and wall maps.

(d) Use made of geographical excursions for instructive purposes.

(e) Wireless and the cinema as a means of instruction.

(f) Particulars of the training given to geography teachers : in this connection, the nature of the special university training given to future geography masters should be ascertained. It would also be advisable to find out whether any special facilities are afforded them to enable them to reside and undertake study tours abroad.

EXCHANGE OF PUPILS AND STUDY TOURS ABROAD.

The advantages of international travel for young people are recognised in many countries and a great deal has already been done in this direction. Care should, however, be taken to see that during these journeys adequate study is made of geographical phenomena. In this connection, the attention of geographical societies and other organisations should be drawn to the advisability of organising geographical excursions abroad.

Itinerant study groups might also be arranged, consisting either of teachers or of pupils under the supervision of their master, belonging to different nationalities, who would make a

joint geographical excursion. During these journeys, the attention of the participants should be constantly drawn to the problems raised by the interdependence of the various nations to-day and to the efforts made by the big international organisations, such as the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, with a view to finding solutions based on international co-operation.

GEOGRAPHY TEXTBOOKS DEALING WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The League of Nations undoubtedly represents a geographical fact. Consideration should be given to the possibility of publishing a textbook of this kind, and to this end the various countries should be invited to submit suggestions. If necessary, an international competition might be organised, a prize being awarded for the best manuscript submitted.

FILMS AND LANTERN SLIDES.

Film libraries and sets of lantern slides for the use of schools are already in existence in various countries. A special section of these sets should be devoted to the teaching of geography. A link should also be established between these different national sections, so that geography teachers in the various countries may have a better knowledge of the material available for visual instruction at the present time.

These sets should be classified by the best scientific methods. No film and no lantern slide should have a propagandist aim.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS DAY.

A League of Nations Day should be solemnly celebrated in all the schools of the Member States. In connection with this celebration, an attractive pamphlet should be distributed to the pupils, briefly summarising the principles of the Covenant, the Labour Charter, and some of the most important achievements of the League and Labour Office since their foundation.

SUGGESTIONS REGARDING LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING IN THE HISTORY COURSE AND THE TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY FROM THE COMMITTEE'S STANDPOINT.

At its last session, the Advisory Committee instructed the Secretariat to collect opinions and suggestions with regard to League teaching in the history course and the teaching of geography by means of a preliminary consultation of associations of secondary-school teachers and other competent bodies. To assist the Committee, the Secretariat made a selection of the numerous replies received. Extracts of replies likely to interest the Committee are grouped under different headings in the following note.

A certain number of associations consulted informed the Secretariat that they were making further enquiries. The Secretariat proposes to publish the documentary material available in a suitable form in the next number of the *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*.

I. LEAGUE TEACHING IN THE HISTORY COURSE.

The teacher's own attitude towards the League of Nations is of primary importance. The ideal state of things would be for the whole history course to be built on the principle of the League—*i.e.*, on the idea of the unity of the peoples and on the conviction that force is secondary to justice. It would contribute towards developing the pupils' interest in international law, in international good-will, without which in the end no League of Nations is possible.

The logical place for a thorough discussion of the ideals of the League of Nations must be when discussing the Great War and its consequences, but it is also desirable to trace the development of this idea in history before a discussion of the present League of Nations. When dealing with the older schemes for a League of Nations, the question may be discussed, How is it that those schemes never came to be realised? Here attention would have

to be given to the enormous development of modern machinery owing to which distances have practically ceased to exist. Moreover, the co-operation among countries and peoples and their dependence upon each other became greater and greater. This may be further explained when discussing the organisation and methods of the League of Nations (convening of international assemblies within a short time, possibilities of quick intervention, thanks to modern machinery, and so on). The methods of the League of Nations may best be discussed when dealing with questions handled by the League, giving a fair representation both as to successful and unsuccessful intervention of the League.

The work of the League of Nations and its development must be described without prejudice, including failures and shortcomings, in order to make the pupils realise the enormous difficulties of international problems and the duty of working in favour of an improvement of the present League of Nations and the responsibility of each citizen to contribute his share to this end. It is useful to emphasise that the League of Nations is not a magic power above peoples and States, but an instrument, an organisation the use of which is dependent on the will and the opinions of every individual country.

It is a good principle to interest pupils in the newspapers and to make them follow certain questions regarding the League of Nations and to report on them in class.

Also, in the lower forms, the teacher will often have an opportunity of referring in the course of discussion to the League of Nations and its activities. A discussion of the history of France after 1600 may lead to the *grand dessein* of Henri IV. When dealing with the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, Hugo de Groot will not fail to be mentioned with his treaties "De jure belli ac pacis", which may lead to the idea of international law.

The Peace of Utrecht in 1713 may give rise to the discussion of the Abbot de Saint-Pierre and his "Projet de paix perpétuelle". The Peace of Basle, 1795, may lead to Kant's "Zum ewigen Frieden".

The Paris Congress may offer an unsought opportunity of explaining the principles of the League of Nations, likewise the first Peace Conference at The Hague. The discussion of great historical figures may also be utilised for the same purpose: for instance, Florence Nightingale, Henri Dunant, Wilson, Nansen, Masaryk, Henderson and others. But let the teacher beware of an excess to which too great enthusiasm might lead him; the

result might easily be the opposite of what he intended.—
D. J. WANSINK, *The Netherlands General Union of Teachers at Secondary Schools.*

In connection with the teaching of history, the necessity for international co-operation must be dwelt upon and its special technique will have to be studied. It will be of great assistance to show the development of the idea of international co-operation and how it has arisen in the course of centuries.

At the present moment, when so many among the foremost supporters of the idea of a League of Nations are turning their backs upon it in disappointment and discouragement, the teacher of history must remain faithful to facts. He has to expose the weaknesses which we cannot help noticing in the work of the League of Nations, but he must also show the results it has brought about. Although the League of Nations as it is known, with all its forms of activity, may be found impracticable, and although a good many people may think that in its present form it will never fulfil the hopes placed in it, it is, nevertheless, the greatest concrete expression of the desire of the nations of the world to make principles of justice prevail in international relations.—A. A. KOSKENJAAKKO, *Association of Secondary-school Teachers, Finland.*

It results from enquiries made amongst secondary-school pupils that knowledge of and interest in international affairs varies naturally very much. The conclusion which one may draw is that the right technique for the teaching, in spite of much honest thought and a great measure of success among individual teachers, will still have to be developed. The main weaknesses are (a) that it is difficult to remove League teaching from the world of party creeds, so that many teachers feel there is a conflict between nationalism and internationalism and therefore omit every reference to international life as such; (b) that where instruction on the League of Nations is given, the approach is often too abstract and does not affect the underlying feeling about war.

The pupils have to be made acquainted with a new political ethic which has become a matter of practical conduct only since the war. If teaching is on chronological lines, the pupils will hear of these new standards for the first time at the end of their history syllabus. The fact must be faced that assumptions underlying the study of practically all pre-war political history

are "war" assumptions. Now, since most of the pupils' school life is spent studying pre-war history, these war assumptions will be driven home by constant repetitions, and a few later lessons on post-war political ideas will come too late to have an effect. Therefore the stage at which instruction on the principles of the League should begin is important, not only from the point of view of knowledge, but also from the point of view of fixed ideas. This does not mean that direct teaching on the League of Nations should be given at an early stage, but stories illustrating co-operation between nations should be told as early as history teaching begins.

In many cases where the ordinary history syllabus does not include League teaching, an opportunity of making acquainted with the work of the League is given by the school branch of the League of Nations Union. In other cases, that branch exists side by side with more formal teaching. In England and Wales, there are 34 branches in public schools, 671 in secondary and preparatory schools and 543 in public elementary schools. The activities of these branches include lectures, study circles, pageants, tableaux, cinemas, plays, exhibitions, correspondence with other countries and school journeys to Geneva.—Miss D. DYMOND, M. A., *National Conference on the Teaching of International Relations, London, 1935.*

History should be taught with complete impartiality. The teaching should be based on respect for other nationalities, the object being to indicate the part played by each in the common work of civilisation, without exalting national achievements to the detriment of others or in depreciation of others.

To make clear the need for international co-operation, the teaching of history should give prominence to common ideals and kindred factors in the formation of national cultures as fundamental elements. It should also show how the sentiment of common humanity begins to dawn in spite of the conflicts between peoples and develops in the mind of thinkers, writers and theologians. The constitution of the Roman Empire, the aspirations towards a universal monarchy, the study of the Congresses, treaties and pacts, which constitute the landmarks of modern history, as also the evolution of international law and international maritime law—all afford interesting points of departure in this connection. It is possible in this way to study contemporary history, the events which culminated in the Great War of 1914 and the efforts which led up to the establishment of the

League of Nations, with the utmost objectivity and impartiality.
—*Association of Spanish Secondary-school Teachers.*

II. GEOGRAPHY TEACHING AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The curricula in French schools do not allow the presentation of systematic doctrine. The French teacher proceeds less by a certain systematic method than by reflections *ad hoc*.

In the sixth, fifth, and fourth forms (11 to 14 years), the teaching of geography limits itself to description and some succinct notions on different peoples. In the third form, particulars are given to make the pupils acquainted with the conception of international solidarity. In the second and first forms, of philosophy and of mathematics the pupils respond more easily to reflections on the League of Nations, since they are acquainted with contemporary problems stimulated by the reading of newspapers; then questions on production, human work, social organisation, circulation of goods and international communications, economic interdependence, etc., are discussed. On those occasions, the necessity for co-operation between the different nations can and will have to be stressed.

The different national economic conceptions are also dealt with—*e.g.*, Soviet economics, Fascist, Capitalist and Socialist conceptions of economy, etc.—Henri BOUCAU, *President of the Société des Professeurs d'Histoire et de Géographie, France.*

Special efforts are made to convince the pupils of the necessity for international co-operation in economics from the point of view of production, human labour and circulation of goods.—H. PÉTERGÁL, *Catholic Secondary-school Teachers, Association in Hungary.*

One of the principal subjects of geography teaching which should be found in every schoolbook is that dealing with the different means of livelihood and products. Special reference should be made to the supply of goods in the various countries, indicating insufficiency and overabundance in order to create an understanding for the economic interdependence of nations.

The tasks assumed by the League of Nations—*e.g.*, the mandate system, the work in the field of economics, finance, transit and communications, and so forth—are also duly treated when studying the geographical situation in the various countries.—A. J. PORTGENG, *The Netherlands Association of Teachers at Classical Secondary Schools.*

World geography commonly demands more attention than it receives, especially in the later steps of the teaching, when ideas given in connection with particular regions can be linked together and given added significance. In this part of the work, too, the facts of international interdependence may be most fully brought out. These facts can be shown to be based in part on the physical geography: broad differences of climate, relief and soil give differences in the productive capacities of regions, and the idea arises of itself that friendly and free intercourse and exchange of goods should be the human response to the natural conditions. Again, when regions are considered in connection with their neighbours, it appears that they are interdependent in their physical conditions.

Worldwide consideration of the facts of the human side of geography leads to the same conclusions. In Central and Western Europe and in Eastern North America have developed great industrialised communities based in part upon the utilisation of coal and water as sources of mechanical power specialisation in manufacturing has made possible the growth of dense populations whose maintenance is beyond the resources of their immediate environment. Hence arises the necessity for these communities to live in close economic association with distant regions, from which they draw their supplies of food and the raw materials for their work and to which they send their products. Such close association is a condition of the very existence of the manufacturing areas; in some areas it has been secured by friendly and free intercourse, but elsewhere, owing to national rivalries and competition, it has been attempted by force. Foreign possessions have been taken and spheres of influence have been staked out, often by violence and war or the threat of war. Here, again, are the two paths made plain, and history and geography alike present us with many examples of the results of action along both lines.

• Within the last few years, a central body, which is trying to cope with a number of the problems, has been set up with the co-operation of most of the nations of the world; this body is the League of Nations. Looked at from this angle, the League of Nations is an organisation of definite geographical significance. Apart from its function of settling disputes and avoiding wars, it is, on the one hand, a human response to the complexities of the natural environments and, on the other, a potential factor in determining the present and future conditions of the exploitation and development of natural resources. Both from the point of view of its urgent necessity and from that of its potential

influences on the "wealth, work and happiness of mankind", this international organisation must be given considerable attention when a world survey is made. However, two warnings against forcing the matter in schools may be made: in the first place, it must come relatively late when the fundamental facts of the situation have been given, and, in the second place, in the geography course the facts should be left to speak for themselves.

There is a difference of opinion between teachers as to whether the subject of the settlement of disputes by the League of Nations should be introduced into the schoolroom. Some think that it will appear to the pupils as "dragged in", and they may resent its introduction. It might be so if this function of the League were treated in an abstract way as a piece of international machinery of a quasi-judicial nature. But the actual settlements which have been made are more closely related to school work; they may be dealt with as recent "history", or they may be mentioned in the geography teaching as one of the factors in the present situation of the countries concerned.—*The Geography Panel of the League of Nations Union, Education Committee, United Kingdom of Great Britain.*

In the treatment of various countries, there is obvious opportunity for adding to our understanding of the customs and outlook of their peoples. Much can be done in this way to strike at misconceptions, which lead to international troubles. Children can learn to be tolerant of other nations and to appreciate their point of view. It is significant that the young child has no race prejudice; this is something he learns only through contact with others. With junior forms, students can be interested in the picturesque customs of other lands: but, with senior forms, the reason why some peoples are regarded as inferior might very well be discussed. A discussion of the different psychology and morality of national groups is a great contribution to international understanding.

The question of tariffs is one that cannot be avoided. The Australian sugar-cane industry is a geographical subject which brings this subject to the fore. An excellent discussion can be held on the way the Australian consumer is charged more to make up for the loss on the surplus exported. The possibility of the further population of Northern Australia and the subject of White Australia are associated subjects of international import. Economic warfare is the most usual prelude to military warfare.—*Victoria.*

III. LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE TEACHING OF SOCIAL STUDIES.

The whole purpose of the new courses in social studies will be to help the pupil to understand his social and economic environment at home and the relation of this environment to international problems.—*Province of Alberta, Department of Education.*

Assignments were made to different students to collect information from a periodical on certain subjects over a period of a fortnight. Each student chose a topic for special study from December 15th to March 1st. While some of these topics were of national or local concern only, the majority were of international interest. Such topics as the Disarmament Conference, political developments in France, cultural developments in Russia, President Roosevelt's attitude to trade in Italy, the restoration of the Monarchy in Greece, etc., proved to be interesting and provocative.—*Kelvin High School, Canada.*

Most of the textbooks of civics also contain a survey of the aims and work of the League of Nations.—A. J. PORTINGEN, *The Netherlands Association of Teachers at Classical Secondary Schools.*

IV. TEACHING AIDS.

A. Lectures, School Magazines, Maps, Diagrams, Literature, etc.

An excellent means of drawing the pupil's attention to the League of Nations can be found in school magazines which are published by the pupils at numerous schools. The teacher is given an opportunity of encouraging discussion on the League of Nations in these articles. In some cases, the editors of a school magazine succeeded in publishing a fairly extensive League of Nations number (at The Hague in 1929; at Velsen in 1936).

The school groups of secondary schools sometimes offer the possibility of a lecture, either by one of the members or by a speaker invited for the purpose, on a subject connected with the League of Nations. Often the pupils' interest is aroused in a way different from the ordinary course of instruction, by arrangements of a similar kind in a more social place.—D. J. WANSINK, *The Netherlands General Union of Teachers at Secondary Schools.*

The Government of Luxemburg, every year, before November 1st, sends a circular letter to the members of the teaching staff in which they are requested to give an official lecture to their pupils on the idea, organisation and practical utility of the League of Nations. A good many professors comply with this request.—M. N. MARGUE, *Association of Secondary-school Teachers, Luxemburg*.

A very full bibliography of books, with descriptive and critical notes and hints as to their utilisation, has recently been published in the "Handbook for Geography Teachers" edited by Miss D. M. Forsaith (Methuen & Co.). Attention may here be drawn especially to Chapter V, on "The Teaching of International Geography", and Chapter VI, on "Geography and the League of Nations", by Mr. G. J. Cons. To this latter chapter is appended a list of the League of Nations' publications dealing with the various activities of the League and its associated organisations, commissions, etc.

A number of documents contain most valuable material for the teacher of geography, and a selection from this material, with explanatory notes and suggestions for its use, has been prepared under the title, "Human Geography and the League of Nations: A Source Book for Teachers".—*The Geography Panel of the League of Nations Union, Education Committee, United Kingdom of Great Britain*.

A short study at the beginning of each lesson of newspaper cuttings keeps the pupils informed on world affairs.—*Victoria*.

B. *Wireless and the Cinema.*

An extensive use is made of the cinema and wireless in secondary schools: listening to broadcasts from Geneva by, or about, the League of Nations; projecting slides or a film on the League of Nations. Study tours in the country itself and abroad are also organised.—D. J. WANSINK, *The Netherlands General Union of Teachers at Secondary Schools*.

Geographical films of an educational nature as well as films on natural history and geographical subjects intended for the general public seem to advance the understanding of intellectual co-operation.—I. A. POIJÄRVI, *Association of Secondary-school Teachers, Finland*.

For two years, broadcasting of geographical topics for primary schools—twenty minutes each week—and for secondary schools—half an hour each week—has been carried on.—*New South Wales*.

The cinematograph is also becoming a great educational instrument, and geography can benefit enormously by its employment. In addition to the films showing travel or life in other lands (e.g., "Nanook of the North", "From Cape to Cairo", etc.) exhibited in the ordinary way, there are those prepared by the Empire Marketing Board and now taken over by the General Post Office and commercial and industrial firms. Lantern displays can be arranged with slides loaned by various Dominion Government agencies, tourist development agencies, railways and steamship lines, and trading and manufacturing firms. Local education authorities have collections of slides which in some cases are very good and might be much more utilised than they appear to be.—*The Geography Panel of the League of Nations Union Education Committee, United Kingdom of Great Britain.*

C. *Visits to Institutions, etc., connected with the League of Nations.*

1. Visiting places or institutions connected with the League of Nations (the Peace Palace, The Hague; the Secretariat, Geneva; etc.).

2. Visiting special exhibitions (the Exhibition for Peace and the League of Nations, The Hague, 1930).

3. Organising in the school itself exhibitions of objects connected with the League of Nations.—D. J. WANSINK, *The Netherlands General Union of Teachers at Secondary Schools.*

D. *Study Tours and School Journeys.*

Study tours are certainly of great use, and the schools at The Hague and environs visit the Peace Palace and attend the meetings of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Still more useful are the school trips which have taken place during the last few years. For instance, a group of some hundreds of Belgian pupils visited Holland, and *vice versa*. School journeys are also made to Great Britain.—A. J. PORTINGEN, *The Netherlands Association of Teachers at Classical Secondary Schools.*

Mention must be made of the meetings of Scandinavian schoolboys and schoolgirls which take place every year and which were initiated by the "Norden" Association, the Finnish-Estonian Hospitality Exchange of Secondary-school Pupils and the exchange of school pupils between Finland and Germany on the one hand, and between the Scandinavian countries

and Estonia, Latvia and Hungary on the other hand.—A. A. KOSKENJAAKKO, *Association of Secondary-school Teachers, Finland.*

V. SUGGESTIONS.

A small pamphlet summarising the work accomplished by the League of Nations and the results achieved, which could be kept up to date every year, would be extremely useful.—Henri BOUCAU, *President of the Société des Professeurs d'Histoire et de Géographie, France.*

In August 1936, a study course will take place in Stockholm in order to deal with international problems. The starting-point for such discussions will be the actual situation of the League of Nations with regard to certain conflicts at the present time.—*Association of Secondary-school Teachers, Sweden.*

A very helpful initiative of the "Norden" Association is the celebration of the "Day of the North"—a subject which completes very well the teaching of history. The cultural unity of the Northern countries is thus brought to the attention of the pupils in different ways, and we hope that this celebration may gradually become a habit, as is already the case with the "Day of Kindred Races". A more general celebration is that of "Goodwill Day", in connection with which the use of wireless is being planned in this country. It is not intended to give to this day a pretentious form in school life. The teacher of history refers to it in the form he considers most appropriate. He may wish to organise a discussion or he may have some paper read by a pupil. It is of special importance to make use of the free pursuits of the pupils—*i.e.*, senior pupils' club, special interest clubs, etc. In some schools, there have been special evenings arranged—for instance, a Mozart evening; a special evening on Hungary, on France; a German evening, an Ethiopian evening, and so on, for which the entire programme has been worked out in accordance with the special character of the evening in question. A famous foreign lecturer or artist visiting the country may prove an incentive, provided the pupils have learned to read the newspapers properly.—A. A. KOSKENJAAKKO, *Association of Secondary-school Teachers, Finland.*

In order to make young people appreciate the significance of the co-operation of nations, the different aspects of geography could be treated with a deeper purport if access were given to

literature dealing with international co-operation, and maps and diagrams, to a greater extent than is the case at present.—
L. A. POLJÄRVI, *Association of Secondary-school Teachers, Finland.*

In some schools, a "Geography Club" or "Geographical Society" meeting perhaps once a month, and run by the scholars with the teacher's assistance, has been very successful; the programmes include lectures by visitors, sometimes from abroad; discussions, visits to neighbouring or even somewhat distant industrial works, docks and an airport, as well as films.—*The Geography Panel of the League of Nations Union Education Committee, United Kingdom of Great Britain.*

It is of the first importance to inculcate and emphasise all that is implied in the conception of international solidarity. The Secretariat of the League of Nations has sufficient information at its disposal to supply an abundance of maps, graphs and statistics on the work done in connection with public health, colonial mandates and their advantages over any other form of colonisation, international economic relations, the protection of national and foreign workers, the regulation of emigration and the openings which it holds out in certain countries.

The following may be regarded as suitable subjects for model lessons, emphasising the community of peoples in connection with the teaching of geography: man and his geographic surroundings, the over-peopled regions of the world and great cities, the great natural sources of raw materials and foodstuffs, the main industrial zones of the world, the chief currents of world trade, the geographic characteristics of large and small States and so on.—
Association of Spanish Secondary-school Teachers.

A PROPOSED LEAGUE OF NATIONS ATLAS OF EUROPE.

It is recognised to be indispensable to the study of international affairs that accurate and abundant geographical data—which only a map can supply—should be available. The contribution which an atlas can make to international understanding is now appreciated, but all small atlases which have been published up to date bear this deficiency—namely, that they express a bias in favour of the country in which the atlas is published; so that both the number of maps devoted to this country and the scale of the maps is generous, though for remote countries the maps are few and the scale usually excessively small. For example, in the case of the best-known of the small atlases published in England—"The Oxford Advanced Atlas"—there are fifteen maps of the British Isles, and the scale of the largest of these is 1 : 1,700,000; but South-Eastern Europe has only one map (scale 1 : 5,000,000), and, to take another instance, the only map of Japan is on the scale of 1 : 10,000,000. The "Oxford Atlas" is fairly typical of the best of nationally biased atlases; a corresponding atlas published in France concentrates upon maps of France and of the French colonies, and so on. Ignorance of countries, wrongly considered unimportant, is perpetuated in this way.

The ideal atlas should be not national but international in its conception and should, as far as possible, devote equal attention to all inhabited parts of the world. There is no continent where national prejudices are as strong as in Europe, and a well-devised atlas would play its part in the removal of the causes of misunderstanding between the nations. It is suggested that, under the auspices of the League of Nations, an atlas of Europe should be prepared and published, at a price which would make it accessible to the general public and particularly to students. Such an atlas would include maps showing distributions of physical and human phenomena for the continent as a whole and, in addition, maps of particular regions—*e.g.*, South-Eastern Europe—but there would not be emphasis in favour of any particular region. Maps indicating the evolution of European civilisation from earliest human

times down to the establishment of the League of Nations would provide one of the important sections of the atlas.

It is further suggested (*a*) that the names printed on the maps should be in either French or English, but that the index (*légende*) or reference to each map should be in both French and English; (*b*) that the atlas be of about sixty pages and that the dimensions of the page should be about 36 cm. × 25 cm.; (*c*) that the price should not exceed 10s.

W. FITZGERALD,
University of Manchester.

**PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE TEACHING OF
MODERN LANGUAGES IN RELATION TO THE
INCULCATION OF A SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONAL
COLLABORATION.**

Memorandum communicated by M. Jean PIAGET,
Director of the International Bureau of Education, Geneva.

The Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching adopted, on July 11th, 1935, the following resolution, which was approved by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and by the sixteenth Assembly of the League of Nations :

“ (a) In recommending to the attention of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation the importance of modern language teaching as a means of illustrating the intellectual contributions of different peoples, the Committee fully realises the part that may likewise be played by the study and knowledge of the classical languages as a common fund of culture and a factor of mutual understanding and *rapprochement*.

“ (b) The Committee considers, however, that the examination of the various aspects of the question of modern language teaching, from the standpoint from which the Committee must regard it, has not yet been carried far enough to enable it to make any specific proposals.

“ The Committee is of opinion that the study carried out by the British League of Nations Union, the results of which are embodied in a pamphlet entitled ‘ Modern Language Teaching in Relation to World Citizenship ’, might be taken as an example for purposes of guidance in similar consultations in other countries.

“ (c) Being anxious to secure the utmost possible assistance from specialised institutions, the Committee proposes that these preliminary consultations should be carried out by the International Bureau of Education, acting in conjunction with the International Association of Modern Language Teachers and in liaison with the Secretariat.

“(d) The results of these consultations, carried out for, but not by, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, will be embodied in a report on the basis of which the Committee will draw up a programme of possible action at its next session.

“The Committee submits these various proposals for the approval of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and requests the latter to give any necessary directions to the executive Committee for the purpose of fitting in the execution of this programme of work with the other activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.”

The International Bureau of Education readily accepted the invitation of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, particularly as, at its fifteenth session (May 11th, 1935), the Executive Committee of the Bureau had decided to undertake an enquiry into curricula of secondary education, including curricula for the teaching of modern languages.

Consequently, at its sixteenth session, the Executive Committee of the International Bureau of Education approved a questionnaire to be sent to Ministries of Education in accordance with the Bureau's usual method. In addition to general questions concerning the teaching of modern languages, this questionnaire included a number of special questions connected with the part played by such teaching in the formation of a spirit of international collaboration.

The following is the text of the questionnaire :

“1. In what types of schools (primary schools, teachers' training colleges, commercial colleges, occupational schools, etc.) and in what sections of secondary schools (modern, classical, etc.) are modern languages taught?

“2. In each of these types of school or sections, what modern languages are (a) compulsory and (b) optional? Is one of these languages regarded as the principal language and, if so, which?

“3. During which school years are each of these languages taught in each type of school or section?

“4. How many hours are devoted per annum to each of the modern languages taught in each type of school or section? How are these hours distributed throughout the week?

“5. What changes have been made in the number and relative importance of the modern languages taught since

1910? Are other changes contemplated? If so, for what reasons?

“ 6. Is there any difference between the status of teachers of modern languages (appointment, titles, salary, etc.) and that of other teachers in the same type of school ?

“ 7. What is the nationality of teachers of modern languages? Are they nationals of the country in which the teaching is given or nationals of the country whose language is being taught? Or are they nationals whose teaching is supplemented by professors or assistants from the country whose language is being taught?

“ 8. What is the special training given to modern language teachers? Will they be required to spend a year or two in the country the language of which they will teach?

“ 9. What means are provided to enable teachers already exercising their profession to improve their knowledge (exchange of secondary school teachers, summer courses, travelling scholarships, etc.)?

“ 10. What summer courses in the universities of your country could be used for perfecting the knowledge of foreign teachers of modern languages?

Are there any foreign readers in the universities of your country whose lectures would be of utility in the training of teachers of modern languages?

“ 11. Do teachers of modern languages teach one or more languages? Are they capable of teaching other subjects, if necessary?

“ 12. What are the official curricula for the teaching of modern languages for each type of school or section? (Please append copies to your reply.)

“ 13. Have any official steps been taken (decrees, regulations, programmes, instructions, etc.) to assign special aims to the teaching of modern languages according to the various types of schools or sections (practical aims, general education, better comprehension of the peculiar genius of other countries)?

“ 14. Do the programmes or official instructions relating thereto provide for the study of the civilisation, history, folklore and customs of the countries whose languages are taught?

“ 15. What are the official instructions concerning :

- “ (a) The choice of textbooks;
- “ (b) The choice of reading material and literary texts;
- “ (c) The special material to be employed (collections of pictures and views, etc.)?

“ 16. What are the official instructions concerning the methods to be employed (direct method, etc.) and the subsidiary methods (plays given by pupils in a foreign language, dramatic tours by scholars abroad, music and singing, broadcasting, cinematography, gramophone records, etc.)?

“ 17. Any other observations.”

This questionnaire was recently sent to Ministries of Education, taking due account of the necessity of allowing for a certain interval between the enquiries conducted by the Bureau (this questionnaire on the teaching of modern languages having been preceded in the same year by questionnaires on legislation concerning school buildings, the organisation of special teaching and the organisation of rural education).

In this preliminary report we shall endeavour to explain what results we hope to obtain from the replies and how these results may influence action through the teaching of languages to develop a spirit of international collaboration.

It is obvious, in the first place, that questions 1 to 4 are merely intended to determine the compass within which modern languages are taught. Question 5 is self-explanatory; a study of the development of the teaching of modern languages during the last quarter of a century is bound to reveal the intentions of the legislators. The replies to question 6 will show whether language masters are on an equal footing with teachers in other branches. This is the case in a large number of countries, but by no means so, until quite recently, in a large part of Europe, where apparently no special aptitude or qualifications were required for teachers of modern languages other than to be able to speak and write the language taught!

Question 7 brings us to the heart of the problem. The study of language by contemporary linguists and psychologists has shown that not only the intellectual comprehension of a language, but also, and consequently, an acquaintance with all the values of culture and national tradition of which it is the vehicle is determined to a great extent by the affective relationship between

those who speak it and those who learn it. Thus bilingualism is a source of intellectual development and general enrichment for a child when the two languages he learns have for him the same affective significance (for instance, when his father and mother, whom he loves equally well, each speak their own mother tongue). It is a source of intellectual backwardness and inhibitions in general development when the languages learnt are characterised by different affective values (when the language is coloured with affective symbols concerning a distasteful person, people or national majority). Consequently, if a language is not only to be learnt well but is to become a factor for the promotion of better relations between the various national mentalities, the first thing to ascertain is by whom it is taught. This is all the more important in that children often misunderstand in many ways, are irritated by and even cherish secret hatreds against foreigners or even fellow-countrymen from another region—facts which play an imponderable but nevertheless definite part in the analysis of the failure of certain methods of teaching. If the teacher is a national of the country of the language taught, he will certainly be better acquainted than a national of the country in which the language is being taught with the language and civilisation for which it is his task to inculcate an affection. But this advantage may be counteracted by lack of mutual comprehension between himself and his pupils. To mention only my own country, it is quite possible that the characteristic ignorance of German among French-speaking Swiss schoolchildren may be due to factors of this kind.

But if the teaching of modern languages is entrusted to nationals of the country in which they are taught, then obviously, if such teachers are really to adapt their pupils to the spirit and culture of the country whose language they teach, they will require special training and periodical refresher courses. Hence, questions 8 to 10 concern the training of future teachers in the country whose civilisation they will have to make known (summer courses, tours, exchange university courses, etc.).

Question 11 may seem to be of secondary importance, but, according as language masters are obliged to specialise in the study of one foreign cultural system only, as in certain countries (France, etc.), or are entitled to teach two or even three modern languages, they will obviously not be able to arouse the same level of enthusiasm among their pupils.

Questions 12 to 15 concern details of curricula. The answers to these questions will enable us to decide to what extent the

teaching of modern languages is regarded as a philological or merely utilitarian branch of study, or whether the ideal of mutual understanding—study of the civilisation, history, customs and individuality of the country whose language is being taught—is included and attained.

We think, moreover, that it is wise, as in question 16, to emphasise the problems of method. It would be useless to rely on the teaching of modern languages to encourage international understanding if such teaching were simply verbal and caused in the minds of the pupils the impression that they were engaged in mere book study or taking some compulsory school subject. As everyone now realises, effort and real interest are stimulated in proportion to the appeal made to the spontaneous activity of children. Too much stress cannot therefore be laid on the part played, not only by active methods for the acquisition of the language itself (direct methods, whose number is legion), but also community activities, such as plays given by pupils in a foreign language, musical exercises, group readings with a view to team work, etc.

These are the various questions with regard to which the International Bureau of Education is at present collecting documentary material from official sources to form the basis of a report for submission to the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching. Doubtless, several of these problems have already been studied, thanks in particular to the excellent work accomplished by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in the matter of school textbooks and educational broadcasting. Doubtless also, the official documents will have to be compared with the results of research work carried out by specialised organisations, such as the International Federation of Teachers of Modern Languages and the Committee on Modern Languages of the American Council of Education. On the basis of this documentary material obtained from two sources, the Advisory Committee will be able to make its contribution to directing the teaching of modern languages towards the ideal of a better understanding between individuals and countries.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ORGANISATION AND THE FRANCO- ANGLO-AMERICAN BID FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY.¹

INTRODUCTION.

Before the war, goods circulated freely between one country and another. Apart from a few minor exceptions, import duties under the customs tariffs constituted the only obligation attaching to this freedom of movement. Countries were bound by long-term commercial agreements, during the validity of which tariff modifications were rare. There was complete liberty in the matter of international payments, and the various currencies, based on gold, remained relatively stable. Coin and bullion circulated as freely as commodities, so that under this regime comparative equality in price-levels and standards of living existed between neighbouring countries—a condition that was favourable to the development of reciprocal economic relations.

It was impossible during the war and post-war periods to re-establish similar conditions on a permanent basis. Currencies underwent many violent convulsions, and international trade remained unsettled owing largely to the continual modification of customs regimes; security in the matter of payments ceased to exist. The onset of the economic depression produced a steady trend in the direction of autarchy.

The League of Nations Economic and Financial Organisation has lost no opportunity of advocating a return to normal conditions by stressing the drawbacks and dangers inherent in artificial trade restrictions.

To-day, in the presence of a new bid for economic recovery, it may perhaps be of interest to recall, within the general scheme of current problems, the main stages in the work of psychological and technical preparation carried on by the Organisation, with the

¹ The *Bulletin* for December 1934 contains a first study on the activities of the League of Nations Economic and Financial Organisation, entitled: "The League of Nations and World Economy".

object of stimulating a general resumption of closer relations and more effective collaboration between the national economic systems, and to give some idea of the initial stages of the attempt which is now being launched.

WORK PREVIOUS TO THE LONDON MONETARY AND ECONOMIC CONFERENCE (1933).

To appreciate the purpose and scope of League activities in the matter of international economic relations, it is necessary to go back to the period immediately preceding the economic depression, a time which was marked by intense economic and financial activity.

This period of *prosperity*, often so described in contrast to the period of *depression* which succeeded it, reached its peak about 1928-1929. International trade, having got rid of most of the obstacles which had paralysed its post-war progress, was then making rapid strides. Currency stability, still precarious but none the less fairly secure, again permitted of the conclusion of long-term contracts. In most countries, the economic situation was regarded as satisfactory, and public opinion in general, misled by these favourable signs, placed its trust in the soundness and permanence of this great material progress.

The artificial aspects of this prosperity, however, did not escape a number of experts, who expressed their scepticism as to the too absolute value generally attributed to index numbers as economic barometers. They followed, with close and often anxious attention, the development of morbid symptoms, whose increase gave ever-clearer warning of an approaching crisis. It had been forgotten that this over-rapid prosperity rested upon very unsound foundations. For the impossible international financial undertakings stipulated in the Peace Treaties or ensuing from the liquidation of war debts, the enormous public and private indebtedness following on the war, the gradual concentration of gold stocks in creditor countries, the decline—still slow, it is true, but persistent—in the prices of the principal agricultural products, the growing disproportion between excess production and under-consumption due to the low purchasing power of various groups of consumers—all these were factors combining first to arrest and then to keep in check this revival of business prosperity.

In September 1929, when the League Assembly met, anxiety was very general. It had a palpable influence on the course of

the discussions in the Second Committee, whose agenda included a consideration of economic and financial questions. To meet the imminent crisis, the representatives of the States assembled at Geneva expressed the opinion that concerted action should be taken on a big scale to facilitate and stabilise international trade. The Committee accordingly decided to wage war on excessive Customs protectionism and all forms, more or less disguised, of protectionism, and to recommend Governments to abolish existing import prohibitions and restrictions and to adopt a commercial policy based on the Economic Committee's doctrines concerning, for instance, tariff systems, contractual methods and the application of the most-favoured-nation clause.

The Committee also expressed its conviction that international economic co-operation should be extended in such a way as to include the activities of companies and individuals, and recommended that the Conference convened for the beginning of November 1929 to frame a draft international Convention on the treatment of foreigners and foreign undertakings should adopt a liberal attitude and endeavour sincerely to evolve a system based on equity and liberty, so as to preclude all discrimination in the treatment of nationals and foreigners and ensure them every facility in the exercise of their profession or trade.

Lastly, emphasising the importance of the enquiry then proceeding on economic trends that might influence world peace, the Committee stressed the close relationship between political and economic factors in this sphere, and expressed the hope that, after the preliminary studies, the League Council might be in a position to launch an appeal with a view to general discussion and research.

Before the Conference which was to lay the foundations for concerted economic action met, the stock-exchange panic, starting from Wall Street, had reached Europe. Business came suddenly to a standstill, and every country hastily took provisional measures to safeguard its own economic interests from the more serious consequences of the crisis. That was the origin of the scramble for economic isolation, and all attempts at breaking through it have hitherto proved in vain.

Soon post-war financial and economic problems, still pending and almost forgotten during the period of prosperity, reappeared as prominently as ever. To avoid bankruptcy, moratorium measures were agreed to, but their efficacy was reduced owing to incoherence of effort, failure to comprehend the situation of other

countries, conflicts of interest and, most important of all, a further and more widespread fall in prices.

Nevertheless, despite the gradual darkening of the economic situation and the repeated failure of carefully prepared conferences which would have achieved the desired results had conditions been more favourable, the Economic and Financial Organisation methodically pursued its technical work as a basis for the eventual resumption of international collaboration. In September 1930, the Assembly placed on record its appreciation of this constant work of collecting, recording and classifying data. On the proposal of the Second Committee, it asked that it should be continued as a means of elucidating and recording subsequent developments of the economic crisis, and entrusted to the Organisation a long and important study on economic depression, the factors underlying them and the means of avoiding their recurrence as far as possible.

Thus, from the beginning of the economic depression, the League technical organisations have followed the progress of the mischief and endeavoured to check it by persistently recommending the means best calculated to promote economic recovery in the scheme of international collaboration. The irresistible slowing-down of business, however, frustrated their best intentions, and they had to look on powerless at the rapid multiplication of safeguarding measures to which Governments, surprised by the suddenness and violence of economic and financial convulsions, resorted in despair to resist the most pressing danger. Countries with a depreciated currency, fearing the rapid exodus of available capital, had recourse primarily to a more or less strict policy of currency control. Creditor countries, their markets flooded by cheap goods, adopted quota measures and in some cases prohibited the import of certain commodities. Thus, partly from motives of financial protection, partly with the object of fighting unemployment or protecting agricultural production, States shut themselves up ever more tightly within their national frontiers, and the collapse of the Creditanstalt was followed by a fresh period in which currency and credit instability, insecurity in the matter of payments, hoarding, commercial competition and mutual distrust again prevailed.

THE EFFORT OF 1933.

The Lausanne Conference, which had met in July 1932, at the instance of a few Governments, to settle once and for all the

question of war reparations, was the first big practical effort to react against the growing movement in favour of national economic isolation. The negotiators hoped that the abolition of the enormous financial burden on Germany represented by the Young Plan annuities would stimulate a return to freer circulation of commodities and capital. The work begun at Lausanne was to be continued, and the States which met there requested the League of Nations to convene a monetary and economic conference in London.

A committee of experts met to frame the agenda of the future conference, and the compilation of that document, which was to be accompanied by a full commentary, soon proved to be extremely difficult.

The initial point to be determined was whether, in re-establishing conditions that would permit of a resumption of international economic and financial relations, the solution of monetary problems or of commercial problems was the more pressing. Since then, a few years have elapsed and, glancing back, this question, hotly debated at the time, appears now to have been in fact less important than was then thought. Since 1933, indeed, under the all-powerful impulse of economic developments, ideas have undergone a profound change. Before the London Conference, experts were divided into two distinct schools, opposed to one another and unable to agree, notwithstanding their obvious good-will and conscientious analysis of facts.

The first school, regarding currency primarily as a measure, proposed that currencies should first be stabilised in relation to gold, and then the abolition by stages of restrictions on the free circulation of commodities. The second school, struck by the disparity in national price-levels, was in favour of first re-establishing free circulation, maintaining that the stabilisation of currencies and their pegging to a common standard should not and could not come about until after the re-establishment of parity of purchasing power. The idea of two simultaneous processes was indeed contemplated, but it was finally decided to separate monetary and economic problems and to deal with them separately.

The London Conference met in July 1933 and the discussion was reopened between supporters of a rigid currency and those in favour of the more elastic system. The Conference would probably have reached a compromise, had not a very important event occurred at that moment in the shape of the drastic devaluation, by the Government, of the American dollar. This

measure, which killed any hope of general stabilisation in the near future and seemed likely to cause fresh disturbances in international trade, practically put an end to the work of the Conference. Was the latter to admit failure? It decided in favour of an adjournment, which would permit of resuming its proceedings should circumstances later prove favourable.

The currency devaluation carried out by the United States Government marked the beginning of a new trend in the economic policy of that country and the beginning also of a new phase in the economic depression. From then onwards, general attention was directed even more than in the past, through conflicting or different monetary conceptions, to the problem of national price-levels.

EXPLORATORY WORK IN 1934 AND 1935.

The continuance of international economic competition on new fronts foredoomed to failure, at all events for a time, any attempt, even on a limited scale, to achieve international economic *rapprochement*. The effects of the new American economic policy, definitely aiming at the conclusion of bilateral commercial treaties based on wide reciprocal tariff concessions and mutual most-favoured-nation stipulations, had still to produce its effects. The results of the operation of clearing systems for the settlement of accounts in exchanges with countries with depreciated currencies or between those countries themselves also called for consideration.

The League of Nations Economic and Financial Organisation devoted its attention to this work of exploration.

During this interval of waiting, economic activities, though still feeling the depression, showed sporadic but very definite signs of recovery. Since the end of 1932, a number of countries had recorded a slight improvement in business activity. The division into three main currency *blocs* of the countries in which freedom of payment had remained unrestricted appeared likely to produce, in the commercial field at all events, a partial dislocation of the system of import quotas with the possibility of currency competition. But neither of these two possible consequences materialised. The two main groups with depreciated currencies, the sterling and dollar groups, succeeded, after numerous currency oscillations, in arriving at a *de facto* stabilisation which ensured them an exchange parity favourable to reciprocal trade; again, countries which had remained on the gold

standard met at Brussels towards the end of 1934, with the object of strengthening their economic ties with one another, but they found that similarity of currency policy did not offer a sufficiently wide basis of common interests to secure the desired cohesion of the group.

The enquiry into clearing agreements entrusted to the League Economic and Financial Organisation by the Assembly in September 1934 was completed at the beginning of 1935. The results were examined by a Committee of highly qualified experts. These results showed that clearing agreements, originally necessitated by circumstances, were causing increasing difficulties from the point of view of the countries obliged to continue this policy and from that of commercial exchanges. The Committee stated accordingly, in its conclusions, that the re-establishment of an international currency standard, with the conditions of freedom of exchanges necessary for its regular functioning, appeared to it to be the most effective means of guarding against disturbing influences, as regards both the international regulation of trade in foreign currency and agreements relating to international payments.

This conclusion confirms the liberal doctrines consistently championed by the Economic Committee. Noting further that symptoms of economic recovery were becoming more pronounced in the sterling and dollar group countries which had depreciated their currencies and that currency depreciation had not produced in Belgium the disastrous consequences predicted for that country by advocates of the classic monetary doctrine, the Economic Committee decided, at its session in September 1935, that its annual examination of the economic situation should be on a wider scale than usual, in order, if possible, to start a movement of opinion in favour of the resumption of more active international exchanges. The Committee's memorandum, entitled, "Remarks on the Present Phase of International Economic Relations", describing some of the more important aspects of the existing economic and financial problems, appeared just before the meeting of the Assembly. The latter expressed its approval and passed resolutions reiterating the Economic Committee's hope that this disastrous period of restrictions on international trade might be brought promptly to an end.

Once again, unfortunately, other events were about to divert general attention from the important question of the restoration of a more liberal commercial policy and to delay, if not actually to compromise, the action which it was hoped might be taken as

a result of the Assembly's recommendations to Governments. For several months, attention was concentrated on the Italo-Ethiopian conflict and the difficulties which it created in the League itself.

PROSPECTS FOR THE YEAR 1936.

The year 1936 did not appear, at all events in the first few months, to hold out very favourable prospects for a new attempt at international economic co-operation on any large scale. The political horizon was still overcast. The different countries, anxious and divided on grave problems and feeling more and more doubtful as to the efficacy of collective security, began on all sides to speed up armaments production and defensive works in the interest of self-protection. A certain lassitude in the face of continually recurring difficulties was making itself generally felt, particularly in Europe.

The economic situation, however, was beginning to improve under the stimulus, it is true, of armaments production, but also, in a number of countries, owing to a general revival of trade.

Economic evolution followed increasingly divergent lines, according to the country. It was becoming clear to everyone that countries with a depreciated currency had got over the worst of the depression and were on the economic upgrade. On the other hand, business stagnation continued and was even more pronounced in certain respects in other countries, particularly those which, throughout the period of depression, had maintained the value of their currency. There the high level of prices on the home market, the heavy burden of taxation, the excess of public expenditure over revenue and the contraction of commercial operations itself constituted so many obstacles to a resumption of activity. High prices discouraged the export of goods and foreign tourist traffic alike; the slowing-down of business, both at home and with foreign countries, lowered profits, and the reduction in the tax yield—a consequence of the decline in profits and income of all kinds—in its turn prevented any relief in the matter of fiscal burdens.

Since, moreover, no very appreciable upward tendency in world prices appeared likely to occur in the near future, it was daily becoming more evident that sooner or later those countries would have to adjust their home prices to world prices, if they wished to escape an even greater degree of isolation. Further, the idea of currency devaluation as a means of bringing about this price adaptation was gaining ground.

Thus, notwithstanding unfavourable political circumstances, the imminent necessity of a voluntary alignment of currencies justified the hope that it might perhaps be opportune to determine afresh, with due reference to the contingencies of the moment, the main lines of a policy for the "normalisation" of international exchanges.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

The Economic Committee, which met at the beginning of September 1936, decided, in view of the stage reached in the general economic development and the situation prevailing in the more important countries, to make widely known, as in the previous year, the result of its discussions on the state of international economic relations. Its previous memorandum had met with a favourable reception everywhere; but, although it had given food for thought and discussion, no definite action had been taken. In 1935, it is true, some illusions still existed as to the efficacy of certain methods employed under the policy of isolation. In 1936, opinion was better prepared to listen to recommendations from a body of approved authority.

The Economic Committee decided, accordingly, to go beyond mere recommendations and to sketch the main lines for the machinery of international exchanges, to be reconstructed with the object of producing a permanent economic recovery and easing the tension in international relations.

The essential features of this plan are reproduced below :

". . . The first objective must be to restore a situation in which, irrespective of frontiers, the purchaser can buy what he wants, the debtor can pay what he owes, the tourist can go where he wishes—without encountering, owing to Government intervention, impassable obstacles such as quotas and currency control. It is essential that each country should make its own contribution to remedying this situation.

"The Committee has no wish to pronounce dogmatically for or against monetary devaluation or to give any country advice on the best monetary policy to be followed. But everyone realises to-day that, in order to restore international trade, it is necessary to fill in the gap which separates the price-levels of the majority of the countries with a gold standard (whether real or nominal) from those of the majority of the countries with a depreciated currency. The former must be left free to choose whatever method they may prefer

to achieve this end; but it must not be forgotten that, in order to maintain the value of a currency or an excessive price-level in the face of opposing international tendencies, a whole series of restrictive measures must inevitably be applied. Experience shows that such measures aggravate the disparity in prices against which action is directed, increasingly weakening the national economy and preventing it from regaining the impetus which is essential to a sound recovery.

“ In the opinion of the Economic Committee, which does not claim to have any specialised knowledge of currency questions, the only sound policy is one which ensures freedom of action, enabling active economic influences to operate with the maximum facility both within the country and outside it, and making it possible for normal relations to be resumed with other countries—a particularly important consideration. Consequently, the Economic Committee does not consider that an attempt at currency adjustment can bring about any lasting improvement in the economic situation unless it is accompanied by a relaxation of direct and indirect import restrictions (quotas and exchange control), an important secondary effect of which would be to check any tendency towards a too rapid rise in prices following on devaluation.

“ The operation which consists in bringing—by means of either deflation or devaluation—internal prices into line with external prices is one which each country must carry out of its own accord and by its own efforts. Nevertheless, it is clear that the co-operation of other countries can create conditions under which this operation may be carried out with a minimum of risk and a maximum of gain.

“ In particular, this co-operation might lessen the misgivings of countries which, even if they consider the possibility of an adjustment of their currency—accompanied by the abolition of quotas and exchange control with their usual train of clearing and compensation agreements—hesitate to take such a step so long as they fear the further deliberate devaluation of the principal currencies, more particularly sterling and the dollar.

“ Lastly, countries which have based their whole economic system on the existence of a close network of quotas and measures for currency control would probably hesitate to do away with these measures unless they are assured that other countries will reduce their restrictions in their turn,

thus enabling the former to export a reasonable proportion of their products. As regards the latter, their contribution towards a restoration of normal trading conditions should consist in abolishing all quantitative limitations on imports and in removing exchange control, thus enabling their currencies once again to play their full part as an instrument of trade.

“The countries in question, however, are anxious to avert the serious disturbances which might result from the psychological influence of the memory of the havoc caused in past years by inflation. Before doing away with exchange control and the artificial value of their currencies, they may consider it essential to make provision for adjustment or consolidation of their debts and for the support of their currencies, even if only for a short period.

“At the same time, efforts to restore budgetary equilibrium would in any case be required, especially because, although the abolition of exchange control may suffice to revive short-term credit, only the confidence resulting from a complete restoration of normal conditions would place long-term capital once again at the disposal of those countries which have need of it.

“As regards exchange stability, it should also be noted that the two principal currencies, the dollar and sterling, have in fact been stable for a long time past and that neither in the United Kingdom nor in the United States is there any desire to embark upon a further deliberate devaluation. Moreover, the application of the normalisation programme outlined above, which would revive the international movement of trade, would go far to provide the conditions hitherto regarded as prerequisite for the *de facto* stability of currencies.¹

“It is obvious, however, that, if the currencies of several large countries were readjusted, the sudden return of capital might, in the absence of measures designed to guard against this pressure, affect the value of sterling and possibly also of the dollar, at all events for a time. But those effects would be reduced to a minimum if, in accordance with the foregoing views expressed by the Economic Committee, currency adjustment was accompanied by an increase in imports in the countries concerned.

¹ See, in this connection, the statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and of Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. Cordell Hull, mentioned in the Economic Committee's report of September 13th, 1935 (document C.344 M.174.1935.II.B).

"The Economic Committee does not wish to examine in detail the programme for restoring normal trade conditions outlined above, as this would exceed the scope of its report. But it desires once again to stress the importance—and this is the primary consideration—of re-establishing the basic conditions for the working of the international machinery of trade.

"The Committee is well aware that this programme of normalisation calls for great determination on the part of those responsible for its application. But, at the same time, it notes that all those countries which have had the courage to embark upon it have reaped their reward, and it is convinced that this normalisation would also ensure the success of the efforts to bring about national recovery already undertaken by a large number of countries, though hitherto with less success than courage owing to the falling-off of their foreign trade.

"Those who maintain that in present circumstances a normalisation programme is much too ambitious a project to envisage should reflect that, while its application calls for decision and courage, it might, on the other hand, help effectively to ward off dangers and complications which are far more formidable. Nevertheless, it must not be undertaken with any ideas of petty bargaining, since in that case the programme would probably break down owing to the clash of conflicting interests.

"Such a programme, on the contrary, should be devised and submitted with a twofold aim—material and moral—economic restoration and political restoration, recovery and relief of tension. Considered from this dual aspect, as a work of peace and as a constructive effort to bring about the economic restoration of Europe and the success of national programmes of social progress, it would probably obtain the necessary support in all countries where the gravity of the present situation is realised."

Thus, in the Economic Committee's view, the objects to be achieved by the *de facto* stabilisation of currencies and the gradual abolition of obstacles to international trade are still, as before, the reconstitution of a contractual commercial policy based upon equality of treatment, to be accorded in principle—apart from specific agreed exceptions—to all participating States, together with large tariff concessions and a proper comprehension of mutual requirements.

Departing, however, from the method employed in connection with earlier attempts, the Committee urged emphatically that any idea of convening a world conference should be set aside, as the diversity of national interests involved would constitute an obstacle from the start. It recommended, on the contrary, that countries which play a decisive part in international economics should take the initiative, on lines which would have to be agreed upon beforehand.

The Economic Committee's memorandum was submitted to the Financial Committee, which expressed its full approval.

CURRENCY ALIGNMENT OF SEPTEMBER 1936.

Barely three weeks had elapsed since the appearance of the Economic Committee's memorandum when the event occurred which had been recommended as the first stage in economic recovery. On September 26th, the French Government decided to devalue the currency, the purpose of this operation being to adjust French prices on the home market to world prices.

This decision, however, differed from previous decisions on similar lines in two respects, which showed that it was based upon the same considerations as had guided the Economic Committee in its memorandum. The decision had been preceded by negotiations with the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom; and the French Government expressed its determination, from the outset, to modify its commercial policy by reducing import duties and adopting a more flexible system for import quotas.

The agreement between the three Governments was made public by a joint declaration, the text of which appeared simultaneously in all three countries. In this declaration, the Governments proclaimed that it was their common desire to safeguard peace, to promote prosperity in the world and to improve the standard of living. They declared further that they regarded the French devaluation as a readjustment capable of producing greater stability of international economic conditions and that they did not intend that it should produce currency disturbances. Lastly, declaring that they attached the greatest importance to action being taken without delay for the progressive relaxation and abolition of quotas and exchange controls, the Governments appealed to the other nations to co-operate in realising this policy.

Very soon Switzerland and the Netherlands in turn brought their currencies into line and declared their readiness to cooperate in the proposed action. Belgium, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Latvia and Turkey, in succession, also declared their readiness to collaborate and, according to the requirements of their particular situation, the declarations of these States were or were not, as the case might be, accompanied by a declaration regarding the re-adjustment of their currency.

The first conditions deemed necessary for action with a view to economic recovery were thus very promptly fulfilled. The meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations was to give the countries represented an opportunity of defining their attitude towards the Franco-Anglo-American initiative.

o

DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL QUESTIONS IN THE SECOND COMMITTEE OF THE 1936 ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The debate on economic and financial questions was opened by the United Kingdom representative, who showed that in the proposed action the rôle of his country would be primarily that of guarantor and adviser, since a country which had never departed from the policy of free circulation in the matter of commodities and capital could do no more than maintain that condition of freedom. He insisted, however, on the scope of the assurances contained in the declaration of the three Governments, which, he added, it would be dangerous to underestimate. A counter-devaluation of the pound sterling would have served the interests of British exporters and would have been a means of protecting the national market against devaluation by other countries. The Government, in deciding not to adopt this policy, had had to resist very strong pressure and—he emphasised this point—such pressure might become irresistible if the alignment of currencies were not followed by the gradual abolition of quantitative restrictions on trade.

The French delegate then pointed out that his country had found itself at the cross-roads and had preferred to readapt the currency and return to a policy of exchanges rather than proceed with a policy of autarchy. He recalled the first measures taken by his Government—the abolition of one-quarter of the quotas, the reduction from 15 % to 20 % of Customs duties on non-quota products, the reduction of 20 % on licences for quota products—

and he announced that a new tariff without quotas was being prepared. The French Government, he added, would be ready to put it into force on condition that its example was followed by all countries, which must realise the absolute necessity of bridging the gap constituted by differences in prices, that deep-lying cause of the many obstacles which had upset the machinery of international trade.

The French delegate, after stressing the unfortunate effects of exchange control, stated further that his Government's desire to release capital and commodities from the obstacles paralysing international trade was conditional on this measure not being used to increase the means whereby capital might evade fiscal obligations. He urged that action should be taken, more particularly in the matter of international fiscal assistance, with a view to devising practical measures to prevent fiscal fraud as far as possible.

The delegates of other countries in succession announced their approval, in principle, both of the action thus initiated and the method recommended for pursuing it. At the request of several delegations, the Second Committee expressed the desire that the action in favour of a resumption of international trade might be supplemented by an equitable settlement of the question of migration.

CONCLUSION.

Thus throughout the period of economic depression, the League of Nations Economic and Financial Organisation has consistently expressed the opinion that economic peace—an essential condition for universal peace—can only be brought about by the re-establishment, on as wide a scale as possible, of the free circulation of individuals, goods and capital. Its opinion has varied only as regards the choice of means best calculated to achieve this end. After the failure of the 1930 and 1933 Conferences, it felt—although those failures were explained by the general circumstances conditioning them—that it would in future be more in keeping with national aspirations to revert to the traditional method of bilateral agreements. It would, however, be a mistake to regard this evolution as signifying the final abandonment of more general methods. In recommending that the great creditor countries should, in this matter, take the lead in the matter of exchange normalisation, the League of Nations Economic and Financial Organisation was desirous of

giving this fresh step towards economic recovery every chance of success. Convinced as it is that economic peace, like every human creative work, represents a continuous effort, it regards this action as a first stage and is ready to prepare the way and to make its contribution towards further progress by adapting its methods to the requirements of the hour.

THE PROBLEM OF NUTRITION AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The problems connected with the future of nations and of mankind usually bring into play a host of complex and uncertain factors. Those who are called upon to solve them are thus tempted to plead these "unknowns" as a reason for deferring a decision, or to confine their attention solely to those data which enable them to justify their own previous views, to follow the bias of their own dominant motives or subserve the interests of which they have special charge. The consequence is systematic opposition and fruitless discussion, except in so far as the parties may have the wisdom to accept solutions that are partial and inevitably provisional, yet calculated to promote progress.

The problem of nutrition is no exception to this rule.

Thus, under the influence of their own research, scientists frequently give special prominence to some particular component of the rational diet.

Economists are anxious lest new dietary habits may react unfavourably on the marketing of certain foodstuffs. They are sometimes apt to consider that the solution of this problem consists essentially in making an adequate supply of food available for those who are underfed. And yet the whole range of economic questions links up with this matter of nutrition. Thus, the reduction of unemployment, the expansion of consumers' purchasing power, social assistance, international solidarity, exchange transfers, trade and improved facilities for the distribution of products are all questions that can be considered in relation to this problem. Their importance is such that the League of Nations felt called upon to apply some of its energies to their study.

The subject of nutrition in its bearing upon public health was taken up for consideration by the League of Nations Health Committee more than ten years ago.

In 1925, in pursuance of a proposal by the Yugoslav delegation, the Health Committee was invited to study, in the

interests of public health, "the measures that might be recommended . . . for the control of the manufacture of and trade in food-supplies". In 1926, the Committee published a collection of scientific papers by Professor T. SAÏKI (Director of the Tokio Imperial Institute of Nutrition) on the "Physiology of Nutrition and its Applications". In 1928, the physiologist Egerton Grey, Professor in the University of Cairo, drew up an admirable report on nutrition in the Far East, as a result of a journey to Japan undertaken at the request of the Health Committee. That same year, Professor Léon Bernard, speaking on behalf of the French Government, asked the Health Committee to include the problem of nutrition in its programme of work.

During 1932, two articles—one by Professor R. BURRI on the "Milk-supply of North-American Cities", and one by Dr. G. S. WILSON on "The System of grading Milk in the United States of America"—were published as a sequel to a tour of study organised by the Health Committee. These papers followed upon the report on Milk Hygiene in the Department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, which Professor J. PARISOT had published in France the previous year.

In 1932, the Chilian Government applied for the assistance of the League of Nations in a study of "Popular Nutrition". An economic and a medical enquiry were started in 1935 in response to this request, and this work is still proceeding.

The year 1932 witnessed, moreover, the beginnings of the first really coherent attempts to solve the problem of the rational nutrition of various groups of persons. In October 1932, the Health Committee decided to undertake "the study of the effects of the economic depression on public health" and two reports were presented—one by Dr. M. D. Mackenzie on "The Administrative Machinery by which the Adequate Nourishment of the Poor is ensured in Great Britain", and one by Dr. W. R. Aykroyd on "Diet in Relation to Small Incomes". That same year, two conferences of experts met to consider the problem of nutrition. In September 1932, the Rome Conference discussed the question of "dietary standards", proposed a scale of family coefficients, and recommended the international use of the said scale in order to make comparable the results of nutrition enquiries in various countries. In December 1932, the Berlin Conference considered the question of physical standards and of the clinical and physiological methods of detecting malnutrition.

In 1934, the Health Committee decided to prepare "A General Report on the Problem of Nutrition", in which all previous work

would be taken into account. This report was drafted in 1935 by Dr. Et. Burnet and Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, after a series of investigations into the institutions and nutritional policies of various countries.

In September 1935, at the session of the League of Nations Assembly, the subject of human nutrition gave rise to prolonged discussions, and twelve delegations asked for its inclusion in the agenda. The Burnet-Aykroyd Report was used as a basis of discussion. Under the terms of the report presented by the United Kingdom delegate, Lord de la Warr, the Assembly asked (1) that the Health Organisation should continue and extend its work on nutrition in relation to public health; (2) that the technical organisation of the League of Nations, in consultation with the International Labour Office and the International Institute of Agriculture, should collect, summarise and publish information on the "measures taken in all countries for securing improved nutrition"; (3) that a mixed committee, including agricultural, economic and health experts, should be appointed and instructed to submit a general report on the whole question.

In October 1935, the Health Committee set up, through the agency of its Bureau, a Technical Commission of twelve members whose terms of reference included, in particular, the preparation of a first report to be referred to the Mixed Committee as a basis of future work. This report was drawn up by the Technical Commission at the meeting held from November 25th to 29th, 1935. It was revised and completed in June 1936.

In the early part of 1936, the Mixed Committee, for its part, invited the Governments of the States Members of the League to set up National Committees to study the aspects of nutrition peculiar to their own countries. A certain number of countries responded to this appeal, and reports were sent to Geneva.

Finally, more recently—on October 5th, 1936—the Second Committee presented to the League Assembly a report on nutrition giving a careful review of the present state of research work and submitting for the approval of the Assembly a number of resolutions designed to promote further investigations. The fact is that the campaign for the improvement of nutrition by international action which was launched by the Assembly in 1935 has aroused considerable interest in the world. This movement, which deals with matters that are of concern to the great masses and which is in keeping with the trend of present-day developments, must be duly disciplined and guided if it is really

to promote progress in dietary habits. Accordingly, the Second Committee endeavoured to give special prominence to the influence of good nutrition upon the public health, whilst merely giving a summary sketch of its economic and agricultural aspects. A moment's reflection on the progress that is possible in this direction will immediately show the consequences of all kinds which might be brought about. Apart from the social appeasement which is an invariable accompaniment of good health and well-being, the forces thus brought into operation may gradually, by those slow and imperceptible processes of adaptation which are characteristic of human life, effect profound changes in forms of production, trade and consumption.

Having in view these factors and the beneficial results that may already be anticipated, the Second Committee submitted to the Assembly a series of resolutions constituting the future plan of campaign of the League and of the Governments which are endeavouring to solve the problem of nutrition.

These resolutions take account to a considerable extent of the Mixed Committee's preliminary report and of the suggestions it contains. Recommendations are made to Governments with a view to the intensification of the efforts that are being made to provide populations with a suitable supply of the needful foods, especially the protective foods. They relate to the scientific determination of optimum diets for various groups of persons; propaganda and education, for the instruction both of specialists and of the public at large; the rational nutrition, in the near future, of the vulnerable groups; economic measures—well-planned production and distribution of products qualitatively suited to the consumers' demand; co-ordination of the efforts of the various countries on the international plane, both through the agency of the Mixed Committee, whose term of office is extended for a further year, and by the exchange of views between the representatives of the National Committees.

The League of Nations is thus systematically continuing the work which began with the 1925 Assembly. It presents for practical action by the hygienists; by the heads of organisations engaged in social work, and by those who are responsible for economic interests and especially agricultural interests, a programme which it is completing stage by stage at its successive meetings. Governments are now quite clearly realising more and more the full extent and seriousness of the problem of nutrition. Its numberless consequences and the beneficial effects of a solu-

tion upon the economic situation make it a matter of unquestionable urgency. Fortunately, mankind cannot long resist the laws of science and progress, and it may be anticipated that the campaign launched by the League will soon bear fruit.

It is thus clearly to the interest of both farmers and Governments that they should here and now plan their production in such a way as to meet the demand for certain foods which will increase as a result of the dissemination of scientific knowledge in the field of nutritional hygiene. This development of agricultural production must be prepared, however, after an investigation into the present economic position, by enquiries among the various classes of the population.

In this matter of nutritional hygiene, the League of Nations, in conjunction with the International Labour Office and the International Institute of Agriculture, economists and scientists, is undoubtedly doing work which may have beneficial results in the campaign against disease if all concerned respond favourably to its recommendations and carry them into effect.

Henri QUEUILLE,

*Senator, former Minister of Agriculture,
former Minister of Public Health.*

THE REFORM OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The question of the reform of the League of Nations is at present giving rise to considerable discussion, having been brought into prominence by the setbacks that the League has received in several cases. It was in connection with the Italo-Ethiopian conflict that the Assembly of the League, at an extraordinary session in July 1936, proceeded to discuss the matter.

The recommendations adopted by the Assembly on July 4th include the following passage :

“ The Assembly, . . .

“(4) Remaining firmly attached to the principles of the Covenant, which are also expressed in other diplomatic instruments such as the Declaration of the American States, dated August 3rd, 1932, excluding the settlement of territorial questions by force;

“(5) Being desirous of strengthening the authority of the League of Nations by adapting the application of these principles to the lessons of experience;

“(6) Being convinced that it is necessary to strengthen the real effectiveness of the guarantees of security which the League affords to its Members :

“ Recommends that the Council :

“(a) Should invite the Governments of the Members of the League to send to the Secretary-General, so far as possible before September 1st, 1936, any proposals they may wish to make in order to improve, in the spirit or within the limits laid down above, the application of the principles of the Covenant. . . .”

When the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly opened on September 21st, some twenty Governments had stated their views in written communications. Other replies have since been received. In addition, a considerable number of Governments stated their opinions orally during the general discussions in the Assembly. By November 10th, 1936, about forty Governments had expressed their views on the question at varying lengths.

A study of these opinions, with a classification of the proposals put forward down to November 14th, 1936, has been made by the Secretariat.¹

The Assembly, at its seventeenth ordinary session, decided to set up a Committee of twenty-eight members (the fifteen Members of the League at present forming the Council, together with thirteen other members) “to study all the proposals which have been, or may be, made by Governments regarding the application of the principles of the Covenant and the problems connected therewith”.

All that this Committee can do is, obviously, to formulate proposals for submission to Governments. It is to meet on December 7th, 1936.

The questions involved by the reform of the League present a wide diversity. There is scarcely one among the twenty-six articles of the Covenant that has not given rise to observations or proposals. To confine ourselves to the main points, however, we may classify the observations that have been made under the following principal heads : (1) The Universality of the League; (2) The Organisation of the League; (3) The Settlement of International Disputes; (4) Disarmament; (5) The Prevention and Punishment of War.

¹ *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 154.

Each of these heads will be dealt with in a separate chapter of this study. A preliminary chapter will be devoted to the method by which any reform of the League should be carried out.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.—THE METHOD TO BE EMPLOYED
IN REFORMING THE LEAGUE.

It is to be observed that, in the Assembly resolutions, reference is made, not to the revision of the Covenant, but to the "application of the principles of the Covenant". The choice of this expression does not reflect a desire to employ a softened diplomatic formula; on the contrary, it is due to an anxiety to state the question in accurate terms. The aim in view is to secure better practical results; various Governments have pointed out that it is by no means certain that the inadequacy of the results obtained in the past has been due to defects in the text of the Constitution—*i.e.*, of the League Covenant. The real cause, they say, is the use that has been made of the text.

There is a widespread illusion that the value of political systems and Constitutions resides essentially in the terms of the Constitutions. The letter of the Constitution is not a negligible factor, but constitutional practice is infinitely more important. The League Covenant may have its defects, but it is at least elastic and adaptable. It allows of all possible developments in international organisation. Consequently, the great majority of Governments hold that a revision of the Covenant is unnecessary, and, where they propose amendments, these mostly concern secondary questions of form and involve no change in the structure of the Covenant.

Another reason for setting aside the method of amendment is the difficulty of securing the necessary ratifications to bring the amendments into force; for Article 26 requires amendments to be ratified by all the States Members of the Council (at present numbering fifteen) and by the majority of the Members of the Assembly (a majority which must at present number twenty-eight).

If the method of amendment is ruled out, the chief methods available are that of Assembly resolutions and that of Conventions supplementary to the Covenant.

The effect of resolutions is either to interpret the Covenant or to supplement it by something in the nature of regulations which will make it easier to apply by fixing certain details. An instance of the use of this method is to be found in the resolutions

concerning the economic and financial sanctions provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant, which were adopted by the Assembly in 1921.

Supplementary Conventions are necessary if new obligations are to be imposed upon Governments. Since 1920, various important Conventions designed to strengthen the Covenant system have been concluded under the auspices of the League, notably the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice of December 16th, 1920, the General Act of Arbitration of September 26th, 1928, and the Convention of September 26th, 1931, to improve the Means of preventing War.

Various Governments point out, moreover, that the essential requirement is a genuine intention to apply the Covenant, since even the best of agreements has little value if the parties are not resolved to enforce it.

CHAPTER I.—THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE LEAGUE.

Section I.—The Entry of Non-member States into the League.

Numerous Governments refer to the League's lack of universality as one of the causes of its weakness. Three great Powers—Germany, the United States of America, and Japan—are at present absent from it. The majority of Governments express the desire that the League should become universal, or as nearly so as possible. The difficulty is to find means of inducing the non-member States to join the League. On this point, many Governments make no definite suggestions, but merely urge that the problem should be investigated, that no effort should be spared, that an invitation should be extended to non-members and that negotiations should be opened with them.

The truth is that it is definite political reasons that keep certain great Powers aloof from the League. Before they can consent to join it, either they must change their attitude, or the reasons that cause them to remain outside the League must be eliminated.

Several Governments accordingly propose that, in order to attain universality, or to approach it, the League system should be altered—meaning, obviously, that certain of the obligations in the Covenant (those relating to collective security and sanctions—Articles 10 and 16) should be either abolished or made less severe. In their view, what would be lost on one side in the form

of obligations difficult of fulfilment would be gained in another direction by way of an increase in the political value and moral authority of the League.

The Swiss Government, which holds this view, says :

“Universality, which was looked upon from the outset as an essential condition of its success, should, we think, be one of the objectives of any future reform. Consequently, such changes as may be made should render it easier for countries which are not yet members of the League to join it, and for those which have left it to return. This aim in itself is deserving of every effort and would justify changes which to some may appear in the light of sacrifices, though they are not in reality so. What the Covenant would lose in juridical substance it would gain in moral force.”

Several Governments, on the other hand, urge that what they regard as the whole reason of the League's existence should not be sacrificed to the hope of universality.

The delegation of Panama states :

“The League should not sacrifice its adherence to its principles or its faith in them in order to make universality possible. On the contrary, it should be ever more faithful and constant in the service of those principles, so that universality may one day be attained on the basis of the universal acceptance of those same principles.”

M. Litvinoff said, on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (speech in the Assembly, September 28th, 1936) :

“I would object . . . strongly if, in the name of universality, the League were to set about eliminating from the Covenant all that makes it a weapon of peace and a threat to the aggressor. . . . Better a League without universality than universality without League principles.”

Section II.—Co-operation between the League and Non-member States.

If certain countries do not decide to join the League, some of the advantages that would attach to their membership could none the less be secured through sincere and confident co-operation between them and the League. It is common knowledge

that certain countries, including the United States of America, have co-operated very actively in various spheres, especially in technical work.

Many Governments accordingly urge that, failing universality, an endeavour should be made, as a second best, to organise continuous co-operation with non-member States.

The Argentine Government has made suggestions for making this co-operation easier. There is in existence a treaty open to all States—the Argentine Pact of Non-aggression and Conciliation, signed at Rio de Janeiro on October 10th, 1933—to which some Latin-American States, the United States of America, and some European countries are parties. The Argentine Government suggests that this treaty might afford a means of securing the co-operation of non-member States with the League. ◦

CHAPTER II.—THE ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE.

The most important problems concerned with the organisation of the League are the composition of the Council and the regionalising of the League.

Section I.—The Composition of the Council.

The two League bodies competent to take decisions are the Assembly and the Council.

In the Assembly, all Members of the League are represented, each having one vote.

In the Council, on the other hand, only the great Powers have permanent seats, while other Members of the League are elected temporarily by the Assembly. The non-permanent Members hold office for three years, after which they cannot again be elected to the Council until another three years have elapsed, unless in any particular case the Assembly decides otherwise by a two-thirds majority. Spain, Poland, and (since this year) China are at present Members of the Council under this arrangement.

Two objections have been made to this system. The first is that it puts the great Powers in a privileged position, and thereby infringes the principle of the equality of States. The answer to this objection is that the great Powers represent extensive interests and have special responsibilities, and that the burden of sanctions would fall chiefly upon them.

The second objection is directed against some of the results of the group system which is followed in practice for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council. Countries have associated themselves on political or regional lines for the purpose of electing Members of the Council. There is the Latin-American group, which nominates three Members; the British Dominions group and the Little Entente group, each of which nominates one, etc.

Until recently, there were a number of countries not belonging to any group, and in practice deprived of any opportunity of election to the Council.

To satisfy the small and medium-sized Powers, and to secure representation for the "ungrouped" States, the Council has been enlarged on successive occasions. Whereas, according to the original provisions of the Covenant, it was to consist of nine Members (five great Powers and four Members elected by the Assembly), it now has fifteen Members (four great Powers and eleven Members elected by the Assembly). A special seat has been created for the "ungrouped" States; this was first occupied by Portugal, and is now held by Latvia.

The question of the Council is still unsettled, and an Assembly resolution of October 1st, 1936, provides for the meeting of a committee of experts to find "a definitive solution of the problems connected with the composition of the Council".

Section II.—Regional or Continental Organisation of the League.

The Governments of various Latin-American countries (Colombia, Panama, Uruguay) have made proposals for organising the League on a regional or continental basis. The idea is to form regional or continental unions, which, while continuing to be parts of the League, would to a greater or lesser degree supersede it in the discharge of the functions now performed by the Assembly and the Council.

There is one essential feature that distinguishes this idea from another conception—that of regional agreements as contemplated in Article 21 of the Covenant. The proposed system is not one of agreements on the lines of regional pacts of mutual assistance, designed to supplement the Covenant without depriving the organs of the League of any of their powers, but of new regional or continental organisations to be established side by side with the League; and to inherit some of the League's functions and consequently supersede it to a certain extent.

This idea has met with opposition on the ground that, in practice, it would tend to jeopardise the League's universality.

CHAPTER III.—THE SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

A number of Governments lay stress upon the settlement of international disputes, arguing that the elimination of the causes of war is a surer and cheaper means of preventing war than is a system of sanctions designed to intimidate a possible aggressor.

Apart from this line of argument, the Governments in general attach special interest to the pacific settlement of international disputes.

Such disputes are of two kinds—legal and political.⁹ Legal disputes (generally speaking, the less serious class) are those concerned with the application of law; they are analogous to civil actions between individuals, which in municipal law are decided by the courts. Political disputes concern the maintenance or alteration of the existing law and existing situations; they are analogous to conflicts between political parties in municipal law, which, under a democracy, are settled by elections and legislation.

Section I.—The Settlement of Legal Disputes.

Legal disputes are normally dealt with by judges or arbitrators. The unwary reader may be deceived by certain superficial phenomena, but in point of fact the League Covenant (Article 13) does not establish compulsory jurisdiction or arbitration. This deficiency has, however, been made good by another international instrument—the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Under the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute, Governments have the option of undertaking to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. This clause is at present binding upon thirty-nine States, including France, Germany, and the Grande Bretagne; though in some cases the extent of the obligation is reduced by reservations.

Another treaty, the General Act of Arbitration of September 26th, 1928, established by the Assembly of the League, provides for judicial settlement, arbitration, and conciliation. Twenty-three States, including France and the Grande Bretagne, are parties to the General Act.

Numerous bilateral treaties for the judicial or arbitral settlement of disputes have also been concluded.

Section II.—The Settlement of Political Disputes.

For disputes of this kind, which are sometimes the most serious, no procedure leading up to a decision binding upon the parties is provided in the Covenant.

For countries which accept it in full, the General Act of Arbitration provides for the arbitral settlement of political disputes. It also provides for conciliation, as do a considerable number of bilateral treaties.

Under two articles of the Covenant—Article 11 and Article 15—it is possible to propose to the parties a solution in the form of a settlement of interests.

Special mention should also be made of Article 19, to which various Governments have called attention. It provides for “the reconsideration . . . of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world”. Certain Governments (especially the Hungarian Government) have argued that it is essential that this article should not remain a dead letter if the equilibrium of the Covenant is to be maintained. It has been urged that, in respect of the application of this article, the unanimity rule should be abolished, or should be construed in the sense that the votes of the parties would not be reckoned.

CHAPTER IV.—DISARMAMENT.

Article 8 of the Covenant says :

“1. The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.”

The Covenant entrusted the Council with the work of preparing plans for the reduction of armaments.

As it was necessary to secure the co-operation of non-member as well as Member States, resort was had to another method, and an international Conference was called which met at Geneva in February 1932. Sixty-one States were represented. The

Conference, the labours of which have been suspended since April 1935, did a great deal of work. The principal aspects of the question of the international regulation of armaments were carefully studied. Proposals were drawn up, but the Conference failed to arrive at the conclusion of agreements, so that no practical result in regard to the limitation and reduction of armaments was attained at Geneva.

Various Governments have represented the failure to conclude agreements as a check to the League of Nations and a circumstance rendering difficult the application of other articles of the Covenant, and in particular Article 16, which deals with sanctions.

The question of disarmament was raised by a number of delegations at the last Assembly, and the Assembly considered the possibility of a resumption of the work of the Conference.

CHAPTER V.—PREVENTION OF WAR BY MEANS OF ARTICLE 11.

Article 11 is the article of the Covenant which has been most frequently used in the case of international disputes. Its first and most important paragraph is as follows :

“ Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.”

The feature of Article 11 is its marked elasticity. It admits of use in various ways, always with the object of safeguarding peace and bringing about good understanding between countries at variance with one another.

Article 11 may be used—and has been used on several occasions—for the proposal of a conciliatory solution of actual disputes between States. Where such a solution is accepted, the dispute is settled and the tension disappears.

Article 11 may also be employed—and this, indeed, would seem to be its principal use—to prevent a clash between countries that are parties to a dispute, the Council proposing to the parties to do nothing to aggravate the situation : not to mobilise, to withdraw their troops, and so on.

Conceptions differ on the subject of Article 11 and various proposals have been made in this connection.

1. A number of Governments have urged the need (as they see it) for the League to intervene in good time and not allow disputes to be aggravated to a point at which it is no longer possible to prevent their intensification.

2. The second important issue is whether the Council, when acting under Article 11, should serve merely as an organ of conciliation and confine itself to proposing solutions and recommending pacificatory measures and precautions to the States that are parties to the dispute, or whether, on the other hand, it is entitled to recommend, in relation to a State which rejects conciliation, measures to induce it to return to a peaceful policy. Certain Government—*e.g.*, the French Government—argue, from the very general terms of Article 11 (“The League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations”), that the article may be used for organising pressure. Others maintain that Article 11 only allows of conciliation and excludes “preventive sanctions”.

The question is closely bound up with the question of the voting under this article. If the votes of the parties to the dispute are to be included for the purpose of calculating “unanimity”, it is obvious that it will not be possible to recommend measures of pressure, since the consent of the party to which the pressure is to be applied will in such case be required, and will obviously not be forthcoming. Some Governments accordingly are anxious that this point, which is not explicitly regulated by Article 11 itself, should be cleared up and that the “agreement of all the Members” required by Article 5 should be understood to be attained without the votes of the parties to the dispute being taken into account.

CHAPTER VI.—SANCTIONS (ARTICLE 16).

I. Article 16, which, together with Article 10, provides for collective security—that is to say, for the infliction of sanctions upon an aggressor—is the article that gives rise to the most pronounced conflicts of opinion.

In the view of certain Governments, including those of France and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, collective security is the whole foundation of the Covenant and the most important task of the League.

Other Governments, on the other hand, doubt whether—in view, chiefly, of the fact that the League is not universal—collective security can at the present time be a reality (these include, in particular, Canada, Peru, and Switzerland). Hence there are two opposite trends of opinion—one in favour of strengthening the collective security system, and the other in favour of abolishing it or making it less stringent. Between these two marked tendencies are a number of intermediate views.

II. What is the present system of the Covenant?

1. The Covenant does not prohibit war as such, but only certain wars—those embarked upon before the conclusion of procedures and the expiry of time-limits. When a State resorts to war in breach of the Covenant, it exposes itself to the sanctions provided for in Article 16.

2. Sanctions are of two kinds: economic and military. The economic and financial sanctions contemplated in Article 16, paragraph 1, are compulsory for all Members of the League, "*which*", says the Covenant, "*hereby undertake immediately to subject it [the aggressor] to the severance of all trade or financial relations.* . . ."

On the other hand, the military sanctions contemplated in paragraph 2 of Article 16 are optional. The Council recommends them, but Governments are not obliged to comply with the recommendation.

3. As to whether a State has or has not resorted to war in breach of the Covenant, the Covenant does not lay down that the question shall be settled by a decision of the organs of the League; the most widely held opinion is that the decision rests with each Government individually. It is, however, generally agreed that it is desirable for the organs of the League to intervene in order to inform Governments and facilitate joint decisions (see Assembly resolutions of 1921).

III. The proposals made on the subject of Article 16 show a certain variety of opinions in regard to economic sanctions, military sanctions, the procedure for establishing the fact of aggression and the putting of sanctions into operation.

1. *Economic Sanctions.*—Some Governments feel that the obligation to impose economic sanctions is in itself too heavy.

Opinions differ as to the nature of these sanctions. Certain Governments wish them to be automatic—*i.e.*, that they should be applied immediately and completely as soon as the fact of

aggression has been established—while others hold that the application of economic sanctions should depend upon circumstances, and that it might be advantageous to bring them into operation gradually, or even to defer them.

Recent events have made it clear that there is a very close link between economic sanctions and military sanctions; which there had previously been a tendency to dissociate completely. Not only may economic sanctions lead to war, but, especially so long as the League is not universal, economic sanctions, while very useful in support of military action, may in themselves be insufficient to secure the desired result, which is to stop the aggressor. In these circumstances, Governments would be somewhat reluctant to impose upon themselves sacrifices and restrictions which might ultimately prove of no avail.

To overcome this difficulty, the French delegation has proposed a method which would associate economic and military sanctions without making military sanctions a universal obligation; this is the method of pacts of mutual assistance, with which we shall deal below.

2. *Military Sanctions.*—Opinion is almost unanimous that, in the prevailing world conditions, it is impossible for military sanctions to be made compulsory by the Covenant. Accordingly, those Governments which look upon military sanctions as essential if collective security is to be a fact propose the conclusion of regional pacts of mutual assistance, providing that, in the event of aggression, the States parties to those pacts would take military action to assist the victim. This system has been advocated mainly by France and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. With different shades of interpretation, and subject to certain conditions, it has received the approval of a considerable number of Governments, including that of the United Kingdom. The conditions which certain Governments lay down for their approval of the method of pacts of mutual assistance are that such pacts should be open to all States wishing to accede to them, and, above all, that they should be placed under the supervision of the organs of the League.

Certain Governments, however, express themselves as unfavourable to this method, either on the ground that pacts of mutual assistance bear a resemblance to military alliances, or because the States parties to such pacts would enjoy increased security while other States would be at a disadvantage in comparison.

3. *The Putting of Sanctions into Operation.*—This raises some awkward questions, the chief of which are: A. What is aggression—*i.e.*, the resort to war in breach of the Covenant? B. Who is to determine the aggressor?

A. What is aggression?

There are two conflicting views—that which prefers a rigid definition of aggression, and that which prefers an elastic conception of it.

According to the rigid definition, the aggressor is he who first resorts to force, whether he calls it war or not. This rigid definition was developed and formulated at the Disarmament Conference, and the formula has been adopted in several international treaties now in force. The elastic conception of aggression is that, in determining the aggressor, all formal criteria should be discarded and all the circumstances of the case should be taken into consideration.

B. Who is to determine the aggressor in any particular case?

Everybody admits that the organs of the League have a part to play here; but some Governments seek to uphold the principle that the responsibility for the decision must rest with every State individually, while others wish that the aggressor should be determined, and the sanctions applicable defined, by decisions of the organs of the League. The drawback of this latter method is that the organs of the League can only decide unanimously, so that a small minority could hold up any decision and prevent sanctions from being regularly taken in accordance with the Covenant. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics accordingly proposes that the Council's decision should "be recognised to have been taken if at least three-quarters of the Members present (not including the representatives of the attacked State and the State denounced) vote in favour of it". Several other Governments propose that the unanimity rule should be abolished so far as it applies to Article 16.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM FROM AN INTERNATIONAL STANDPOINT.

The League of Nations had occasion, in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth sessions of the Assembly, to take important decisions in regard to refugee problems. It will be remembered that after the death of Dr. Nansen, whose name will

always be inseparably associated with the great work done by the League for the relief of refugees, the humanitarian side of the work was entrusted to an organisation—the “Nansen International Office for Refugees”—specially created for the purpose and placed under the authority of the League. The political and legal protection of the refugees was at the same time entrusted to the regular organs of the League. A series of agreements and arrangements between Governments and the Convention of October 28th, 1933, concerning the International Status of Refugees, were concluded with a view to such protection.

The decisions of the 1930 and 1931 Assemblies, fixing December 31st, 1938, as the date for the liquidation of the Nansen Office, involved special obligations for the League, seeing that the economic crisis raised new difficulties in the way of finding employment and arranging for emigration and relief. In addition, new movements of emigration, more particularly of refugees from Germany, have both complicated the work of the international organs, the Governments concerned and the relief associations and extended its scope.

The sixteenth Assembly accordingly appointed a special committee to deal with the whole problem of the refugees, with the title “Committee on International Assistance to Refugees”. It sat from November 28th to December 7th, 1935, and drew up a report which was subsequently submitted to the Council and Assembly¹. The Council, in its resolution of January 24th, 1936, confined itself to taking urgent provisional steps.² It appointed Judge Michael Hansson, former President of the Mixed Court of Appeal of Egypt, as Acting President of the Governing Body of the Nansen Office, and instructed him to submit a special report at the next ordinary session of the Assembly.³ It also appointed Sir Neill Malcolm as High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and others) coming from Germany, and instructed him to call an inter-Governmental Conference with a view to the adoption of a legal status for this class of refugee. He was also invited to report to the Assembly.⁴

The Assembly, at its seventeenth session, adopted a resolution covering both the refugees dealt with by the Nansen International Office and the refugees coming from Germany.⁵ The resolution

¹ See document C.2.M.2.1936.XII.

² See document A.VII.1.1936.

³ See document A.27.1936.XII.

⁴ See document A.19.1936.XII.

⁵ See document A.73.1936.XII.

deals both with the legal protection of the refugees and with the humanitarian and administrative aspects of the problem. It affords evidence of the desire of the members of the international community to relieve the burden on those States which are chiefly affected by the presence of refugees in their territory, and at the same time to contribute to the gradual solution of the problem and prevent its extension. The Assembly further appointed Judge Michael Hansson President of the Governing Body of the Nansen Office until the date of the liquidation of the latter—viz., December 31st, 1938.

Judge Hansson has been good enough, at the request of the Editor of the *Bulletin*, to state his views for our readers on the international aspect of the refugee problem in the article which follows.—[*Note by the Editor.*]

The Assembly of the League of Nations, which has just concluded the work of its seventeenth ordinary session, confirmed its previous decision providing for the liquidation of the Nansen International Office at the end of 1938. The President of the Office was accordingly requested to prepare, if possible for the meeting of the League Council in May, a detailed plan of liquidation which should, in any case, reach Governments before the end of July 1937.

By the same decision, the Assembly requested the President to submit to it, for consideration at its ordinary session in 1938, recommendations as to the most suitable methods for the devolution, after the winding-up of the Nansen Office, of the duties undertaken by the latter, with due reference to the situation at that date.

During the discussions in the Committees of the Assembly, I repeatedly stressed the fact that the decision, as passed, would appear to upset the logical order of things, for obviously, as the liquidation of the refugee problem proceeds, it will become easier to prepare a plan for the winding-up of the Office. I shall, however, do my best to carry out the Assembly's wishes within the time-limit fixed, after having consulted the Governments concerned, the organs of the Nansen Office, and the private welfare organisations, in order that the liquidation may be completed with as little damage as possible to the superb humanitarian work carried out in the first place by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen and later by the Office which bears his name.

The point to emphasise now is that the decision of the seventeenth Assembly does not conflict in any sense with the decision

taken by the Assembly in 1930, by which the political and legal protection of refugees was formally entrusted to the regular organs of the League. That decision was not made subject to any time-limit, and there is no doubt that for some time to come it will still, unfortunately, be necessary for the League to continue this work without relaxing its vigilance.

I propose at this juncture to stress the distinction between the humanitarian work entrusted to the Nansen Office by this decision and the political and legal protection of refugees, in view of the fact that there appears to be some confusion in the matter. The decisions of the 1931 and 1932 Assemblies relating to the liquidation of the Nansen Office have sometimes been interpreted as implying that the political and legal protection of refugees is subject to a time-limit fixed in advance. There is, moreover, a tendency—happily not too pronounced at the moment—to declare that the refugee problem is not an international question and that it does not, accordingly, come within the League's province.

The 1930 Assembly's decision just referred to is quite explicit in itself and does not admit of discussion, and the distinction between the activities of the League and those of the Nansen Office has, in point of fact, been formally established. The first President of the Nansen Office, Dr. Max Huber, on assuming office, approached the Secretary-General of the League, with a view to the determination of the humanitarian duties of the Nansen Office and those devolving upon the Secretary-General in the matter of political and legal protection. The Secretary-General declared himself in perfect agreement with Dr. Max Huber, and in consequence, for the exercise of certain of his functions, he confers each year on the administrative Director and representatives of the Nansen Office abroad the powers necessary to enable them to fulfil the tasks lying outside their own humanitarian province which they could not perform without his authorisation.

In other respects also, the Secretary-General of the League has, by tacit consent, allowed the Nansen Office to assume a large measure of responsibility for the political and legal protection of refugees, in the latter's own interest. It was generally recognised that the Nansen Office was better equipped to ensure such protection—for example, by initiating negotiations with the competent authorities in cases of unjust expulsion, in the framing of a regular statute for refugees or persons claiming to be refugees, etc.

The Nansen Office and its representatives are constantly in direct touch with the refugees and their organisations and with the local authorities of the majority of the countries concerned, as regards matters relating to the political and legal protection of refugees against unjust or arbitrary measures and applications for permits for residence or work, etc. This explains to some extent how the refugees have come to look on the various branches of the Office as their consulates, and, generally speaking, Governments, far from objecting to the intervention of the Office, have, on the contrary, been satisfied with the practical, elastic, and expeditious manner in which such matters—often very delicate and otherwise liable to lead to diplomatic incidents—have been settled.

It is sometimes said that the refugee problem is one for every Government to deal with separately. True, certain States, such as the Scandinavian and Baltic countries, have gradually succeeded in settling, to a large extent, the problems arising from the presence of refugees in their territory, the usual solution being naturalisation and absorption. I referred, in my special report¹ to the seventeenth Assembly, to the case of Estonia, where, out of a total of 19,000 refugees, there are now only 5,000 left, the majority of whom will probably be naturalised within the next two years. The situation is more or less the same in the other Baltic and Scandinavian countries.

This, however, must not be allowed to obscure the fact that the refugee problem is still, in the main, an essentially international question. The daily experience of the Nansen Office is sufficient proof; applications are continually being made by refugees whose situation can only be righted through the agency of an international institution.

The annual reports of the Nansen Office reveal the amazing scope of this aspect of the protection of refugees. During the past year, for instance, the Office had to intervene in close upon 1,800 cases concerning expulsion alone, and in some 121,000 various other cases. It is impossible in a brief survey to give a complete account of the many cases in which protection is required, but it is no exaggeration to say that, even now, not a day passes when the Nansen Office or its representatives are not called upon to intervene on behalf of refugees. Such intervention is, of course, not always of a political character. It is, indeed, often as difficult to distinguish in a concrete case between

¹ See document A.27.1936.XII.

the various aspects as it is in civil law to differentiate between facts and questions of law—as every lawyer knows—so closely interwoven are these various elements.

* * *

I have just referred to expulsion. This chapter alone, if one wished to expatiate on all that has happened in them atter between neighbouring States, would be sufficient to arouse the amazement and the indignation of the civilised world, by reason of the unspeakable fashion in which countries have treated human beings. Without having committed any offence against the law, simply because they have been born and are not in possession of papers or adequate means of support, unfortunate people have been driven from one country to another, expelled or turned back until, hopeless and discouraged, they have fallen into a state of irreparable moral and physical decay and have at length—cases are more numerous than might be imagined—been driven to suicide.

There are refugees who have been forced in this way to wander through most of the countries of Europe, and who, because of their inability to carry out orders which were frankly incapable of execution, have been sentenced time after time and spent as much as ten years of their lives in prison. I am glad, however, to say that there has recently been a marked improvement, thanks no doubt to a reaction of public opinion and to the more general adoption of the principles embodied in the 1933 Convention,¹ which has already been ratified by a number of States particularly interested in the problem, while other countries have declared their readiness to apply in practice the principles laid down in that instrument.

To quote only a few examples : there are many cases of Russian refugees who, having left Russia as children with their parents or other relatives, have spent years wandering from country to country in search of a refuge and, driven from one frontier to another, have at last been signed on as members of the crew of a vessel on which they are obliged again to pass long years, because they are not allowed to land permanently at any port.

These unhappy individuals and many other refugees in a like situation still form to-day a wandering army. They have no

¹ See the provisions of the Convention of October 28th, 1933, relating to the international status of refugees, ratified by the following States : Bulgaria, United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Italy, and Norway. (*League of Nations Treaty Series*, Vol. CLIX, page 199.)

country, no family, no home, and are constantly on the move from one country to another. Driven after a few weeks or months from the place in which they have sought refuge, they are a very serious danger to society, for they find life intolerable and are inevitably driven to acts of despair or exasperation.

No one can deny that this perpetual movement of thousands of refugees and stateless persons, resulting from the present deplorable state of world affairs, constitutes in itself essentially an international problem.

A recent case that has come to my knowledge is that of an old woman of Russian origin, born in one of the Baltic countries, who has been turned back from one country to another for years without being able to obtain permission to reside more than three months in any one State. Reduced to begging, death is all that she has to look forward to. Quite recently, a charitable family offered at last to take her in as housekeeper, but even this kindly act was frustrated, as the authorities refused to allow her to remain for more than three months.

Choosing at random, I might mention also the case of two other women who recently applied to the Office for assistance. They belonged to two different European countries. One of them had married in Paris a Russian refugee, who disappeared a year later, leaving her penniless. She was given temporary hospitality at a girls' home, on condition that she worked there as a servant. Having lost her original nationality, she is anxious, however, to return to her own country, where her relatives would be glad to have her. That solution would seem to be a proper one and in the interests of social order, but the young woman has applied in vain to the authorities of her country for permission to return.

The position is the same in the case of the other refugee, who had married a German from the Saar. The latter, after the establishment of the new regime in Germany, divorced his wife on account of her Jewish origin and she was obliged, owing to his chicaneries, to leave the country immediately after the plebiscite. She went to two other countries in succession, but, her passport having expired in the meantime, she was obliged to leave that second refuge. She was sent back forcibly to her country of origin, but was refused the right to settle there, having lost her nationality on marriage. She has no proper papers and does not even possess the right to return to the second country

of refuge, to get her clothes and other belongings, which are all she possesses.

While everyone is probably agreed that these victims of an abnormal state of affairs cannot be left without help or protection, it is obvious that even the most well-meaning Government cannot by its sole efforts offer a solution for this distressing problem.

The case of Russian refugees in Turkey demonstrates even more forcibly the truth of this remark :

During and after the war, Turkey was invaded by some hundred thousand Russian refugees, the majority of whom gradually left the country for the other European and overseas countries. In 1934 there were still about 1,800 or 2,000 left. The economic depression obliged the Turkish Government to take strict measures for the protection of national labour, and the refugees were, as usual, those worst hit by the restrictions.

In order to save this body of unhappy men and women from destitution, the Nansen Office intervened with the Turkish Government, which generously agreed in principle to the naturalisation of practically all these refugees, demanding in return the evacuation of about 150, to whom it did not wish to grant the permanent right to remain. The fulfilment of this condition alone caused the Office enormous difficulties and necessitated its entering into negotiations with nine different Governments.

* * *

Here I may be allowed to make a digression :

It is sometimes said that the Russian refugees, to take the most striking example, are themselves responsible for their fate, since they voluntarily left their own country : they must be prepared to bear the consequences.

* This argument is, in my view, as false as it is inhuman. In the first place, it is not for us, who are not refugees, to judge of the circumstances in which the latter felt obliged to leave their home and country. We must not forget—as I ventured to say at the opening of the Conference on July 2nd for German refugees—that nowadays anything may happen in any country and we may all become refugees one day. The example of Spain is one of the most eloquent : we know to which groups the majority of Spanish refugees belong to-day, but we also know that, if to-morrow the army became masters of the country, very different classes of refugees would pour into the neighbouring countries and other

more distant countries. Everything depends upon circumstances which no one can foresee. One thing is certain: the advent of any new regime, of whatever origin or nature, creates and always has created refugees. The League of Nations, an objective and impartial body and the supreme guardian of social order, exists to deal with that problem by any means within its power.

As regards the Russian refugees in particular, whatever the first cause of their mass emigration, we must not forget that more than sixteen or seventeen years have elapsed since those events.

Many of these refugees were only children at the time of their emigration and were thus taken out of the country without ever being consulted. Another group consists of those who were born after the emigration. Others, again, are invalids and old people incapable of earning a living, whose long and severe sufferings entitle them to universal pity. Those who left their country after arriving at manhood and are still capable of working and struggling constitute a minority—a quarter or a third perhaps—but what suffering and renunciation, material and moral, have they not had to endure!

* * *

I regret that I am unable, before my departure for Syria at the request of the Governing Body of the Nansen Office, to devote more than a few hours to a subject which deserves to be dealt with at much greater length.

But, while speaking of Syria, mention should be made of the immense work done there under the auspices of the Nansen Office on behalf of Armenian refugees, who have for the most part obtained Syrian nationality. And one wonders, in this connection, how anyone can dispute the international character of the refugee problem, since, when it comes to a minority of the same race and same religion, settled in the same country, it is agreed that it does indeed come within the international sphere of the League's competence.

The refugee problem is, at bottom, a problem of the migration of peoples, which has now assumed huge proportions. It has been estimated that from Russia alone not less than one and a half million refugees invaded the neighbouring countries. That figure has now been reduced to approximately a third, but subsequent events have created other categories of refugees. In other words, there is a continuous migration movement which, more forcibly perhaps than any other question, raises an international problem.

To revert to Syria : the Nansen Office, it will be remembered, in agreement with the mandatory Power, undertook to erect houses for some 40,000 homeless Armenian refugees, and that work it is hoped to complete within the next few months.

Another international aspect of the work of the International Office is the transfer to the Republic of Erivan of thousands of Armenian refugees from Greece, Bulgaria and France. The Office has sought to give effect, as far as possible, to the promises of a national home held out to the Armenian people by so many statesmen and by the League of Nations. This was not merely an international undertaking, but implies again the migration, still far from complete, of a whole people.

The settlement of the Saar refugees is also an international matter. The Saar was administered, for fifteen years before the plebiscite, by a Commission under the auspices of the League of Nations. The refugees are the victims of the plebiscite, having voted in favour of the *status quo*. Geographical reasons led them to seek refuge in France, where they came under the Nansen passport regime and from where the Office is endeavouring, in agreement with the French authorities, to evacuate a considerable number to South America.

Other large transfers have already been effected. The majority, it will be remembered, of the 100,000 Russian refugees concentrated at Constantinople in 1920, after the civil war, were divided up among forty-five European and overseas countries. Most of these transfers were carried out through the League High Commissioner. The Nansen Office, continuing this work, has also been responsible for the transfer of refugees from India and China to South America. All these cases involved population movements for which the consent of at least two Governments was required, after intervention by an international institution.

And what of the 130,000 refugees in the Far East? One might conceivably claim that the existence of these refugees is a local problem, the solution of which rests with China herself; but, in any case, whose duty is it to look after the large number of Russian refugees in "Manchukuo", who enjoy no protection whatsoever and whose situation has been the subject of many comments?

* * *

I think I have said enough on the subject. The more one deals with the refugee problem, the more one realises how

essentially international it is and how it concerns the whole community of States and each one of them individually.

I confess, for my part, that I cannot bear to think what might be the situation of hundreds of thousands of refugees if they were one day to lose this necessary protection, imperfect though it is, for various reasons on which it is unnecessary to dwell. But, I repeat, there is no need to contemplate such a contingency so long as the League exists : otherwise the famous saying of Talleyrand on the execution of the Duc d'Enghien could again be applied.

But here a question arises : Is the League really equipped to ensure the effective protection of refugees? I am not referring to its undisputed and universally recognised competence, but these few pages will, I hope, have shown in how many thousands of individual cases League intervention is practically impossible. The fact of its being an official political institution makes it incumbent upon it to proceed with great caution : where the Nansen Office or a High Commissioner, in view of the humanitarian character of their task, could act easily, it would have been difficult to set in motion the more complex machinery of the League.

Be that as it may, the interest of civil peace and social order demands that the international protection of refugees should be continued on the basis of the inter-Governmental arrangements and agreements, more especially the above-mentioned Convention of October 28th, 1933. That last-named instrument, however, is only a beginning. It contains admirable provisions calculated to improve the situation of the refugees, especially if its adoption becomes general. It is, however, far from perfect, particularly as the countries which have ratified up to date have made more or less important reservations. It is the duty of those upon whom the protection of refugees devolves to exert themselves to perfect the Convention. The outcome of all these efforts to improve the status of refugees can only be the assimilation of those permanently settled in a country to the regime which applies to the nationals of that country.

Michael HANSSON,

*President of the Governing Body of the
Nansen International Office for Refugees.*

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION AT WORK.

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY AND THE WORKERS' SPARE TIME.

Among the many and varied activities of the International Labour Organisation during 1936, the question of holidays with pay and the utilisation of the workers' spare time is of particular interest to readers of this *Bulletin*. It is, indeed, one of the necessary conditions for successful teaching that the minds to which it is addressed should be responsive and alert.

One of the fundamental aims of the International Labour Organisation is to give the workers, by means of measures for the protection of their working and living conditions, full scope for the development of their personality. For instance, as is pointed out in a recent publication intended chiefly for the use of the teaching profession, the object of the reduction of working-hours is not merely to ensure that the workers shall have time to eat and sleep, but also to give them a chance of living a full human life, enjoying physical and mental recreation, taking part in family and civic life, and, in the words of a resolution adopted some years ago by the International Labour Conference, obtaining full access to "the whole field of science, letters and the arts". From this standpoint, both general and particular, the preparation by the International Labour Office and the adoption by the twentieth session of the International Labour Conference (June 1936) of a draft Convention concerning annual holidays with pay are events of unquestionable importance and value for education.

* * *

The idea of holidays with pay is of very ancient origin. It was long customary for craftsmen to stop work on a certain number of religious festivals, apart from Sundays, every year. It is only since modern industry aimed at a stricter regulation of labour, or at least at the fullest possible use of its technical

equipment, that a number of these festivals have been struck off the list without compensation to the worker. More recently, since methods of rationalisation have come into general use in industry and commerce, and been introduced into many business offices, there has been a growing realisation of the necessity for giving to workers an opportunity of relaxation and recuperation by a rest period of several consecutive days without loss of earnings.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the workers' organisations gave their main attention to the requirements felt to be most urgent—shorter hours of work, higher wages, and a minimum standard of protection against the risks to which workers are subject. These having been achieved, holidays with pay began to take a prominent place among the workers' demands.

State officials and members of other public services had for many years been entitled to annual paid holidays, and gradually the custom spread to the holders of more or less responsible posts in industrial and commercial undertakings, to the staffs of banks, and in many cases even to shop assistants. But, although workmen employed in public services succeeded in profiting by the precedent of the holidays accorded to officials, the number of private industrial undertakings which gave their workers holidays with pay at the beginning of the century was very small indeed. In a few privileged undertakings, as a result of the generosity or foresight of certain employers, holidays were given, first to the older workers and later to the whole staff.

So far as the regulation of the system is concerned, the earliest legislation dates from some thirty years ago. Although the movement stopped almost completely between 1914 and 1918, it was resumed immediately after with steadily growing impetus. In an increasing number of countries, the right to an annual holiday with pay is now established by law for workers in general, or at least for manual workers. In 1919, holidays with pay were introduced in Austria; in 1922, in Finland, Latvia, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; in 1925, in Czechoslovakia; in 1926, in Luxemburg; in 1927, in Italy; in 1929, in Roumania; in 1931, in the Swiss canton of Basle Town, in Chile, Spain, Mexico and Sweden; in 1932, in Peru; in 1933, in Lithuania, Portugal and the Swiss canton of Valais; in 1934, in Brazil and Estonia; in 1935, in Cuba; and, only a few months ago, in Iraq, Norway, Venezuela, France, and in Belgium also.

In 1926, a study published by the International Labour Office on annual holidays for workers under collective agreements showed that in Europe about 19 million workers (some 40 % of all workers) were already receiving annual paid holidays in virtue either of legislation or of collective agreements.

In the course of a few years, the practice of granting holidays with pay has spread to nearly all countries and has become more or less general. Fourteen countries have adopted legislation applying to workers and salaried employees in industrial and commercial undertakings, five others have legislation applying to workers alone or to salaried employees alone, and a few countries have special laws for various classes of workers. Moreover, a very large number of workers receive annual paid holidays in virtue of collective agreements or of established custom.

Thus, at the present time, twenty-five countries have introduced general legislation concerning annual holidays with pay. Moreover, a number of workers are also entitled to a paid holiday under special systems of regulation in Germany, Denmark, the United Kingdom, Hungary, Norway, the Netherlands, the Union of South Africa, Yugoslavia, Australia and New Zealand.

Under the different systems established by law or collective agreement, the worker is usually entitled to one week's paid holiday after a year's continuous service with the same employer. In Lithuania the holiday is ten days, and as much as two weeks in Brazil, Chile, France, Peru and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

As a rule, the duration of the holiday increases with the length of service.

* * *

Once the system was so widely accepted in practice, the question of the desirability of adopting some form of international regulation naturally arose.

The matter was first raised in 1920, and, after several years of study, was provisionally earmarked for future decision. It was finally placed on the agenda of the 1935 session of the International Labour Conference for a first discussion, and in the following year a draft Convention, prepared by the International Labour Office on the basis of its consultation of Governments, was adopted by ninety-nine votes to fifteen.

This Convention will apply to persons employed in industrial undertakings, commercial establishments, establishments and administrative services in which the persons employed are mainly

engaged in clerical work, newspaper undertakings, establishments for the treatment and care of the sick, infirm, destitute or mentally unfit, hotels, restaurants, boarding-houses, and theatres and places of public amusement.

It fixes the annual holiday due after one year of continuous service at not less than six working-days. If these six days fall between two Sundays, the holiday consists, in practice, of eight days. Neither public holidays nor interruption of attendance at work due to sickness may be included in the six working-days.

For persons under 16 years of age, including apprentices, the holiday must be at least twelve working-days.

The duration of the holiday is to increase with the length of service under conditions to be prescribed by national law.

During the holiday, the worker must receive his usual remuneration calculated in a manner prescribed by national laws or regulations, including the cash equivalent of his remuneration in kind, if any.

Other provisions of the Convention provide that any agreement to relinquish the right to an annual holiday shall be void, that a person who engages in paid employment during the course of his annual holiday may be deprived of his right to payment, and that a worker dismissed for a reason imputable to the employer before he has taken a holiday due to him shall be entitled to compensation. A system of sanctions must be instituted in each country to ensure the application of the Convention.

Three months after this general draft Convention was adopted, a similar decision was taken in regard to seamen. The twenty-first (maritime) session of the International Labour Conference applied the general principle of an annual holiday with pay to maritime workers with appropriate adjustments to their special conditions of employment.

And, lastly, the nineteenth session of the Conference also requested the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to place the question of holidays with pay for domestic servants, hall-porters, home workers and agricultural workers on the agenda of an early session of the Conference.

* * *

As already stated, the reasons for the success achieved by this reform do not only lie in the progress made in the legislative field; this progress itself is due to various factors which may be summarised as follows :

To begin with, there are physiological arguments in favour of holidays with pay. The worker, whom modern production processes and the rationalisation of labour are subjecting to an ever-increasing nervous tension, must be given an opportunity for recuperation.

Secondly, there is the social argument that, inasmuch as modern production processes and rationalisation considerably increase individual output, it should be possible for the worker to share in the benefits of the increase in productivity by the enjoyment of a few days' holiday every year.

Thirdly, there are logical arguments in favour of generalising the system of holidays with pay internationally. There is no good reason why workers of one country should enjoy paid holidays every year while those of a neighbouring country are deprived of them.

And, lastly, there is also the question of policy. The general recognition of the principle of holidays with pay is necessary in order to eliminate the risk of allowing the system to be abandoned under the plea of international competition in those countries where it has already been established.

The effects of this progressive measure have not all made themselves felt as yet, but some of their good results are already evident. Careful observation of conditions in undertakings granting holidays with pay to their staff shows conclusive results: sickness declines and individual output rises because the worker's powers of resistance are improved, and there is less absence during the working-year. Thus, employers who give paid holidays to their workers receive a very real return for this concession.

At the same time as the International Labour Conference was adopting its draft Convention, one of the big industrial countries—France—was also giving legal sanction to the system by granting to its workers the right to an annual holiday of fifteen days after one year's service. As a result, over 500,000 workers received a holiday for the first time in the summer of 1936. Facilities of various kinds were secured by the Ministry of Leisure and Sport, in the form of reduced railway fares (40 % reduction for adults and 50 % for children) and hotel charges. Further important progress in this field may be expected as the result of the international generalisation of holidays with pay.

* * *

These questions are all linked up with the general problem of the utilisation of the workers' spare time. In this field, again,

the International Labour Organisation has been actively engaged for a number of years. As early as its sixth session (June 1924), the International Labour Conference adopted a recommendation laying down general principles to enable the workers to make full use of their leisure, an important place being assigned to institutions for the spread of culture. Since that time, the International Labour Office has continued to follow the question, and, in view of the steadily growing demand for the reduction of working-hours, it has even had to pay greater attention to the problem of leisure than in the past. In order to make available the advice of specialists in this domain, the Governing Body decided to set up an Advisory Correspondence Committee on Workers' Spare Time.

Moreover, in 1936 the Office published some documentary material concerning workers' spare time in its series of *Studies and Reports*.¹

This volume contains both a study of methods and problems and an account of various practical experiments. In the theoretical field, the report submitted by Mrs. J. E. Vajkai, Vice-President of the Save the Children International Union, is of special interest to all who are interested in the psychology of the young worker and in defining the concept of leisure itself. As a result of the development of mechanisation, the worker's spare time must now be used more and more to satisfy his mental needs. Mental or manual activity is the best means of restoring the mental balance of the young industrial worker, who suffers from the fact that, unlike the apprentice of former times, he rarely, if ever, sees the finished product of his work. With regard to theoretical education for young persons of 15 to 18 years of age, this should be linked up with the natural centre of their interests at that time—themselves. In this way, certain mental and even sentimental needs can also be satisfied. From the standpoint of the young worker, the lengthening of the period of school attendance in towns and industrial centres may be expected to offer new facilities for preparing the pupils for their working lives, including the use of their spare time, the amount of which is likely to be increased by the reduction of daily working-hours and should thus enable the worker to make something

¹ International Labour Office: "Recreation and Education". Reports presented to the International Conference on Workers' Spare Time, Brussels, June 15th-17th, 1935. Geneva, 1936, *Studies and Reports*, Series G (Housing and Welfare), No. 4.

more out of his life than a mere alternation of physical effort and sleep.

It will be seen from these brief notes that there are more things as Shakespear said in the question of holidays with pay and the utilisation of spare time " than are dreamt of in our philosophy ", or in our practical teaching concerning the mutual dependence of peoples and international collaboration. That is why the International Labour Organisation, in its constant concern for essential problems of social policy (reduction of hours of work, wages, etc.) on which its main efforts are expended, has set itself the task of obtaining international recognition for the principle of holidays with pay in 1936, and thus encouraging fresh activities in the domain of the utilisation of the workers' spare time.

e

MAN AND THE MACHINE.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE EIGHTEENTH
SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON
INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

[Before undertaking a thorough enquiry into this problem, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the International Labour Office, assisted by qualified experts, tried to work out the main lines of this comprehensive study. They endeavoured to trace a general picture ranging from the philosophic and moral problem raised by mechanisation to the practical consequences which it entails. After the enquiry into "Mechanisation and Society" will come the study on "Mechanisation and Man". The intention of the authors was that the enquiry should lead to a Conference or a "Conversation".—*Note by the Editor.*]

M. DANTAS (Portugal) invited members of the Committee to consider the political, economic and social consequences of mechanisation. He would suggest their studying also the influence of the machine on art and letters.

An allusion had been made to the new art forms created by the machine, but doubts could be raised on that subject. Machinery did not and never had created art forms. It simply transmitted, in more or less perfect fashion, the art created by man. They had long been familiar with the calculating machine, but the thinking machine had not yet been invented, which was a pity, as it would be interesting to know what machines thought of man. The cinema, wireless, television were not creative machines, but only means of transmitting and standardising works of art. Drama as presented through the medium of sound and of silent films in particular was, it was claimed, a new art form—new, perhaps, from the standpoint of technique and transmission; but it was always the same type of literature, often repeated *ad nauseam*, and the same type of drama: it was not the machine that had created either literature or the drama.

The Committee would perhaps agree that the mechanisation of art, while an important factor in the spread of culture, had had, if anything, an unfortunate influence on artistic activities, in the matter of creation and execution alike. Machinery had not only brought about unemployment and hence discouraged artists and restricted the possibility of artistic production; it had also deprived the work of art of part of its human and spiritual value and wasted the artistic personality by merging it in uniformity. It also diverted the contemporary spirit from true art forms by creating purely recreational forms. There was nothing new in what he was saying, but that aspect of the question might perhaps be dealt with as part of the proposed enquiry.

M. C. BIALOBRZESKI (Poland) urged that, for educated men, the real problem was to determine whether machinery led inevitably to the degradation of human personality by sacrificing individual liberty. Man and the human soul, he maintained, were in process of standardisation and were becoming like machines. They were subordinated at every turn to the requirements of mass production, which crushed out human personality. There was no possibility for the expansion of human personality under present conditions, which dominate the civilised world. Every man nowadays was in danger of being "broken in" and utilised as part of the machinery of the State. True, the moral law, that first expression of the dignity of human personality, had not always been respected in the past. It had, however, been recognised as the foundation of society. To-day, not to put things more strongly, it was doubtful whether the existence of that law was even recognised.

Professor BELAUNDE (Peru) felt that what they had to decide was whether the drawbacks attaching to the mechanisation of man, his enslavement, the mutilation of his soul by the machine, were due to the machine itself or whether they were not rather the outcome of man's attitude towards it. Glancing back over the history of mankind, they could see that, so long as man had had an upward tendency towards the invisible, it had been within his power to dominate the visible. His material tool had been weak in those days. Modern civilisation had entirely altered the terms of the problem. By widely extending the horizontal scope of man's vision, by enlarging the material sphere and intelligence of the instrument, it was weakening and even eliminating the "vertical" tendency of the spirit. Under the influence of

materialistic considerations, man regarded himself as a machine and bowed beneath the yoke of his slavery, whereas, in point of fact, the development of machinery demanded an entirely different attitude and called for the reassertion of the human soul and spiritual values in the face of the machine. The present crisis was, in his view, essentially a moral crisis. It was a crisis, not only of the spirit, but first and foremost a crisis in the domain of morality and charity. Intelligence, to quote Pascal, created order in the physical world, but only morality and charity could create order in the sphere of the intellect.

M. SOKOLINE (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) pointed out that the collective attitude of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics towards the machine was quite different from the attitude which had just been voiced. How, then, was the problem regarded in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? It was recognised, in the first place, that mechanisation can produce prosperity. Prosperity released the individual from hard and degrading work, and that release, by enabling man to develop his spirit and intelligence, opened up before him vistas of the great moral problems. It was claimed that there had been a high level of human morality before the appearance of mechanisation; that question called for thorough historical examination, as did the problem of the low and degraded moral level of present-day mankind. Thanks to machinery, it would seem, "horizontal" men realised the possibility of becoming vertical, and those who had long been vertical had found such a change very extraordinary and, indeed, rather irksome in that it upset their habits and their whole outlook. Why, then, did horizontal men wish to become vertical? Without giving a scientific answer to that question, the plain fact had to be stated. If he might speak of finality, they wished it subjectively, to set free their individuality, their personality, for that was the nature of the release. With or without justification, in the name of his own moral law, horizontal man wished to become vertical; not that he wanted to destroy the moral law of his fellow-man: he was simply anxious to affirm his own. There was no need to dwell at undue length on the philosophic and spiritual aspect of the problem. Underlying that problem was obviously an economic and political question, with fundamental moral and spiritual aspects which would have to be examined; but even the most interesting speeches and essays on the subject were lost, if not in oblivion, at all events on library shelves, leaving nothing

but the echo of their passing. The real query was how to organise mankind from a double point of view—political and economic—so that machinery might be for all, and not only for a few, the means of releasing the personality. In conclusion, he expressed the wish that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, in carrying out its enquiry in all the countries, give careful consideration, not merely to the attitude of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics toward this problem from a philosophical point of view, but also to the practical ways by which his country had been able to achieve the beginning of a release of personality. He also wished that the Organisation might be led, as a result of its work in this field, to affirm that machine-breaking would be a catastrophe, even if it is claimed in the name of some theological doctrine or based upon eternal moral law.

M. DE REYNOLD (Switzerland) said the Committee, constituted as it was, could only consider the problem from an intellectual standpoint. It comprised data varying in value and unequal in importance, which must be differentiated, classified and graded. There were two terms in the problem : they might start from the machine and work up to man or, inversely, might start with man and work up to the machine. He would advise the Committee to adopt the second method.

The problem comprised technical and economic data properly for experts, which must be taken into account, though they were not the only ones. The problem must be carried further : man had created the machine, hence man confronted by the machine was once again man face to face with himself.

One might revert here to the old Christian or, as it had just been called, "vertical" conception. Man might be regarded in two fashions : man considering himself as an end in himself and anxious to achieve wealth and happiness in this world by every means and as quickly as possible, and man holding that his end was elsewhere, that it was beyond. Two elements might be distinguished in man : the individual co-ordinated with practical life, life in society, and the person, who was ordained to the true life, the life of the spirit. The machine was co-ordinated to the individual, not to the person. It developed to the infinite the physical potentialities of the individual and thus extended his sphere of action and influence, but at the same time restricting the sphere of the personality. All the present-day unrest and lack of balance had their origin there. From an ideal standpoint, the machine, by releasing the individual, should offer the person

a greater wealth of possibilities. What had happened was just the opposite. Why? That was the great problem. There was no single practical issue facing the world at the present day that did not immediately involve some moral, philosophic or religious issue.

Sir Frank HEATH (United Kingdom) was anxious to introduce a ray of hope into the dark picture presented by his colleagues. Some of their views had aroused an echo in his own inner consciousness, but, considering the past experience of mankind, there were still grounds for hope. True, the cinema and wireless had had a disastrous effect on art. But must that necessarily always be so? After all, the cinema and wireless were only more complicated tools than those used by the artist, but the pen itself was a tool and even the fine brush of the Japanese artist. The artist had not yet had time to acquire mastery over those infinitely complex new instruments. Only the creative spirit could harness them to its purpose.

One small instance of a very general experience would illustrate what he meant. When the typewriter first began to oust the pen, there was an immediate falling-off in style. It was only when people had become accustomed to the facilities of the typewriter that they regained their former command of style.

They might usefully consider the artistic spirit a little more closely. What was the history of architecture, of decoration, of the art of furnishing? Towards the end of the nineteenth century, there was a regular frenzy of ornamentation due to the facility with which ornaments could be applied to works of art. The result was not very encouraging. It had been followed, however, by a reaction which had gone so far that ornamentation had almost disappeared at the present day.

The artist would succeed in mastering wireless and the cinema, if he were given time. Anyone listening to wireless plays could already detect the beginnings of a new technique. The subject was still the eternal subject, but the presentation was suited to the new instrument and the opening stages of an evolution were present.

He quite agreed with M. Bialobrzieski : any return to spiritual values or reassertion of the moral law would be impossible until they had overcome the hypnotic effect which machinery exercised over those brought continually into contact with it. If workers' spare time could enable the individual, not only to make good use of his liberty, but also to exercise his creative

spirit, that would give him also the possibility of rising above his machine.

M. ANESAKI (Japan) proposed to deal chiefly with the question of method. The Committee had just heard a statement of very divergent points of view on a problem that was uppermost in all their minds. On the one hand, some appeared to be concentrating solely on human dignity and spiritual values; others, on the contrary, appeared to be confining themselves to the technical, economic and political aspects of the problem. Neither group, he felt sure, regarded the problem as presenting only one aspect, and his observations on method would be directed towards treating the problem as a whole. They must be careful not to restrict the scope of the enquiry at the outset and thus limit the conclusions at which it would enable them to arrive.

The Soviet delegate had spoken of an experiment unique in the history of mankind and that experiment, he felt sure, would succeed. Some of his colleague's observations had, however, aroused doubt in his mind—namely, his strong insistence on the effects of machinery as a medium for the release of the human spirit. Sir Frank Heath, again, had demonstrated that the development of mechanisation increased the workers' spare time and enabled the individual to develop in other directions. What matters is this: the machine or the engine was responsible for the fact that he could travel by train or by air to Geneva, but was that evidence of material progress sufficient grounds for concluding that mechanisation releases the human individuality and personality?

A number of philosophical questions arose in that connection. Whether, for instance, they were agreed on the meaning of those two concepts: personality and individuality. The machine released the individual, but from what? Did not release from one form of bondage often lead to another form of slavery?

Mr. JOHNSTON (International Labour Office) recalled two special aspects of the problem. First, the adaptation of man to machinery and that of the machine to man; man and the machine were too often regarded as mortal enemies, whereas reciprocal adaptation was required in order that the machine might be utilised in the interests of human liberty. There was, secondly, the attitude to be adopted towards the machine—a question to which M. Belaunde had given particular attention. On that point there were two entirely opposite points of view. Recently,

for instance, at the Kioto Conference, the delegate of the Philippines had compared the smoke issuing forth from factory chimneys to incense rising towards heaven. On the other hand, some people had a blind fear of mechanisation. An impartial enquiry was needed to determine which of those two attitudes was the right one.

Mr. Malcolm DAVIS (United States of America) said that the problem under discussion was of special interest to the National Commission of his country, which is a powerful centre of mechanisation. It was important, in his view, to realise the interdependence between man and the machine. Machinery, after all, was simply a creation of man. That idea should be taken as a basis for the present investigation.

Considered from that aspect, the problem should be attacked, not as if there were necessarily a conflict between the two factors, but rather with the idea that man must learn to master an element of life which he had himself created.

Modern machinery was continually creating a new order of things. Since James Watt's discovery, all the requirements of man had been satisfied instead of his having to struggle, as for centuries past, to produce only part of what he needed. The problem was really that of the mastery and direction of man himself.

This was a wide and far-reaching problem, but account might perhaps be taken of certain general suggestions. They must recognise the fact that the modern relations of society were no longer based on traditional distinctions, but that the existence of machinery and mass production made possible the welfare of mankind as a whole, both on the spiritual and the material plane. They must determine whether the development of communications and relations between peoples tended to facilitate or to complicate a conciliation of interests; they must see whether, and, if so, to what extent, the working of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Organisation themselves was affected by the dynamic condition of the modern world.

M. HERRIOT (France) said that, having given much thought to the problem during the past year, he had managed to arrive at four definitions, which did not, however, exhaust that vast subject.

1. He was amazed to find that the problem of mechanisation and its reactions on society and the individual arose at different

periods in the history of mankind. As far back as 1835, after the great individualistic reaction of the French Revolution, scientists, philosophers and economists had realised that machinery would play a great part in society and had given the problem a very fair measure of consideration. They must go even farther back, however, if they wanted to make a rational study of the question. The first definition, then, was as follows : The problem of mechanisation was simply the problem of the development of tools placed at the disposal of man. That problem arose on the day that man employed a spade instead of his hands to dig the ground, and, indeed, instruments as marvellous as the cinema and wireless were perhaps of less consequence than the invention of the lever or the pulley in ancient times. The two questions could not be isolated. The problem of mechanisation was simply one of the aspects of the development of the tool and the multiplication of human potentialities through the tool.

2. What exactly was mechanisation? Like M. de Reynold, he was amazed at the distinction drawn between man and the machine. The machine was a creation of man, it was a continual victory of the mind, its progress corresponded to the victories of the human mind over matter, space and time. A man using a lift, for example, evaded to some extent the law of gravity. This, then, was the second definition : The machine represented a constant and progressive victory, a victory almost without limit, of the human mind. Far from considering it simply in its brutal and material aspects, they should regard it as a spiritual element.

3. The Chairman had pointed out that the Committee was not supposed to touch on the political aspect of questions submitted to it, but when they sought to determine the reactions of machinery on man—the reciprocal reactions of the function and the organ dominated the whole—and when they sought to arrive at a final conclusion as to the rôle, good or bad, of the machine, they could not avoid going more closely into, at all events, the economic aspect of the problem. That was where the International Labour Office would play its proper part in the present enquiry. There were abundant examples to show that the machine would be an instrument of liberation or enslavement according to the use that was made of it and according to the economic organisation that existed. He had been over many dockyards and workshops and factories. In one place he had found that the machine was a marvellous instrument of liberation,

for example, from that symbolic servitude of the burden borne on the shoulders, and in another place, on the contrary—a certain slaughter-yard or a motor factory—a worker on the “conveyer” system was content to repeat the same movement hour after hour, mechanically, knowing nothing of the movements of the worker before or after him. If organisation was to be on those lines, and if the individual was then free to indulge in a tired man’s recreation—alcohol—then the machine was a hateful instrument of bondage. The machine could not be both one *and* the other: it could not be at the same time an instrument of freedom and an instrument of slavery; it could only be one *or* the other.

4. If the economic organisation of the world was a function of the constant effort of the human mind and will, the machine would be a marvellous means of liberation; it would open up before man infinite spaces in which he could move, according to whether he had himself received an education pointing to the spiritual life. Nothing could prevent the development of the machine. They might regard it in a sense as inevitable and proceed to examine the various adaptations and compromises by which, once the third definition was admitted, they should seek to determine—that was the fourth definition—how the machine was to become an instrument of liberation and how it could be used to restore to the individual that spiritual value, hitherto the privilege of a select few, which presupposed a large measure of independence, which must not be allowed to become too blatantly common, and which the individual could develop if the use of the machine was confined to such ends and kept within those limits.

WIRELESS BROADCASTS FROM THE " RADIO-NATIONS " TRANSMITTER

SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MESSAGE TO THE CHILDREN OF THE WORLD FOR MAY 18TH—GOODWILL DAY.

The Secretary-General's message was given by himself in French, by the Deputy Secretary-General, M. P. de Azcarate, in Spanish, by the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. F. Walters, in English, and by other members of the Secretariat in the Czechoslovak, Portuguese, Serbian and other languages. It is being relayed by the broadcasting systems of many countries, including the Columbia broadcasting system of New York; Radio Karbe of Montevideo; Radio Prieto, Buenos Aires; the Australian station at Melbourne; Radio Prague; the Brazilian network; Radio Paris; the Yugoslav radio system; the Swiss radio system, and Radio Madrid, making practically a worldwide network of listeners to this message.—*Note by the Editor.*

This is a message about the League of Nations. I am particularly glad to give it to you young people who are listening to me to day; for the League is of special interest to the young. First, because it is a new idea and new ideas appeal to one most when one is young; and, secondly, because it concerns the future, and the success or failure of its efforts for peace are going to make a vital difference to all your lives.

Just lately you have certainly heard many people talking pessimistically and saying: " We are on the road to war; can war be avoided? Can the League of Nations stop war? " Yes, it can, if you will give it the support of your youth and your confidence. Discouragement and scepticism lead to disaster. Give us your courage and your faith. For you we are working, for your life of to-morrow, and against the destruction wrought by the deadly perfection of modern war machinery.

Those appalling instruments of war that my generation used to read about when we were young seemed to us then mere fantastical inventions. When we grew up we learnt that they were deadly realities; we learnt to use them; we learnt to hide from them. They are much worse now.

Do not believe those who say that the League is a mere Utopia, a noble dream that cannot be fulfilled. The League exists : for sixteen years it has been at work, and it is not going to stop. It has had its failures, no doubt, as well as its successes. We cannot create peace by a miracle. We shall have other failures and difficulties. But what we must guard against at all costs is another general war that will mean for you young people death or the destruction of your reasonable hopes of happiness.

It is these anxieties that have led the Ministers of different countries to hold frequent meetings at Geneva. In sixteen years, many dangers have been averted and many misunderstandings cleared up, for at Geneva people get together and try to understand one another. Your wireless set enables you to hear programmes from all over the world. Well, Geneva is a sort of central wireless set, in which every country can hear the voice and opinions of the other countries.

I have nearly finished. Your generation inherits this great new ideal of the League, almost the only good thing that came out of the world war. Will you let it fall away in discouragement and failure? Or will you build it up firmer and stronger than we can ever hope to do? If you will so build it, you may be called upon to make great efforts and great sacrifices, but you will do a more splendid deed for your own country, for the Empire, and for the world than any previous generation has ever done.

THE LEAGUE ON ARMISTICE DAY, 1936.

(Armistice Day Broadcast on November 7th and 9th, 1936, by the Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, in the weekly Broadcast Bulletin in English, French and Spanish.)

This is the eve of the eighteenth anniversary of the Armistice. Never in these eighteen years has man been less sure than he is now that the first world war was also the last. The signs of the times are the weakening of treaty restraints, the emphasis upon force rather than law as the governing principle in international relations, the mounting anxiety, the colossal armaments. World defence expenditure in the present arms race is more than double the expenditure in the arms race before the great war. In 1918, humanity seemed to stand once more on the top of golden hours. It enjoyed for a decade the illusion that the world was freed of war. That decade culminated in the Paris Pact, by

which all nations agreed to abolish war as an instrument of national policy. The ink on that pact was not long dry when there began a series of wars in breach of it and of the Covenant of the League. And now the fog is down heavily upon us. We feel our way anxiously, lest the track should end in a precipice. Never before have we had more reason to ask why the League was formed and what it means.

What did the League mean to its founders just after the Armistice? This is shown well enough in the small but immensely important book on the League published by General Smuts a month after Armistice Day. The war threw a searchlight on the depths of human nature and the fundamental problems of human government. It showed up the immensity of the blind destructive and irrational forces in man's soul which are a standing menace to peace, government order and law. It showed up no less the constructive forces in him which are the basis of government order and law.

The founders of the League had few illusions. They took full account of political realities. With the searchlight of the war playing upon the nature of man and of government, they built the League on solid realities. War as General Smuts, for example, saw it, was bound, if it continued on the planet, to be unlimited, and to engulf all nations and all continents; the unbounded possibilities of modern science would be "enlisted frankly on the side of force and might, uninfluenced by any consideration of the moral law".

He saw that the mere horror of the first world war would quickly pass. The danger of war in the future would increase rather than diminish. The task was not easy: it was almost superhuman. There was no way out except that of a League of Nations. There must be an end of private violence and the beginning of a king's peace and a rule of law for the whole world. Men must bind themselves together in a political system to prevent war. Disputes must be settled by negotiation and by legal process. And if the obligation not to resort to war was broken, then economic and, in certain circumstances, military force must be used against the aggressor. Thus the obligation of collective defence against the aggressor would be added to the right of self-defence. And as violence was eliminated as the method of settling disputes, there would be provision for making peaceful changes in the structure of world society by agreement. These are the plain simple fundamentals of all human society in which there is to be peace and order.

The League he saw was to be no super-State—the time was not ripe for that. Yet it was not to be a "mere ineffective debating society". It was to be "an instrument of government" provided with adequate penalties or sanctions.

Here, then, were the primitive beginnings of what General Smuts called world government. There is no sign in the Covenant itself or in the drafts of its founders of the common illusion that only individuals, and not men in groups or nations, can be criminal lawbreakers. The Covenant is based on the assumption that in certain circumstances nations may break the fundamental laws of human society either deliberately or in moments of passion when they are swayed by irrational emotional forces. The founders of the Covenant did not believe that war could be abolished merely by creating a new magic formula against it. They knew well enough that even the existence for centuries of a national State is no guarantee that murder and even civil war may not occur.

You may be startled to find that in most of the modern States of the world it is not necessary to go back as far as your great-grandfather to come across at least one civil war. In fact, to make any headway at all against war, we have to learn again the simple fundamentals of government. We have to learn that, even inside the State, peace is not something falling like manna from the sky. The collective peace of the State is secured partly by the force which is behind law, and partly by the ceaseless daily effort of self-control on the part of men and women to refrain from violence and to obey the law.

The problem of peace inside and outside the State is no new one. The problem and its solution are as old as human government itself.

It was in the fierce light of the English Civil War in the time of Cromwell that the English thinker Hobbes saw the common basis of peace inside the State and in international society. Without peace and government there was a state of war. Without peace inside the State, he said, "there is continual fear and danger of violent death, and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short". States as he knew them "live", he said, "in the condition of a perpetual war, and upon the confines of battle with their frontiers armed and cannons planted against their neighbours round about".

Perhaps you will say that, if Hobbes were to come back again now, he might think things have not changed much. A certain number of people, even some nations, interpret the events

of the last five years as showing that the League is based on illusions, and that there is no hope in this generation of building up a general political system for the prevention of war. But clearly this is not the general view, as the Assembly of the League has shown. They see in the League the only alternative to an appalling future; a world in which there is no constitutional bond between nations and no means except war of reaching a final solution of grave international difficulties. The choice, as they see it, is not one "between the League and some better system of international relations, but between the League and almost complete anarchy". And whilst there is some difference of opinion as to the desirability of amendment of the Covenant, there is a widespread conviction that "in its general structure it represents the minimum number of obligations without which no league and no effective international co-operation could exist". The profound belief that there are only two possible alternatives—either the League or a drift to anarchy and war—is shown strikingly by recent events. Two important treaties have been negotiated in these last months—the Straits Convention and the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, the whole working of which are centred upon the League. And only this week the speech of King Edward VIII once more reiterates the principle, affirmed by every Imperial Conference of the British Commonwealth since 1920, that the whole policy of the Government is based on membership of the League. Either the League or drift to anarchy and war.

MESSAGES TO AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

The following speeches, made by M. Léon Blum, Prime Minister of France, Mr. S. M. Bruce, High Commissioner for Australia in London, and Mr. Malcolm J. MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Dominions, form part of a broadcasting programme which was arranged by the Information Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations at the request of the Australian Broadcasting Commission during the seventeenth Assembly, and transmitted over "Radio Nations", the League's wireless station. This formed the most extensive programme of broadcasting which has been made over the League station. The broadcasts were recorded in Australia by the Australian Broadcasting Commission and relayed at the most suitable time in the national programme over the national stations in Australia.

Similar recording and relays were also made in the case of a number of the broadcasts in New Zealand, to which two special broadcasts were also sent. Three of the broadcasts were repeated for experimental purposes at an hour and on wave-lengths suitable for reception in Canada and South Africa.

The Australian Broadcasting Commission sent over their chief news commentator, the Watchman, who was given the status of a temporary collaborator in the Secretariat. Besides participating in the arrangements for the programme, the Watchman introduced the speakers and made several news commentaries at different stages during the Assembly. The advantage of this whole arrangement was that the speakers from Geneva were not only given a favourable place on the National programme, but were also introduced by a familiar voice. In the case of the more important speeches, records were made of the speeches in Geneva, and sets of these records have been supplied on request to several English-speaking countries. Some seventeen broadcasts, without counting repetitions, were given.

The broadcasting programme thus undertaken was in accordance with the general lines of the resolution submitted by the Sixth Committee to the Assembly at its seventeenth session on "The League of Nations and Modern Means of spreading Information utilised in the Cause of Peace".¹

M. LÉON BLUM, PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE.

In the present disturbed state of public opinion, and at the time when the Geneva Assembly is drawing to a close, the French Government deems it expedient to state once again the principles upon which its policy has been consistently based.

The immense majority of Frenchmen remain loyal in heart and mind to the memories and traditions of the French Revolution. They profess the belief that all citizens are born free and with equal rights. Of the fundamental rights of the individual, they place in the forefront freedom of thought and conscience. It is in this sense that the French State is a democratic State and that the French nation believes in democracy.

Has this doctrine been invalidated by what is termed nowadays realism? By no means. Experience has not shaken the faith of the French nation. The principles set up by the Revolution in 1789 have spread throughout the world: Even those who

¹ See full text of resolution on page 159.

condemn them unwittingly benefit by them. Without that civic equality which the French Revolution proclaimed, the authoritarian States of Europe would not, at the present moment, be led by men who have emerged from the mass of the people, and derive from their origins their pride and the warrants of their authority.

The issue of stability has been brought up. The history of the last hundred years shows that the democratic systems have afforded at least as much stability as the methods of government based upon the unrestricted power of a single man.

The plea of order, essential to all collective organisation, has been raised. Democracy is precisely the system which enables human communities to progress in orderly fashion, since that progress is made to depend upon the general will—which grows ever more enlightened. How could we refuse to recognise the splendid testimony borne for many years by the great Anglo-Saxon nations?

Is it not thanks to democracy that Great Britain has been able to carry out that continuous and almost imperceptible process of adjustment between progress and tradition which has enabled her to transform her institutions, without losing her identity. Is it not thanks to democracy that the United States have been able to organise in a few years a tremendous economic recovery, without for a moment jeopardising legal order, without overstepping the limits of the Constitution which was framed after the War of Independence by the American disciples of Montesquieu and Rousseau? No; when the many charges which have been brought against democracy have been heard, it does not emerge condemned; it stands the test of practice, as well as the test of thought. Although France looks forward confidently to the unimpaired continuance of its age-long influence, she has no desire to impose on any other people those principles of Government which she holds to be the wisest and the most just. France wholly rejects the idea of any wars of propaganda or wars of reprisal. The causes of war which already weigh heavily upon the condition of the world are too threatening to be aggravated by any idea of a doctrinal crusade, either in favour of those ideas which she believes to be right and sound, or against the systems which she believes to be false and bad.

France wishes to live in peace with all nations of the world, whatever may be their internal system of government. In her relations with all nations of the globe, she is anxious to remove those causes of conflict which might one day lead to war. It is

because the League of Nations is itself founded upon a democratic conception of peace that the international action of France is based upon the League. Its aim is to organise mutual assistance. Its aim is to arrest the competitive expansion of armaments, and it will not cease to plead its cause until it has been heard. Peace must be general, because war would be general. This is the conviction which the French Government expresses when it speaks of collective security and indivisible peace. It is actuated by this conviction, associated in its mind with the dictates of honour; when it asserts its fidelity to the pledges given, to the treaties signed, to the pacts concluded; and when it proclaims at the same time its firm intention to extend these until they constitute a universal organisation of the nations, united in peace and in a common measure of prosperity.

Mr. S. M. BRUCE, HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA.

By the courtesy of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, I am permitted to broadcast the first of a series of talks from Geneva, which I understand have been arranged to take place during the current Assembly.

The subsequent broadcasts, I am informed, will be by the representatives of different Member States of the League, many of whom are outstanding figures in the world to-day. It reflects the greatest credit on those who are responsible for this series that they have been able to arrange for broadcasts by such a distinguished group of speakers. My task is to prepare the way for those who will follow, and I can best do it by reminding you of the problems which confront the present meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

During the past year, the League has suffered a serious setback. It would be worse than useless to attempt to minimise the gravity of this check to the hopes of the nations that through the League we should be able to substitute the reign of law for the domination of force. Under the strain of a great test, it was found that, in a non-universal League in which three of the greatest nations of the world were not included, the State Members were not prepared to put into operation the full provisions of the Covenant against another great nation which had been declared an aggressor. In consequence, there are those who to-day despair of the League as an instrument for the preservation of peace and for the defence of small nations against an aggressor. Such an attitude is easily understandable, but it is

imperative that we should not accept this view and abandon the great ideals that led to the creation of the League. Rather must we set ourselves resolutely to the task of meeting the difficulties and overcoming the obstacles that now confront us.

Recent experience has shown us that the non-universality of the League is its greatest handicap. Our efforts must be directed towards bringing into the League those great States that are now outside it. For the immediate future, we must devise the means whereby the League as it exists to-day can carry on this work for the preservation of peace in the world. Behind those engaged in this task there will be the greatest potential force in the world to-day—the will to peace of the great mass of ordinary men and women in every country. In the minds of a large proportion of the populations of the world are vivid memories of the horrors of the great war. They remember how, in that ghastly cataclysm, the use of modern weapons added to the barbarity of war. Through the Press, through the cinema and other modern methods of publicity, they are learning how the discoveries of science are almost daily adding to the horrors and terrors of war. As a result, there is in the world to-day such a detestation of war as to have created an almost incalculable force of public opinion which demands that the League shall not be allowed to fail, that temporary failure, although severe, shall be turned into an opportunity for the readaptation of League machinery so that it shall become more effective in ensuring the preservation of world peace. It is to the task of realising these hopes and aspirations of mankind that the present Assembly of the League has now to address itself.

It is not, however, only through its political activities that the League can contribute to the cause of peace and the promotion of human happiness and well-being. By the promotion also of economic co-operation between the nations, it can make an equally great contribution. Political discontents and friction between nations frequently have their roots in unsatisfactory economic conditions. In trying to remedy these conditions, certain nations have undertaken great armament programmes in order to find employment for their people. These relatively legitimate actions have led to a competition in armaments and intense military preparedness, particularly in Europe. No greater task lies to the hand of the League than to endeavour to bring about a spirit of co-operation between the nations in economic affairs. Such co-operation would call a halt in the piling-up of armaments and would turn employment into channels of

useful production contributing to the prosperity of all people and rendering political co-operation far easier of accomplishment. Surely this is the path of sanity. Man's achievements during the last fifty years in the fields of science have made possible standards of living, of comfort, and even of leisure undreamt of by earlier generations.

In many countries, and probably in none more so than in Australia, considerable individual progress has been made towards these ideals, but in economic, as in political affairs, we are all dependent upon the other. Our task is to make all nations realise that man's birthright is to enjoy man's own material progress, and that this can only be achieved by co-operation between nations. In the League we have the machinery to accomplish this. Happily, over the last few years the League has increasingly recognised its obligations and opportunities in the economic field. At last year's Assembly, Australia made a valuable contribution when she raised the issue of improved nutrition for the peoples of the world. The League's nutrition campaign, however, is only the spear-point of a wider and more general offensive against poverty in the midst of plenty and for greater consumption instead of restriction of production. At the present Assembly, the campaign will be continued and, I trust, further progress made. If these efforts are successful and the League can ensure co-operation between the nations on facing the financial and economic problems that confront us, it will have paved the way for the fuller utilisation of the energies of the nations in the activities of peace, and rendered the dangers of war far less formidable.

In these efforts, the good wishes of Australia will go with those who are now assembled in Geneva.

MR. MALCOLM J. MACDONALD, Secretary of State
for the Dominions.

The peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations are associated together, not by compulsion, but of their own free will. Many factors contribute to maintain this association, which has stood the test alike of good and bad times. Some of the ties are material, such as mutual trade; some are sentimental, such as kinship; some are traditional owing to our common history. But, above all, there is a spiritual bond due to the circumstance that our peoples, wherever they may live on the face of the earth, share the same ideals.

In our national affairs, each of us has a robust belief in the virtues of liberty. We are firmly attached to the notion that the individual in society should be free to give expression to his political thoughts, and that government should be based, by means of democratic institutions, on that freedom. This principle is being challenged, and in many places overthrown, to-day. As Mr. Anthony Eden said here in Geneva last week, we do not seek to impose our views or system on others. But for ourselves the practice of liberty is essential; it is the life blood, not only of our separate national societies, but also of our Commonwealth of Nations itself; without it, swift decay would come to an association of nations who prize above all else their freedom.

So the partnership between our peoples is given force by this community of ideas in national affairs. It also draws strength from a striving after the same great purpose in international affairs. One consequence of the sovereignty which the Dominions have attained in recent years is that Great Britain alone no longer decides what is the foreign policy of the whole Empire. Each Dominion is free to determine its own policy. Some people are nervous lest this freedom might lead to a disastrous divergence of policies between the different members of the Commonwealth. But I am not so afraid of that. No doubt there will sometimes be differences of opinion between us on matters of detail. But we are in complete agreement on principle. We recognise that international affairs are not static, but dynamic; we acknowledge that the changes which time brings will produce, from time to time, friction and dispute between Governments; what we seek is to devise methods which shall enable those disputes to be settled, not by force, but by reason and justice; not by the devastation of war, but by the processes of peace. The most hopeful organisation which mankind has yet brought into existence for this purpose is the League of Nations. All the Dominions and Great Britain are Members of the League; the main purpose of the foreign policy of each of them is to uphold the League, to endow it with an authority which shall ultimately be the guarantee of universal peace.

There are those who, during the last few months, have lost faith in the League. They are too easily discouraged. They are like would-be pioneers in a new, hard country who give up at the first check. The establishment of peace will never be easy. Perhaps we allowed our hopes of what the League might achieve in its early years to rise too high. This greatest of all human enterprises will not be free from the experience of others. Mistakes

will be made in its name; it will suffer initial reverses. Only those who refuse to be dismayed and who sit down to learn from mistakes can turn defeat into victory. It is on this task that the delegates to the League Assembly are engaged just now in Geneva, and in the achievement of that task the representatives of our Commonwealth of Nations have one more reason for whole-hearted co-operation.

THE BUDGET OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The budget of the League comprises the Secretariat, which includes special and technical organisations dealing with Health, Suppression of Opium Traffic, Economics and Finance, Intellectual Co-operation, Transit and Communications, Minorities, Child Welfare, Traffic in Women and Children, and last, but not least, Disarmament—and for 1937 the Secretariat budget amounts to 51.28 % of the total budget; the International Labour Office, amounts to 26.07 %; the Permanent Court of International Justice, 8.78 %; Pensions, 5.78 %; Buildings, 5.43 %; and subsidies to the Refugee organisations, 2.66 %.

When the budget is voted by the Assembly of the League after an examination much like that undertaken in a national parliament, the Member States are called upon to contribute their share, which is based on a scale of 923 units, ranging in ratio from 1 to 108 according to the wealth of the country. Next year there will be fifty-eight Member States which must contribute.

United Kingdom	contributes	11.70 %	, or	0.053	gold frank	per head	of population.
France	"	8.67 %	, or	0.044	"	"	"
Italy	"	6.50 %	, or	0.032	"	"	"
Australia	"	2.49 %	, or	0.079	"	"	"
New Zealand	"	0.87 %	, or	1.122	"	"	"
South Africa	"	1.73 %	, or	0.043	"	"	"
India	"	5.31 %	, or	0.003	"	"	"

The contributions payable by these fifty-eight Member States for the year 1937 amount to 21,284,822 gold francs, which represents £843,966 at par. At to-day's rate of exchange, it means just over a million pounds.

These contributions are 20 % lower than the sums paid for 1936, as Switzerland, where most of the expenses of the League are incurred, has devalued its currency.

It must not be thought that, if the League no longer existed, this money would be saved to Member States. A good deal would still have to be spent for international collaboration.

Improved communications have made international arrangements an essential part of modern life, and some central organ would always be necessary.

The delegates who attended the Assembly which has just concluded expressed satisfaction at the improved position of the finances of the League, due largely to the collection of arrear contributions. In 1935, the League collected arrears amounting to 8 3/4 million francs. Part of this sum is being used to reduce the contribution of Member States in the future, and part is being set aside as a Reserve Fund, the first reserve which the League has been able to create.

The League's expenditure is watched and controlled by the Supervisory Commission, which consists of six members elected by secret ballot by the Assembly.

For many years, the financial situation of the League has given cause for anxiety, and there were people who had grave doubts as to whether the League would not founder through lack of funds, but so long as we are constantly vigilant we need now have no fears of this kind.

FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

The fifth International Conference on Public Education met at Geneva from July 13th to 18th under the chairmanship of M. A. Nieto Caballero, delegate of the Colombian Government.

As in previous years, the agenda of the Conference included the consideration of reports submitted by the Education Ministries on education in their respective countries in 1935/36, and the discussion of three scholastic questions of great importance at the present time, to form the subject of recommendations to Governments. The three questions examined this year were: (a) the organisation of special education; (b) the organisation of rural education; (c) legislation on school buildings.

The meetings of the Conference were held in the Council room of the former League of Nations building. The following thirty-nine Governments sent delegates: Afghanistan, Albania, Argentine, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, India, Iran, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Norway, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States of America, Union of South Africa, Uruguay, Yugoslavia. The Finnish Government was represented by an observer, as were the League of Nations, the International Labour Office, and the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

I. REPORTS BY EDUCATION MINISTRIES ON EDUCATION IN 1935/36.

The reading and discussion of the reports submitted to the Conference by the Education Ministries again aroused great interest. Several of these national reports were the subject of fruitful debates. School problems, though presenting characteristics peculiar to individual countries, are sufficiently alike for innovations in one country to be of interest to school authorities in others. It need hardly be said that the purpose of this annual

review of education problems is not to standardise scholastic systems, but simply to facilitate a solution by means of mutual information. In order that the usefulness of the reports may not be confined to the small circle of members of the Conference, the International Bureau of Education proposes to reprint them in the *Annuaire international de l'Education et de l'Enseignement*, 1937, and thus place at the disposal of persons interested in comparative pedagogics official documentation which it would be difficult to obtain elsewhere.

II. ORGANISATION OF SPECIAL EDUCATION.

It was at the request of the Belgian Ministry of Education that the Bureau undertook an enquiry into special education,¹ the results of which served as a basis for the discussion at the Conference.

Concerned at the increase in the percentage of backward and mentally defective children in certain countries, the Conference passed various recommendations in the matter. Proclaiming it to be the duty of the authorities and of educationists to extend as far as possible to physically and mentally abnormal children, the moral, artistic and intellectual treasures of life, the Conference urged upon Education Ministries the importance of setting up, for all parts of the country, special classes and schools, or, if necessary, boarding institutions, for physically or mentally abnormal children, so that such education might not be confined to children in urban centres.

The Conference also recommended that this special education should be free, whenever the education provided for normal children was free. A large number of scholarships should be available for the children of families in modest circumstances attending boarding-schools. Special education should include, in addition to the special training required by such children, general teaching, which should as far as possible be on the lines provided for other children, and also suitable vocational training, regard being had to the state of the labour market. The special classes should be small and the teaching based on the individual, active and concrete methods already in use in a large number of countries.

¹ *L'Organisation de l'Enseignement spécial*. Collection des publications du Bureau international d'Education, 1936. 194 pages.

Children who are given special education should be regarded, not as persons in receipt of relief, but as persons capable of being educated; accordingly, the establishment they attend should be under the Education Ministries in the different countries.

Extreme caution should be exercised in seeking out abnormal children; this calls for close collaboration between teachers, school doctors and, if possible, psychiatrists and school psychologists.

The training of the teaching staff for special schools was dealt with by the Conference. It recommended that the initial preparation should, if possible, be given at the training college, that practical courses should be instituted for those who intend to devote themselves to this type of teaching, and that the training should be made more readily accessible by the creation of adequate scholarships or by the payment of salaries during the practical courses.

Lastly, the Conference agreed that higher salaries should be paid to teachers holding certificates for the teaching of abnormal children, if actually engaged in such work.

III. ORGANISATION OF RURAL EDUCATION.

The problem of rural schools is one that, for various reasons and in varying degrees, is engaging the attention of all Education Ministries. Evidence of this is afforded by the frequent references to the subject in the reports of these Ministries reproduced in the *Annuaire international de l'Education et de l'Enseignement*.¹ Practically everywhere, something is being done to ensure that the rural school should no longer be handicapped. For countries which have not yet reached the "school saturation" point, the problem of the rural school is primarily a matter of establishing new schools and fighting illiteracy. In other countries, the object in view is to encourage the "back to the land" movement and to correct the excessive power of attraction exercised by the towns over the rural populations. In others, again, the methodological aspect of the problem is uppermost: how to give the country pupil the benefit of the educational resources—far richer than those of the towns—to which the rural teacher may have access. Lastly, economic difficulties and the progress of modern means of transport have brought up the question of

¹ *Annuaire international de l'Education et de l'Enseignement*, 1936. Collection des publications du Bureau international d'Education, 1936. 470 pages.

rationalisation in the distribution of country schools and the replacement of small schools by central schools.

The request of Ecuador that the organisation of rural schools should be studied by the Bureau gave the latter an opportunity of carrying out the enquiry, and a volume was published on the question.¹

On the basis of the enquiry, the fifth Conference addressed to the Education Ministries a series of recommendations, the most important of which are as follows :

The Conference laid down the principle that the education given in rural schools should not be inferior to that in urban schools, and that it should be possible for children trained in the country to enter secondary schools.

It is essential, in the interests of justice, to raise the standard of the rural schools. The educational level should be the same in all schools. Though teachers would have, of course, to adapt the curriculum to local conditions and, in particular, to take their pupils' environment as their "centres of interest". Holidays, time-tables and curricula would also have to be adapted to local conditions.

The Conference also urged that, while it was undesirable to give purely agricultural training in country schools, the older pupils should be familiarised with the ideas now regarded as essential for intelligent and successful farming. For country lads, who can continue their studies beyond the strict minimum period, there should be general sections in the higher elementary schools where particular attention could be devoted to preparation for rural life.

The Conference also recommended the institution of central schools, at all events for the older boys and girls, in order to reduce the number of single-class schools. The size of the classes should, in any case, be strictly limited.

Teachers in rural schools should not be worse off than those in urban schools, and, in order to ensure some degree of permanence, special benefits should be allowed them to make up for the drawbacks of living away from the urban centres. Courses in agriculture or domestic science should be organised for teachers who wish to devote themselves to continuation school work or more advanced rural education.

¹ *L'Organisation de l'enseignement rural*. Collection des publications du Bureau international d'Education, 1936. 266 pages.

Lastly, the Conference urged that the work of rural schools should be supplemented and facilitated by the organisation, outside the school itself, of various activities in the interests of pupils and former pupils, such as clubs for young farmers and their wives, travelling libraries, rural wireless or educational cinema evenings, visits of outside teachers or lecturers, correspondence tuition, etc.

IV. LEGISLATION ON SCHOOL BUILDINGS.

Budgetary difficulties in every country, a growing interest in questions of school hygiene and in the physical health of the children, and the necessity for adapting new buildings to the requirements of modern educational methods focused general attention on the problem of school premises. As in the case of other subjects, the Bureau carried out a preliminary enquiry and approached the Education Ministries with a view to ascertaining the legislation on school buildings in every country.¹

On the basis of this enquiry, the Conference recommended that the Education Ministries, while attaching due importance to architectural and hygienic requirements, should bear in mind the interests of education and take adequate account of the opinions of scholastic authorities and teachers when planning school buildings.

As regards sites, the Conference recommended that school buildings should be erected, not in the heart of the town, but at places which would allow of spacious premises, large playgrounds and fields for athletic sports. The design of the building should be in keeping with local conditions and should be in harmony with its surroundings, due regard being had to the requirements of hygiene. Account should also be taken of the special needs of school life and the possibility of using school wireless, the educational cinema, etc.

The Conference insisted on the importance of school gardens and demonstrations grounds, and of provision being made for open-air teaching, etc. To ensure proper conditions for physical development, there should also be a school dining-room or canteen, a properly equipped medical consulting-room, rooms for physical training, etc.

These desiderata are meant to apply generally to rural as well as urban schools; the Government would have to give the

¹ *La législation régissant les constructions scolaires.* Collection des publications du Bureau international d'Education, 1936. 200 pages.

rural administrative authorities the necessary financial assistance.

Lastly, the Conference recommended Governments to include a programme of new school buildings in any scheme of public works that might be undertaken to relieve economic depression and unemployment.

* * *

At the opening meeting, the President of the Conference, M. A. Nieto Caballero, the Colombian educationist and diplomat, defined the programme of the Conference as follows: "We are about to take stock of our work during the past year and to show the trend of education in the different countries, but we have also come to listen to one another, to learn from one another, to receive common inspiration and perhaps to obtain a better understanding of our own work." ¹ The Minutes of the Conference show that those objects were successfully achieved and that the results of the 1936 Conference were highly satisfactory.

The recommendations addressed to the Education Ministries on rural schools, special education and school buildings, which were unanimously passed by delegates of some forty Governments, will, we feel sure, receive from the school authorities a reception no less favourable than that accorded to the recommendations of previous Conferences.

P. ROSSELLO,

*Assistant Director of the International
Bureau of Education.*

¹ *Cinquième Conférence internationale de l'Instruction publique, Procès-verbaux et résolutions.* Collection des publications du Bureau international d'Éducation, 1936. 166 pages.

Official Documents.

WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION DURING THE PAST YEAR

In order to enable readers of the *Bulletin* to obtain some idea of the work of the Organisation in the field of education,^o it has been felt advisable to give in the following pages a brief survey of various aspects of its programme.

More complete information on the work of the eighteenth plenary session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will be found in the Committee's report¹ and in the *Bulletin de la Coopération intellectuelle* published by the Paris Institute. Furthermore, the text of the resolutions referring to questions of education is reproduced in this number on pages 155 *et seq.*

As regards the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in the field of League teaching, the reader may consult the special article in this number concerning the work of the last session of the Advisory Committee² and Professor Gilbert Murray's report to the Plenary Committee.—[*Editor's note.*]

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES.

It will be recalled that the Committees of Directors of Higher Education drew up a complete programme of studies in 1933, which it requested the Institute to carry out. This programme covered notably a detailed study concerning the organisation of the universities and of scientific research in general.

A first volume, containing the results of documentary work and comparative studies on the organisation of higher education in Germany, Spain, the United States of America, France, Great Britain, Italy and Sweden, has just been published. The Committee of Directors of Higher Education hopes to extend these studies to other countries and to publish them at a later date.

¹ See document C.328.M.205.1936.XII.

² See page 147.

As in past years, the Institute has published an *Annual List of Vacation Courses* in Europe which contains practical information on 154 advanced courses for foreigners organised during the summer of 1936 in nineteen countries.

The half-yearly bulletin, *The Student Abroad*, has developed and has become, partly through its readers' active collaboration and friendly encouragement, a source of information on all matters connected with that international travel which is to-day a growing feature of student life.

With regard to the collaboration of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation with China, the Institute has published a study by M. John Escarra, Professor in the Faculty of Law in Paris on "La Science de l'Enseignement du Droit en Chine". The general conclusions of this remarkable work have already been brought to the notice of the Committee and of the Chinese Government. They confirm the conclusions reached by the educational experts sent to China four years ago; apart from their general significance, they will be valuable to the Institute when the time comes for it to help the Nanking Employment Bureau for Intellectual Workers in its task of vocational guidance for Chinese students abroad.

OVERCROWDING IN THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE REORGANISATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.

For a long time, the overcrowding of the secondary schools, and, as a consequence, of the universities, did not present the grave character which it assumes to-day in many countries; partly because they were accessible to only a limited number of children, a situation which to-day is changing completely, and partly because economic conditions were more satisfactory. More recently, however, educationists have been faced by very grave problems; they have partially solved them, while preserving the traditional framework of secondary education, by broadening the curriculum to an extent which indeed has often been considered excessive, and by allotting more space to scientific studies.

It does not appear that anything is to be gained by depriving young minds of the culture which is their right. On the other hand, secondary education must be adapted in such a way that children can receive the sort of training which is best fitted to their capacities. Thus arises the very delicate problem of selection. It is not to be considered here from the point of view of pedagogy, but in relation to the administrative organisation of secondary education.

It is from the standpoint and the requirements of this selection that the problem of the reorganisation of secondary education should first be approached. The general tendency of the reform would be to co-ordinate the different existing types of secondary education so as to create an educational system including a sufficient number of variants with possibilities of reorientation at different stages.

The Intellectual Co-operation Committee was led to consider the problem of the reorganisation of secondary education as a sequel to its discussions on unemployment amongst intellectuals. The overcrowding of the liberal professions is the result of overcrowding in the

universities, and the latter, in its turn, is largely due to the fact that secondary education has hitherto been regarded almost exclusively as a means of access to higher studies. Is it possible to reorganise secondary education so that it may form a more complete cycle in itself? Can it be organised in such a way as to make it easier to pass at different stages from one section of secondary education to certain specialised schools? Might not certain psychological methods applied to the study of human personality also lead to experiments in the direction of a more regular sifting of candidates and a more rational vocational guidance? These are some of the questions that arise and on which the Committee will endeavour to obtain the opinion of educational experts.

In this connection, the Committee gladly welcomed the offer of collaboration which it received from the International Bureau of Education.

MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' ORGANISATIONS.

The Committee of International Students' Organisations has just completed its tenth year of existence. This anniversary was celebrated at the last session, in April 1936, by a general survey of the activity displayed during the period by the members of the Committee and the Committee itself. It seemed helpful to review the experiences, successes and failures of the past, to draw up a balance-sheet of the results obtained and to work out conclusions for the future, adapting the methods followed to changed conditions.

The Committee decided to transmit to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation a proposal concerning the holding of a small study conference of younger university people (*entretien des jeunesses intellectuelles*) under the auspices of the plenary Committee. In making this proposal, the Committee of Students' Organisations had a double aim in view: it was anxious, on the one hand, to strengthen the bonds which link up university youth grouped in various associations with the prominent thinkers and scholars who are called upon to lead the work of intellectual co-operation; on the other hand, the Committee was of opinion that, in the spiritual and intellectual turmoil of the present time, it had a definite task to contribute towards a better understanding by confronting the ideological movements which inspire youth in the various countries. The Students' Committee also expressed the hope that such a common study of contemporary currents of thought might enable it to associate in its work representatives of countries or bodies who have not so far been in a position to co-operate with the Committee.

The general title suggested for this conference would be "University Youth faces the Problems of the National and International Community". The Committee also indicated which particular problems might be dealt with under this title: The new doctrines of human personality and human collectivity; the origin and the limits of authority in political and social life; the social question as viewed from the standpoint of the new doctrines on the State and the individual; basic elements of the conception of a national and international

community; doctrines of the young with regard to the problem of a policy of peace and of international co-operation.

Attendance at this conference should be limited to three delegates from each of the seven international organisations, to ten or twelve persons belonging to bodies of young university people, or to countries not represented on the Committee and, finally, to two or three persons, members of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee, one of whom would take the chair. In order to facilitate the work of the conference, the suggestion was also made to invite a few qualified persons to submit in advance short memoranda on the questions on the agenda.

The Intellectual Co-operation Committee fully recognised the value of the proposal for a study conference between students, and expressed the hope that it will be possible to carry it out. It also approved the choice of subject.

NATIONAL EDUCATION INFORMATION CENTRES.

The first attempt at an international educational bibliography having been very favourably received by educationists, the Institute has endeavoured to extend the field of its information. For this purpose, it has established a list of general headings bearing also on questions of pedagogy proper and on the philosophy of education.

REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS : THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

In the course of the year, some National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation have availed themselves of the facilities put at their disposal by the Casares procedure, to ensure by mutual agreement the revision of school textbooks.¹ Several memoranda have been submitted to the Institute by the Italian Committee, which has examined twenty-five Dutch school books, eighty French and fourteen Spanish. This Committee is at present busy examining eighty Swiss, Russian, Brazilian and Chilian textbooks. The Italian Committee has in turn received observations on Italian textbooks from the Polish and Dutch Committees. It has submitted these observations to the authors asking them whether they are willing to rectify the passages indicated, or whether they prefer to discuss the points raised with their Dutch and Polish colleagues.

The French Committee has communicated the observations of the Italian Committee to the French publishers involved. It has since been informed that the authors of the textbooks were considering these observations and would take account of them in all cases in which they seemed to be justified from the view point of science and pedagogy. The results will be reported to the Italian Committee.

The French Committee, for its part, has examined a large number of German textbooks, and has assembled its criticisms in an ample memorandum. A sub-committee of the Polish Committee has made a

¹ See also "Declaration regarding the Revision of School Textbooks", on page 160.

thorough study of twelve French geography textbooks and 145 German books including textbooks and works recommended by libraries. Out of ninety-six books reserved for special consideration (comprising about 12,000 pages, most of them dealing with geography, history and civics), sixty-three have been singled out as particularly dangerous to international understanding. The Polish Committee is further examining twenty-seven Latvian books, chiefly used in minority schools, and twenty-four books used in the Free City of Danzig. It has also, as already noted, submitted observations on two textbooks to the Italian Committee.

An interesting step has been taken by the Baltic Conference, at which the National Committees of Estonia, Finland, Latvia and Lithuania were represented. It suggested that the National Committees of each of these countries should set up a committee of history and geography teachers, which should arrange for the passages in the textbooks of that country concerning other countries in the group to be translated into one of the world languages. Each of the other Committees would then examine the passages relative to its own country, basing its examination on the principles laid down by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and would indicate to the International Committee of the country in which the book had been published the improvements which it would like to see made in a new edition of the book or in a similar book intended to supersede it. The four Committees together would further constitute an inter-Baltic committee which would be called together when necessary.

Finally, outside the framework of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, attention should be drawn to the very interesting meeting of German and French professors of history which was held in Paris; it ended in the adoption, subject to some reservations, of general resolutions on the spirit in which authors in the two countries ought to write the passages relative to the most controversial periods of their common history.

EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING.

Following the enquiry into "School Broadcasting", the Institute has endeavoured to keep educationists informed of innovations and progress made in the field of school and post-school broadcasting in various countries.

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL CORRESPONDENCE.

The Permanent Committee for International School Correspondence, whose secretariat is provided by the Institute, has had the satisfaction of recording this year the formation of two new bureaux, one in Scotland and the other in Switzerland; this will enable it to meet a greater number of the constantly increasing requests for correspondence between English, French and German members.

The *Bulletin de la Correspondance scolaire internationale*, published in January 1936, describes the recent progress of this movement in sixteen countries.

TRAVEL AND EXCHANGE OF YOUNG PEOPLE.

The Institute has maintained its contacts with the national centres for exchanges and travel of young people, which form a network extending to fourteen countries, and has kept them informed of all current activities and possibilities.

LIAISON WITH THE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

The Liaison Committee of the Major International Associations held two sessions in the course of the year, one in February at the seat of the Paris Institute, the other in July at the Secretariat of the League of Nations. The decisions of the Advisory Committee on League Teaching took an important place in the work of the Liaison Committee, notably as regards the assistance which private organisations can render in making known the publications of the Advisory Committee. Collaboration has also been established with the Institute in the field of history teaching and in connection with the enquiry into the social missions of libraries. The Committee's help in securing the application of the recommendations on unemployment among young people voted by the International Labour Conference in June 1935 deserves special mention.

In order to commemorate the tenth anniversary of its activity, the Liaison Committee has issued a brochure entitled "Ten Years of Work of the Liaison Committee of Major International Associations".

**ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING**

**REPORT ON THE THIRD SESSION, HELD AT GENEVA
ON JULY 8TH AND 9TH, 1936.**

The Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching, constituted in accordance with the decision of the Council of the League of Nations of September 22nd, 1933 (seventy-sixth session), held its third session at Geneva on July 8th and 9th, 1936, under the chairmanship of Professor Gilbert MURRAY.

The Committee consists of three members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, two members of the former Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations, appointed by the Chairman, and assessors appointed for one session by the Executive Committee of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

The following attended the third session :

Members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

- Professor Gilbert MURRAY (British), Chairman;
- M. José CASTILLEJO (Spanish), Professor of the Institutions of Roman Law in the University of Madrid;
- Mr. Malcolm DAVIS (American) (in place of Professor J. T. Shotwell), Director of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Paris.

Member of the Former Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations :

- Mme. L. C. DREYFUS-BARNEY (French), President of the Committee on the Cinematograph and Broadcasting of the International Council of Women.

Assessors :

- Dr. Oskar BENDA (Austrian), Hofrat, Inspector-General of Secondary Education, Vienna;
- Mr. W. FITZGERALD (British), Senior Lecturer at Manchester University;
- M. G. LEGARET (French), Inspector-General of Secondary Education, Paris;
- M. Stein SCHIBSTED (Norwegian), Professor at Nissens Pikeskole, Oslo;
- M. E. SCHMID (Swiss), Professor, President of the Swiss Association of Secondary-school Teachers of Geography and of the Geographical Society of Eastern Switzerland.

The following were also invited to attend the meetings: Mr. S. H. BAILEY (English), London School of Economics and Political Science, London; M. J. PIAGET (Swiss), Professor at the University of Geneva, Director of the International Education Bureau, Co-Director of the University Institute of Educational Sciences; M. Th. RUYSSSEN (French), Secretary-General of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, Geneva.

The following representatives of two National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation also attended the meetings: M. L. BERSOU (Belgian National Committee); M. A. PIIP (Estonian National Committee).

The International Labour Office was represented by Mr. G. A. JOHNSTON (Head of Section).

The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was represented by its Director, M. H. BONNET, and its Secretary-General, M. D. SECRÉTAN.

The Secretariat of the League of Nations was represented by M. J. D. DE MONTENACH, Secretary of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and M. G. G. KULLMANN, Member of the Intellectual Co-operation Section.

The Committee discussed the various questions on its agenda in the course of four meetings.

INSTRUCTION IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE COVENANT AND THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN THE HISTORY COURSE OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

The Committee considered the memoranda submitted by M. Benda and Mr. Hankin on history teaching in relation to instruction in the aims and work of the League of Nations. It also heard a statement by the Director of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation on the work already done by the latter in the matter of revision of school textbooks, and history teaching. The Committee defined its task in the following resolution:

" I. The Advisory Committee,

" Having considered the memoranda of M. Benda and Mr. Hankin and the suggestions received by the Secretariat on League of Nations teaching in history courses:

" Desires once again to state its view that the teaching of history offers very frequent opportunities of imbuing the younger generation with the ideals of an international order, the necessity for international collaboration and the ideas of humanity and peace which are at the root of the Covenant;

" It considers that the fundamental principles of the League of Nations are part and parcel of any study of human development, and particularly of the evolution in modern times of the institutions of law and the State;

" It recommends that, side by side with instruction in the principles of the Covenant, sufficient time should also be given in history curricula to the concrete work done by the League of Nations both in the sphere of the maintenance of peace and in that of humanitarian, social and intellectual co-operation between States.

“ II. The Advisory Committee,

“ Desirous of assisting teachers in the task devolving upon them under the above paragraphs :

“ Asks the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to instruct the Secretariat :

“ (a) To continue its consultations of professional and specialised organisations with a view to ascertaining the results of the various national experiments and communicate them in an appropriate form to all the circles concerned;

“ (b) To consider the publication, with a view to their being used by school-teachers, of study plans, bibliographical notices, collections of texts and other documents on the organisation and work of the League of Nations.”

GEOGRAPHY TEACHING.

The Committee assumed as its principal task at its third session the framing of a programme of work in the matter of geography teaching in relation to the study of the interdependence of nations and the resultant need for international co-operation. For this purpose, several geography teachers were co-opted as assessors. The documentary material available to the Committee consisted of papers submitted by M. Benda, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Roxby, M. Maurette, and M. Schmid, and also suggestions obtained by the Secretariat from professional associations.

In the discussions on this question, the Committee unanimously found that it would be premature to draft any declaration of principle before it had all the necessary information at its disposal. This could be obtained by consulting Ministries of Public Education and specialised organisations. Furthermore, the Committee advocated the preparation by the Secretariat of the necessary documentary material on the work of the League of Nations in connection with geography teaching. The Committee's conclusions are contained in the following resolution :

“ The Advisory Committee,

“ Having considered the rôle of geography teaching as related to the study of the interdependence of peoples and international co-operation;

“ Having studied the papers submitted on this subject by M. Benda, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Roxby, M. Maurette, M. Schmid, and the Secretariat;

“ Observing that a knowledge of character and of the necessary relations between human societies and the environment in which they live is essential to the creation of the spirit of peace and international agreement, and that geography teaching, regarded as a means of disseminating this knowledge adapted to all ages, must contribute to the birth and development of such a spirit and to a realisation of the existence of a world order :

“ Asks the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to recommend the following measures :

“ (1) The communication to Governments of an explanatory statement containing the various proposals on, for example, teaching methods, curricula, use of maps, textbooks, and technical methods of dissemination such as the cinema and wireless, student tours, interchanges of pupils and other proposals dealing, *inter alia*, with the place that the League of Nations itself might be given in geography programmes. They might, at the same time, be asked whether the questions mentioned have already attracted the attention of their national administrations as regards the adoption of programmes and methods for geography teaching and whether they do not think that the said statement contains interesting questions on which the opinion of their national administrations might be asked;

“ (2) The organisation, on the basis of the same statement, of a consultation of the chief specialised international or national associations, which would be asked, *inter alia*, for information concerning their experience regarding this question and for suggestions that might facilitate the further examination of the problem;

“ (3) The possibility of publishing, for the use of teachers, documentary material on the aims of the League of Nations in connection with the teaching of geography.”

MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHING.

The Committee noted a memorandum communicated by M. Piaget, Director of the International Education Bureau, on the enquiries made by the Bureau from Ministries of Public Education regarding secondary-school curricula for the teaching of modern languages. It was glad to observe that the Bureau had accepted the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation's request for collaboration, and that the investigation therefore covered, in addition to the general questions relating to the above teaching, a number of special questions connected with the part played by such teaching in the creation of a spirit of international collaboration. The Committee also noted that the International Bureau of Education proposed to complete its material by consulting specialised organisations, such as the International Federation of Modern Language Teachers and the Modern Languages Committee of the American Council of Education. With a view to making a detailed study of the findings which the International Education Bureau proposes to lay before it, the Committee recommended that this question should be placed on the agenda of its next session.

PUBLICATIONS DEALING WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Committee held an exchange of views on the recent publications of the League of Nations intended more particularly for teachers. It also noted a report from the representative of the

International Labour Office on a new work which will shortly be issued called "The International Labour Organisation: What it is and what it has done". The various valuable suggestions which were approved by the Committee during this exchange of views are embodied in the following resolution :

"The Advisory Committee,

"After an exchange of views on the publications of the Intellectual Co-operation and Information Sections, more particularly the recently published book entitled 'The Aims, Methods and Activity of the League of Nations' and the *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching* :

"Expresses its keen satisfaction at the issue of these publications, which give the general public valuable information and supply teachers with varied material calculated to enlarge and enliven their instruction;

"It also draws the attention of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to the following suggestions which might improve these publications and widen their circulation :

"1. In the case of the book entitled 'The Aims, Methods and Activity of the League of Nations' :

"(1) Editions should be published in a larger number of languages or help given to countries or associations prepared to encourage such translations;

"(2) Addition of an analytical index;

"(3) Bibliography (if necessary on the cover) of other League publications of importance to the teaching profession;

"2. In the case of the *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching* :

"(1) Resumption of publication at more frequent intervals, at least twice yearly;

"(2) General revision of the character of the book and harmonisation of the title with the contents;

"(3) Addition of a permanent introduction stating exactly the purpose and nature of the *Bulletin*;

"(4) Resumption of the publication of official or private information regarding progress in League of Nations teaching at schools, summer courses, etc.;

"(5) Bibliographical notes on publications (books, review articles) which make a really important contribution to League of Nations teaching."

"INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION MONTH" AT THE
PARIS EXHIBITION, 1937.

The Committee heard a report from the Secretary of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation on the various events which the Organisation proposes to arrange in Paris in July 1937. The Committee

unanimously stressed the desirability of fitting the Committee's next session into the programme of coming meetings. It recommended that an initial educationists' study tour should be organised for this occasion, and that a report on the work of the Committee should be put on the agenda of the second International Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation. It further recommended that each of the delegations from National Committees should include at any rate one delegate qualified to deal more particularly with teaching problems coming within the Committee's purview.

The following resolution was adopted :

" The Advisory Committee,

" Keenly interested in the information given to it regarding the organisation of the 'Intellectual Co-operation Month' at the Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne, to be held at Paris in 1937 :

" Considers that the next annual session of the Advisory Committee should form one of the various events contemplated and asks the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to decide accordingly;

" Expresses the wish that a report on the Committee's work should be submitted to the second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation summoned to meet in Paris also in July 1937;

" Recalls the resolution passed by the sixteenth Assembly of the League of Nations asking Governments to facilitate the attendance at this Conference of the National Committees of their countries, and trusts that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will recommend that the Assembly draw the attention of States Members to the advisability of organising the first tour of educational experts on this occasion."

MR. S. H. BAILEY'S REPORT ON THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

The Committee noted a detailed report on the comparative study which it had asked Mr. S. H. Bailey to compile on the basis of enquiries made by the Secretariat from educational institutions in eighteen countries. It was very gratified to learn that this study would shortly appear in an English edition, and trusted that the necessary steps would be taken to have it circulated to persons interested, and, if necessary, translated into French.

During a discussion on the more general observations made by Mr. Bailey in the conclusion to his report, the Committee considered changing its name, in order to adapt it to the wider field of its activity and to the needs of groups of educational experts who are endeavouring to spread a knowledge of the interdependence of the modern world.

One proposal laid before the Committee in this connection suggested the following new title: "Advisory Committee for the Teaching of International Relations", it being assumed that the Committee would deal with the problems of such teaching in primary and secondary

schools. As this proposal was not approved by all the members of the Committee, the latter dropped the idea of submitting a recommendation on the subject to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and decided to leave the matter to the latter's discretion, and ask it to express an opinion as to advisability of a change of name and, if necessary, to give the Committee a new title.

STUDY TOURS BY EDUCATIONAL EXPERTS.

The Committee noted the steps taken by the Secretariat to obtain the assistance of a country which might be prepared to invite a group of educational experts organised under League of Nations auspices.

It also noted its Chairman's explanations of the steps which he had taken in England. It reaffirmed the great value which it attached to this scheme, and expressed the hope that an initial study tour might be made in connection with the "Intellectual Co-operation Month" in Paris in 1937.

¶ PROPOSAL BY THE SWEDISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION.

The Committee noted with the keenest interest a proposal from the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, supported by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the national broadcasting stations, and most of the associations for adult education in the Nordic countries. This proposal is that regular co-operation be organised between the competent sections of the Secretariat on the one hand and the wireless broadcasting companies and adult education associations on the other, the idea being to provide study groups for the study of international relations in the Nordic countries with suitable material by means of publications and wireless broadcasting.

The Committee noted that the proposal of the Nordic countries was being studied by the competent sections of the Secretariat, and drew the attention of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee to the importance it attaches to this scheme in the following resolution:

"The Advisory Committee,

"Having considered the proposal of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, supported by the Foreign Ministers of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden and by the broadcasting companies and adult educational associations of those countries:

"Stresses the exceptional importance which it attaches to this suggestion, which might open new avenues for the Committee's work; and

"Recommends that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should draw the Assembly's attention to it and recommend that effect be given to the proposal and the possibilities of its general extension be considered."

**CONTACT WITH THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE MAJOR
INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.**

The Committee heard with great interest Mme. Dreyfus-Barney's statement on those activities of the Joint Committee which deserved its special attention. She mentioned more particularly the importance attached by the Joint Committee to the Advisory Committee's work, and its desire to co-operate in the enquiries and consultations made through the various associations belonging to the Committee. In her statement, she emphasised the great weight attached by the Joint Committee to the realisation, in the most suitable form, of the scheme of study tours by educational experts. The organisation of such a tour in connection with the "Intellectual Co-operation Month" would be cordially welcomed by the major international associations.

She also drew the Committee's attention to various suggestions made by the Joint Committee concerning League of Nations publications.

In conclusion, she referred to the note on the "Choses d'Angleterre" Exhibition organised by the French National Centre of Educational Information and pointed out in this connection that the first step in appointing such national centres had been taken by the Subcommittee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations. She stressed the value of such exhibitions from the standpoint of the teaching of history, geography and modern languages, and expressed the hope that other centres would be able to organise exhibitions similar to that planned by the French National Centre of Educational Information.

**EIGHTEENTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION**

**RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING QUESTIONS
OF EDUCATION.**

**WORK OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LEAGUE
OF NATIONS TEACHING.**

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,
Having heard the report of its Chairman, Professor Gilbert Murray,
on the work of the third session of the Advisory Committee on League
of Nations Teaching :

Approves the whole of the programme of work as set forth in the
resolutions submitted by the Committee;

Asks the Executive Committee to be good enough to see to the
carrying-out of the programme drawn up by the Advisory Committee,
especially as regards the preparations for the next session of that
Committee, to be held at Paris during "intellectual co-operation
month", in July 1937.

In this connection,

Recommends the taking of all such steps as would give the repre-
sentatives of the National Committees summoned to meet in Paris an
opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the Advisory
Committee's work ;

Considers that, on account of the number of events already planned,
the organisation of an educationists' study tour should be postponed
to a later date.

Draws the attention of the Assembly to the very interesting
proposal submitted by the Swedish Broadcasting Society, which is
the subject of a special resolution of the Advisory Committee on
League of Nations Teaching.

REORGANISATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

Recognises that the question of unemployment among intellectuals,
and especially the overcrowding of universities and of the liberal
professions, raises the problem of a reorganisation of secondary
teaching with a view to its readaptation to present circumstances;

Considers that the administrative measures taken in numerous countries and the scientific studies (vocational selection and guidance) at present pursued might well form the basis of fruitful comparisons and useful exchanges of information;

Having noted the results of the preliminary enquiry undertaken by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation on the measures adopted or planned in different countries;

Having further noted the very useful information supplied by the International Education Bureau and its offer of assistance in this matter, for which it extends its cordial thanks to the Bureau :

Instructs the Institute to pursue its studies, bearing constantly in mind its ultimate object, which is to discover remedies for unemployment;

Recommends that the enquiry should be carried on in contact with the administrations concerned and with the qualified bodies, particularly the International Education Bureau, and in co-operation with competent educationists.

REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS AND THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

Having noted the information contained in the report of the Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation concerning the ever-increasing number of cases in which it has been possible to apply the provisions of the Casares resolution :

Sees in the results obtained encouragement to persevere along the lines it has followed from the outset;

Draws the attention of the Council and of the Assembly to the Declaration on the revision of history textbooks which has been open this year for the adhesion of States, and hopes that numerous Governments will avail themselves of the option to sign it;¹

Urges the Institute to continue to publish in *La Coopération intellectuelle* any information it may receive regarding the revision of textbooks and the teaching of history;

Decides that a report on the whole question shall be submitted to the second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation. The attention of these Committees should be drawn to the possibilities of the procedure for revision placed at their disposal by the Casares resolution.

As regards the collection made by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, with the assistance and on the responsibility of the National Committees, of impartial passages from school textbooks in use in a number of countries, it is glad to note the results obtained, and urges the Institute to continue the work undertaken, quite apart from the possibility at some future date of publishing this information by any means that may be deemed appropriate.

¹ See Circular Letter 45.1936.XII and annexes.

WORK OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE
OF THE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

Having been informed by its Chairman of the important work accomplished by the Joint Committee of the Major International Associations at its recent meeting :

Notes with keen appreciation the account, in pamphlet form, of ten years of the Joint Committee's activities, and its valuable contribution to the study of unemployment among young university graduates;

Congratulates the Committee on the results it has obtained;

Thanks it for its assistance in promoting the work of intellectual co-operation;

And recognises that the help of the Associations represented by the Committee is a most precious adjunct to the endeavours of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and of the League as a whole.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, having taken note of the report of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute on the activities of the latter during the present financial year :

(1) Expresses its deep appreciation of the efforts to develop the activities of the Institute in the various fields in which it has already taken such interesting initiatives;

Is particularly gratified by the recent accessions to the International Convention to facilitate the Circulation of Films of an Educational Character;

Hopes that an ever wider application of this Convention, through the endeavours of the Institute, will promote a widespread exchange of films of a scientific and educational character.

(2) Referring to the passages in its resolution of the previous year concerning the Institute's activity in the matter of television :

Notes with satisfaction the progress which has been made in carrying out this programme and, in particular, the forthcoming creation of a station and experimental laboratory open to specialists of all countries;

Expresses its conviction that the Institute's action in the matter of television, pursued in close co-operation with the various organs concerned, will lead to the co-ordination of various national and international efforts to ensure a rational utilisation of this new medium for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge.

(3) Expresses the hope that the Educational Cinematographic Institute, including its television centre, will play its full part in the manifestation of intellectual co-operation that has been planned to take place on the occasion of the 1937 Paris Exhibition.

WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE SEVENTEENTH ASSEMBLY CONCERNING QUESTIONS OF TEACHING.

EDUCATION.

The Assembly, having noted the recommendation adopted on July 9th, 1936, by the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching with regard to the proposal of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, recommended by the Ministries for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, with a view, in particular, to the establishment of regular co-operation between the competent sections of the Secretariat on the one hand and the wireless broadcasting companies and adult education associations on the other, expresses the hope that the proposal will be carried into effect as soon and as widely as possible.

DECLARATION ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

The Assembly hopes that the numerous States which have already approved the principles of the *Declaration on the Teaching of History*, adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations at its sixteenth session, and since communicated to Governments by the Council of the League of Nations, will sign that document.

BROADCASTING AND PEACE.

The Assembly expresses its satisfaction at the recent conclusion, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of an International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace.

It is happy to note that this agreement was signed immediately on its conclusion by twenty States;

And hopes that the number of acceding Governments will increase as rapidly as possible, thus ensuring the maximum effectiveness to the Convention.

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION MONTH AT THE 1937 UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION.

The Assembly, having been informed of the decisions taken by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation concerning the organisation of various manifestations of intellectual co-operation in July 1937, at Paris, in connection with the Universal Exhibition of Art and Technique in Modern Life;

Warmly thanks the French Government and the General Commissioner of the Exhibition for their generous assistance;

Expresses the opinion that the proposed meetings are likely not only to make intellectual co-operation more widely known, but to give important results;

And, willingly acceding to the Council's wish, recommends these manifestations to the favourable attention of Governments, particularly the second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, which should be attended by as large as possible a number of the representatives of these Committees.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING INFORMATION UTILISED IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

The Assembly,

Emphasising once more the desirability of developing international co-operation and mutual understanding between nations;

Having regard to the rapid contemporary development of the technical means of disseminating information;

And considering that this development increases the possibilities of furthering the mutual exchange between nations of information relating to their respective institutions and cultures;

(1) Is of opinion that this question might well be the subject of discussion at the next ordinary session of the Assembly;

(2) To this end, invites the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to draw up, after such consultations as they may deem appropriate, detailed suggestions to form the basis of the Assembly's discussions;

(3) And further invites the Secretary-General to report on the above-mentioned technical means of spreading information at the disposal of the competent sections of the Secretariat in order that the Assembly may consider at its next ordinary session whether such means are adequate or whether their further development is desirable in this direction.

DECLARATION REGARDING THE REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

PREVIOUS EFFORTS AND PROPOSALS OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION.

From its earliest days, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has sought the most suitable methods of ensuring that education at every stage should be so conceived as to inspire mutual respect between peoples and emphasise their interdependence. It recognised the necessity of devising an international machinery for the revision of school textbooks. It accordingly submitted for the approval of the sixth Assembly the so-called "Casares" procedure, which, after being extended and improved by the thirteenth Assembly, enables the national committees on intellectual co-operation to secure the correction of errors of fact, the remedying of omissions and the rectification of judgments or comments displaying hostility to foreign peoples or likely to show a nation in an unfavourable light. The national committees are making increasing use of this procedure. Furthermore, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has published in French and English an important work describing the various steps taken by the League of Nations, the Governments and national and international associations of historians and educationists in connection with the revision of school textbooks. It keeps this documentation constantly up to date by publishing in its *Monthly Bulletin* all the information it receives. At the same time, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation endeavoured to do work of positive value by collecting and making known passages and chapters of textbooks employed in schools which presented controversial historical events in an objective and impartial manner.

PROPOSALS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR MORAL DISARMAMENT.

The Committee for Moral Disarmament of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments contemplated asking Governments to enter into definite undertakings in regard to school textbooks. In virtue of Articles 1 and 2 of the draft text submitted by the Committee of the Conference, "the High Contracting Parties undertake to use their powers or their influence to see that education at every stage, including the training of teachers, is so conceived as to inspire mutual respect between peoples and to emphasise their interdependence, which makes international collaboration a necessity. . . . School textbooks should be prepared in the same spirit; those which are at variance with that spirit should be revised. . . . The High Contracting Parties agree to recommend to their competent authorities that their country's history should be taught in relation to the history of other countries."

**SUBSEQUENT ACTION OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION
ORGANISATION. ELABORATION OF A DRAFT DECLARATION
ON THE REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS.**

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, having been informed of the different steps that were being taken in regard to the revision of school textbooks through the national committees and national and international organisations of historians and educationists, undertook, on M. Emile Borel's proposal, to study the methods of Government action which might give the most effective support to the efforts of an official and private character hitherto carried out. With this end in view, the Committee, after consulting the competent circles and making a careful study of the question, decided at its seventeenth session not to give its text a contractual form, but rather that of an assertion of principle of a unilateral character. The main ideas underlying the fundamental provisions of the four articles contained in the draft declaration submitted to the Assembly by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation are to give as large a place as possible to the history of other nations, to give prominence in the teaching of world history to the interdependence of nations, to put school-children on their guard against unjust allegations against other nations and to entrust the revision of school textbooks to committees of specialists.

ACTION OF THE ASSEMBLY AND OF THE COUNCIL.

At its sixteenth session, the Assembly, on the proposal of its Rapporteur, M. Edouard Herriot, approved the draft declaration prepared by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, by adopting the following resolution :

“ The Assembly,

“ Noting the persevering efforts carried on for many years by the Intellectual Co-operation Committee for the purpose of ensuring the impartiality of school textbooks, and especially of history books;

“ Recognises that Government action would give the most effective support to these efforts;

“ Accordingly requests the Council to communicate to the States Members of the League of Nations and to the non-member States the declaration prepared by the Committee concerning the revision of history textbooks and to ask them to sign it.”

In pursuance of this resolution, the Council, at its meeting on January 17th, 1936, instructed the Secretary-General to communicate to the States Members of the League of Nations and to the non-member States the declaration prepared by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation concerning the revision of school textbooks and to ask them to sign it.

On March 16th, 1936, the following draft declaration was transmitted to Governments Members and non-members of the League of Nations by Circular Letter 45.1936.XII :

“ The Governments of . . .

“ Desirous of strengthening and developing the good relations uniting them with other countries;

“ Convinced that those relations will be further strengthened if the younger generation in every country is given a wider knowledge of the history of other nations;

“ Realising the necessity of obviating the dangers that may arise through the tendentious presentation of certain historical events in school textbooks :

“ Declare that they agree, each for its own part, upon the following principles :

“ 1. It is desirable that the attention of the competent authorities in every country, and of authors of school textbooks, should be drawn to the expediency :

“ (a) Of assigning as large a place as possible to the history of other nations;

“ (b) Of giving prominence, in the teaching of world history, to facts calculated to bring about a realisation of the interdependence of nations.

“ 2. It is desirable that every Government should endeavour to ascertain by what means, more especially in connection with the choice of school-books, school-children may be put on their guard against all such allegations and interpretations as might arouse unjust prejudices against other nations.

“ 3. It is desirable that, in every country, a committee composed of members of the teaching profession, including history teachers, should be set up by the National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, where such exists, in collaboration with other qualified bodies.

“ The committees so constituted would be empowered to co-operate among themselves, and it would in any case be their function to study the questions contemplated in the present declaration and to suggest solutions to the competent national authorities or organisations. They would, in particular, be empowered, should they think the revision of school textbooks necessary, to follow the procedure provided for in the resolution adopted on July 29th, 1925, by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, on the proposal of M. Casares, the recommendations of which were confirmed and amplified in 1932 and 1933 by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations.

“ 4. The present declaration will be open for signature by States Members of the League of Nations and non-member States. It will be kept at the Secretariat of the League of Nations.”

* * *

The following Governments have replied to the Circular Letter. Three Governments acknowledged receipt or announced the

despatch of the draft declaration to the competent authorities for examination: Bolivia, Costa Rica, Mexico.

The following thirty-one Governments gave a favourable reply, signifying their agreement with the spirit of the declaration or promising their signature:

1. *United States of America.*—The Federal Government has no jurisdiction over the selection of textbooks used in public or private schools, such matters being controlled by the recognised State and municipal authorities. Nevertheless, constructive influence on the lines advocated by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is steadily exerted in the United States by certain non-official organisations, such as the National Educational Association, the American Historical Association and the American National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. In the absence of Federal authority in this field, the Government of the United States does not consider that any useful purpose would be served by its signature of the declaration. The aims and purposes of the international Committee on Intellectual Co-operation are, however, being steadily pursued in the United States.

2. *Australia.*—The five States of the Commonwealth of Australia declared their agreement with the principles at the base of the declaration, which were already in force in the schools. The competent authorities are devoting special attention to the revision of school textbooks.

3. *Austria.*—The competent Federal authorities have approved the draft and, in consequence, the Federal Government is prepared to sign the declaration on behalf of Austria.

4. *Belgium.*—The Belgian Government approves the terms of the draft.

5. *Brazil.*—The Ministry for Foreign Affairs sends the text of the rules approved by the Brazilian Commission for the revision of educational texts, in conformity with the agreement concluded at Rio de Janeiro on October 10th, 1933, between Brazil and the Argentine Republic. In addition, Brazil has concluded with Uruguay and Mexico bilateral agreements identical with that signed with the Argentine; she is also a signatory of the Pan-American Convention on the subject, approved at the seventh Montevideo Conference.

6. *United Kingdom.*—After noting the deep interest the Board of Education has consistently taken in the instruction of the young in the aims and work of the League of Nations, and the assistance it has given to important institutions engaged in securing that textbooks should be free from tendentious material or a narrow national outlook, the United Kingdom Government's reply explains the systems of educational administration in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, lays stress on the freedom given to educational authorities and teachers, and concludes that:

“His Majesty's Government feel that they cannot sign the declaration without subsequently calling on the central education authority to assume a direction of affairs which would be incon-

sistent with, if not repugnant to, the freedom which is deeply embedded in the national institutions and which, in the sphere of education, is treasured alike by the central authority, the local education authorities and the teachers."

7. *Bulgaria*.—The competent authorities approve the text.

8. *Canada*.—The draft was transmitted to the provinces and several have forwarded their replies. They are in agreement with the spirit of the declaration and realise the efforts already made by their pedagogic centres in the matter of the teaching of history.

9. *Colombia*.—Views the draft with sympathetic interest, and would like to have further information.

10. *Czechoslovakia*.—The Czechoslovak Ministry of Education welcomes the principles embodied in the draft. In order that it may assist in making the proposed scheme entirely successful, the Ministry intends to make a thorough examination of all the points of the draft, before submitting a concrete proposal to the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic.

11. *Free City of Danzig*.—The Senate of the Free City accepts the principle laid down in the draft declaration, and emphasises that it has always endeavoured to carry them out in the Danzig schools. The Senate cannot, however, agree to the proposal to set up a special committee consisting of members of the teaching profession and history masters. It is in favour of making the school authorities responsible for the application of these principles.

12. *Denmark*.—The Danish Government agrees to Points 1 and 2 of the draft declaration. It proposes, moreover, to set up a special committee for the choice of school textbooks. Pending its appointment, this task will be undertaken by the School Textbooks Sub-Committee of the Danish National Committee.

In 1930, the Danish Government appointed a committee to revise school textbooks. This committee drew up a report expressing the same point of view as that contained in the draft declaration. The Ministry of Education has not yet taken a decision on this report, however.

13. *Egypt*.—Special importance is attached in Egypt to the teaching of world history, the curricula of both secondary and elementary education giving a large place to the history of other nations. The textbooks already in existence aim at instilling realisation of the interdependence of nations, and the declaration asserts a principle which is already accepted and will be borne in mind in the preparation of the textbooks in question. As regards the choice of class-books, the competent department has emphasised the fact that the national spirit prevailing in the Egyptian textbooks is in keeping with a spirit of friendship and co-operation between peoples, without detracting from the accuracy of the facts. In addition, the competent department has decided to call upon its committees responsible for the revision of school textbooks to put into practice the recommendations of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and to ask the national group of the International Committee on Historical

Sciences to make any proposals likely to promote the objects aimed at, and induce the authors to revise in school textbooks any passages incompatible with the recommendations of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. In these circumstances, the competent department approves the draft declaration.

14. *Estonia*.—Observes that the Estonian school history textbooks have been drafted in accordance with the principles laid down in the declaration. Considerable space is given to the history of other countries, and no ideas are expressed likely to suggest prejudices against other nations.

15. *Finland*.—The principles of the declaration are already applied in the country; the National Committees of Intellectual Co-operation of the Baltic States and of Finland having decided to revise their respective school textbooks, the appointment of a special committee to this effect would not be necessary.

16. *France*.—The Government forwards a report of the Ministry of National Education and Beaux Arts, which gives an account of the activity of teachers' associations in this respect, and quotes the text of resolutions adopted at various congresses of the Syndicat national des instituteurs and the Fédération internationale des associations d'instituteurs. The Government considers it desirable that France should associate herself with every initiative towards the modification by bilateral agreements of controversial passages in school textbooks, and quite particularly of history textbooks, so long as fixed rules are not applied for such modifications.

17. *Hungary*.—The Government states that there is already in Hungary a Committee for the examination of school textbooks of the kind contemplated in Point 3 of the declaration. It points out, however, that it will only sign the declaration on a basis of reciprocity.

18. *Iceland*.—When the question of the revision of school textbooks for the elementary schools of Iceland comes up for consideration, the Icelandic Government will take into account the recommendations mentioned in the draft declaration.

19. *India*.—The draft declaration has been circulated to the local Governments of India, which consider that there is little scope for giving practical effect to the main principle of the declaration, as instruction in history is limited to the histories of the United Kingdom and India.

20. *Liechtenstein*.—Points out that foreign textbooks are used in the schools for the teaching of the history of other countries. As regards the textbooks of the Principality, the Government is ready to subscribe to the principles laid down in the draft declaration.

21. *Luxembourg*.—Considers that the setting-up of the special committee referred to in paragraph 3 would be useless in the Grand-Duchy, the history textbooks being at present chosen by the Grand-Ducal Government on the proposal of conferences of history masters.

22. *Mexico*.—Approves the declaration, but proposes an additional provision for the purposes of guaranteeing the use of strictly scientific methods in the interpretation and revision of history. Considers the

constitution of the committees contemplated in Point 3 of the declaration desirable.

23. *Monaco*.—Observes that a revision of school textbooks in the Principality has already taken place in 1922, when the French curricula for the preparation of elementary examinations were adopted with modern methods. Moreover, as the instruction given in the boy's and girls' secondary schools is in keeping with the French secondary-school curricula, the Government of the Principality will conform on this point to the French Government's view.

24. *Netherlands*.—The Government accepts the draft in principle. As regards Point 2, it is observed that the Government can only intervene in the choice of class-books in the case of State schools. As regards Point 3, it is not intended to set up a new committee in the Netherlands, since there exists already the Netherlands Commission for the Teaching of History, under the chairmanship of M. ter Meulen. As far as the oversea territories are concerned, the setting-up of such a committee seems superfluous, since in those territories use is made of the textbooks written by Netherlands authors and published in Europe.

25. *New Zealand*.—The Ministry of Education states that the principles of the draft declaration are to some extent recognised in the fact that the history textbooks authorised for use in the primary schools cover the points mentioned in the draft. In any subsequent revision of textbooks, due prominence will be given to the points enumerated in the draft.

26. *Norway*.—The Norwegian Government approves the draft. In Article 3, however, the Norwegian Government wishes to add: "where no such Committee already exists". There has long been in existence in Norway a committee whose object is essentially the same as is proposed in the draft.

27. *Sweden*.—The Government is prepared to co-operate in the efforts made to achieve the purposes aimed at in the draft in question. As regards the revision of school textbooks, in order to eliminate the tendentious presentation of certain historical events, the "Norden" associations (created in Sweden, Denmark, Finland Iceland, and Norway with a view to the establishment of closer ties between the northern countries) have appointed a committee to examine the history textbooks of all the northern countries and to propose the elimination of any tendentious matter which they might contain. The work entrusted to sub-committees of experts has been concluded, and the "Norden" associations have obtained an assurance from the publishing firms that, when new history textbooks are published, the text will first be submitted to the above-mentioned committees for their observations.

28. *Switzerland*.—The Federal Political Department states that the draft has been submitted to the Swiss cantons, which are competent as regards public education, and that the results of this consultation can only be communicated in a few months' time.

29. *Uruguay*.—The Minister for Foreign Affairs points out that the teaching of history in Uruguay does not profess any spirit of

narrow nationalism. On the contrary, impartial *exposés* of the past are made free from hatred either against other South American countries or against any other country. A service of supervision which is established within the framework of secondary-school teaching, recommends this attitude to all the members of the teaching staff. The Government of the Republic consequently adheres to the draft declaration on the revision of history textbooks.

30. *Venezuela*.—The Education Department sees no objection to the Venezuelan Government acceding to the draft declaration.

31. *Yugoslavia*.—The Yugoslav Government is in agreement with the text of the draft, and will avail itself of the first opportunity that may occur for signing it.

USE OF BROADCASTING IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

The Inter-Governmental Conference for the conclusion of a Convention concerning the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace met at Geneva from September 17th to 25th, 1936, under the presidency of M. Arnold Raestad, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Norway.

Preparations for this Conference had been made over a long period by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. As early as 1931, the Assembly had instructed the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to undertake an enquiry into all the questions raised by the use of broadcasting in the international sphere. This was a very important aspect of moral disarmament which deserved the attention of all the organs of the League of Nations. In 1932, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had laid down the methods to be followed by the Institute in conducting this enquiry, and had authorised it to summon a committee of experts to study the essential features of a draft international convention.

In 1935, the Assembly of the League of Nations had gone further, and had asked the Institute to prepare a draft convention without delay. A drafting Committee drew up a text, which was twice submitted to Governments for their observations. Finally, in pursuance of a decision by the sixteenth Assembly, the Committee prepared the final draft. The Council, on its side, decided to convene a conference for September 1936, to which it invited, in addition to all the States Members of the League of Nations, the following non-member States: Brazil, Costa Rica, Free City of Danzig, Egypt, Germany, Iceland, Japan and the United States of America.

The Governments of the following countries took part in this Conference: Albania, Argentine Republic, Belgium¹, United States of Brazil, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Italy², Lithuania, Luxemburg, United States of Mexico, Netherlands, New

¹ Under reservation of the declarations mentioned in the *procès-verbal* of the final meeting. These declarations are worded as follows:

“The delegation of Belgium declares its opinion that the right of a country to jam by its own means improper transmissions emanating from another country, in so far as such a right exists in conformity with the general provisions of international law and with the Conventions in force, is in no way affected by the Convention.”

² See the intimation of the Italian delegation to the President of the Conference, on page 171.

Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Spain¹, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics², Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

In addition, the Governments of Estonia, Latvia and Siam sent observers. Mr. Gerald C. Gross, of the Federal Telecommunications Commission of the United States attended in an unofficial capacity.

The discussions were also followed by international organisations, including the International Broadcasting Union and the Rockefeller Institute.

The Conference's work ended with the establishment of the text of an international Convention which has, up to the present, been signed by the following countries: Albania, Argentine Republic, Austria, Belgium, United States of Brazil, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, France, Greece, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Roumania, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

The text adopted does not differ substantially from that prepared under the auspices of the International Organisation, and both are inspired by the same desire of universality. Without wishing to enter the purely technical sphere which is governed by international agreements, the signatory States devoted their exclusive attention to the influence of broadcasting on the relations between peoples.

¹ Under reservation of the declaration mentioned in the *procès-verbal* of the final meeting. This declaration is worded as follows:

"The Spanish delegation declares that its Government reserves the right to put a stop by all possible means to propaganda liable adversely to affect internal order in Spain and involving a breach of the Convention, in the event of the procedure proposed by the Convention not permitting of immediate steps to put a stop to such breach."

² Under reservation of the declarations mentioned in the *procès-verbal* of the final meeting. These declarations are worded as follows:

"The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declares that, in conformity with the opinion expressed by the Government, pending the conclusion of the procedure contemplated in Article 7 of the Convention, it considers that the right to apply reciprocal measures to a country carrying out improper transmissions against it, in so far as such a right exists under the general rules of international law and with the Conventions in force, is in no way affected by the Convention."

A second declaration of the Delegation of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, mentioned in the *procès-verbal* of the final meeting of the Conference, should be added.

This declaration is the following:

"The Delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declares that its Government, while prepared to apply the principles of the Convention on a basis of reciprocity to all the Contracting States, is nevertheless of opinion that certain of the provisions of the Convention presuppose the existence of diplomatic relations between the Contracting Parties, particularly in connection with the verification of information and the forms of procedure proposed for the settlement of disputes. Accordingly, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is of opinion that, in order to avoid the occurrence of differences or misunderstandings between the States Parties to the Convention which do not maintain diplomatic relations with one another, the Convention should be regarded as not creating formal obligations between such States."

The text adopted consisted of fifteen articles, six of which contain the substantive provisions. The preamble to the Convention defines the purpose aimed at, and states that broadcasting must never be used in a manner prejudicial to good international understanding and that the Governments are desirous of utilising the possibilities offered by this medium of intercommunication for promoting better mutual understanding between peoples. In the different articles, the signatory Governments have discriminated between messages constituting direct appeals to the inhabitants of another country and those principally intended for national listeners. In respect of the former, a definite prohibition is laid down in so far as they are of such a character as to incite the population to acts incompatible with the internal peace or the security of a territory of another contracting party; the latter are only covered by the Convention in so far as they constitute an incitement to wars or to acts likely to lead thereto. In addition, the Convention lays States under an obligation to prohibit any transmission likely to harm good international understanding by statements the incorrectness of which ought to be known to the persons responsible for the broadcast, and to take steps for the rectification of such incorrect statements even if the incorrectness only became apparent after the broadcast had taken place.

In a special clause, the contracting Governments undertake to ensure, especially in time of crisis, that stations within their respective territories shall broadcast information concerning international relations the accuracy of which shall have been verified. This happily reconciles two essential considerations: on the one hand, respect for the national sovereignty of each State and for its political structure and, on the other hand, the requirement of good international understanding.

The Convention does not confine itself to negative measures; it goes further. It has been desired to widen its field of application by arranging for a whole programme of information and genuine international co-operation. Accordingly, an article of the Convention prescribes the exchange between the contracting countries of information calculated to promote a better knowledge of their respective civilisations as well as of the essential features of their conditions of life, their relations with other countries and their contribution to the organisation of peace. A special clause also lays down that the contracting parties must take the necessary steps to ensure the application of the provisions of the agreement both by the official broadcasting service and by autonomous organisations.

Lastly, the Convention lays down a procedure of arbitration and conciliation to be applied if any dispute regarding the interpretation or application of the Convention arises between the contracting parties. It provides for settlement through the diplomatic channel or, failing that, recourse to the Permanent Court of International Justice or the Arbitration Tribunal at The Hague. It also envisages a preliminary procedure of conciliation with the consent of the two parties, involving an appeal to the good offices of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the latter having to set up a special Committee for this purpose. In this connection, the Conference adopted a recommendation aimed at guiding the International

Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in the choice of persons to serve on this Committee. In this recommendation, it expresses the wish that this Committee should include representatives of the different organs particularly associated with intellectual co-operation, especially the International Broadcasting Union and the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation may also attach to the Committee the representatives of the two parties and persons proposed by the Bureau of the International Union of Telecommunications at Berne and by the International Federation of Journalists.

Lastly, in a group of recommendations contained in the Final Act, the Conference took into account certain particularly delicate aspects of the questions dealt with in the actual text of the Convention. Various delegates had drawn attention to the possible effect on good international understanding of broadcasts capable of wounding the deeper feelings of mankind, such as national, religious, political or social sentiments. The Conference accordingly requested the contracting parties to take into account the influence that might be exercised by transmissions of such a nature as to harm the interests or offend the sentiments of other peoples. The problem was an extremely important one and the delegates were unanimous in appreciating its complexity.

The Conference also adopted a recommendation in which it called upon the contracting parties to show particular vigilance in regard to transmissions intended for foreign listeners in a language other than that of the country of transmission.

At the end of their proceedings, the delegates could echo the President's words that they had laid the foundations of a work of international peace in the sphere of broadcasting.

There were, of course, important absentees among the countries represented at the Conference, but the Convention remains open for the signature of States, and, in his closing speech, the President, M. Raestad, who was the moving spirit of the preparatory work and of the Conference itself, expressed the hope that the number of accessions would daily increase.

Despite the difficulties of the present time, the Broadcasting Conference has fulfilled the Assembly's hopes. Thus, in a field which was particularly important inasmuch as it had not yet been examined in concert by the Governments, it has rendered service to the cause of moral disarmament, the importance and imperative necessity of which were emphasised in the Assembly this year by the first delegates of the United Kingdom and Denmark.

* * *

The Italian delegate made the following intimation to the President of the Conference on September 22nd, 1936 :

“ The Italian delegation to-day finds itself no longer able to take part in the proceedings of the Conference which, under your presidency, is sitting at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations.

“ Having made to the work of the Conference a contribution that has been throughout directed towards the Conference’s aim, the delegation is leaving the meeting just as the work in which it has taken part is about to be crowned with success.

“ It will rejoice with you, Mr. President, and with all the delegates, if that proves to be the case, and it trusts that the final drafting of all the documents produced by the Conference will be such as to secure in due course the largest possible number of accessions to this Convention, which is the first stage in the regulation of broadcasting in the interests of international harmony.

“ I have the honour to be,...

(Signed) G. DE MICHELIS.”

With the approval of the Inter-Governmental Conference, the President sent to the Italian delegation the following reply :

“ Monsieur l’Ambassadeur,

“ By a letter dated September 22nd, 1936, you informed me that the Italian delegation to the Inter-Governmental Conference for the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace regretted that it could no longer take part in the work of the Conference meeting at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations, with myself as President.

“ In acknowledging receipt of that letter, I have the honour of informing you that I have duly communicated its contents to the delegations to the Conference. Like myself, they unanimously regretted that the Italian delegation withdrew its collaboration at a time when, as you justly remark, the work of the Conference was on the point of reaching a favourable conclusion.

“ The members of the Conference request me to tender to you on their behalf their thanks for the important share taken by the Italian delegation, under your distinguished leadership, in the work which has had such a happy result.

“ They have also appreciated the wishes which you kindly expressed for the prompt realisation of a settlement favourable to good international understanding by means of broadcasting.

“ Your colleagues of the Conference and myself express the sincere hope that your Government will continue to support this work with its active sympathy.

“ I have the honour to be,...

(Signed) ARNOLD RAESTAD,
*President of the Inter-Governmental
Conference for the Use of Broad-
casting in the Cause of Peace.*”

* * *

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION CONCERNING THE USE OF BROADCASTING IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

Having recognised the need for preventing, by means of rules established by common agreement, broadcasting from being used in a manner prejudicial to good international understanding;

Prompted, moreover, by the desire to utilise, by the application of these rules, the possibilities offered by this medium of intercommunication for promoting better mutual understanding between peoples :

Have decided to conclude a Convention for this purpose, and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries :

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following provisions :

Article 1.

The High Contracting Parties mutually undertake to prohibit and, if occasion arises, to stop without delay the broadcasting within their respective territories of any transmission which to the detriment of good international understanding is of such a character as to incite the population of any territory to acts incompatible with the internal order or the security of a territory of a High Contracting Party.

Article 2.

The High Contracting Parties mutually undertake to ensure that transmissions from stations within their respective territories shall not constitute an incitement either to war against another High Contracting Party or to acts likely to lead thereto.

Article 3.

The High Contracting Parties mutually undertake to prohibit and, if occasion arises, to stop without delay within their respective territories any transmission likely to harm good international understanding by statements the incorrectness of which is or ought to be known to the persons responsible for the broadcast.

They further mutually undertake to ensure that any transmission likely to harm good international understanding by incorrect statements shall be rectified at the earliest possible moment by the most effective means, even if the incorrectness has become apparent only after the broadcast has taken place.

Article 4.

The High Contracting Parties mutually undertake to ensure, especially in time of crisis, that stations within their respective territories shall broadcast information concerning international relations the accuracy of which shall have been verified—and that by all means within their power—by the persons responsible for broadcasting the information.

Article 5.

Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes to place at the disposal of the other High Contracting Parties, should they so request, any information that, in his opinion, is of such a character as to facilitate the broadcasting, by the various broadcasting services, of

items calculated to promote a better knowledge of the civilisation and the conditions of life of his own country as well as of the essential features of the development of his relations with peoples and of his contribution to the organisation of peace.

Article 6.

In order to give full effect to the obligations assumed under the preceding Articles, the High Contracting Parties mutually undertake to issue, for the guidance of governmental broadcasting services, appropriate instructions and regulations, and to secure their application by these services.

With the same end in view, the High Contracting Parties mutually undertake to include appropriate clauses for the guidance of any autonomous broadcasting organisations, either in the constitutive charter of a national institution, or in the conditions imposed upon a concessionary company, or in the rules applicable to other private concerns, and to take the necessary measures to ensure the application of these clauses.

Article 7.

Should a dispute arise between the High Contracting Parties regarding the interpretation or application of the present Convention for which it has been found impossible to arrive at a satisfactory settlement through the diplomatic channel, it shall be settled in conformity with the provisions in force between the Parties concerning the settlement of international disputes.

In the absence of any such provisions between the Parties to the dispute, the said Parties shall submit it to arbitration or to judicial settlement. Failing agreement concerning the choice of another tribunal, they shall submit the dispute, at the request of one of them, to the Permanent Court of International Justice, provided they are all Parties to the Protocol of December 16th, 1920, regarding the Statute of the Court; or, if they are not all Parties to the above Protocol, they shall submit the dispute to an arbitral tribunal, constituted in conformity with The Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

Before having recourse to the procedures specified in paragraphs 1 and 2 above, the High Contracting Parties may, by common consent, appeal to the good offices of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which would be in a position to constitute a special committee for this purpose.

Article 8.

The present Convention, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall bear this day's date, and shall be open for signature until May 1st, 1937, on behalf of any Member of the League of Nations, or any non-member State represented at the Conference which drew up the present Convention, or any non-member State to which the Council of the League of Nations shall have communicated a copy of the said Convention for that purpose.

Article 9.

The present Convention shall be ratified. The instruments of ratification shall be sent to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall notify the deposit thereof to all the Members of the League and to the non-member States referred to in the preceding Article.

Article 10.

After May 1st, 1937, any Member of the League of Nations and any non-member State referred to in Article 8 may accede to the present Convention.

The notifications of accession shall be sent to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall notify the deposit thereof to all the Members of the League and to all the non-member States referred to in the aforesaid Article.

Article 11.

The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, in conformity with the provisions of Article 18 of the Covenant, sixty days after the receipt by him of the sixth ratification or accession.

The Convention shall enter into force on the day of such registration.

Article 12.

Every ratification or accession effected after the entry into force of the Convention shall take effect sixty days after the receipt thereof by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

Article 13.

The present Convention may be denounced by a notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Such notification shall take effect one year after its receipt.

The Secretary-General shall notify the receipt of any such denunciation to all Members of the League and to the non-member States referred to in Article 8.

If, as the result of denunciations, the number of High Contracting Parties should fall below six, the present Convention shall cease to apply.

Article 14.

Any High Contracting Party may, on signing, ratifying or acceding to the present Convention, or at any subsequent date, by a written document addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, declare that the present Convention shall apply to all or any of his colonies, protectorates, overseas territories, or territories placed under his suzerainty or mandate. The present Convention shall apply to the territory or territories specified in the declaration sixty days

after its receipt. Failing such a declaration, the Convention shall not apply to any such territory.

Any High Contracting Party may at any subsequent date, by a notification to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, declare that the present Convention shall cease to apply to any or all of his colonies, protectorates, overseas territories, or territories placed under his suzerainty or mandate. The Convention shall cease to apply to the territory or territories specified in the notification one year after its receipt.

The Secretary-General shall communicate to all Members of the League and to the non-member States referred to in Article 8 all declarations received under the present Article.

Article 15.

A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any High Contracting Party in the form of a notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Such notification shall be communicated by the Secretary-General to the other High Contracting Parties. Should not less than one-third of them associate themselves with such request, the High Contracting Parties agree to meet with a view to the revision of the Convention.

In that event, it shall be for the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to propose to the Council or Assembly of the League of Nations the convening of a revision conference.

* * *

The Conference also adopted the following

RECOMMENDATIONS.

I. With a view to facilitating the application of the provisions of Articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Convention, the Conference recommends the High Contracting Parties to take into account the influence that may be exercised on good international understanding by transmissions of such a character as to harm the interests or offend the national, political, religious or social sentiments of other peoples.

II. The Conference,

Whereas the present Convention entails obligations only in respect of acts of an obviously serious nature;

Whereas it does not cover all transmissions likely to prejudice good international understanding;

Recommends the High Contracting Parties to study the possibility of subsequently extending the Convention to cover the questions specified in the preceding recommendation.

III. The Conference recommends that the High Contracting Parties, in taking measures to ensure that transmissions shall not be contrary to the provisions of the Convention, shall show particular

vigilance in regard to transmissions in a language other than the language or languages usually employed for the listeners of the country of transmission.

IV. The Conference recommends the High Contracting Parties to reserve in the programmes broadcast in their respective territories a place for transmissions of such a character as to promote a better knowledge of the civilisation and the conditions of life of other peoples as well as of the essential features of the development of their relations with those peoples and their contribution to the organisation of peace.

V. The Conference recommends the High Contracting Parties to take concerted action in case of international tension for the purpose of exerting by appropriate broadcasts a common influence to lessen the tension and restore a peaceful atmosphere.

VI. The Conference recommends the High Contracting Parties, if occasion arises, to lend one another mutual support in detecting and abolishing clandestine transmitting stations.

VII. With a view to facilitating the application of the provision contained in Article 7 concerning the functions of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the Conference recommends that the latter constitute a small committee for the settlement of any dispute referred to it.

If necessary and in order to save time, the Bureau of the Committee might appoint this special committee.

The Conference is of opinion that, among the persons selected by the International Committee, one should be chosen on the proposal of the International Broadcasting Union and another on the proposal of the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. The International Committee might attach to the committee—in addition to the representatives of the two parties—persons proposed by the Bureau of the International Union of Telecommunications and by the International Federation of Journalists.

The committee should submit its findings as soon as possible, and in any case within six weeks from the day when the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has been informed of the dispute.

SCHEME FOR EDUCATIONAL COURSES ON
INTERNATIONAL PEACE, ORGANISED UNDER
THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
BY NATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION SOCIETIES
AND BROADCASTING CORPORATIONS

PROPOSAL OF THE SWEDISH BROADCASTING
CORPORATION.

Stockholm, June 6th, 1936.

I have the honour to enclose a scheme of educational courses on international peace, to be organised under the auspices of the League of Nations by national adult education societies and broadcasting corporations.

This scheme is recommended to the attention of the Secretariat of the League by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, Their Excellencies M. P. Munch, M. A. Hackzell, M. Halvdan Koht and M. R. J. Sandler; by the broadcasting corporations of those countries—namely, the “Statsradiofoni” of Denmark, the “Rundradio” of Finland, the “Norsk Rikskringkastning” of Norway, and the “Radiotjänst” of Sweden; and by the four corresponding sections of the World Alliance for Adult Education, which comprises some forty adult education societies.

The scheme has no claim to be a complete programme, ready to be carried out immediately in all its details; it is rather to be regarded as an illustration of the kind of instruction advocated. Some of its parts can perhaps be put into practice without delay, for others, it will be necessary to wait until experience has revealed how far the various adult education societies and broadcasting corporations are prepared to assist.

(Signed) Yngve HUGO,
Director of the Talks Department of
the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation.
(Radiotjänst).

* * *

AIM AND ORGANISATION OF THE COURSES.

The aim of these courses is to give objective instruction regarding the factors that threaten international peace and the best means of eliminating them.

A detailed programme can hardly be arrived at without the assistance of experts on the questions here considered. It should in any

case include a comprehensive statement of the facts relating to the League, its organisation, its achievements and, above all, its mission of ensuring the maintenance of peace and international security. It must also include, as one of its essential parts, a survey of economic problems, emphasising the interdependence and solidarity of all the members of the community of nations. Considerable space must likewise be devoted to instruction in social psychology, with special reference, of course, to questions relating to public opinion.

The organisation work in connection with the scheme might be shared between the Secretariat of the League, which would provide the documentary material, and the national broadcasting corporations and adult education societies, which would be responsible for the actual conduct of the courses.¹ It would probably be difficult for the League and its Information Section, as official institutions, to organise and conduct the various courses on their own account. In any case, it would not be desirable that they should all be arranged on uniform lines in every country. On the contrary, regard will necessarily have to be paid to the special cultural and social conditions obtaining in each country, and to the educational machinery available. For the same reason, the organisation of the courses should not be entrusted to any other international association, such as, for example, the International Broadcasting Union. It would, of course, be desirable that the work should be carried on in concert with such associations, but the national organisations should be left completely free to adopt the courses to the special conditions and resources of their respective countries. It may, perhaps, be found expedient, however, to establish co-operation between countries belonging to the same linguistic group, such as the four northern countries. A broadcast from Geneva—at the opening of the courses, for example—might likewise be addressed jointly to several or all of the participating nations.

Although the League Secretariat cannot make itself directly responsible for the national courses, it could very well act as a central bureau for them. For this purpose, it might be a good thing to set up a temporary office in the Secretariat, with the following duties :

- (1) To collect and co-ordinate the material referred to below, with the assistance of specially appointed experts;
- (2) To send, with a special recommendation from the League, a detailed list of such material to the Governments of the various countries and to such institutions and organisations as may be expected to take an active part in the work;
- (3) To receive applications from national organisations wishing to subscribe for the documents collected by the office, and to give them information and advice as to the organisation of the courses, and also, if occasion arises, as to the establishment of co-operation with organisations in other countries;
- (4) To organise at Geneva one or more courses of instruction for representatives of the national societies which will arrange courses dealing with international peace;

¹ See text of the resolution of the Assembly on page 158.

(5) To arrange for the regular broadcasting, by the Geneva station, of news relating to this form of international action in the cause of world peace.

SCOPE OF THE COURSES.

Particulars will be found below of the publications to be made available by the League Secretariat to those interested for use in the courses dealing with international peace. It should be noted that the scope and character of the courses organised may vary very widely according to the number of documents for which the initiators of the courses may subscribe, or the field covered by their subscriptions. They will have the option, for instance, of arranging wireless talks not combined with study circles or correspondence courses, or establishing study circles or correspondence courses, or both, not in combination with wireless talks. They will also, of course, be able to use the publications in question in adult schools and adult education societies, even if they are not organising any such courses as are here under consideration.

TEXTBOOK.

The League of Nations will hold an international prize competition—the first prize being a large one—for the best textbook on questions connected with international peace. The textbook should contain all facts of any importance for the various forms of adult education to be undertaken in this field, and for the work of study-circles and individual study. It will be translated into the languages of all the countries expected to take part in the scheme. It will contain detailed bibliographical notices and references dealing with publications on the subject, both in the national language of the country concerned and in one or other of the main world languages.

WIRELESS TALKS.

The office in the League Secretariat to which we have referred will draw up a detailed programme for a series of wireless talks on international peace. These talks will be on such lines that they can be heard with profit by all listeners, without any special preparation or subsequent study. At the same time, from the standpoint of such listeners as may wish to acquire a fuller knowledge of the questions dealt with, they should form an important constituent of an educational system of which the other constituent will be the study of the textbook, the work of study-circles, and correspondence courses. It will rest with the broadcasting corporations to find suitable speakers for this series of talks, which may vary in number according to circumstances. There may, within certain limits, be exchanges of speakers between different countries. If several countries should be giving such a course of talks at the same time, it might be inaugurated by a joint ceremony, which could be broadcast from Geneva.

STUDY-CIRCLES.

On the basis of the textbook and wireless talks, the office will draw up a number of schemes of study for groups of listeners who may wish to enlarge their knowledge of questions connected with international peace. These schemes of study will be supplemented by "instructive letters" dealing with questions that have assumed topical importance during the year.

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES.

The office will set up a special correspondence institute to provide information concerning the League of Nations and questions connected with international peace. This instruction by correspondence will be linked up with the textbook, the wireless talks and the work of study-circles. The "instructive letters" will indicate a number of subjects on which the students should write, and they, or the study-circles, can send their compositions to the institute, which will correct and return them. The institute might also, within certain limits, undertake to reply to other relevant questions.

POPULAR BOOK ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

In order to stimulate public interest in the courses, the League might hold an international competition for the best popular book on international peace. The competition would be open to everyone taking part in the courses in anyway whatever. The book should be suitable for wide circulation in schools and among members of popular societies. It should be based mainly on the textbook or the wireless talks, and be written in a bright, popular style, suited to the general public. The prizewinning manuscript should be published in all languages, and large editions should be printed with a view to world-wide circulation.

HOW THE COURSES WOULD BE FINANCED.

Special consideration must be given to the means of defraying the cost of the courses. The expenses might perhaps be shared between the League and the national societies concerned, many of which would doubtless obtain Government grants for the purpose. It would, of course, be possible to run the office and correspondence institute to be established at the League on commercial lines, so that the whole cost would be covered by subscriptions; but the extent of the organisation will obviously depend upon the amount contributed by the League—in other words, upon low subscription rates and a large expenditure on publicity. Consequently, it would be desirable to be able to count on a fairly high contribution from the League to this educational work which is to be undertaken in the interest of international peace, inasmuch as it seems to be in no way inconsistent with the duties of the Information Section of the League.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching

THE TEACHING OF THE PRINCIPLES
AND FACTS OF
INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

No. 4.—December 1937

Published every year by the
Secretariat of the League of Nations

GENEVA

CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTORY NOTE	5
THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION MONTH.....	8
THE RÔLE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION IN CONTEMPORARY LIFE, by Professor Gonzague de Reynold.....	13
THE USE OF MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING INFORMATION IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.....	25
THE TEACHING OF PRINCIPLES AND FACTS OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION :	
The Teaching of International Co-operation in the United States of America.....	35
The Teaching of History and Geography in Czechoslovakia	45
The Teaching of History : Results of the Enquiry conducted by the International Federation of Secondary-School Teachers, by A. M. Gossart	52
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK :	
The Problem of Raw Materials and the League of Nations	66
Reform of the League of Nations : Application of the Principles of the Covenant	74
The League of Nations and International Hygiene	107
Changing Aspects of Child Welfare.....	117
THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION AT WORK :	
The International Labour Organisation and the raising of the Minimum Age of Admission to Employment...	132
GENERAL SMUTS' MESSAGE TO YOUTH.....	142
BROADCASTS FROM " RADIO-NATIONS "	144
Nutrition	144
Sir Malcolm Delevingne on Opium and Drugs	148
The Singapore Health Bureau	151
Professor Gilbert Murray on Intellectual Co-operation..	155
Status of Women	158
SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION.....	162

Official Documents.		Page
WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION DURING THE PAST YEAR.....		170
International Collaboration between Universities.....		170
International Conference of Higher Education		171
Unemployment among Intellectuals		173
Co-ordination of Secondary Education Systems		174
International Educational Bibliography		176
Revision of School Textbooks		176
International School Correspondence		178
Committee of International Student Organisations		179
Liaison with the Major International Associations.....		180
ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE TEACHING OF THE PRINCIPLES AND FACTS OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION (REPORT)....		181
NINETEENTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION :		
The Use of Modern Means of spreading Information in the Cause of Peace.....		183
Resolutions concerning Questions of Education.....		193
WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION :		
Extracts from M. Edouard Herriot's Speech in the Sixth Committee of the Eighteenth Assembly		195
DECLARATION ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY : REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS		197
MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING INFORMATION UTILISED IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE (Report submitted by the Sixth Committee to the Eighteenth Assembly).....		199
INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION CONCERNING THE USE OF BROADCASTING IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE :		
Rules of Procedure for the application of Article 7, Paragraph 3		203
INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, held in Buenos Aires, December 1st to 23rd, 1936 :		
Resolutions and Conventions relating to Education.....		209

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

For several years past, the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching has been endeavouring, and with reason, to find a name more truly representative of its nature and functions. After all, the immense complex of questions of teaching and education with which it has to deal greatly exceeds the scope of instruction in the aims and activities of the League, in the strict sense of that expression. One of the Committee's aims is, indeed, to give publicity to the most appropriate educational methods of inculcating into the young some idea of the principles of the Covenant and the activity of the League; but another is to stimulate investigations and exchanges of views on all possible means of affording a better grasp of the interdependence of nations in the world of to-day, and hence of the need for international co-operation.

With the approval of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, therefore, the Committee has decided that it shall henceforward be known as the *Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation*.¹ This new title, though perhaps a little cumbrous, has one good point at least: it accurately defines the Advisory Committee's field of work.

The change of name does not in any sense imply that the Committee will no longer concern itself with instruction in the aims and activity of the League. That will continue to be one of its interests, but only one. Before young people are given some instruction in the principles of the Covenant and the working of the League, they must be brought to realise the co-existence of different peoples and of their national cultures, and trained to

¹ Comité consultatif pour l'enseignement des principes et des faits de la coopération internationale.

form a better conception of the countless political, economic, social and intellectual links that make all peoples mutually dependent.

* * *

This publication reflects the Committee's activities, and, since the name of the Committee has been altered, it has been thought desirable to indicate more clearly on the title page the present scope of its work.

* * *

In previous years, the Editorial Board of the *Bulletin* has endeavoured to give publicity to those League activities which, in view of their results, are of special interest to teachers. Among those activities, intellectual co-operation is one that takes an important place in this issue, because the past year has been marked by exceptional events in that field. We refer to the "Intellectual Co-operation Month", which, at the generous invitation of the French Government, was held in Paris as part of the International Exhibition of Art and Technique in Modern Life.

* * *

The raw materials enquiry has been much talked of, because it is closely concerned with the political and economic questions affecting international life at the moment. This issue of the *Bulletin* contains a survey of the subject for the benefit of those who have to give instruction in these problems, whether in schools or to a public of adults who are not specialists.

* * *

Those readers who were interested in the study on the reform of the Covenant which appeared in the December 1936 number will doubtless be glad to find a further paper on the subject in this issue, dealing with developments during the past year.

* * *

The general public is still for the most part ignorant of the League's technical work. It has frequently been pointed out in educational circles that fuller information on this subject would be valuable. Accordingly, the present issue of the *Bulletin*

contains surveys of the work of the Health Organisation and child welfare work, together with a study of an important phase of the work of the International Labour Organisation.

* * *

The publication of speeches and talks broadcast from the Radio-Nations station has been welcomed by the educational Press of various countries, and meets the express wishes of education authorities and professional associations. The last Assembly, moreover, devoted special attention to the improvement of the technical methods of publicity available to the Secretariat and the manner in which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation might help to use those methods in the cause of peace. This issue, like previous numbers, contains the text of several broadcast talks on matters of interest.

The *Bulletin* also gives useful information about the League's efforts to encourage the formation of public opinion through broadcasting and the cinema.

THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION MONTH

This year, striking progress has been made in the work which the League of Nations has been carrying on since 1922 in the sphere of intellectual co-operation. Thanks to an invitation from the French Government, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Conferences and Committees connected with it met this year in Paris from June 28th to July 28th, on the occasion of the International Exhibition of Art and Technique in Modern Life. These events have been given the title of the "Intellectual Co-operation Month."

PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL STUDIES CONFERENCE.

The first meeting was that of the Permanent International Studies Conference, which discussed the theme of "peaceful change". For this Conference, the national groups of experts and various international committees had made preparatory studies of great value, which were published through the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

The Conference studied the question from the following five aspects :

- (1) Demographic questions;
- (2) Raw materials and markets;
- (3) Colonies;
- (4) Questions relating to the Danube region;
- (5) Legal questions and procedure.

The discussion, which was conducted in a most friendly spirit, enabled the ideas put forward to be defined and clarified.

The subject chosen for the next conference is "Economic Policies in relation to World Peace." The problems to be dealt with are those of reciprocity, regionalism and self-sufficiency in commercial politics in the modern world.

The Permanent International Studies Conference met at the Sorbonne. The other Intellectual Co-operation meetings were held at the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

The Liaison Committee of the Major International Associations met on June 30th and July 1st.

On July 2nd and 3rd there was a meeting of the Advisory Committee for the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation.¹

SECOND GENERAL CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES.

The second General Conference of National Committees, which met at the Institute from July 5th to 9th, was particularly noteworthy. Indeed, this was one of the most important meetings from the point of view of intellectual co-operation. There were present outstanding personalities representing the national committees of the following thirty-nine countries: United States of America, Argentine, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, Netherlands Indies, Norway, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the Catholic Union of International Studies and the Permanent Inter-Parliamentary Committee on Intellectual Relations were also represented. The Jewish University of Jerusalem sent an observer.

The second Conference thus included a large number of national committees. It enabled intellectual workers, teachers, educationists and all those who are endeavouring to promote the spirit of intellectual co-operation throughout the world, to exchange ideas and to voice their recommendations and suggestions for the future.

The Conference had before it several important reports dealing with various aspects of the work for intellectual co-operation.

M. Henri Focillon, Professor at the Sorbonne, reviewed the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation from 1931 to 1937. He showed the progress the Organisation had made in its various spheres of activity, particularly in its endeavour to bring together intellectuals of all countries.

Senator Balbino Giuliano, President of the Italian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, dealt with the organisation and activities of the national committees on intellectual co-operation and their relations with each other. He laid great

¹ For a summary of its work, see page 181 *et seq.*

stress on the growing importance of the national committees, which were becoming more and more numerous.

Dr. Munch, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, examined the structure of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and indicated in what respects it might be perfected.

M. Huizinga, President of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Science, and M. G. de Reynold, Professor at the University of Fribourg, embarked on the more general problem of the function of intellectual co-operation in the organisation of the contemporary world. They dealt with this problem in the light of present difficulties, drawing attention to all the barriers in the way of international collaboration. M. Huizinga drew a gloomy picture of the present world, the two chief evils of which, exaggerated nationalism and the spirit of publicity, were in his opinion standing in the way of any attempt at international collaboration. He pointed out that there were nevertheless certain trends in the world which afforded hope for the future. The work of intellectual co-operation must, in his opinion, move vertically before it extended horizontally. That meant that the greater part of the work must be undertaken by each nation, and individually within each nation. On the national plane the masses must be taught to avoid any exaggeration of their sentiment of nationalism; they must be taught to respect order in all things, and respect for others must be inculcated in them. Such conditions were necessary for the establishment of a new civilisation.

The main principles of this work having been laid down by Professor Huizinga, M. de Reynold, in his report, proceeded to define it more precisely. He began by asserting the principle that, if it was to play a really useful part in the modern world, intellectual co-operation must fully realise its limits and the difficulties in its way. It must endeavour to avoid those difficulties by adopting a broad universal basis and by endeavouring to reflect every hue, every aspect of intellectual life. Hence, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation must necessarily be federal in character. That federalism connoted another characteristic—namely, that it must be non-political. It must stand above political differences and must not meddle with them.¹

The above-mentioned reports dealt with the general aspects of intellectual co-operation. But the Conference had also before

¹ M. de Reynold's report is reproduced in full on page 13 *et seq.*

it documents dealing with more concrete questions, such as inter-American intellectual co-operation, intellectual co-operation between America and Europe, inter-Baltic and inter-Balkan intellectual co-operation, and the part to be played by national committees in establishing contact with public opinion in the respective countries. All these questions were discussed at great length at the Conference. From the beginning, there was a very real spirit of cordiality and frankness.

There are two points of view from which the discussions may be summarised. In the first place, the question was raised whether the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation had been effective, whether the methods it employed had produced all the results expected. Secondly, it was asked what intellectual co-operation must do in the contemporary world to carry out its task—that is to say, to unite intellectuals of all countries and in all fields of knowledge in the cause of international co-operation.

On the first point, the Conference formally approved the work done by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Many speakers laid stress on the practical value of that work; on the facilities it had provided for intellectual workers in the matter of libraries, museums, bibliography, translations, educational documentation; and the importance of the contacts it has established by the "Conversations" and other meetings of intellectual workers from all parts of the world.

Passing then to the future, the second General Conference noted that the General Conference of National Committees formed the very basis of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. Indeed, the national committees are at present in a position to provide the main foundation for intellectual co-operation.

The Conference has also expressed its resolve to move towards universality and, as M. de Reynold asked, to abolish the political element in intellectual co-operation. While admitting that no rigid rule could be imposed as to the composition of the national committees, the Conference drew attention to the part that the groups representing young intellectual might play by their collaboration, and also stressed the importance of the rôle of those who controlled the media through which a direct influence was exercised on national public opinion—namely, the Press, the cinema and broadcasting.

Next, there came another fundamental decision. The Conference recommended that, in future, the general conferences should be held at regular intervals.

Lastly, it gave concrete form to an idea that had long been voiced—namely, that of an agreement giving the Intellectual Co-operation Institute an international status.

OTHER MEETINGS.

The meeting of this Conference was followed by the annual session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Furthermore, a "Conversation" had been organised by the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, which lasted from July 20th to July 24th. Among those who took part mention should be made of: M. Paul Valéry, Professor Gilbert Murray, M. Johan Bojer, M. Salvador de Madariaga, Mlle. Gabrielle Mistral, M. Ugo Ojetti, Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco, M. Stanislas Wedkiewicz, Mr. Thornton Wilder, M. Anesaki, M. García-Calderón, M. Li Yu-Ying, M. Jean Richard Bloch, M. Georges Duhamel, M. Paul Hazard, M. Jules Romains, M. Stromberg. Mr. Charles Morgan and M. Franz Werfel, who were unable to attend the meeting, sent written communications.

The theme of the "Conversation," "The Immediate Future of Letters," was approached from three angles—namely, that of the author himself (material and moral position of the author in the modern world of to-day and to-morrow); that of the reader (new habits and needs, journalism, oral literature, evolution of the reader's taste); and that of language (the link between author and reader, possible new forms of literature, influence of new means of expression, wireless, the cinema, etc.).

The Intellectual Co-operation Month concluded with the International Conference on Higher Education, organised by agreement with the Société de l'Enseignement supérieur at Paris.¹

¹ This important meeting is dealt with in a report which will be found on page 171 *et seq.*

THE RÔLE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION IN CONTEMPORARY LIFE

I shall take as my starting-point, not the organisation (though I shall speak of it) but the idea of intellectual co-operation. Can this idea exert an influence, can intellectual co-operation play a part in the contemporary world, in this world of disequilibrium and disharmony, in a Europe which has ceased to be homogeneous?

I. •

A disciple of Confucius once asked his master what would be his first action if he was made Emperor of China. Confucius replied: "I should begin by fixing the meaning of words". I shall therefore begin by fixing that of the word "co-operation", which, since 1922, we have continually used in our reports and speeches.

The word came into the French language through the door of theology. Its first meaning is that of the action or effect of divine grace on the soul of man in bringing about his own good. The "co-operating grace" is that which is added to the human will and which follows it in order to help it. Reciprocally, man's will co-operates with "grace" when it tries to deserve it and to keep it. Thus in the words "co-operation" and "co-operate" is found the idea of a co-ordinated action for a common good, "Co-operation" is thus a stronger term than "collaboration". While the latter signifies simply that one shares with others in an agreed and limited task, "co-operation" implies a closer agreement, a more sustained determination, a predisposition of the spirit and aspiration towards a common ideal.

When we talk of intellectual co-operation, this common ideal consists of spiritual values, civilisation in general, indeed peace itself. It requires of all those who make themselves its defenders and promoters a kind of vocation which simple collaboration does not require.

By this, I do not at all mean to say that, in order to co-operate, it is necessary to take our stand on an ideology like angels on a cloud. On the contrary, ideologies are the sworn enemies of all intellectual co-operation. Ideologies engender fanaticism,

which is a mental passion for the abstract. There is nothing which narrows and clouds the intelligence, nothing which weakens the meaning of life, so much as fanaticism. Fanaticism kills curiosity. But curiosity about what one does not know, about what one does not understand, about what one does not like is the essential condition of all intellectual co-operation. Without this pre-requisite and sympathetic curiosity, the contemporary world remains incomprehensible, and all attempt to influence that world is doomed to failure.

The aim of intellectual co-operation is to bring men's minds into harmony: but it cannot require them to abdicate their intelligence.

Intellectual co-operation must not be a neutral place with a cloakroom at the entrance where one momentarily leaves one's convictions and personality behind. On the contrary, I think that intellectual co-operation is a place where agreement has been reached on the following fact: A whole great period of history is closed; we are in an intermediate period between a world which is dying and a world which is being born. During such periods everything is in a state of flux, the curve of general civilisation declines and peace is threatened. It is therefore more than ever necessary that the best minds should come together and should endeavour to maintain at least in themselves the idea of civilisation, order and peace. Their task is to link the old world to the new; to save the essential values of the old world, to help the values of the new world to find expression and practical application, and to see that they mutually enlighten and stimulate one another. This implies co-operation in producing synthesis and harmony. But it also implies minds which are different and which are curious of their very differences.

I would compare the action of this sympathetic curiosity to that of the "saving grace". Co-operation: a word always keeps something of its first meaning, like an impression which other impressions have obliterated without completely effacing it. If intellectual co-operation is directed towards an effort undertaken by men of different character but of goodwill, in order to meet each other, to understand each other, to labour at a work of spiritual salvation, these men will be helped, as well as rewarded, by sympathetic curiosity. It will be unsuccessful if they conspire to impose upon the world some forced and artificial unity, in the name of abstractions or verbal idols. It will be successful if the same men, submitting to reality, accept the contemporary world as it is, not only in its diversity but also in its heterogeneity.

It is a mistake, and always was a mistake, to begin with the general and the similar; a mistake which is the enemy of life, a mistake which is at the bottom of that rationalism which reduces humanity to certain intellectual elements, neglecting the great fashioning forces which are diverse and variable. Humanity and everything which expresses and defines it—civilisation, education, law, justice, liberty, peace—become thus a series of concepts. But when we try to apply these concepts to the realities of life, we are capable only of theories and the effort is sterile.

Such is the mistake from which I want to see intellectual co-operation freed to-day. If ever it has committed this mistake or has had a tendency to commit it, it would be better for it to abandon itself rather to the opposite tendency, at least for a time. The time necessary for a voyage round the contemporary world, to ask and to find out the deep reasons and causes for which nations and peoples have such different mentalities, and why they find it so difficult to understand each other. There again we need sympathetic curiosity, for it alone can be a guide during the voyage. When we return, we shall perhaps have learnt what the contemporary world is, and we shall perhaps know what part we can play in it. Peoples will always be great mysteries to one another, but certain keen minds can manage to understand them.

II.

What I propose for intellectual co-operation is a new kind of humanism. It is no longer a matter of asking ourselves "What kind of man do we want?" as at Nice in 1934. Our task is to know and to understand different and even contradictory men, who behave in a certain way, and to ask ourselves why they behave thus. Our task is to know and understand peoples in their different aspects. I believe that if intellectual co-operation is to play a part in the contemporary world, it must become more national. By this I mean that it must try to establish more direct contacts with national life. Furthermore, it seems to me that the national committees are called upon to play a part of the first importance, a decisive part in our future.

The aim and the task of intellectual co-operation in the contemporary world is to create a synthesis between nationalism and internationalism. It will be understood that I give a very broad meaning to these words. Nationalism is the consciousness which nations have acquired of their own genius, once their individuality has been established. Internationalism is the

relationship and the exchanges which peoples naturally need with one another if they do not want to die of isolation and suffocation. We are here to construct the bridge, like those old bridges of my native city, Fribourg in Nuithonia, which, since the thirteenth century, have linked the German and French banks of the Sarine. We are here to prepare, and perhaps to achieve in certain minds, a new universality, in the sense which Bossuet gives to it : " To understand by the mind what is great in men " .

III.

I would like to see intellectual co-operation abandon theoretical internationalism and devote itself to practical internationalism.

But is practical internationalism yet possible in the contemporary world?

A serious error has been committed which makes it necessary to begin all over again.

It was an ideological error. Through lack of historical sense and of psychology, we have been mistaken about Europe and about the consequences of the war. It is true that, in 1919 and 1920, we had great hope. It was thought that the peoples, disgusted with war, would want only to agree to establish peace; it was thought that peace was the common aspiration, the common need of all peoples. But the war and the period which followed the war have not created any atmosphere of peace. On the contrary, they have multiplied the causes of divisions and conflicts. One might certainly have foreseen this hard reality. Many indeed had foreseen it. We must adapt ourselves to it as well as we can. As Talleyrand said—I quote from memory—" it is no good getting angry with facts : they remain quite indifferent " .

◦ We are in the presence of a completely different Europe, a completely different world from that before the war, in the nineteenth century—a Europe which has ceased to be homogeneous, a world which has become much more complicated; that is the first fact, the first piece of evidence. Let us take the linguistic map : since the war the number of national languages, State languages, in Europe has almost doubled. We are far from the time when Latin was the common language of all scholars, when French was the common language of all the nobilities. European civilisation has been broken into fragments. Europe exists no longer, or Europe is no longer any more than a purely

geographical expression. As early as 1918, M. Meillet wrote at the end of his work on the languages of the new Europe: "The world is not ripe for a real international unity, which, based on elements common to civilised Europe, could serve for the practical relationships of the whole world". And M. Meillet was writing before the appearance of Fascism and National-Socialism, at a time when it was possible to believe, and when he believed himself, in the definite triumph of the democratic form of government. A certain unity of political and social regime is a powerful factor of homogeneity for a civilisation. And now this factor has disappeared in its turn. A second fact, a second piece of evidence.

In reality, Europe is in itself incapable of producing a civilisation common to all the peoples which make it up. Europe was born nationalist, in the sense that the European nations are too much differentiated, and in too many ways, to achieve a natural unity. They have only known a spiritual unity, but they have known that. It was not their own work; it was the work of Christianity. The disappearance of religious unity inevitably brought about that of all the other kinds of unity which had been established under it and by means of it: so that we have arrived to-day at the period of greatest division into fragments.

And it is precisely with this period that the greatest attempt at internationalism has been made to coincide, whence a paradoxical situation has arisen. Means of communication are multiplied, trade has ceased to increase; the longest journeys have become easy and accessible to everyone, we find throughout the world the same palatial hotels, where people dressed in the same clothes eat the same food, listening to the same music. The more physical distances between nations and continents have been shortened, the more moral distances, the only ones that count, have grown. Ease of physical communication, difficulty of intellectual communication: that is the characteristic of our age. The result is a disequilibrium and a disharmony of which history has not yet offered us an example.

It is no use counting upon internationalism, at least on a certain kind of internationalism, to remedy this disharmony and disequilibrium. This ideological internationalism, founded on Cartesian reason and the Kantian imperative, is in complete opposition to the main tendencies of the contemporary world. It has against it what I would call the "telluric" forces, the powers of sentiment and instinct. These have burst forth the more violently inasmuch as they had been too long kept under

by modern civilisation. The character of modern civilisation from the seventeenth century onwards was intellectual to excess. Founded on reason, education, science—the “*lumières*” as they were called in the eighteenth century—this civilisation, at the same time too mental and too individualist, was, as we see to-day, as fragile as it was brilliant. The earth on which it was built lacked firmness because it rested on deep cavities where the great fashioning forces were accumulated.

Modern civilisation had the illusion of having succeeded in forming, once and for all, a certain type of man governed by rational intelligence. It had complete confidence in this carefully elaborated type. But the violent reaction which occurred in 1914 showed that man decides and acts, less according to reason, evidence and certain great abstract principles like justice and right, than under the unreasoning impulse of elementary emotions.

The first of these emotions is religious emotion. Christianity had known how to control and direct it. Modern civilisation sought to substitute for Christianity lay religions, of which I would not like to deny the idealism, generosity and sincerity. But they have not lasted, they could not last, for all their rational façade, because they did not satisfy human nature. It happened then, as it was inevitable that it should happen, that man, detached and weaned from Christianity, returned instinctively to his former paganism, and to what was at the bottom of that paganism: the religion of the tribe, the religion of the blood, the religion of the city-state.

For man will always be either pagan or Christian. He will never be naturally or for long secular, rationalist or materialist. Hence the irrational and mystical character of the contemporary world. This instinctive and feeling world, which needs to love, to get enthusiastic, to sacrifice itself for causes, and for which human life, individual life, has little value, will obey more and more those who come and seize the fashioning forces; it will escape more and more from those who represent intelligence and culture as we have known them up to now. It is a barbarous and even primitive world, like that which grew up on the broken and shattered body of the Roman Empire. Beneath modern appearances, with all our wonderful technical methods, in spite of the violent break with the past, the recent past, that of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in spite of our new discoveries, we are still in the presence of a movement of retrogression. The fact must be accepted, understood and used. We must condemn

every form of intellectual co-operation which would model itself, in spirit and in method, on the old regime, that of the nineteenth century, and which tries to defend outworn ideologies. The "stove" in which Descartes shut himself is no longer of our time, because our time is nearer to Pascal than to Descartes.

Our time is not a time of peace. It is useless to cry: "Peace! peace!", where there is no peace. I believe, too, that we have been mistaken about the nature of peace. Can it be declared without absurdity, that there exists a sacrosanct doctrine of peace? That, in order to have peace, it is necessary to impose this doctrine by force, by war? That a document signed at a certain date in history suffices to establish perpetual peace? That certain methods, adopted once for all, will be henceforth, at every time, on every occasion, and in every place, those of peace?

Once more, let us abandon ideologies, which are always dangerous: ideological quarrels are in fact the cruellest of all, but also the most useless and the most exhausting for the mind. Let us cling to the psychological and moral elements which are the effective conditions of real peace. "Peace", said Saint Augustine, "is the quietness of order, is that disposition which, according to the likeness or unlikeness of things, assigns to each one its place." Peace, which in human life is created at one point to be destroyed at another, is the result and the reward of long patience. It is a matter of conciliations, adjustments, *rapprochements*, exchanges. It is a long evolution which we must work to make creative. Peace is a faith, but one which knows how to submit to realities. Peace is charity, but the highest and most difficult kind of charity; is it not this intellectual charity which we translate here by "mutual understanding"? Peace is not the monopoly of a single institution, or of a single department: it is a synthesis in which all those who think and suffer are called upon to co-operate.

IV.

The contemporary world—it is necessary that we should realise it—makes all intellectual co-operation extremely difficult. But it shows at the same time how necessary such co-operation is. I might quote here the saying of Taciturnus, but I prefer that other saying of Joseph de Maistre: "Man should act as though he could achieve everything, and resign himself as though he

could achieve nothing". This action, if it is to be successful, must be absolutely disinterested. It must be disinterested and even detached. We must not look for immediate results; we must prepare for the future. Let us, therefore, be content with little. Let us try to maintain and multiply our contacts. Our organisation should never be a complicated, heavy, and rigid machine, but a framework light enough to be carried and supple enough to be adapted. In this moving and changing world, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation would be doomed to sterility if it proved incapable of being constantly transformed according to the needs of the moment. Let us use it in such a way that it will never be overcome by bureaucratic sclerosis or the fussy paralysis of committees.

It is on work well done that it will thrive. But work well done has parasites which undermine and hamper its progress—inflated programmes, excess of documentation, wastage of effort. On the other hand, careful work will win us supporters and friends, because it will be useful.

That is all I have to say, in passing, about our organisation. It is plain and matter-of-fact advice. But is not a great work the sum of small results obtained by little means, methodically and perseveringly applied? The steeper the mountain is to climb, the slower should be the pace; the more necessary it is to place one's foot each time upon the solid rock.

V.

What then are the main characteristics which intellectual co-operation must assume if it is to emerge from the shadows and play its part on the stage of the contemporary world?

The first is independence—political independence. This is a matter of life or death for intellectual co-operation. Intellectual co-operation must be independent of politics, first of all by definition, because the plane on which it stands is not that of politics, because intellectual life and political life do not breathe the same air, because the aims and methods and spirit are different. Intellectual co-operation must also be independent of politics because, in the contemporary world, politics—committed to the defence of national interests or even race and class interests—is an element of division whereas intellectual co-operation must strive to unify. Finally, intellectual co-operation must be independent of politics precisely at the point where it is called upon to be of service to politics.

It will be understood that here I allude to the League of Nations. It is agreed that intellectual co-operation was born of the League of Nations, that it belongs to the League of Nations and that it is at the service of the League of Nations. I have no secret plan up my sleeve for dissociating them. But I believe that if intellectual co-operation wants to fulfil the mission which its founders assigned to it, it must claim full and complete autonomy within the framework of the League of Nations.

The political League of Nations is one thing, the intellectual League of Nations is another. The aim and the ideal remain the same: civilisation, order, peace. But the manner of conceiving them and attaining them is not the same, according to whether we approach them from the political or from the intellectual point of view. And even if by politics we mean simply a manner of acting in order to achieve a certain goal, the politics of intellectual co-operation cannot be identical with those of the League of Nations. There are many of us, in every country and in every intellectual sphere, who still regard with misgiving the intrusion and trespassing of politics upon the field we have to cultivate— intrusion and trespassing which are all the more dangerous because they are often concealed. There are many of us who still look askance at administrative machinery. There are many who still have fears of intellectual centralisation aiming at the creation of a kind of monopoly, for the advantage of politics but to the detriment of our work.

For us, the League of Nations is neither a super-State nor a super-Church; it is not a philosophy or a system of metaphysics; it does not rest upon sacrosanct dogma; it is not even the sole method of international collaboration. Intellectual co-operation is in fact a method. But this method must never be hindered in its application by politics, even, and especially, if those politics are working for the same end. It is here that we must distinguish in order to unite. If the League of Nations wants to gain in "efficiency" as the English say, it must first gain in suppleness and in size, and one must be able to feel at ease within its framework.

In what I have said, I have already defined the second characteristic of intellectual co-operation: its purely intellectual character. While we must have a much more independent idea of intellectual co-operation, we must also have a much higher idea of it.

Above all, we must have an historical idea of it. The existence of intellectual co-operation is much older than that of the League of Nations: I would even say that it has always existed.

There have been times in history when intellectual co-operation, even in the midst of most difficult crises, in the midst of troubles and wars, has had a general and fruitful activity, has called forth a large response and has found a framework far more vast than that which we have so much difficulty in creating to-day. Intellectual co-operation represents a long tradition. The scholasticism of the Middle Ages, the humanism of the Renaissance, the philosophy of the eighteenth century, the romanticism of the nineteenth, appear to us in perspective as so many forms of intellectual co-operation. They are international, European forms, with their means of expression, their instruments of work, their seats of culture, their systems of liaison and exchange, with an independence of action and development which neither politics nor even war have ever succeeded in bridling or slowing down. Here, indeed, is encouragement for us. Here, too, is proof that intellectual co-operation has really the right to exist when the world is overturned, divided and off its course.

I think of the period when the "successor States", the barbarian hordes established themselves upon the ruins of the Roman Empire, when civilisation had fallen so low that many thought the end of the world was near. It was everywhere necessary to begin again from nothing and even *less than nothing*, while spiritual life lacked both men and means. Yet there were some men who took upon themselves the task of saving all that could be saved of the old civilisation, to preserve and reconstruct in their minds the idea of the Roman Empire, European unity—men who dared to go even among the barbarians and tried to understand and serve them.

I think of another period of weakness and anarchy which followed the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, and which shows us the same effort of a small minority. From these two efforts, one continuing and recommencing the other, arose the great Middle Ages, the youth of the modern world, the centuries when Europe knew unity and universality, as far as they could be known.

But I notice, too, how modestly and with what self-denial men worked in these difficult times. They tried above all to serve and to educate. They had an entirely practical view of intellectual life. They never thought of separating this life from ordinary social life with its humble affairs and hard necessities, nor from religious life with its spiritual aspirations, its search for a higher morality. It is doing a good service to the spiritual life to ask what practical help we can bring it to-day. By

facilitating intellectual work, we attract every day more intellectual men to the League of Nations, whereas a great number of them are inclined to distrust and resistance if we try to convert them to our ideas.

The original idea of intellectual co-operation was not to place intellectuals at the service of the League of Nations, but the reverse. For proof of this it is sufficient to re-read the texts which gave birth to the organisation of to-day. That is why I am convinced we must return to this first principle, before circumstances carry us there forcibly. To be useful is the humble but essential condition that must be accepted if we want intellectual co-operation to succeed in playing its part in the contemporary world.

But there is another, a third, characteristic without which intellectual co-operation will never achieve its aim of universality. Intellectual co-operation is within the framework of the League of Nations, but within the ideal framework, that in which the real framework is inserted. The list of States Members is too narrow a limit to prevent us from trying continually to pass beyond it. Such was indeed the intention of our founders, such was, and remains, the wish of the Council.

This is very wise. Our task is to precede the League of Nations along the road of universality. From the beginning, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has remained open to representatives of States which were no longer members of the League of Nations. It was an indication of a direction in which we can resolutely commit ourselves to proceed. Politics cannot therefore constitute an obstacle to joining or returning to intellectual co-operation. But it is not sufficient to say so : we must also act in such a manner that a State really can join or return.

That is the first aspect of universality. There is a second which it is enough to indicate—namely, that all cultural forms and all the main branches of intellectual life should be united under the same title.

Finally, there is a third, the "association of minds" aspect. The crisis which the intellectual world is going through at this moment shows us that the old association of minds has ceased to exist and that the new one does not yet exist. Our task is to work patiently to shape it. We are much further from an association of minds than before the war, when the tolerance and urbanity of an old civilisation gave the most diverse and even the most opposite ideas the right and the opportunity to declare

themselves without fear of disapproval, exclusion or anathema. Let us remain the last place where such confrontations of ideas are possible. Let us therefore maintain at our meetings and in our conversations a perfect equilibrium between the powerful currents which traverse our age; let us always make room for every movement of ideas. Thus we shall prepare the future of intelligence and serve the cause of peace.

Finally, we come to the last characteristic, which I shall call, on the Swiss model, federalism. By that, I mean that intellectual co-operation must tend to decentralise. It must be everywhere in the world where the life of the mind shows itself, where there are workers and where there are seekers. The more intellectual co-operation shows itself capable of decentralisation, the more the contacts and the means by which it can progress will be multiplied. Only then it will exert an influence. Federalism is universality put into practice, concrete universality. That is why I hope that the number of our specialised institutes will still further increase. But I count above all on the national committees to render the federalism of intellectual co-operation effective. Just as peace cannot be the monopoly of a single institution, so intellectual co-operation cannot be the preserve of a single committee or a single institute even if they are international. What is essential is not the administrative stamp or the headed letter-paper, it is the mind. But the mind passes where it will.

It is doubtless because I am, with our dear President, Professor Gilbert Murray, the oldest member of the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation that I have been asked to make this report. It is deference, then, to age, but perhaps also to experience. I have seen intellectual co-operation born, I have followed all its steps since the first minute of the first hour of the first day. I know its past, but I cannot predict its future. Its present organisation is doubtless only a stage. What will happen to it later? It is possible that, in the future, historians will see intellectual co-operation as the basis of a new civilisation. It is also possible that this attempt will be recorded as a failure and that it will be forgotten because of its insignificance. Who can say now what part of all we have undertaken will be fruitful or sterile? But we are not responsible for the results: we are responsible only for making the attempt. Let us make it.

Gonzague DE REYNOLD,
*Chairman of the Swiss National Committee
on Intellectual Co-operation.*

THE USE OF MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING INFORMATION IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

At the 1936 Assembly, the Governments assembled at Geneva were called upon to consider the problem of the use of modern means of spreading information, more particularly the cinematograph and broadcasting, in the cause of peace.

On the proposal of the United Kingdom and Danish delegations, the Assembly decided to discuss this question at its next session.

Being desirous of developing international co-operation and mutual understanding between nations, and having regard to the rapid development of the technical means of disseminating information, the Assembly considered that this development increases the possibilities of furthering the mutual exchange between nations of information relating to their respective institutions and cultures.

In order to prepare for the thorough study of this question, which it had placed on the agenda of its next session, the Assembly requested the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to draw up such detailed suggestions as would facilitate its work. For this purpose, it invited the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to arrange for such consultations as it might deem appropriate. It further requested the Secretary-General to report on the technical means of spreading information at the disposal of the Secretariat in order that the Assembly might consider whether such means were adequate or whether their further development was desirable.

As this task entailed considerable preparatory work, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation decided to proceed by stages. In December 1936, the Committee's Executive Committee decided upon a method. It requested the Secretariat of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, the Paris International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the Rome International Educational Cinematographic Institute to gather suggestions, both from public and private organisations and from individual authorities on the matters referred to in the Assembly's resolution.

The replies thus elicited were to be submitted to a committee of experts, whose duty it would be to frame suggestions for consideration by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. It entrusted this work to the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching, to which were attached experts from different countries particularly conversant with the use of broadcasting and the cinema for cultural and educational purposes.

PART PLAYED BY THE CINEMATOGRAPH AND BROADCASTING IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The use of modern technical means for the spreading of ideas in the cause of international *rapprochement* certainly constitutes a vast and complex subject. It raises, indeed, a great number of questions, some of which are very delicate and all of which are dominated by the conception of influence—the influence exerted on others by thought or by human feelings. Though this problem has always been important, it has become much more so through the existence of the powerful means of disseminating thought furnished by broadcasting and the cinematograph. It has already engaged the attention of reflective minds and has been the subject of very many studies. In order fully to appreciate its complexity, it is sufficient to glance, for instance, at the very interesting publication which gives an account of the work of the first American Conference on Educational Broadcasting.¹ This Conference was attended not only by American educationists and directors of companies, but also by foreign experts. As to the part played by the human voice in education by means of broadcasting, this volume contains studies which demonstrate both the importance and the great difficulty of the subject.

This complexity becomes all the greater when the matter is one not merely of exerting an influence within a single country but of exchanging messages between nations with the object of dispelling misunderstanding and prejudice.

By conveying the very movement of the life of other peoples, broadcasting and the cinematograph have given men a more accurate comprehension of their essential unity, but the use of these means is not entirely free from danger and their action has frequently been less effective than had been hoped.

¹ "Educational Broadcasting, 1936: Proceedings of the First National Conference on Educational Broadcasting, held in Washington, D.C., December, 1936"; The University of Chicago Press, 462 pages.

These considerations have for long been engaging the attention of the League of Nations. The Committee on Moral Disarmament discussed them thoroughly. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation has made a serious attempt to eliminate the dangers involved in the use of these two means and to place them at the service of the cause of international *rapprochement*.

The studies it has undertaken led to the conclusion last year of an International Convention on the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace. This Convention, which was commented on and reproduced in this *Bulletin*¹ and which has already been signed by thirty-three States and ratified by Australia, the United Kingdom, Denmark and India, constitutes an effort to prevent broadcasting from being used in a harmful way to the danger of good international understanding. The Convention goes even further, for the Governments have contemplated the possibility of encouraging the use of broadcasting for the promotion of better mutual knowledge amongst nations.²

In addition to this international instrument, which represents an achievement of outstanding importance, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, in the study which the Assembly had entrusted to it, was able to find guidance and information in the earlier enquiries of the Paris and Rome Institutes.

RESULTS OF THE FIRST CONSULTATIONS.

Those consulted included many national broadcasting companies, the International Broadcasting Union and national cinematograph organisations.

The assistance of the Union, which groups all the European national companies and is in close touch with companies outside Europe, was to prove particularly valuable. From the outset it was made clear that the matter under consideration was not ideological propaganda, but merely the exchange of information for the purpose of giving each nation a more accurate and more impartial knowledge of other nations.

The part which the Assembly meant the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to play was also indicated. The work of the Organisation was in no sense to be a substitute for the efforts already made by national companies and by the Broadcasting

¹ See *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, No. 3, December 1936.

² See Article 5 of the Convention and Recommendation 4 of the Final Act.

Union in the actual field of *rapprochement*. Its function was to assist them with the means at its disposal. The replies to the consultations were very numerous and full of interesting suggestions. Special mention should be made of two documents—in regard to broadcasting, the memorandum of the International Broadcasting Union and, in regard to the cinematograph, the suggestions of the British Film Institute.

The report by the International Broadcasting Union gives a detailed summary of the work undertaken either individually or collectively by broadcasting organisations which are members of the Union, with a view to fostering mutual understanding between the nations. This document is of inestimable value for the study of the question.¹ It shows all the efforts that have already been made in the field of *rapprochement* between the nations by means of broadcasting, all the successes achieved, and all the points in connection with which official assistance might be desirable—the exchange of programmes between different countries, the exchange of artistes, the relaying of national concerts and of great international concerts and lectures for other countries, the relaying of international sporting, cultural or political demonstrations of interest to foreign countries, broadcast reporting concerning foreign countries, the creation of national and international gramophone record repositories, and the teaching of foreign languages by means of broadcasting.

The memorandum by the British Film Institute traced the history of the very serious efforts which had been made by one national institute in the field of cultural and educational cinematography and which had extended, in some respects, into the field of *rapprochement* between the nations. It was accompanied by useful suggestions as to what might be done in the future in this connection.

The authors of the memorandum emphasised the difficulties that have to be faced in the production of educational and cultural films which run counter to certain inclinations of the general public, the latter desiring above all to find in the cinematograph a source of amusement and not a means for imparting culture or training the mind. The authors traced the main lines of a plan for educating the taste of young people and adults in regard to the cinematograph (cinema-goers' clubs, courses of lessons in schools, etc.).

¹ See *Radiodiffusion*, No. 4, July 1937. Special number published by the International Broadcasting Union, 51, Quai Wilson, Geneva.

THE WORK OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

For the purpose of studying these replies and basing on them definite suggestions for the Committee's consideration, the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation met in Paris in connection with the "Intellectual Co-operation Month".¹

The presence of Dr. Munch, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, added greatly to the authority of this Committee. The task before the experts was a delicate one, for much work had already been done. The essential thing was to determine those parts of this vast field to which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation might most usefully direct its efforts and in which it could best further national action. The presence of representatives of great national companies made it possible to elucidate this point, for they are the persons best acquainted with all the aspects of the question.

With their assistance, the Committee was able to frame suggestions of a general character, thereby discharging the duty entrusted to it by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

CINEMATOGRAPH.

The experts emphasised, in the first place, the importance of the Convention to Facilitate the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character. They recommended that such Governments as had not yet signed the Convention should be approached. They urged the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to arrange for a study of the possibility of extending to other categories of films the facilities provided for in the Convention. This is a delicate matter, for the films in question are of high artistic and cultural value, representative of the civilisation of the producing country. It is to be feared, however, that it may be difficult to lay down satisfactory criteria for the classification of such films. The experts therefore confined themselves to recommending that the question should be considered.

With regard to the actual substance of the question, the Committee made a clear distinction between action in the national sphere and action in the international sphere.

¹ See the list of experts in the special report by Professor Gilbert Murray, page 185 *et seq.*

In the national sphere, agreeing with the suggestion made by the British Film Institute, the experts drew attention to the desirability of "creating national film institutes in countries in which they do not so far exist, and of fostering and encouraging their activities in countries in which they are already in being", and also to "the importance of taking immediate steps to provide for prompt and effective co-operation between such institutes and the national committees on intellectual co-operation, which, on their side, should do everything possible to fit themselves to discharge these new functions". These institutes should direct their efforts towards encouraging the production of films of high quality, more particularly films conveying an accurate idea of the characteristics, culture, institutions and folk traditions of the country in which they are produced.

The experts also recommended that one of the tasks of the national institutes should be to assist Governments in taking the necessary measures for giving young people proper standards of criticism and taste in regard to the cinema. They added: "The Committee attaches particular importance to the associations (cinema-goers' clubs) which are endeavouring to educate the taste of adults in these matters. In this connection, it draws attention to the great value of what is being done in this direction, more particularly in the United States and in the United Kingdom." These various activities of the national institutes must be co-ordinated on the international plane, and it is to this object that the efforts of the Rome Institute should be directed.

It should, according to the experts, be the task of this Institute to encourage the creation of national institutes, to facilitate exchange of information between them, and to organise conferences of their representatives. It would further be its duty to conduct enquiries into the production and circulation of films, the creation of national film repositories, the value of amateur films, and the education of the public taste, and to supply national institutes with comparative statements of the information thus collected.

BROADCASTING.

After considering the memorandum by the Union and the replies received from the organisations and individuals consulted, the experts determined the points in regard to which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation might collaborate with the Union itself and with the different national companies.

They emphasised the necessity for close collaboration with the International Broadcasting Union, and also the importance of the International Convention on the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace, which might be regarded as providing a framework for such collaboration.

In this connection, a new fact had occurred which greatly facilitated the Committee's study of the possibilities of such collaboration. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation had just received a communication from the Council of the International Union, stating that the latter would give the most careful consideration to any proposals or suggestions which the Organisation might care to lay before it. The Committee took note of this communication with keen satisfaction.

The Committee's suggestions are as follows :

1. To instruct the competent service of the League of Nations to consider the possibility of framing either bilateral agreements or an international convention to provide for the granting of special facilities to enable accredited broadcasting correspondents and reporters to enter foreign countries for professional purposes, more particularly in the form of privileged treatment in the matter of the clearance of their equipment through the Customs. The advantages that would follow, from the standpoint of a *rapprochement* between nations, from the sending of broadcasting correspondents and reporters to foreign countries have, as is clear from the memorandum by the International Union, been the subject of very thorough examination by the Union. The experts accordingly pointed out that this was a field in which the assistance of the League of Nations might, by reason of its official character, be of the greatest value.

2. The Committee further suggested that consideration should be given to the ways in which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation might assist broadcasting companies in drawing up their programmes.

The particular question involved here is that of information and documentary material on the work of the League of Nations and the related international institutions.

The experts' suggestions were in line with the wishes formerly expressed by the Scandinavian broadcasting companies to the effect that the Secretariat of the League of Nations should supply broadcasting stations with authoritative documentary material concerning international relations.

3. In connection with this suggestion, there is a further proposal relating to information on international problems and on current developments in science, letters and the arts. M. Kuypers (Belgium) asked that other countries should adopt the Belgian system of broadcasting lecture-cycles devoted to the literature of foreign countries. These broadcasts are supplemented by a series of explanatory booklets which enable listeners to follow the lectures with fuller understanding. M. Munch, on the other hand, asked that negotiations should be entered into with the broadcasting companies in the different countries, with a view to encouraging the broadcasting of talks on international problems.

Account was also taken of the proposals put forward by M. Raøstad and M. Saeland for the creation of an international centre for supplying the public of all countries with information regarding developments in science and, to some extent, in literature and the arts.

4. In addition to these suggestions, the experts proposed that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should, with the assistance of the national committees, compile lists of persons in the various countries qualified to give radio talks in the languages of other countries, on political, economic, social and cultural questions. This is a very interesting proposal and, in this connection, the collaboration of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, which groups together writers, artists and thinkers of the whole world, may be particularly effective.

5. The experts also proposed the creation of gramophone record repositories to permit of the organisation of an international service for the loan and exchange of records of a documentary and educational character (for example, folk music).

6. Finally, they were of opinion that the information service of the Radio-Nations station should be developed, particularly by arranging for broadcast talks by statesmen and other qualified persons.

MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING INFORMATION CONSIDERED BY THE ASSEMBLY.

These conclusions reached by the experts were, on certain points, in line with the proposals which the Secretary-General of the League of Nations had put forward in discharge of the task entrusted to him under paragraph 3 of the Assembly resolution

relating to the means of spreading information at the disposal of the Secretariat.¹ The Secretary-General reached the conclusion that these means should be developed.

These questions were considered by a Sub-Committee under the chairmanship of M. Frisch (Delegate of Denmark). On the basis of the conclusions reached by the experts, the Sub-Committee drew up a programme which was approved by the Assembly.

As regards the *cinematograph*, the programme provides, in particular, for a consultation of all States that have not yet signed the Convention or have signed it and not yet ratified it, in order to ascertain the reasons for their abstention, and endeavour to remove the obstacles which have caused it.

The Assembly approved the experts' views as to the part that should be played by the Rome International Educational Cinematographic Institute. Its function was defined as follows: to promote, encourage and support national action in the different countries with the idea not of exercising supervision over such action but rather of increasing its efficacy and suggesting fresh possibilities.

The Assembly decided that, in 1938, there should be meetings of representatives of the national film institutes now in existence and other bodies working on similar lines. It recommended that the Rome and Paris Institutes should enter into consultations with a view to preparing for meetings between film-producers, scenario-writers, educational experts, intellectuals, etc.

In regard to *broadcasting*, the Assembly approved the principle of technical collaboration between the International Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the International Broadcasting Union and national organisations. It considered, however, that before any practical work was carried out, these suggestions would require to be studied thoroughly by a new committee of experts. For this purpose, it decided that, in 1938, there should be a meeting of a committee whose duty it would be to propose to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation the elements of a programme of technical collaboration with the International Broadcasting Union and the national organisations. This programme will cover the following points:

- (1) Information and documentary material on the work of the League and the main institutions connected with it, for the use of programme-directors in broadcasting stations;

¹ See document A.18.1937.XII.

(2) Documentation on international problems and on science, letters and art in the world to-day;

(3) Preparation by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, with the help of the national committees, of lists of persons in the various countries who are qualified to give broadcasting talks in the language of other countries, for listeners in those countries, on economic, social and cultural problems;

(4) Bilateral agreements for the granting of special facilities to broadcasting reporters duly authorised to travel abroad;

(5) The creation of gramophone-record libraries.

The conclusions of this committee will be communicated to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and ultimately to the Assembly. The latter will thus be furnished with bases on which to establish a detailed programme of technical collaboration with national and international broadcasting organisations.

CONCLUSIONS.

It would certainly be premature to think that the stage of preliminary work has now been passed. Nevertheless, in this matter which seemed to be so complex, several achievements may already be recorded.

The way has been opened for technical collaboration with the International Broadcasting Union and also with the national organisations included amongst its members.

Furthermore, it has been possible, with the help of the representatives of the above-mentioned organisations, to determine the direction in which the League of Nations may most usefully carry out the work contemplated by the Assembly.

Finally, by its approval of the conclusions reached by the experts, the eighteenth Assembly has provided the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation with means which will enable it to continue its studies and look forward to a new period that may be called the period of achievement.

THE TEACHING OF PRINCIPLES AND FACTS OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Following a suggestion of Professor James T. Shotwell, Chairman of the American National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the National Society for the Study of Education had devoted its thirty-sixth *Year-book* to the problem of international understanding through the public school curriculum.¹

This book, which represents the collective work of many American educators, was the subject of a report submitted at the last session of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation by Professor Shotwell and Mr. George F. Zook, Chairman of the National Council on Education in the United States. This volume is to be regarded as a contribution by the United States towards the Advisory Committee's permanent enquiry on the teaching of the facts and principles of international co-operation. The proposals elaborated by the Committee on Moral Disarmament of the Conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments served as a basis for the consultation of the American educators.

The Chairman of the Committee which prepared the volume was Professor I. L. Kandel, of Columbia University. The book consists of thirty-five chapters contributed by prominent educators in the United States.

This work is full of helpful suggestions and deserves to be carefully studied by all educators. The following account confines itself to a few observations of general interest with regard to the problem of teaching international co-operation. It also contains various suggestions with reference to those branches of teaching which have been specially studied by the Advisory Committee.—
[*Editor's Note.*]

* * *

¹ The thirty-sixth *Year-book of the National Society for the Study of Education*, part II, "International Understanding through the Public School Curriculum", edited by I. L. Kandel and Guy Montrose Whipple, Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Illinois, 1937, 406 pages.

Criticisms of Past Experiences.

Too often the educational movement in favour of peace has had a sentimental character. An abstract internationalism has been promoted, ignoring realities. Before any attempt had been made to give youth a solid basis of knowledge, efforts were made to establish a movement of world friendship between the young people of various countries. Experience has shown that sentiments of goodwill inculcated with the help of such methods were ephemeral and quickly forgotten. These evangelical methods of promoting world peace seem to evaporate easily, and give way when confronted with the grim realities of national life and the powerful movements of public opinion.

The collection of studies also emphasises the fact that it is impossible to build up an attitude of loyalty toward an international community which does not as yet exist in the minds of nations and which has not received an institutional expression acceptable to all.

Lastly, American educators are of opinion that the failure of the attempts made hitherto is due to a large extent to the fact that the measures carried out were not adequately related to the subject matter of the school curriculum. This is especially true of demonstrations in favour of world peace, of model assemblies, goodwill days and, to some extent, of international school correspondence. Criticisms are also levelled with regard to the usefulness of teaching international co-operation in separate courses not related to regular courses on geography and history. Those courses are called "international relations", "foreign affairs", "causes of misunderstanding", "effects of war", "international organisation for peace". The purpose of all these courses is to develop "world outlook", "world consciousness" or "world-mindedness". They confront youth with an internationalism that is not based upon attitudes developed in the traditional school curriculum, which aims at national civic education.

A Well-informed Nationalism as a Basis for Internationalism.

Several authors¹ point to the fact that the national systems of education were developed by the States in the course of the last hundred years, in order to turn out well-informed citizens with a patriotic attitude. Whether we wish it or not, for this generation

¹ See notably a remarkable essay by Professor I. L. KANDEL on "Intelligent Nationalism in the Curriculum", page 35 *et seq.*

we must accept nationalism as the essential foundation of education. If the movement for better international understanding and better methods of international co-operation has failed, the reason is to be found in the fact that educational emphasis was placed upon internationalism before any attempt had been made to eliminate the evils of the concepts of nationalism that had been built upon during the nineteenth century. Internationalism, international understanding, international co-operation and amicable international relations have been discussed as metaphysical concepts as it were, existing outside of and apart from nations and their existence. Attention has been directed to the League of Nations or some other method for the pacific settlement of international disputes when it should have been concentrated on the meaning of nationalism. This led to the confusion between internationalism and cosmopolitanism, and from both points of view there seems to have been a failure to understand that internationalism and international understanding are things that exist between nations and that nations must continue to exist.

It is for reasons such as these that patriotism has been criticised as "an absurd prejudice" or "a virtue among barbarians". Such criticisms are sound if patriotism means that love of one's own fellow-men stops at national frontiers; in brief, when it means that the moral code is not valid outside the national group. Such a concept would rest on the old Greek notion that all but our fellow-citizens are barbarians; it would restore the primitive concept of tribalism. At a time when there is a trend towards economic interdependence between nations, the idea of self-sufficiency would rule the world.

International understanding cannot be conceived as a substitute for patriotism, nor does it militate against loyalty to one's own nation. It implies a recognition of interdependence between nations, and a realisation of the contribution that our own nation and other nations can make to a common cause, the cause of humanity. Such an approach to the concept of international understanding emphasises two aspects of nationalism: first the right of each nation to realise its own peculiar characteristics and second, the membership of each nation in the common task of the world.

This synthesis of "nationalism" and "internationalism" could provide the basis for adequate educational work to train well-informed loyal citizens able to grasp the heavy responsibility of each nation for the maintenance of peace and the development of international relations.

*The Study of International Relations : A Method
of understanding Ourselves.*

In a study on international understanding and international interdependence, Professor Shotwell makes a plea for a larger concept of international relations. They include much more than the politics of war and peace, or even dealings in foreign-market plans, and extend to cultural contacts on interchanges that affect the folk-ways of nations. Viewed in this light, this subject is not a casual external item in the school curriculum; it is an approach to an understanding of ourselves as well as of other people in the world in which we live. For all history teaches that self-knowledge comes chiefly through knowledge of others. Contrasts and new perspectives which the study of other nations offers as leads us to think more clearly about ourselves.

However, while the progress of science has revolutionised the relations between man and nations, and while the growth of communications has broken down the physical barriers to isolation, there are mental barriers that do not yield so easily. The dynamic forces of science are checked and conditioned by a past that still endures. The heritage of culture, treasured in both the conscious and the subconscious mind, is as much a determining fact in the policies and attitudes of nations as is their increasing control over nature. Nations, like individuals, have characters moulded by experience and opportunity. They are just as apt or more apt to be swayed by prejudice than by common sense. Policies are often determined by sentiment for a consecrated tradition, for prestige is necessary to Governments as the outside symbol of power, the embodiment of past triumphs in issues long since dead. It follows, therefore, that the study of international relations must include a study of the nations concerned, of their chief interests and characteristics as revealed in their history.

Science and history bring us face to face with the dilemma of the present time, for science is making a world community by levelling the barriers and annihilating distance, and history tends to keep to old patterns of thought and action. The first great effort to solve the problem was the creation of a League of Nations. Whatever we may think of that experiment, it was the recognition both of a world community and of nations with varying ways of doing things. The Covenant put an equal emphasis on each of these when it guaranteed the sovereign independence of members by an agreement to act together against an aggressor. But succeeding years showed that nations were by no means ready to

give this guarantee or make it a reality. The United States was the first to refuse by refusing to accept the Covenant. But the European States were also most reluctant to apply sanctions in Manchuria, in the Chaco and in Ethiopia, because their sense of a world community did not reach to Asia, South America, or Africa.

These failures of the League were due to the fact that the world of nations is not yet a community. A community is a unit—town, country, State or nation—in which the well-being of each individual is of interest to all. Although nations have now, through the unifying influence of science, reached the same kind of interdependence, they are very far from acting as if it were the case. Nationalism, the living embodiment of history, wins the day.

Education can contribute to awaken International Understanding.

In a paper on "Nationalism, Patriotism, Informed Citizenship and International Understanding", Professor Monroe, following the findings of Professor Shotwell, emphasises the fact that no pledge of a juridical character like the Paris Pact or the Covenant will be applied unless Governments and the masses become conscious of the actual degree of interdependence which prevails in the world and of the necessity of friendly co-operation which goes with it. This new attitude of the mind cannot, however, be obtained by education as it exists in the present. The problem, therefore, is what kind of education can be formulated or instituted in the present that will produce citizens both patriotic and possessing the international understanding that is desirable and necessary.

The part which public opinion has been called upon to play since the world war in the field of foreign affairs shows clearly that educational efforts in favour of international understanding cannot be limited to the school but must also enter the field of adult education. Modern means of spreading information have not merely made it possible to propagate information quickly, but also to provoke emotional responses in the large masses of the population. The dangers of the instability of the modern emotional or mental state are apparent chiefly in the political field, but the more fundamental danger is in the intellectual and moral fields. Here the remedy lies in educational processes and adequate forms of adult education.

Parallel to this task is the education of youth. To what extent should universal popular education be directed toward the development of nationalism, patriotism and an informed citizenship and to what extent do such attitudes when developed lead toward international understanding?

Two factors are involved in this problem : the first is that of the content of the school subject, the second that of attitude and character of the teacher. The modern school system has a double function to fulfill. It has to inculcate knowledge and to develop complex attitudes known as patriotism. The modern school had its origin in the conviction that free government could be founded and perpetuated only upon the basis of an informed citizenship. If this is true, the present day curriculum should contain a vast amount of material dealing with the social, economic, political and cultural problems and characteristics not only of our own people but also in a lesser degree of various other peoples, so that a comprehensive, intelligent and sympathetic attitude toward other problems may be developed in school-children.

Moreover, it is necessary that the school should give you elementary notions on international problems and that it should build up the habit to form sane and reasonable judgments about these questions.

It goes without saying that it is not the function of the school system to formulate specific attitudes based on definite solutions of these problems. The teacher must limit himself to give youth as full information as possible, involving not only the facts of the past but also the pros and cons of the case.

Such an orientation of teaching presupposes an adequate training of the teacher, whose attitude is bound to play an important part in the training of his pupils. The teacher should therefore have the opportunity of studying various phases of social, economic and political problems while he is preparing for his future profession. He should also have the opportunity of attending orientation courses on international problems and of securing information of the machinery developed since the world war to facilitate the peaceful settlement of disputes.

However, the teacher should under no circumstances become a propagandist, either of the policy followed by his own Government nor of any other political doctrine. The essential need from the point of view of the profession is to preserve the independence of the teacher, and from the point of view of the teacher to preserve open-mindedness and the right to form an opinion based upon investigation.

Every Subject on the Curriculum can lend itself to the Promotion of International Understanding.

The thesis round which the *Year-book* has been organised is that the development of international understanding is the concern of every teacher, of every subject, in every group of the school. It may be assumed, without entering into current conflicts in educational theory, that the aims of education are twofold: first, to develop certain social attitudes, secondly, to promote the acquisition of knowledge of certain aspects of human culture. How can these contribute to international understanding? If it is the duty of the school to include social attitudes among those that make life in society possible, is a line to be drawn between the functioning of these attitudes within certain national borders and beyond? Fair play, co-operation, service, liberty, justice and honourable conduct are ideals of behaviour that should be valid in the relations, not only between fellow-citizens, but also between all human beings. If the pupil does not grasp this, he may develop the harmful notion that there is a dual standard of morality.

If we now turn from the moral and social to the intellectual attitudes that the school should seek to cultivate, it should be admitted that hitherto the central aim of current educational theory has been to cultivate the habit of critically evaluating facts and of sifting truth from falsehood, the logical from the illogical. Here, again, the question may be asked whether the ability to judge and discriminate is to stop short at problems of national concern. How can the school build up an attitude of intellectual integrity, the foundation of true culture, if it is bound to teach that, in matters of international relations, citizens must continue to be dominated by fears, by misrepresentation, by sentiment and prejudices.

The second aim of education is to promote the acquisition of knowledge of certain aspects of human culture. Despite the fact that curricula and content tend to become nationalised, there is not a subject, activity or experience that is not the common product of the thought and labour of men belonging to various nations and races. To-day, we may say with Pericles that we enjoy the fruits of other countries as if they were our own, both in the material and spiritual realms. Our mother-tongue incorporates contributions from many countries. Our literature may be the product of our nation's history and

traditions and our ways of looking at life, but because it is human it becomes the property of the whole world.

The implications of the humanities, of belles-lettres, for international understanding may not stand out as obviously as those of the sciences. It is easy to show the dependence of scientific progress on the contributions of scientists belonging to various nationalities. Music and art are other subjects that illustrate the thesis that no nation can live unto itself in the realm of culture. Games and athletics and other forms of leisure are another proof of the same truth.

Finally, the social studies offer rich opportunities for discussing national problems in their world setting. Through geography, pupils can gain an insight into how men live in different parts of the world and how, despite these differences, there is an interdependence among mankind for the raw and manufactured products of the world. Commerce, education, transportation, means of communication and finance, each in turn is affected by international considerations. This lesson can be brought home equally by a study of the slow progress of civilisation to which all nations have contributed, and of the slow emergence of interlocking interests among nations.

*The Teaching of History.*¹

It is impossible to teach history without at the same time teaching international relations. Even when teaching local history, an alert educator will bear in mind the background of each concrete historical situation. It will be easy for him to explore with his pupils the social, political, economic and cultural factors which lie at the back of the events to which he refers in his lessons, and he will also be able to point to many important elements which lie outside the national boundaries. He is also bound to explain that the study of history is a study of the development of human groups and their unceasing effort to live in security with their neighbours near and far.

The study of history also opens the way to the study of the thought and action of other nations. Whether the teacher deals with the history of a small community or with universal history, the ways of co-operation between human groups will always

¹ See especially "History: its General Function in the School", by Professor G. S. FORD, page 95 *et seq.*; and "History in the Senior High School", by Professor E. M. HUNT, page 109 *et seq.*

receive attention. Thus history becomes an integral part of education at large, for if it is the school's duty to promote a sound civic attitude, it cannot do so without teaching the young the past experience of the different human groups. History teaching therefore offers many opportunities of developing an attitude of understanding toward the modes of thought of other peoples and the ways in which they have striven to settle their relations with their neighbours.

In the "Charter for the Social Sciences", Charles A. Beard remarks that "the rights and obligations of the United States in the family of nations therefore come clearly within the circle of thought which must be covered by social studies". It would be naïve, however, to assume that increased attention to international relations guarantees any increase in international understanding. The study of imperialism and wars can contribute as readily to the continuation as to the elimination of misunderstanding and ill-will. More promising perhaps is the consideration of the League of Nations, the World Court, peace movements, and disarmament efforts. Unfortunately, the discussion of current events has often been superficial. They are apt to overtax quickly the resources of teachers, pupils and school libraries. That the provision of more information has changed attitudes is not clear, and it is also doubtful whether it has been favourable to international understanding. But, nevertheless, every effort must be made to eliminate prejudices and provincialism from teaching. The study of history must lead to the acceptance of the unity of Western civilisation and the spread of the world-community idea.

Social and cultural or intellectual history is a precious auxiliary in this connection. The development of art, literature and science belongs to national history, as well as the growth of democracy and the industrial revolution. The "conclusions and recommendations" of the Commission on Social Studies summarise very well this new orientation of history study: "Education, being concerned with all cultural interests, is compelled to bring into its programme of instruction the scientific, intellectual, ethical and æsthetic ideals, discoveries and manifestations which gave underlying unity to the culture of the Western world. . . ."

On the other hand, history must emphasise: "changing modes of production and distribution, the succession of social systems, ways of life, and ethical conceptions on the development of democratic ideals and prejudices, the accumulation and spread

of knowledge and learning, and the advance of science, technology and invention. . . .”

*The Teaching of Geography.*¹

As the reading of history should make a citizen of the ages, geography is peculiarly fitted to create a citizen of the world. Its presence in the curriculum is a powerful auxiliary to the promotion of those attitudes which are the basis of just and harmonious relations between peoples of different countries as well as between the different regions of one country. This study, carefully adapted to the degree of experience of the pupils, can be extended to all grades of the school.

Amongst the various types of geography, human geography deserves a special mention as it concerns itself with the economic and political activities of man in the various countries. It emphasises the diversity of races and nationalities and the ways in which human groups overcome difficulties inherent in the structure of the soil and the climate under which it is their fate to live. It explains, too, the way in which men have exploited natural resources and how nations and races, although different from one another, have collaborated together in order to obtain the wealth they need for their livelihood. A study of the subject therefore cannot fail to emphasise the interdependence of countries and the need for co-operation between them.

Unfortunately, a large number of teachers do not seem as yet to be trained to avail themselves of the potentialities of their subject along the lines we have mentioned. It follows that efforts to adapt the study of human geography to the teaching of international understanding should begin with the adequate training of the teaching staff.

*The Teaching of Modern Languages.*²

The same is true with regard to the teaching of modern languages. All teachers have not yet availed themselves of the resources at their disposal to enable their pupils to secure an insight into a foreign civilisation. Yet this branch of study more than any other is suitable for initiating the pupil into the particular endowments of other peoples, for the spoken language

¹ See Chapters XIV, XV and XVI, *ibid.*

² See Chapters XXI and XXII, *ibid.*

reveals the spiritual style and the inner structure of their life. Language is as closely associated with the physical forms of their existence as the mind is with the body.

The language of a nation is linked up with its innermost treasures, with its religion and its mode of thought. Foreign language study therefore offers to the younger generation a unique stimulus for the expansion of its emotional world. Natural science and the laws of conflict of society may open wide spheres for the imagination, but it is in no way comparable with the immediate experience of the joys and suffering of men under other skies revealed by the knowledge of a foreign tongue. Thus the study of modern languages becomes the basis of humanism in a school curriculum. It provides a necessary counterweight to the increasing materialism of existence.

It is to be regretted that many modern-language teachers have not yet understood this. Grammar and syntax as well as the pronunciation of a foreign tongue are a barren field for the young pupil, and very often he cannot understand why he should submit himself to such exercises. Yet a wider world full of new images of which the foreign language holds the key, constitutes the best motive to encourage youth to pursue that study. It offers an opportunity to the younger generations to acquire a sympathetic understanding of at least one foreign nation, which is the best means of giving new impetus to the study of international relations carried on in other branches of the curriculum.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE ENQUIRY UNDERTAKEN, IN 1936, BY THE
CENTRAL UNION OF CZECHOSLOVAK TEACHERS.

An enquiry among secondary-school teachers has shown that although practically everyone realises the inherent weakness of such an unprecedented attempt at intergovernmental organisation as the League of Nations, no one questions its basic principles or suggests anything more drastic than that its present standing should be raised and its methods and procedure improved.

The enquiry also makes it clear that instead of concealing the present political weakness of the League from the younger generations, teachers must, on the contrary, draw their attention to the real situation, so as to induce them to think about the

difficulties in the way of so ambitious an enterprise. It is suggested that pupils should be made to study the principal causes of the present state of affairs. They should be shown how the interests of various countries, whether Members of the League or not, are still in conflict. It also seems advisable to point out the extent to which spurious controversy is created by the various national or international political creeds.

The chief thing, however, is to impress upon young people that the absence of moral unity, a characteristic feature of modern Europe, compels the League of Nations—which without universality cannot accomplish its work—to solicit the accession even of those countries whose policy seems to be at variance with League principles.

From a national point of view, the report reveals the close connection existing between the moral and material interests of Czechoslovakia and the principles on which the Covenant of the League is founded.

In this connection, it refers to certain events in the history of Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) from the fourteenth century onwards—the Hussite wars, the special features of the Reformation in Bohemia, the work of the Moravian Brethren and Comenius, and the influence of these ideas on the social and philosophic thought of Masaryk and Beneš, the founders of the modern State of Czechoslovakia. This movement among the Czechoslovak people is closely related to the aims of the League of Nations. It springs from a desire to organise a form of mutual assistance between peoples and to harmonise and democratise their policies, on the basis, not of doctrines, but of the clear and definite consciousness of their interdependence.

The replies to the enquiry are unanimous in asserting that educational effort is at present being directed towards the transformation of traditional values, methods and points of view—that is to say, the way of thinking prevalent among the masses. Such work, it is obvious, will take time, and it is essential that this vast undertaking should have everything it may need placed at its disposal. For this purpose, the report advocates more ardent League propaganda, by word of mouth and by pictorial representation of every kind. It also observes, however, that the League of Nations will have no other means available than what is granted by the intellectual and moral public opinion of the five continents, and points out that such teaching can only be carried out in countries animated by principles that offer no obstacle to the advance of civilisation.

Public opinion in each country, therefore, must be focused on intellectual and moral unity, while, at the same time, the fundamental point in educating the younger generations should be to restore unity to contemporary Europe.

Lastly, the report affirms that the facts and principles of international co-operation cannot be taught in a dogmatic way. Many facts must be studied which usually have little or no share in the mental make-up of adults—concrete ideas of psychology and sociology, the problem of the individual in society, the psychology of the crowd and public opinion, political economy, philosophy and ethics.

The Teaching of History.

Any teacher who stops to consider how the aims and methods of the League are taught to young people will wonder how he can instil the conception of the march of history—that is to say, the ideas of evolution, transformation and movement—into the historical imagination of his pupils. If he does not succeed in doing this, the pupils will find themselves confronting groups of ideas with no clear connecting link between them, quite incapable of using those ideas to understand the meaning and importance of such institutions as the League of Nations.

The report also stresses the complexity of historical events. Attempts have often been made in education at undue simplification, the result being that pupils cannot form a genuine idea of the relationships between peoples in the present-day world. This amounts to saying that they are being trained to become citizens who will be incapable of understanding the interdependence of peoples and the necessity for international co-operation.

Consideration of the place due to the League of Nations in the history course raises the more general question of whether the subject of man in his relation to society has received adequate recognition in the organisation of secondary education. Scientific training teaches students many things about nature but little about the works of man. Now, neglect of the human factor in education inevitably leads to a dangerous lack of understanding of the difficulties encountered by new initiatives such as the League of Nations, which imply changes in the behaviour of human communities.

As regards methods of teaching the principles of the Covenant, teachers of history recommend that a more important place should be reserved in the syllabus for the study of modern times, and

especially contemporary history. Supervised reading of newspapers and the setting-up of small "seminars" of political culture are suggested as useful aids to the history course.

The report also stresses the danger of attaching too much importance to the reasoning power, without taking moral laws into account. The result of this tendency is to credit technical progress with a significance it cannot really possess. The teaching of history as an element in the training of the man of to-morrow can easily combat this dangerous tendency by pointing out that literature and science are the two great fountain heads of spiritual progress.

Lastly, the report insists on the fact that the teaching of the principles of international co-operation at school will remain unsatisfactory if not accompanied by a similar effort in adult education. It is too often the case that families and the Press sneer at the League of Nations, either from prejudice or because their only ideas are the widespread ones that are better suited to political emotionalism than to an impartial appreciation of facts and events. Young people may thus come under the influence of a public opinion that will destroy everything that has been so carefully built up in the school.

The observations of the historians are backed up by the opinions of the philologists. As a means of arousing the feeling of solidarity among peoples, appeal might well be made to the common origin of the Indo-European tongues. Emphasis might be laid on the migration of words and the facts emerging from the comparative study of syntax. It is also advisable to throw into relief the synthesis of cosmopolitanism and traditionalism in literature and to draw attention to the importance of translation. Czechoslovak literature, born at one of Europe's crossroads, lends itself admirably to the moulding of the spirit of the future. Pupils' reading-books take into account this fortunate position of Czech literature.

The Teaching of Geography.

Geography is perhaps an even better vehicle than history for impressing the necessity of international co-operation upon the younger generations. The League of Nations itself is a creation intimately bound up with the geography of mankind.

No branch of teaching offers so many opportunities for impressing upon young people the idea that the League of Nations can serve a vital need of the civilised world.

In secondary education, endeavours are made to bring out the capital importance of the problem of the distribution of raw materials and to draw attention to the economic interests involved in colonial politics. Attention is also paid to the economic interdependence of the various regions of the globe.

Even in the lower forms, attempts are made to explain the origins of the economic depression and to point out the difficulties which any effort towards recovery through a policy of self-sufficiency has to face. Mention is also made in this connection of the psychological and political effects of economic difficulties.

The report also insists that members of the teaching profession should travel, both alone and in parties. It is unfortunate, however, that most tours for teachers are only for specialised study and very seldom give scope for a methodical appreciation of contemporary events.

As to young people's tours, the report points out that foreign exchange restrictions have forced the education authorities to give up their former practice. Visits to certain seaports had been successfully introduced into commercial secondary education, and this example had been followed by the State secondary schools which, to quote only one instance, had organised study tours to Rome.

Commenting on these experiments, the Studies Secretary of the Union of Teachers issues a warning against overestimating the value of secondary-school pupils' tours. Although the deep impression left on the pupils' imaginations by contact with the life of a foreign people cannot be denied, its importance must nevertheless not be exaggerated. What is called a study tour very often amounts in reality to a hurried journey from one place to another. The resultant impressions, often more sentimental than intellectual, are far removed from the balanced and comprehensive picture that the organisers of the tour had intended to create in the minds of the pupils. In the same way, tours for adults too easily satisfy the mind in its eagerness for change and new sensations; they deform rather than build up the intellect, tend to make men absent-minded and superficial, and help little towards concentration and depth of thought. Even in our days, what enables men of different races and nationalities to achieve that moral unity which is at the root of all mutual understanding is not the misuse of technical advances and facilities in regard to communication, but depth of thought and feeling.

The report nevertheless mentions the satisfactory results of

study tours that have taken place regularly in the various parts of Czechoslovakia. The object of these tours was to stimulate the pupils to a practical appreciation of politics by showing them, as they studied geography, the various ways of life of the Czechoslovak people and the effect of those ways of life on their intellectual and moral position. These tours had tangible results. It was noticed that former pupils, afterwards sent back as State civil servants to the same districts, adapted themselves more easily to their surroundings and were capable of rendering greater service than the pupils who had never gone on study tours.

The report also refers to films and wireless as a means of education. It may be said that, in general, the cinema has not yet found its way into secondary education. Teachers are asking for it, but the schools do not yet possess the necessary apparatus. The pupils are therefore taken several Times a year to public cinemas when suitable films are being shown. Meanwhile, one section of the Central Union of Czechoslovak Teachers is engaged in perfecting a system of broadcasting intended for secondary education.

Some Examples of Methods of teaching the Facts and Principles of International Co-operation in Secondary-school History Courses.

As a direct method, the teachers of the Jirasek Gymnasium at Prague suggest that a concrete survey of the aims, the means and the work of the League of Nations should be included in the modern history course. Special lessons might also be inserted in the course whenever the League holds important meetings or when certain great international problems are discussed. Such events are unusually good material for studying contemporary social and political activity.

As an indirect method, it is suggested that the League might be mentioned whenever past attempts at organising peace or reaching a pacific settlement of international disputes are studied—the Truce of God, the work of George of Podebrad in the cause of peace, the irenic aspirations of Comenius, the Holy Alliance, the Court of Arbitration at The Hague, the *Petite Entente* and the pacts of non-aggression.

However, such teaching should always make it clear that the League of Nations is only one of the means that ensure the existence of the Czechoslovak people as a nation and an independent State. It should at the same time, therefore, be pointed out that the people must strive to maintain their existence by their own

means, by their political, economic, military and, last but not least, moral strength.

Professor V. Novak offers various suggestions on the teaching of history from the national and international points of view.

From the national point of view, pupils should be told how the League of Nations defends and groups together the little States, and even their minorities; it protects them against the arbitrary action and the at times dangerous superiority of the great nations; furthermore, it encourages rivalry between peoples, great and small, in all spheres of human activity.

The history teacher will also point out to his pupils that the State of Czechoslovakia sends representatives not only to the sessions of the Assembly, but also the sessions of the Council, either directly or through the intermediary of another country belonging to the *Petite Entente*.

He will tell them that a testimonial to the work of the representatives of Czechoslovakia is to be found in their election to important posts in the League of Nations at times when serious political problems are being examined.

Lastly, he will lay stress on the fact that the point of view of the representatives of Czechoslovakia and the *Petite Entente* was always taken into consideration whenever the question has arisen of safeguarding peace between the nations of Central Europe.

From the international standpoint, the teacher will explain that, at the present time, mankind is going through a period of economic difficulty due to technical advances and human selfishness, which breed political and social disturbances that the League is doing its best to prevent by grouping together men and nations of goodwill.

The master will also insist upon the necessity of spreading abroad the sentiment of charity and social solidarity within the country, of denouncing the mischief wrought by selfishness, and of making everyone understand the need for a wise solidarity and constant labour until these objects are attained. He will show how economic and intellectual relationships should be extended beyond the frontiers and how the conviction must be strengthened that the best defence against aggressors is to join in the moral and economic pressure that the community of nations may bring to bear, and, in the last extremity, to be prepared for military resistance both as individuals and as a community.

In addition, the teacher will tell how the aggressor or the country guilty of endangering peace has on various occasions been isolated and forced to yield, thanks to the united efforts of the

Members of the League. On the other hand, he will explain how, whenever the League has been divided against itself, or its Members have ignored the moral law, humanity has been exposed to the pernicious influence of the aggressor nations. Lastly, he will show how the moral influence of the League of Nations has helped to improve the lot of the downtrodden classes in various countries by introducing better labour conditions, and he will give an account of the different steps taken in the course of a systematic and united struggle against the last remaining vestiges of inhuman institutions.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

REPORT BY M. A. M. GOSSART, SUBMITTED TO THE LIAISON COMMITTEE OF THE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS ON THE RESULTS OF THE ENQUIRY CONDUCTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF SECONDARY-SCHOOL TEACHERS

The Liaison Committee of Major International Organisations is taking an active part in the work of the Advisory Committee on the teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation. It has contributed to that Committee's permanent enquiry on history teaching by placing at its disposal a report by M. Gossart (February 1937) on an enquiry undertaken by the International Federation of Official Secondary-school Teachers. The latter had adopted in 1929 various recommendations concerning history teaching.

At the request of the Liaison Committee, the Federation has collected the observations suggested to its correspondents by a comparison of the 1929 recommendations with the present position in regard to history teaching in the secondary schools of their countries.¹

• M. Gossart's report is given below.—[*Editor's Note.*]

* * *

¹ Communications from the following were received in response to the enquiry :

Belgium : M. Goblet, Doctor of History.

Bulgaria : M. Stanef, Chairman of the Bulgarian Liaison Committee of Educational Associations and League of Nations Societies.

France : M. Huby, M. Isaac, M. Legaret, general inspectors of history; M. Troux, representative of Agrégés d'Histoire at the Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction publique; M. Boucau, Chairman of the Society of History and Geography Teachers.

United Kingdom : Mrs. Tanner, Convener of the History Panel of

The first two resolutions of the Federation of Secondary-school Teachers deal with the general spirit and aims of history teaching :

“ I. The essential aim of the study of history in secondary schools is neither the moral edification of the pupils nor even exclusively the training of their minds by the study of human evolution; its chief object is to understand and to help the pupils to understand events and men so that they may be judged impartially.”

“ II. History teaching may and should be regarded in all countries as the most effective means of training the future citizen. To this end, national history should form the nucleus of the teaching, especially in the lower classes, but with the strict proviso that it will not tend, either consciously or unconsciously, towards the systematic glorification of the pupils' own country or, above all, towards the constant disparagement of all other countries.”

The Teaching of History and the Training of the Mind.

In none of the countries in question is the teaching of history still regarded as subordinate to the moral edification of the pupils. But that does not mean that this conception is so completely out of date as might appear at first sight. At least one reservation has been made, as shown by the Hungarian reply :

“ The study of history in my country includes among its aims the endeavour to make the pupil understand events and men so that they may be judged quite impartially. But, at the same time, great importance is attached to developing the will-power and training the minds of pupils in the light of historical events and the example set by the great men who have been the benefactors of Hungary and of humanity.”

It would thus appear that history teaching on the lines of Plutarch has not gone quite out of fashion. We need feel no regret on that score, since that conception does not override

Referees of the Association of Headmistresses; Mrs. Wilson, Association of Assistant Mistresses in Secondary Schools.
 Netherlands : M. Lucker, high-school teacher, “ Genootschap van Leeraren aan Nederlandsche Gymnasien ”; M. Buurveld, Algemeene vereniging van leeraren bij het middelbaar onderwijs.
 Hungary : Dr. Madai, Chairman of Orszagos Kozepiskolai Tanargyesulet.
 Norway : M. Rolf Pande.

historical criticism, but rather derives from it its power and usefulness.

With reference to mental training, M. Troux regrets that the first recommendation rather overlooks one important aspect of the problem :

“The aims assigned to history teaching in the first two recommendations appear to me most praiseworthy, but there is one regrettable omission : even in our French lycées and colleges, the object of this teaching should be to develop critical reflection, the critical spirit—a quality in which individuals and nations to-day are conspicuously lacking, since they are only too ready to listen to mystical theories, to obey watchwords that pass unquestioned, peremptory instructions and crass slogans.”

I have quoted this observation because it appears to throw light on what should be the essential aim of French secondary education, particularly in its efforts to co-ordinate the various branches of knowledge.

Moreover, M. Goblet was, I think, drawing attention to the same aspect of the question when he said that :

“It is laid down in the Belgian programme of middle-grade education that the various subjects are not ends in themselves but instruments of general culture. Impartiality is a quality which the cultured man should possess.”

All our correspondents agree that the teaching of history should be based on the following principle laid down in the resolution : “To understand and help the pupils to understand events and men so that they may be judged quite impartially.”

In history teaching the dogmatic rôle of the teacher is reduced to a minimum by the necessities of the subject taught. Some teachers even deny that they have any right to pass judgment, and that appears to be the conclusion which emerges from the resolution : it is not for the teacher but for the child to judge. The teacher's task is to provide him with the means of forming an impartial judgment. With a few slight variations, this is the gist of the various replies. I will quote some of them.

M. Huby stresses the scientific and liberal character of French education :

“We are entitled to believe . . . that French history teaching, which is inspired by a purely scientific spirit, does its utmost to comply with the recommendation of the Liaison

Committee : ‘ to understand and help the pupils to understand events and men’ in the most varied forms of their activities. Like the teaching of all other subjects, it is based on a very liberal spirit and serves no tendentious ends. It is therefore very easy for it to follow the course mapped out by the Liaison Committee and it will always be prepared to pursue that course.”

M. Legaret, who was good enough to summarise the views he expressed in the Advisory Committee at Geneva, emphasised the importance in France from this point of view of practical instruction :

“ This study remains aloof from any desire to establish or justify some particular doctrine and excludes in particular any religious, ethnical or national preoccupations. It might be said that all that is human is of equal interest to it. Besides, practical instruction, which is playing an increasingly large part in history teaching in France, shows the pupils that they should be actuated solely by the desire for objective truth, and develops their critical sense; the putting forward of anything like dogmatic assertions or prejudices and especially of any mystical theories, and hence any uniform official instruction designed to propagate those theories, are therefore ruled out completely.”

M. Locker thought that :

“ Neither moral edification nor mental training based on a system of philosophy of history had been the chief aim of the teaching of that subject in the Netherlands, and neither is that the case to-day. School textbooks for the use of free schools are the only exception to that rule. No great changes have been made since 1929. Nearly all school textbooks are designed to give the pupils a correct understanding of events and men and to enable them to form an impartial judgment of them.”

History Teaching and the Training of the Future Citizen.

As the reader will remember, the second recommendation defines the practical scope of the first one. History teaching is the most effective means of training the future citizen. M. Goblet, however, makes a reservation in this connection :

“ In my opinion, the second resolution, relating to the training of the future citizen, is too vague. It should have

read ' the patriotic training of the future citizen '. We could accept it with that qualification provided it was not exceeded. In Belgium, we are too much attached to our freedom to tolerate official and controlled training at the present time."

This expression might perhaps be more definite, but it is difficult to make it so in an international resolution which must allow legitimate scope for the different national cultures and traditions. We will consider this point by dealing in detail with some of the replies to the more definite corollary: National history must form the nucleus of the teaching. M. Goblet observes that :

" Since our country (Belgium) has been, since 843, the battleground and scene of contest of Western and Central Europe, our national history cannot form the nucleus of instruction. Out of the six years covered by the higher secondary course (*athénées royales*) only two school years are devoted to national history, which, as laid down in the syllabus, should be co-ordinated with general history. (In lower secondary schools (*écoles moyennes*) only two terms of the three years' course are devoted to national history.) "

M. Stanef also remarks that :

" Bulgarian teachers of general and Bulgarian history consider that pupils should learn the past history of those nations which have contributed to the evolution of mankind, that they should be given a thorough knowledge of the rudiments of Bulgarian history from the arrival of the Bulgars in the Balkans down to the present day, and of the history of our neighbours."

Mrs. Tanner emphasised the importance attached to English history in the schools which are members of her Association :

" As we approach more modern times and the history to be studied becomes fuller and more complicated, less and less time can unfortunately be found for European history, so that, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, apart from the great events and characters in European history, it is, as a rule, only treated as it touches English history, though quite a fair proportion of schools do manage, by reducing the amount of English history taught, to give one year definitely to the study of later European history."

Those observations are particularly noteworthy as revealing a different tendency from the usual one : as a rule more importance is given to national history in the lowest classes, the pupils' horizon being subsequently enlarged.

Mrs. Tanner's observations should not, however, be given too wide a scope because she herself stresses the fact that great changes are now taking place in history teaching in England. The great diversity which is a special feature of secondary education in that country should not, I think, be overlooked.

Mrs. Tanner's reply shows that the tendency in history teaching is not so very different from the usual practice to which we have referred, even if this tendency has not as yet been generally adopted. The Historical Panel of the Association of Headmistresses states that :

" The Panel feels strongly that there should be training for citizenship. In some schools, one year's syllabus is devoted to this, more often there are definite lessons alongside ordinary history lessons and always it is kept in mind throughout the general course.

" (a) Another reason for taking national history as the code is the desirability in teaching of proceeding from the known to the less known.

" (b) There is a strong tendency in this country to teach in ever widening circles taking :

- (i) Local history,
- (ii) National and European history,
- (iii) World history.

" (c) The Panel believes in taking European history parallel with English history. This method helps to correct a certain tendency to insularity of outlook, induced partly by our geographical position."

These replies show that the general trend of English history teaching is in harmony with the resolution.

M. Locker points out that national history occupies a relatively minor place in the teaching in the Netherlands :

" In secondary schools, national history is, in most modern textbooks, shown as part of universal history, and never occupies more than a quarter of the total number of pages."

This fact is also underlined by his compatriot, M. Buurveld. He gives a reason which confirms what I have stated above—

namely, that no uniform rules can be imposed upon countries in which conditions differ so greatly :

“The only statement which I cannot fully accept is that national history must constitute the core of the teaching. I believe that, in this country, universal history bulks larger, perhaps because the country is a small one.”

Dr. Madai is unequivocal :

“In Hungary, we consider history teaching to be the most effective method of shaping the future citizen, and national history is the foundation of the whole of the teaching.”

At all events, and whatever shades of opinion stand revealed, all the replies agree as to the need for refraining from any conscious or unconscious systematic glorification of the country and even more from any deliberate disparagement of all other countries.

We may usefully reproduce here certain specific indications given of the efforts made in various countries to ensure that school-books—or, at any rate, those used in public education—should conform to this rule.

M. Rolf Pande draws attention to the significant part played by the Nord Association in Scandinavian countries :

“The Inter-Scandinavian Nord Association, which has been in existence for some years, seeks to foster and stimulate relations between northern countries. It has given special attention to history teaching at the various stages of education. A committee, appointed by the Association, has undertaken a careful examination of all the authorised history books in those countries, and has drawn attention to any unconscious or accidental defects so detected, such as glorification of the native country, lack of impartiality, or narrowness of outlook. As a remedy, the committee recommends close collaboration in Scandinavian countries between authors of schoolbooks. That recommendation has been received favourably, although I am not yet in a position to indicate what practical results have been secured.”

M. Locker points out that a recent official enquiry in the Netherlands has given satisfactory results :

“A recent enquiry, carried out by the Netherlands Commission on History Teaching, from the standpoint of

the attitude shown in textbooks, has shown that the latter are generally free from any signs of jingoism or of vilification of other peoples."

M. Isaac, in an interview he gave me, quoted various concrete examples of the attitude underlying widely used French school-books, and pointed to the need for considering the part played by the teacher as well as that played by the textbook. Thus, in connection with courses in contemporary history and the parts that relate to the origins of the war of 1870 and of the great war of 1914-1918, and with particular reference to the delicate question of atrocities, we find that the author is always careful to present both points of view. The German point of view is put forward in extracts taken from a good textbook (that of Maurer), which was in fairly wide use in Germany in 1930. On the subject of atrocities, documents originating from both sides are quoted, and the author is careful to lay stress upon the psychological factors involved.

Thanks to German initiative, direct contact was established between French and German history teachers, for the purpose of examining history books. After the documentation required had been brought together, a meeting was held at the end of November 1935, which was attended by two duly accredited German teachers and by representatives of the Association of French History Teachers. Forty extremely important resolutions were adopted, with a few reservations on each side, and it was agreed to publish these simultaneously in each country.

Two further replies concerning the impartiality of the history teacher in matters closely affecting national sentiment appear to me to deserve mention. First, M. Goblet states :

"The commonsense of the Belgian citizen, his lack of any inordinate nationalistic feeling, and his spiritual independence, would not tolerate such self-glorification. It must be said, to the credit of our country, and of our school inspectors, that the Belgian teacher enjoys a very wide measure of freedom of interpretation as to the actual programme of study."

Finally, here is the opinion of M. Staneff, who voices the attitude of Bulgarian teachers :

"The pupil's attention must be drawn to the prominent part played by the great men of national history; we must foster in them love for their people and country, and explain

to them, in an objective and impartial manner, relations with foreign countries, with special reference to economic and cultural influences. Conflicts and wars must be explained as natural consequences of the development of peoples and as the results of the influx of foreign elements in the Balkans. The struggles of the Christian peoples in the Balkans to achieve political, religious and cultural freedom are explained without manifesting hatred towards the former masters."

History Teaching and the Solidarity of Mankind.

The third resolution deals with the function that the teaching of history may exercise in giving children an appreciation of the solidarity of mankind :

" History teaching in secondary schools must, particularly in the higher classes, lay stress upon economic phenomena and the inevitable interdependence of all civilised nations; it must also give prominence to the movement towards the solidarity of mankind and the part played in this respect by international organisations, and particularly by the League of Nations, which latter must be given a status proportionate to its importance and activities."

To what extent is economic history dwelt upon, and how far do teachers in the various countries believe that it can be stressed?

This aspect of history, especially when taken in its widest sense, as the history of civilisation, has grown in importance everywhere. In many countries, such as Belgium and France, that importance is fully explained in the instructions. Mrs. Tanner draws attention to the great change which has taken place in Great Britain in the last thirty years : economic and social history is now taking precedence of political history.

Mrs. Wilson confirms this, and gives two specific illustrations :

" (a) Many books dealing with this subject, and intended for school use, are now being published;

" (b) Teachers show a keen desire to obtain university degrees in economics."

Does this mean, however, that military and diplomatic history can now be disregarded in schools? Fearing that the

new tendency might be carried too far, some of those consulted have felt it wise to counsel caution. Here are the most interesting replies on this point :

The Bureau of the Historical Section of Women Secondary-school Teachers in Great Britain states :

“ History should be studied in an all-round manner. In its widest sense, it includes the story of life in all its aspects, and we must take care in teaching not to stress one aspect to the exclusion of others or in such a way as to make one set of causes appear to underlie movements which really are much more complex.”

M. Huby states :

“ In France, the study of history has long included the due consideration of economic phenomena. It is enough, in this connection, to refer to the Ministry's Instructions of September 2nd, 1925, which give repeated evidence of a concern that teachers should pay due regard to the economic causes of important events.

“ French teaching does not, however, on that account seek to exclude other aspects of past events; without desiring to go into the details of military operations or negotiations, we would nevertheless deem it unwise to give insufficient attention to the place occupied by war and diplomacy in the portrayal of the past.”

League of Nations Teaching.

Here again we find unanimity. In all seven countries from which replies have reached us, the League is given its due place, *de facto* and *de jure*, in the teaching of history. What is that place? The importance of the answer to that question justifies, I believe, a brief review of the replies received, every one of which deserves mention.

M. Goblet states :

“ For more than ten years, League of Nations teaching has formed part of our programme.”

M. Staneff states :

“ In Bulgaria, it is the invariable practice, towards the end of each course and by way of conclusion, to explain to pupils that modern times necessitate full co-operation between

peoples, and to express the hope that disputes between nations will find their best solution through the pacific mechanism of the League."

M. Huby states :

"A study of the work of the League has naturally found its place in the programmes of the philosophy and mathematics classes, a place corresponding to the age at which pupils may appropriately be led to take an interest in, and to ponder over, a topic of such importance."

M. Trous :

"The reference to the League of Nations as being given a place in this enquiry worthy of its importance and its work may in fact appear to some of us as a discreet suggestion that we should put forward an apologia for the League. Even if—as I think—this is only apparently the case, we should be very careful to beware any such form of words. The League of Nations is a most important institution of which we should speak, and of which we do speak, as historians and not as propagandists. To trace the origins of the League, its development and its work, without concealing its weaknesses, its deficiencies or its failures, and also without belittling the good work it has done and its successes : such, in my opinion, is the strict duty and the only duty of professors of history and of historians."

M. Boucau :

"The following is the attitude of our Society towards the League of Nations.

"In France, the subject is studied in the highest class of the philosophy-mathematics branch. We have to introduce it in connection with the Treaty of Versailles and of its later history up to about 1933-1935. We take a generally favourable view of the League, bringing out its international rôle, its usefulness, and the services it has rendered and still renders from the international point of view (International Labour Office Statistics, Economic or Social Studies).

"Nevertheless, we study it in the same manner as we study any other human institution; we note its place in history, but, in accordance with the traditions of French history teaching, we do so objectively, without any tendency to disparagement or any intention to apologise for it.

“ It is enough for us to say what is and what has been, and to point out what might be. Most French history teachers would not agree to give ‘one-way’ teaching, whether in the direction of deliberate attack upon the institution or systematic defence of it.”

M. Legaret :

“ So far as concerns actual knowledge of the League, the present organisation of French teaching programmes provides for the study by the various classes of long periods of history taken successfully in chronological periods. In other words, from the historians point of view, the League of Nations represents an historical fact which finds its natural place in the programme of contemporary history as taught at the end of the secondary courses in the elementary philosophy and mathematics classes. Hence, it is only in those classes that reference is made to the League, its origin, its organisation and its activities, and teachers always devote one lesson to the League.

“ It is not referred to in the other classes, because the period studied does not involve reference to it.

“ It is therefore desirable, as has been suggested at Geneva, that the League should take the necessary steps to make itself known :

“ (a) By short but informative pamphlets to be distributed to all pupils;

“ (b) By detailed works to be placed in all school libraries;

“ (c) By the means of publicity available through the recent introduction of broadcasting in schools.”

Mrs. Tanner :

“ A large number of English secondary schools have as one of the school activities a junior branch of the League of Nations Union, membership of which is voluntary; these branches hold regular meetings and, by means of lectures given by outsiders or by the members themselves, study circles, debates, model meetings of the Assembly, etc., keep themselves informed of matters being dealt with by the League of Nations.”

Mrs. Wilson :

“ The Panel believes in taking the League of Nations as an event of great historical importance and giving information

about its work, not from the point of view of propaganda, but as history."

M. Locker :

"The League of Nations is treated in almost all textbooks in the Netherlands. An enquiry carried out by the Netherlands Commission for History Teaching and concluded two years ago showed that in 26 % of the school books the account given of the League was satisfactory, in 30.5 % adequate, in 34.5 %, inadequate."

M. Madai :

"In Hungary, in the higher classes for the study of history, stress is laid on phenomena of an economic character and on the necessary interdependence of all civilised nations. The movement towards the solidarity of mankind is emphasised, and great benefits for the country are anticipated from that movement. Full attention is given to the international organisations which are evidence of this movement towards the solidarity of mankind, and particular interest is taken in the League of Nations, the loftiest rôle of which is regarded in our country as the protection of the weak and the redress of injustice."

M. Rolf Pande :

"It may perhaps interest you to know that all history textbooks used in Norwegian primary and secondary schools devote several pages to the activities of the League, and that information as to international organisations which stand for the solidarity of mankind is included in our programmes."

* * *

• This evidence is far from complete and I am not qualified to draw any conclusions from it. One reassuring impression that may be inferred from it is that there is a certain community of views. On this point, I may perhaps say that this agreement on the essential point shows the value of our international professional associations. There must necessarily be a certain unity of view among persons whose profession confronts them with the same actual facts, and this unity may render very valuable service to the cause of peace, particularly in the case of men whose mission is to educate the citizens of to-morrow, men who themselves have been trained in the humanities.

The Joint Committee is therefore only doing its duty in following vigilantly, encouraging and, where necessary, suggesting action on these lines. I think, in particular, that it should use its influence to prevent certain initiatives from being forgotten as a result of unfortunate circumstances, and also perhaps by reason of certain hostile attitudes or indifference in some quarters.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK

THE PROBLEM OF RAW MATERIALS AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

IMPORTANCE OF RAW MATERIALS.

Every reader of the newspapers and every observer of public affairs is aware of the part played in the structure of the different national economies and in international trade relations by certain important raw materials, such as coal, petroleum, iron, copper, tin, aluminium, lead, zinc, nickel, textile fibres, wood, rubber, fats, etc. These commodities are indispensable to the most varied industries, which could no more do without them than the human organism could do without regular and suitable food. The unprecedented impetus acquired by technical methods during the last one hundred and fifty years, the growth of many new industries and the ever more varied use of different raw materials rendered possible by science are all factors which have served to increase the importance of these materials to economic life, political power and to the very existence of nations.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE.

Throughout history, and more particularly since the great geographical discoveries which marked the beginning of modern times, statesmen and economists who have had the future of their people at heart have always been preoccupied with the problem of procuring raw materials for their countries. But it was not until the rapid industrialisation of the principal European countries during the last century that the problem of raw materials acquired the great importance it has to-day.

When nations realised for the first time that technical and scientific progress enabled them to create new industries capable of providing work for millions of people and of thus raising the general standard of living, and when, at the same time, they became aware of the advantages which rich supplies of raw materials on their own territory gave them for competing on the

world market, then began the modern era of imperialism, of the struggle for the possession of oversea territories with their coveted storehouses of raw materials, of the struggle, too, for markets which made it possible to acquire the financial resources necessary for the purchase of the basic products for growing or fully developed industries.

This struggle for the possession of territories rich in raw materials constituted one of the most important aspects of pre-war international policy. Furthermore, certain *de facto* monopolies of raw materials of great importance, held by private individuals or by countries, inevitably created a certain uneasiness among nations with a less productive soil or sub-soil or a less favourable climate. Yet, during this period, no country was faced with insurmountable difficulties in obtaining raw materials. It is easy to understand why the relatively free movement of commodities, capital and labour, which was the guiding principle of the commercial policy of this period, enabled, generally speaking, every nation possessing a developed economic system to participate in the general well-being and to obtain, in exchange for services which its special structural conditions made it possible for it to render to the international community, all the commodities required for its economic expansion.

POSITION IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE WORLD WAR.

The world war destroyed enormous quantities of economic goods of every kind; what was more important, it also destroyed the ingenious system of international division of labour which formed the basis of peace-time international economy. On the other hand, it profoundly modified the position of the different countries in regard to the problem of obtaining raw materials for their industries. It was then that certain nations experienced for the first time real difficulties in securing imports of raw materials which were necessary, not only for their well-being, but also for their very existence. As a result of control and restrictions introduced into numerous States during and immediately after the war, and as a result, too, of the collapse of some national currencies, a certain scarcity of raw materials made itself felt and slowed down the return to normal activity, particularly in certain industrial countries of continental Europe. This state of affairs gave rise to numerous demands that some form of international action capable of solving this burning problem should be attempted.

FIRST EFFORTS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Thus, as early at March 1919, the Italian delegates to the Raw Materials Committee of the Peace Conference submitted a motion on this subject. Other recommendations and resolutions by various international bodies followed and caused the Council of the League, in October 1920, to instruct the Economic Section of its provisional Economic and Financial Committee to open an enquiry into the matter. As a result of this enquiry the Economic Section submitted a report in September 1921, to which was annexed an examination of the various aspects of the problem of raw materials by Professor Gini.

Unfortunately, the proposals contained in this report led to no practical results. This was due to the fact that the enquiry had been decided upon at a time of high prices and scarcity of raw materials, whereas, at the time of the publication of the report, the world economic situation had undergone a profound change. There had been a heavy fall in prices; producing countries, not importing countries, were now faced with obstacles on the raw-materials market and had difficulties in finding purchasers for their products. Professor Gini's work had no longer the same immediate interest and remained almost unnoticed.

LATER WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Since then, the question of raw materials has only been examined by the League in connection with the general efforts made to restore the international economic system to the state of equilibrium and relative freedom which prevailed before the war. Thus the World Economic Conference of 1927 and the Monetary and Economic Conference of 1933 laid great emphasis on the importance of a better organisation of production and of a better distribution of the principal raw materials in order to establish international trade relations on a sound and durable basis. Something was done, though this work was confined to certain products, in particular hides and bones (international agreements of 1928 regulating exportation), coal, sugar and cement, and, later, a certain number of other important commodities, such as wheat (Conference of August 1933, which laid the foundations of an agreement for the reorganisation of the international wheat market).

Generally speaking, however, the League's economic activity

was more concerned with freeing international trade from multifarious obstacles than with solving the problems relating to raw materials.

DEVELOPMENTS UP TO THE ENQUIRY OF 1937.

The problem of raw materials again became urgent, however, when, during the general economic depression which began in 1929, many countries once more found themselves confronted with ever-increasing difficulties in obtaining raw materials. It is true that in the case of some countries these difficulties were chiefly connected with payments for such materials and were the result of a shortage of foreign exchange which was due to the fall in prices, particularly agricultural prices, to the shrinking of international trade and to the financial and banking collapses which marked the beginning of the crisis. But the more the economic depression deepened, chiefly as a result of political events that need not be mentioned here, the more another aspect of the problem of raw materials attracted attention in public discussion. From now on, the supply of raw materials played an important part in every State which was anxious to secure a continuous development of all its forces of production and aspired at the same time to be economically and politically as independent as possible of foreign countries. This preoccupation led several States to demand a redistribution of certain territories rich in raw materials and caused them, moreover, to adopt an economic policy aiming at complete autarchy.

The general interest thus aroused in this aspect of the problem of raw materials was reflected in a proposal made by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Samuel Hoare, to the Assembly of the League (September 1935) for an enquiry limited to colonial raw materials and laying special stress on the unrestricted distribution of such raw materials among industrial countries needing them, so as to dispel all fears of exclusion or monopoly.

The question was raised again at the Assembly in the following year by Mr. Eden, Sir Samuel Hoare's successor, with the result that the Assembly adopted a resolution requesting the Council to appoint a Committee of Enquiry into the question of equal commercial access for all nations to certain raw materials.

WORK OF THE COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY.

In response to this Assembly resolution, the Council set up, early in 1937, a Committee consisting of members of the Economic

and Financial Committees of the League of Nations and of other experts belonging to States, whether Members of the League or not, which were particularly interested in the problem of raw materials. As regards countries not members of the League, Brazilian, American and Japanese experts took part in the Committee's proceedings, but it was unable to procure the assistance of German or Italian experts.

In the course of its proceedings, the Committee also called in the assistance of several other experts, either to examine in greater detail the difficulties of transfer and payment of certain countries, or to study certain financial and economic suggestions which had been submitted to it. It held three sessions, in March, June and September, 1937, respectively. After its third session, the Committee published a report, of which the following is a brief summary.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY.¹

Keeping strictly to its terms of reference, the Committee avoided dealing with the political questions connected with the problem of raw materials. It accordingly refrained from considering any new distribution of territory, any possibility of reforming the mandates system, or any other reforms likely to have a far-reaching effect on the present situation, although these questions have been frequently discussed in public. At the same time, the Committee did not confine itself to studying the question of colonial raw materials. It made a general examination of the possibility of international co-operation in facilitating commercial access to raw materials for all countries engaged in peaceful trade.

The Committee recognises that the unequal distribution of raw materials is liable to cause difficulties to countries lacking these materials, particularly when, for demographic or financial reasons, they are obliged to develop their industrial production during a period of international economic depression. But it regards the question of raw materials primarily as an aspect of the more general problem of the widest possible restoration of conditions of equilibrium in international trade. These conditions include the free circulation of persons, goods and capital. Once this has been achieved, the difficulties at present experienced by certain countries in obtaining supplies of raw materials

¹ Document A.27.1937.II.B. : Report of the Committee for the Study of the Problem of Raw Materials.

will, in the Committee's opinion, completely disappear, or will at any rate be greatly reduced.

Further, the Committee recalls certain general considerations which, in its opinion, have not been sufficiently taken into account in the previous discussions. Among the points it emphasises is the fact that the relative importance of certain raw materials undergoes considerable changes owing to technical progress. Moreover, the problem takes on two very different aspects in a period of shortage and in a period of abundance of raw materials. In normal circumstances, the profitability of the exploitation of certain raw materials takes precedence over the desire to possess at any cost territories containing such materials. Moreover, while the Committee is mindful of the fact that the importance of a raw material is not indicated by its aggregate weight or value in international trade but consists in the greater or less degree of indispensability which it possesses for the industry of the consuming countries, it draws attention to the fact that the majority of raw materials are produced, not in colonies, but wholly or to a great extent in sovereign countries. Lastly, examining the argument often put forward in the debates on raw materials, that certain countries have a special interest in a ready access to raw materials, since the increase in their population forces them to rapid industrialisation, the Committee considers that the relationship between population increase and raw-material supply is not so closely connected with the national resources of any given country as with the development of international commercial relations.

As regards the definite complaints made by countries lacking raw materials, the Committee draws a distinction between those concerning the supply of such products and those concerning their payment.

The Committee considers that the difficulties experienced by certain countries in connection with the supply of raw materials are less serious than those concerning their payment. It has divided them into five categories : prohibitions and restrictions on the export of raw materials; export duties; measures restricting the free exploitation of natural resources; international regulation schemes relating to the supply of raw materials, and monopolies hampering the free circulation of raw materials owing to their tendency to cause an artificial rise in prices.

The Committee recommends that all nations, either by autonomous action or by an international convention, should bind themselves not to use prohibitions or restrictions designed to

apply pressure to other countries, to preserve uneconomic industries or to maintain an artificial level of prices, either by creating an excessive supply in the internal market, by starving the market or by maintaining monopolies or quasi-monopolies.

Similarly, the Committee hopes that no unjustifiable hindrances will be placed in the way of the development of natural resources, and that, particularly in colonial territories, the different forms of discrimination against the nationals of third countries will be progressively modified in favour of a more liberal policy.

The question of regulation schemes arose in a very delicate form, for, in the past, some of these schemes had met with very severe criticism on the part of consumers (persons or countries) of the products in question. While the Committee recognises the defects or dangers that might be, or have in certain cases been, presented by such schemes, it considers that the Governmental regulation schemes at present in force (in regard to tin, rubber, tea and sugar) have, in general, had good effects. It accordingly recommends that the main principles contained in these schemes should be applied, either by autonomous action of the States concerned, or by international understanding, to all official or private schemes for the regulation of the production or sale of raw materials (including certain foodstuffs). Among these principles may be mentioned an effective representation of consumers, adequate publicity, as complete Governmental control as possible, and sufficient elasticity to enable account to be taken of the necessities of the situation.

The Committee recognised that several countries are experiencing great difficulties in acquiring and paying for certain raw materials. It expressed the opinion that these difficulties were largely due, either to the financial and economic policy practised by these countries, or in some cases to their armaments policy. In the Committee's opinion, these difficulties would be much reduced if countries once more showed a sincere spirit of international co-operation in their foreign relations. Nevertheless, the only really permanent solution of the problem of raw materials must consist in the restoration of international exchanges in men, goods and capital on the widest basis.

Pending this restoration, which will naturally necessitate a profound modification in the political, economic and financial conditions of to-day, the report makes certain suggestions regarding the technical measures which might mitigate the greatest difficulties and prepare the way for a return to a more normal

regime of international trade. In this connection, it emphasises the necessity for concerted international action, aiming chiefly at a general restoration of freedom of transfers, at placing the economic structure of the countries which have suffered most severely from the depression on a sounder footing, and at the gradual removal of the worst obstacles to the development of international trade (clearings, exchange control, quotas, etc.).

Hence, the Committee recognised that the only true solution for the problem of raw materials is the restoration of the international economic situation on the lines advocated for many years past by the competent technical organs of the League of Nations.¹

DECISIONS TAKEN BY THE 1937 ASSEMBLY IN CONNECTION WITH THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RAW MATERIALS.

Almost simultaneously with the appearance of the report of the Committee on Raw Materials, the Economic Committee of the League of Nations published a report² containing conclusions and recommendations similar to those of the report we have just summarised. On the proposal of the Committee on Raw Materials, the Assembly requested the competent technical organs of the League—namely, the Economic and Financial Committees—to pursue, in consultation with the parties concerned, the study of the methods which should be adopted in order to apply these conclusions and recommendations. The two Committees met at the end of November 1937 in order to decide upon the methods and programme to be adopted in carrying out this important task entrusted to them by the Members of the League of Nations.

¹ See, in this connection, the studies published in the *Bulletin* of December 1934 and December 1936 under the following titles: "The League of Nations and World Economy" and "The League of Nations Economic and Financial Organisation and the Franco-Anglo-American Bid for Economic Recovery".

² Document C.358.M.242.1937.II.B.: "Remarks on the Present Phase of International Economic Relations (September 1937): The Carrying-out of the Programme of the Tripartite Declaration of September 26th, 1936".

REFORM OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS : APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE COVENANT.

CHAPTER I.—HISTORICAL SUMMARY AND DOCUMENTATION.

This study is divided into two chapters.

Chapter I, "Historical Summary and Documentation", which is necessarily dry, traces the various stages of procedure, quotes the main decisions taken and indicates the sources from which the documentary material is drawn.

Chapter II describes the position now reached in this matter, and examines certain specific problems.

Origin of the Question.

The question of reforming the League was first raised, as a result of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute, at the session of the League Assembly held in July 1936 (continuation of the sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly).

On July 4th, 1936, the Assembly adopted the following resolution :¹

" I.

" The Assembly,

" (1) Having met again on the initiative of the Government of the Argentine Republic, and in pursuance of the decision to adjourn its session taken on October 11th, 1935, in order to examine the situation arising out of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute;

" (2) Taking note of the communications and declarations which have been made to it on this subject;

" (3) Noting that various circumstances have prevented the full application of the Covenant of the League of Nations;

" (4) Remaining *firmly attached to the principles of the Covenant*, which are also expressed in other diplomatic instruments such as the declaration of the American States, dated

¹ Records of the Sixteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, Plenary Meetings, Part II, page 65.

August 3rd, 1932, excluding the settlement of territorial questions by force;

“(5) *Being desirous of strengthening the authority of the League of Nations by adapting the application of these principles to the lessons of experience;*

“(6) Being convinced that it is necessary to strengthen the real effectiveness of the guarantees of security which the League affords to its Members;

“Recommends that the Council :

“(a) Should invite the Governments of the Members of the League to send to the Secretary-General, so far as possible before September 1st, 1936, any proposals they may wish to make in order to improve, in the spirit or within the limits laid down above, the application of the principles of the Covenant;

“(b) Should instruct the Secretary-General to make a first examination and classification of these proposals;

“(c) Should report to the Assembly at its next meeting on the state of the question.”

Views of Governments.

1. In reply to the invitation extended to them; twenty-seven Governments forwarded a written communication to the Secretary-General. Other Governments expressed their views orally, in the course of the general discussion at the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly (September-October 1936).

2. The views expressed in writing or orally have been analysed and collated by the Secretariat of the League and published in a special document.¹

3. The question of the application of the principles of the Covenant was examined during the general discussion at the eighteenth ordinary session of the Assembly (September-October 1937).

¹ *Official Journal of the League of Nations*, Special Supplement No. 154. The main contents are the written communications from Governments, which are reproduced in full, and the Secretariat's analysis of all the views expressed, in writing or verbally, by Governments.

The reply of the Netherlands Government, dated December 2nd, 1936, and the second reply of the Polish Government, dated December 9th, 1936, were received too late for inclusion in this document.

*Creation of the Committee of Twenty-eight.**The Assembly Resolution of October 10th, 1936.*

On October 8th, 1936, the Assembly decided to set up a Special Main Committee "for the question of the application of the principles of the Covenant and of problems connected therewith".¹ This was to be an Assembly Committee similar to those (First to Sixth Committees) normally reporting to the full Assembly.

The Committee met twice to consider the setting-up of an Investigating Committee, which would take up the problem of the application of the Covenant. The composition of this Committee—*i.e.*, the number of members—was discussed at some length.

On October 10th, 1936, the Assembly, on the proposal of the Special Main Committee, adopted the following resolution:²

¹ The Assembly,
Acting upon the recommendation adopted by the Assembly on July 4th, 1936;

Having regard to the replies of the Governments of States Members to the invitation extended to them in pursuance of that recommendation;

Having regard to the statements that have been made concerning the application of the principles of the Covenant during the general discussion;

Considering that, among the problems which arise out of the question of the application of the principles of the Covenant, and which must therefore be covered by the enquiry into that subject, mention should be made of the problem, already considered by the League, of harmonising or co-ordinating the Covenant with other treaties of a universal tendency aiming at the pacific settlement of international disputes—that is to say, the Treaty for the Renunciation of War, signed at Paris on August 27th, 1928, and the Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, signed at Rio de Janeiro on October 10th, 1933, on the initiative of the Argentine Republic—which treaties fall within the scope of Article 21 of the Covenant and, like the Covenant, are designed to ensure the maintenance of peace;

Considering that another problem already envisaged by the League of Nations is also connected with the question of the application of the principles of the Covenant—namely, the prohibition, in virtue of the provisions of the Covenant, of the supply of arms and war material to belligerents—a problem the study of which was entrusted by the Council to a Special Committee, which suspended its work owing to the fact that the Assembly was also dealing with the question of the application of the principles of the Covenant:

Decides to set up a Special Main Committee of the kind provided for in Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure for the question of the application of the principles of the Covenant and all problems connected therewith, the Committee to report to the Assembly and submit its recommendations to the latter on the manner in which the study of these problems should be pursued. (Records of the Seventeenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, Plenary Meetings, pages 108-9.)

² Records of the Seventeenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, Plenary Meetings, page 141.

“ The Assembly,

“ Recalling its recommendation of July 4th, 1936, and its resolution adopted on October 8th, 1936;

“ Adopts the foregoing report (document A.83.1936.VII); and

“ Decides to set up the Committee proposed in this report to study all the proposals which have been, or may be, made by Governments regarding the application of the principles of the Covenant and the problems connected therewith.

“ On the basis of this study, the Committee will prepare a report, as soon as possible, indicating the definite provisions the adoption of which it recommends with a view to giving practical effect to the above-mentioned recommendation of July 4th, 1936.

“ This report shall be submitted to the Governments of the States Members of the League of Nations to serve as a basis for the decisions to be taken in this matter.

“ The Committee shall be authorised to propose a special session of the Assembly, should it consider it advisable to do so.”

The New Committee set up by the Assembly Resolution of October 10th, 1936 (“ Committee of Twenty-eight ”).

Composition of the Committee.—The report¹ submitted by Mr. Bruce (Australia), to which reference is made in the Assembly resolution, indicates how the committee should be constituted. It states :

“ . . . the Committee considered that, since the question was one of vital interest to all Members [*i.e.*, the Members of the League] it would be well to contemplate the establishment of a committee on which all the views expressed would be represented. The Council, to a great extent, represents those views; but the Committee considered that there was occasion to follow certain precedents and to propose to the Assembly the setting-up of a larger committee, including, besides representatives of all the Members of the Council, the delegates of certain League Members who do not at present hold seats on the Council.

¹ Records of the Seventeenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, Minutes of the Special Main Committee, page 28.

“ The Committee therefore proposes that the suggested committee should be composed of the following Members of the League :

Argentine,	Italy,
Austria,	Latvia,
Belgium,	Mexico,
Bolivia,	Netherlands,
United Kingdom of Great	New Zealand,
Britain and Northern Ireland,	Poland,
Bulgaria,	Portugal,
Canada,	Roumania,
Chile,	Spain,
China,	Sweden,
Czechoslovakia,	Switzerland,
Écuador,	Turkey,
France,	Uruguay,
Greece,	Union of Soviet
Iran,	Socialist Republics.

“ The Committee further proposes that the committee thus constituted should be empowered to invite to take part in its discussions, during the consideration of any given proposal, any other member of the League whose opinions it might seem desirable to ascertain.”

Competence of the Committee.—The Committee is competent to examine four questions.

Three questions were referred to the Committee by the Assembly.

In the first place the Committee has to study *the proposals made by Governments regarding the application of the principles of the Covenant.*

Mr. Bruce's report states :

“ As regards the committee's terms of reference, the Committee recalls that these are defined in two texts already adopted by the Assembly : the recommendation of July 4th, 1936, and the resolution voted on October 8th.

“ These texts define the spirit in which the Assembly hopes that the study which it has undertaken will be carried out.”

In the second place the Committee has to examine two further questions : *the harmonising of the Covenant of the League with the Pact of Paris, and the supply of arms and war material to belligerents.*

Mr. Bruce's report states in this connection :

" It follows from the resolution adopted by the Assembly on October 8th that the Committee which it is proposed to set up would take the place of the Committee of all the Members of the League appointed by the Assembly's resolution of September 25th, 1931, and also of the Special Committee appointed to study the question of the prohibition, in virtue of the provisions of the Covenant, of the supply of arms and war material to belligerents."

One question has been referred to the Committee of Twenty-eight by the Council.

A resolution adopted by the Council of the League on January 26th, 1937,¹ referred a further question to the Committee of Twenty-eight : *in what circumstances and subject to what conditions an advisory opinion may be requested under Article 14 of the Covenant.*

Functions of the Committee.—The Committee will have to formulate proposals for submission to Governments, in accordance with the terms of the Assembly resolution of October 10th, 1936.

*First Session of the Committee of Twenty-eight.
(December 14th to 17th, 1936.)*

The Committee of Twenty-eight elected M. Bourquin (Belgium) as Chairman.

The Committee, at its first session, drew up its programme of work.

Establishment of the List of Questions to be examined.

The Committee took as a basis a summary of the questions raised by Governments in their observations on the application of the Covenant. It divided all these questions into two categories, the first consisting of questions which, because of their

¹ Ninety-sixth Session of the Council, Minutes, page 108.

The resolution states :

" 1. The Council requests the Committee set up by the Assembly's resolution of October 10th, 1936, to study the application of the principles of the Covenant and the problems connected therewith, to undertake a study of the question formulated by the Assembly's resolution of September 28th, 1935—viz., the question in what circumstances and subject to what conditions an advisory opinion may be requested under Article 14 of the Covenant."

importance or their state of development,¹ should be dealt with first.

In classifying the questions, the Committee took specially into account the number of Governments which, in their observations, had drawn attention to such and such a question.

The Two Categories of Questions singled out by the Committee for Examination.

Category I.

Universality of the League of Nations.—This question was among those mentioned by the largest number of Governments. It was specified that the general question of universality embraced the following problems :²

(1) Participation of all States in the League; (2) collaboration with non-member States; (3) co-ordination of the League Covenant with the Pact of Paris and the Argentine Pact (Treaty of Rio de Janeiro of October 10th, 1933); (4) general or continental organisation of the League.

It was understood that, in connection with the question of collaboration with non-member States, special forms of co-operation (economic and financial co-operation, co-operation with a view to international *rapprochement*) might be discussed, in addition to collaboration in general.

*Separation of the League Covenant from the Peace Treaties.*³

*Choice of Methods to be used for the Application of the Principles of the Covenant.*⁴—Various methods could be employed, such as the amendment of the Covenant, the adoption of resolutions by the Assembly, the conclusion of agreements supplementing the Covenant.

*Article 10.*⁵—Article 10 was included in the first category owing to its connection with Article 16.

*Article 11.*⁵—A large number of Governments made proposals or declarations with regard to Article 11.

¹ Proposal made by the Chairman and adopted at the Committee's second meeting; Minutes, pages 1 and 2 (December 15th, 1936).

² Observation by the Chairman at the second meeting on December 15th, 1936, pages 3 and 13, and decision of the Committee, page 14.

³ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes, Second Meeting, page 13.

⁴ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes, Third Meeting, pages 7 to 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, page 15.

*Article 16.*¹—Many Governments expressed opinions regarding Article 16.

*Article 19.*²—A considerable number of Governments referred to Article 19.

Category II.

The questions included in the second category were as follows :

*Interpretation of the Covenant.*³

Article 1 ⁴ (Admission and Withdrawal of States).

Article 3 ⁴ (The Assembly).—Two Governments raised the question of the respective jurisdictions of the Council and the Assembly.

Article 4 ⁴ (The Council).—The Chairman called attention to the fact that, by an Assembly resolution, the question of the composition of the Council was to be submitted to a special technical committee. That was not a sufficient reason for the Committee to shelve it, but it should be classified in category II.

Article 7 ⁵ (The Secretariat).

Article 13 ⁶ (Arbitration or Judicial Settlement).

Article 14 ⁶ (Permanent Court of International Justice).

Article 21 ⁷ (Regional Agreements).

Article 22 ⁷ (Mandates).

Questions held over.

Article 5 ⁸ (Unanimity Rule).—The Chairman pointed out that no Government had proposed to change the general rule laid down in Article 5, but had merely suggested that exceptions should be made to it in special cases, and in the case of Article 11 and Article 14 in particular. The question should therefore be examined in connection with those articles.

Article 8 ⁹ (Disarmament).—The Chairman observed that, for

¹ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes, Third Meeting, page 17:

² *Ibid.*, page 18.

³ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes, Second Meeting, pages 15 and 16.

⁴ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes, Third Meeting, page 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, page 13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, page 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, page 18.

⁸ *Ibid.*, page 12.

⁹ *Ibid.*, page 14.

the moment, the question of disarmament belonged to another body—namely, the Disarmament Conference.

*Article 12*¹ (Prohibition of Resort to War).—Article 12 was not examined as such. The Chairman pointed out that the question of the bringing into harmony of the League Covenant with the Pact of Paris raised by several States came under the question of the co-ordination of the different pacts which formed part of the question of universality already classified in category I.

*Article 15*² (Enquiry and examination by Council).—The Chairman said that the observation on this article made by one Government really related to Article 16.

*Article 18*³ (Registration of Treaties).—The Chairman said that the observation on this article made by one Government was connected with the question of regional security pacts—*i.e.*, with Article 16.

New Questions.

The Chairman said that Governments had every latitude to refer new questions to the Committee.³

Organisation of Preparatory Work.

Documents and Reports.

The Committee of Twenty-eight, after classifying the questions to be examined, decided how the preparatory work should be undertaken.

It decided, on the one hand, that the League Secretariat should prepare the documentary material and, on the other, that Rapporteurs, chosen from among its members, should report on the various questions.

It was specified that the Rapporteurs' task would be not to propose solutions but to raise problems,⁴ that the Rapporteurs would each act on his own responsibility but would keep in touch with each other and that they would form, not a committee, but a group.⁵

¹ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes, Third Meeting, page 15.

² *Ibid.*, page 17.

³ *Ibid.*, page 18.

⁴ Committee of Twenty-eight, Statement by the Chairman, Minutes, Fourth Meeting, page 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, page 6.

Appointment of Rapporteurs and Distribution of Questions among them.

The majority of the questions assigned to the Rapporteurs are those classified by the Committee in Category I, but they also include a few coming under Category II.

Moreover, the list of questions on which separate reports are to be drawn up was not based simply on the list of questions divided by the Committee into the two categories mentioned above. For instance, the general question of the universality of the League has been dealt with in four separate reports. On the other hand, several articles of the Covenant have been dealt with in a single report relating to the pacific settlement of disputes.

A memorandum (documentation) has been prepared by the Secretariat for each report.

The list of rapporteurs and the subjects of the reports and memoranda by the Secretariat is given below, showing the position as at November 15th, 1937.¹

List of Reports and Memoranda.

I. *Participation of all States in the League of Nations.*

1. Report by Viscount Cranborne (United Kingdom), document C.S.P.20, September 8th, 1937.

2. Memorandum by the Secretariat annexed to the said report.

II. *Collaboration between the League of Nations and Non-Member States.*

1. Report by Viscount Cranborne (United Kingdom), document C.S.P.21, September 8th, 1937.

2. Memorandum by the Secretariat, annexed to the said report.

III. *Co-ordination of the League Covenant with the Pact of Paris and the Saavedra Lamas Pact.*

1. Report by M. C. Pardo (Argentine), document C.S.P.18, April 30th, 1937.

2. Memorandum by the Secretariat, document C.S.P.6, August 25th, 1937.

IV. *Regional or Continental Organisation of the League of Nations.*

1. Report by M. Boris Stein (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), document C.S.P.14, August 17th, 1937.

2. Memorandum by the Secretariat, document C.S.P.6, August 25th, 1937.

¹ By that date, all the reports, with the exception of those of M. Komarnicki (Internal Organisation of the Secretariat) and of M. Osuský (Pacific Settlement of Disputes), had already appeared.

V. *Choice of Methods to be applied for the Application of the Principles of the Covenant.*

1. Report by M. Umaña Bernal (Colombia), document C.S.P.27, September 8th, 1937.
2. Memorandum by the Secretariat, document C.S.P.7, August 9th, 1937.

VI. *Internal Organisation of the League of Nations.*
(Articles 1, 3, 4 and 7.)

1. Report by M. Komarnicki (Poland), not yet published.
2. Memorandum by the Secretariat, document C.S.P.8, August 10th, 1937.

VII. *Article 10 of the Covenant.*

1. Report by M. N. Entezam (Iran), document C.S.P.19, September 8th, 1937.
2. Memorandum by the Secretariat (C.S.P.26), in the press.

VIII. *Article 11 of the Covenant.*

1. Report by M. Undén (Sweden), document C.S.P.11, August 3rd, 1937.
2. Memorandum by the Secretariat, document C.S.P.13, August 10th, 1937.

IX. *Questions relating to the Pacific Settlement of Disputes.*

1. Report by M. Osuský (Czechoslovakia) :
First Part.—Advisory opinions of the Permanent Court of International Justice, document C.S.P.22;
Second Part.—The question as a whole. Not yet published.
2. Memorandum by the Secretariat, in the press.

X. *Article 16 of the Covenant : General Obligations.*

1. Report by M. Rutgers (Netherlands), document C.S.P.12, August 7th, 1937.
2. Memorandum by the Secretariat (C.S.P.15), in the press.

XI. *Regional Pacts of Mutual Assistance.*

1. Report by M. Paul-Boncour (France), document C.S.P.10, August 5th, 1937.
2. Memorandum by the Secretariat (C.S.P.15), in the press.

XII. *Article 19 of the Covenant.*

1. Report by M. Guani (Uruguay), not yet published.
2. Memorandum by the Secretariat, document C.S.P.9, August 5th, 1937.

XIII. *Separation of the League Covenant from the Peace Treaties.*

Memorandum by the Secretariat, document C.S.P.16, September 4th, 1937. (No report is to be drawn up on this question.)

The Rapporteurs held a meeting on Monday, May 31st, 1937, at which they decided that the reports would be published and

that care would be taken to specify that these informative reports did not engage the Committee's responsibility nor prejudge its future decisions.¹

The memoranda prepared by the Secretariat will not be published² if the decision taken by the rapporteurs on that day is adhered to.

*Session of the Committee of Twenty-eight (September 10th-30th 1937)
and Eighteenth Session of the Assembly.*

In September 1937, the Committee of Twenty-eight held its second session consisting of five meetings.³

The Committee of Twenty-eight sat at the same time as the Assembly and prepared resolutions which were adopted by the latter on October 4th, 1937.

Review of the Committee's Work.

M. Bourquin, Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-eight, in a letter to the members of the Committee, dated August 19th, 1937, suggested that the latter might, at its second session, adopt the agenda for its future discussions.

In this letter, he stated for the Committee's guidance that the following subjects had been suggested to him as worth consideration during the forthcoming discussions :

1. Separation of the League Covenant from the Treaties of Peace.
2. Article 11.
3. Co-operation between the League and non-member States.
4. Co-ordination of the Covenant with Other Pacts.

Actually, at its second session, the Committee dealt solely with the following questions :

1. Separation of the Covenant from the Treaties of Peace.
2. Co-ordination of the Covenant with Other Pacts.
3. Universality of the League.

As regards the separation of the Covenant from the Treaties of Peace, the Committee of Twenty-eight requested a Committee

¹ A note by the Chairman of the Committee to that effect has been inserted on the first page of each report.

² Viscount Cranborne inserted as an annex to his two reports the relevant memoranda by the Secretariat and those memoranda have thus been published.

³ September 10th, 11th, 25th, 27th and 30th, 1937.

of Ten Jurists to submit suggestions. A report was drawn up by that Committee.

As to the co-ordination of the Covenant with other Pacts, the Committee of Twenty-eight, having before it a proposal by the Argentine delegation, prepared a draft resolution which was adopted by the Assembly on October 4th, 1937.

With regard to the universality of the League, the Committee of Twenty-eight did not deal with the substance of the problem, but, in view of the proposals made by M. Edwards, delegate of Chile, to the effect that States non-members of the League should be consulted on the question of the application of the principles of the Covenant, it prepared a draft resolution which was adopted by the Assembly on October 4th, 1937.

In the course of the discussions on the Chilian proposal, several members of the Committee expressed their views on the question of universality.

Question of the Separation of the League Covenant from the Treaties of Peace.

Report of the Committee of Jurists.—On September 11th, 1937, the Committee of Twenty-eight decided to appoint a Committee of Ten Jurists¹ to study the question of the separation of the League Covenant from the Treaties of Peace.

As the latter stated in its report,² "the Committee's rôle was merely to suggest :

"(1) The method by which the League of Nations might, if it deemed this fitting, exercise its power of amending the Covenant under the procedure of Article 26, in order to eliminate certain expressions which might contribute to estrange or induce States to stand aloof from the League of Nations;

"(2) The method by which the Assembly might remove certain possible misunderstandings as to the essential characteristics of the Covenant itself."

The Committee held nine meetings and drew up a report consisting of two parts : (I) proposed amendments to the Covenant and (II) a draft Assembly resolution.

¹ This Committee was composed of M. Basdevant (France), Mr. Beckett (United Kingdom), Mr. Campbell (New Zealand), M. Gajardo (Chile), M. Gorgé (Switzerland), M. Kulski (Poland), M. Leitmaier (Austria), M. Pella (Roumania), M. Ruiz-Guiñazú (Argentine), M. Yepes (Colombia).

² Report of the Committee, dated September 29th, 1937 (document C.494.M.335.1937.VII).

*Proposed Amendments to the Covenant.*¹—The object of the proposed amendments submitted by the Committee of Jurists is to omit the passages in the Covenant recalling the great war or

¹ Text of the proposed amendments to the Covenant submitted by the Committee of Jurists.

The passages in italics are those in which a new wording has been employed.

Preamble.

Proposed text :

“ In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

“ by the acceptance
“ by the prescription etc.,

“ *This Covenant has been adopted for the establishment of the League of Nations.*”

Article 1 (Paragraph 1).

Proposal of the Committee :

To strike out the paragraph.

Article 1 (Paragraph 2).

Proposed text :

“ 2. Any fully self-governing State, dominion of colony *not being a Member of the League of Nations* may become a Member thereof if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League of Nations in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.”

Article 4 (Paragraph 1).

Proposed text :

“ 1. The Council shall consist of *Members of the League of Nations entitled to a permanent seat * on the Council and of other Members entitled to a temporary seat thereon.* The latter shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion.”

* The Members of the League entitled to a permanent seat on the Council at the present date are [X, Y, Z, etc.]

Article 4 (Paragraph 2).

Proposed text :

“ 2. *In addition to the Members of the League that have a permanent seat,* the Council may, with the approval of the majority of the Assembly, name additional Members of the League whose representatives shall always be Members of the Council”

Article 5 (Paragraph 1).

Proposed text :

“ 1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant, or by agreements conferring certain powers on the League of Nations, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League of Nations represented at the meeting.”

Annex.

Proposal submitted :

Omit the first part of the Annex.

making certain distinctions according to the attitude of States during the great war. For instance, the Committee proposes to omit paragraph 1 of Article 1, which creates the category of original Members of the League of Nations, consisting exclusively of States which fought on the side of the Allied and Associated Powers and of Powers that remained neutral.

In some cases, these amendments necessarily affect the structure of certain articles from another point of view than that under consideration. The Committee mentions certain questions which are indirectly raised.

*The Draft Assembly Resolution.*¹—It is not the object of this draft resolution to create a new situation, but to explain the existing situation. Its aim is to prevent confusion between the

¹ This draft resolution reads as follows :

“ The Assembly,

“ Considering that, whatever the procedure be whereby various States have entered or may enter the League of Nations, the Covenant is a constitution common to all the Members of the League, regulating their relations with the object of developing co-operation between them and assuring them peace and security;

“ Considering that, from the first, the Covenant has had an independent existence which is expressed in particular :

“ (1) In its essential purpose, which is to establish a permanent institution;

“ (2) In the existence of an Assembly and Council, through the instrumentality of which League action is effected;

“ (3) In the procedure provided by the Covenant for admission into the League of Nations;

“ (4) In the power given to Members of the League to amend the Covenant in conformity with the provisions of Article 26;

“ Considering that Members of the League of Nations have the same rights whatever be the date and method of their entry into the League;

“ Desiring, after having thus indicated these essential characteristics of the Covenant, to remove certain difficulties arising out of a number of expressions employed therein, which if they were to remain might be considered an obstacle to the entry of other States into the League of Nations;

“ Noting that, in order to attain this end, certain amendments should be introduced into the Covenant according to the procedure of Article 26, amendments which alter neither the real effect nor the spirit of the Covenant and which, it is hoped, will be promptly agreed to by Governments;

“ Believing that the proposed amendments will meet the desire to extend the membership of the League of Nations;

“ Decides :

“ (1) To recommend to Governments of Members the prompt ratification of the Protocol embodying the amendments referred to above;

“ (2) To request the Secretary-General to communicate the present resolution and the text of the said amendments to Members of the League and to States non-members to be named by the Council.”

League Covenant and the Treaties of Peace. The draft resolution asserts that the Covenant "has an independent existence" apart from that of the Treaties of Peace and enumerates the various forms which that independent existence has assumed. The draft resolution also stresses the complete equality of rights enjoyed by Members of the League, which means that no discrimination is made between States according to their attitude during the great war.

The Committee of Twenty-eight decided simply to transmit the Jurists' Report to Governments.—At one time, the hope was entertained that, by expediting the proposed procedure,¹ it would be possible for the Assembly to examine a report by the Committee of Twenty-eight on the question of the separation of the Covenant from the Treaties of Peace.

But the Committee of Twenty-eight received the report of the Committee of Jurists too late for it to be able to express any opinion on that report. It accordingly decided on September 30th, 1937, simply to transmit the report of the Committee of Jurists to Governments with the request that they should communicate their observations as soon as possible.

The Argentine Proposal for the Co-ordination of the League Covenant and the Pacts.—The Pacts in question are the Pact of Paris of August 27th, 1928 (Briand-Kellogg Pact), and the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro of October 10th, 1933 (Saavedra Lamas Pact).

The question of their co-ordination with the Covenant of the League, which was included by the Committee of Twenty-eight among questions coming under the general subject of the universality of the League, has been dealt with in a report by M. Pardo (Argentine) which the Committee of Twenty-eight will be called upon to discuss.

The Argentine Proposal.—On September 10th, 1937, M. Ruiz Guiñazú (Argentine) proposed that the Committee of Twenty-eight should suggest that the Assembly declare "that the Pact of Paris and the Argentine Pact are compatible with the Covenant of the League of Nations in accordance with Article 21 of the latter; that, in case of war or threat of war, the Council or the Assembly may decide on the points of contact and the form of

¹ According to the resolution of October 10th, 1936, the Committee of Twenty-eight is requested to make proposals in a report to be submitted to Governments.

co-operation to be established between the League of Nations and the States signatories of the Pact of Paris and of the Argentine Pact which are not Members of the League".¹

On September 24th, M. Cantilo, on behalf of the Argentine Government, sent to the Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-eight a draft declaration for the Assembly relating to the co-ordination of the Covenant and the Pacts.² The draft declaration was transmitted to the Committee of Twenty-eight simply for its opinion.

The draft met with a favourable reception from the Committee of Twenty-eight which, on the proposal of its Chairman, decided to submit it for examination to a drafting committee.³

At the following meeting,⁴ the Committee of Twenty-eight examined the text submitted by the Drafting Committee, which differed slightly from the original text. It approved the text after making certain amendments.

M. Undén had previously stated that, while approving the draft resolution, he wished to specify that he did not want to prejudge in any way the question whether the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro mentioned in the resolution together with Article 21 of the Covenant was entirely compatible with the League Covenant. This question was on the Committee's agenda and would therefore be examined later.⁵

¹ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes, First Meeting, page 23.

² This draft reads as follows (document C.S.P., September 23rd-25th, 1937):

"Whereas the covenants of a universal tendency aiming at the pacific settlement of international disputes, by which the States Members and non-members of the League of Nations are mutually bound, such as the Treaty for the Renunciation of War signed at Paris on August 27th, 1928, and the Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, signed at Rio de Janeiro on October 10th, 1933, on the initiative of the Argentine Republic, are designed, like the League Covenant, and in accordance with Article 21 thereof, to ensure the maintenance of peace;

"And whereas the Inter-American Conference for the Consolidation of Peace, which met at Buenos Aires on December 1st, 1936, on the initiative of President Roosevelt, was actuated by the desire to supplement and strengthen the League's efforts to prevent war;

"The Assembly declares that:

"In the event of war or of a threat of war, the League shall take such measures and shall establish such contacts as may be necessary to associate in its efforts for the maintenance of peace those States which are not members of the League, but are mutually bound by the above-mentioned covenants, the common aim of which is to maintain peace."

³ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes, Fourth Meeting, page 8. This drafting Committee was composed of M. Bourquin (Belgium), Lord Cranborne (United Kingdom), M. Paul-Boncour (France).

⁴ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes, Fifth Meeting, page 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Fifth Meeting, page 9.

The Assembly Resolution of October 4th, 1937.—On October 4th, 1937, the Assembly adopted the draft declaration approved by the Committee of Twenty-eight. The Assembly resolution read as follows :

“Whereas the covenants of a universal tendency aiming at the pacific settlement of international disputes, by which the States Members and non-members of the League of Nations are mutually bound, such as the Treaty for the Renunciation of War, signed at Paris on August 27th, 1928, and the Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, signed at Rio de Janeiro on October 10th, 1933, on the initiative of the Argentine Republic, are designed, like the League Covenant, and in accordance with Article 21 thereof, to ensure the maintenance of peace;

“And whereas the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, which met at Buenos Aires on December 1st, 1936, on the initiative of President Roosevelt, was actuated by the desire to supplement and strengthen the League’s efforts to prevent war;

“The Assembly declares that :

“In the event of war, or a threat of war, the League of Nations, while not delaying for that purpose its own action in virtue of the Covenant, shall take suitable steps and shall establish such contacts as may appear to be necessary to associate in its efforts for the maintenance of peace those States which are not members of the League, but are mutually bound by the above-mentioned covenants, the common aim of which is to maintain peace.”

The Chilean Proposals that the Opinion of Non-member States of the League should be asked, with a View to obtaining Universality.

M. Edwards, in the Committee of Twenty-eight, speaks in favour of an immediate consultation.—At the first meeting of the Committee, M. Edwards (Chile), taking up again a question which Chile had already raised in 1936 in the Special Main Committee, and to which a reply had been made in the report by Mr. Bruce to the Assembly, a report adopted by the latter,¹ proposed that

¹ The following passage will be found in this Report :

“The Chilean delegation made the following further proposal :

“ ‘ In the interests of universality—an essential condition for the efficacy and success of the League of Nations—the Assembly considers

non-member States of the League should be consulted on the question of the reform of the League.¹

After declaring that to obtain universality was essential, and stressing the very great importance that Chile attached to this, he said :

“ Why, instead of groping in the dark and guessing what kind of League of Nations would attract the States non-members, do we not ask these States frankly, point blank, for their views? ”²

Lord Cranborne (United Kingdom), speaking after M. Edwards, pointed out, without taking up a position himself, that, on the question of consultation of non-member States, there were two schools of thought. According to one of these, the first step must be to ask non-member States under what conditions they would agree to join or to return to the League. According to the other, it was for the Members of the League to determine in the first place what, in their opinion, the League should be. The scheme thus drawn up would then be submitted to non-member States. He added that it would be difficult to recommend any solution before both methods had been fully studied.³

During the discussion, certain members of the Committee showed themselves to be in agreement with the Chilean proposal in principle, although they made reservations concerning some of its details.

Other members, among them M. Boris Stein, who said that the views of non-member States were perfectly well known,⁴ declared themselves opposed to the Chilean proposal.

it necessary to ascertain the views of non-member States, either by direct approach or by the convening of a diplomatic conference.’

“ The Committee suggests that it would be premature for the Assembly to consider this proposal. It seems that it is for the Members of the League, in the first place, to study the problems connected with the question of the application of the Covenant. One such problem is that of universality, to which various Governments have referred. The point raised by the Chilean delegation and the other delegations which share its view might, it seems be met by the fact that the committee will certainly have to consider this question and possibly to examine the appropriate methods for ascertaining the views of non-member States. The proposal of the Chilean delegation and any other proposal to the same effect would thus be considered by the committee ” (Seventeenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, 1936, Special Main Committee, Minutes, page 29).

¹ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes of the First Meeting, pages 6-19.

² *Ibid.*, page 14.

³ *Ibid.*, page 20.

⁴ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes of the Second Meeting, page 3.

M. Edwards submits a Proposal to the Assembly.—M. Edwards (Chile), on September 20th, 1937, submitted to the Assembly a proposal that steps be taken for immediate consultation of non-member States.¹

The Assembly referred this proposal to the Committee of Twenty-eight, as well as another Chilean proposal, that the Assembly decide that the reports of the Committee of Twenty-eight should be transmitted to itself, instead of to the Governments.²

The Committee was to give its opinion; the decision on the two questions remained with the Assembly.

After a discussion³ in which the following members took part—M. Edwards (Chile), M. Litvinoff (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), M. Guani (Uruguay), M. Paul-Boncour (France), M. Komarnicki (Poland), M. Pflügl (Austria), M. Gorgé (Switzerland)—the Committee decided to direct the Drafting Committee, composed of M. Bourquin (Belgium), Viscount Cranborne (United Kingdom) and M. Paul-Boncour (France), to endeavour to draw up a text to which all the members of the Committee could agree³.

¹ Document A.42.1937.VII, September 20th, 1937. This draft resolution said :

“ The Assembly,

“ Being of opinion that immediate consultation of non-member States with regard to desirable reforms may be of considerable assistance to the Committee of Twenty-eight in carrying out its task;

“ Instructs the Secretary-General to forward by the most expeditious means to all non-member States and to the States which have given notice of withdrawal from the League a communication to the effect that the Assembly would be very happy to receive such observations or suggestions as they might think fit to make with regard to the problems set forth above. For this purpose, the Secretary-General will forward all documents connected with the subject to the Governments of the said States.”

² Document A.37.1937.VII, September 17th, 1937. M. Edwards said :

“ In the course of my speech in the Assembly yesterday morning, * I had the honour to propose, alluding to the instructions that had been given to the Assembly's Committee of Twenty-eight to address its reports to the Governments, that that procedure should be altered, and that the reports should in future be communicated to the Assembly itself, inasmuch as all the States Members of the League are represented in that body.

“ I would therefore ask you to make the necessary arrangements for my proposal to be acted upon in accordance with the customary rules of procedure.”

* Assembly, 1937 : Verbatim Records, Third Meeting, Tuesday, September 14th.

³ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes of the Fourth Meeting.

The Drafting Committee framed a draft resolution for the Assembly, which read as follows :

“ The Assembly,

“ In consideration of the Chilian delegation’s proposal;

“ Appreciating the fact that it has been inspired by the desire to strengthen the authority of the League of Nations;

“ In consideration of the opinion expressed by the Special Committee appointed to study the application of the principles of the Covenant;

“ Whereas it would be eminently desirable for the League of Nations to associate the greatest possible number of States with the application of the principles on which it is based;

“ Whereas, being anxious to neglect nothing which would promote such a development of international co-operation, the Special Committee would be glad to know the observations and suggestions which the non-member States and the States that have announced their withdrawal from the League might think fit to make in order to assist it in its studies;

“ Requests the Council to examine the conditions in which such information should be obtained as and when opportunity offers, in order to be placed at the said Committee’s disposal.”¹

¹ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes of the Fifth Meeting, page 3. The draft resolution came at the end of a draft letter to the President, which said :

“ The Committee gave its chief attention to the two proposals of the Chilian delegation which the Assembly had referred to it for examination.

“ One of these proposals aims at modifying the procedure laid down in the resolution of October 10th, 1936, according to which the Committee has to submit its reports to the Governments of the States Members of the League and not to the Assembly itself. The Committee will not fail to examine this proposal with all the care which it deserves.

“ The other proposal concerns a possible consultation of the non-member States with a view to ascertaining the observations and suggestions they might desire to make on the problems connected with the application of the principles of the Covenant.

“ In communicating this proposal to the Committee, the Assembly drew its attention to the last paragraph of the Chilian delegation’s letter (document A.42), in which that delegation expresses the wish ‘ that, in any case, the Assembly may take a decision in regard to this resolution during the present session ’.

“ It would be eminently desirable for the League of Nations to associate the greatest possible number of States with the application of the principles on which it is based, and it is the Committee’s duty to neglect nothing which might promote such a development of international co-operation.

“ The observations and suggestions which the non-member States may think fit to make for this purpose would provide the Committee

M. Edwards accepted the draft resolution. At the same time he made two observations. He said, in the first place, that he regarded it "as understood that Article 4, paragraph 5, of the Covenant would be applied, and that, when the question came before the Council, Chile would be invited to send a representative".¹ In the second place, he said that his Government considered that the Council would deem it desirable to include the question of consultation of non-member States on the agenda of its next session.¹

Assembly Resolution of October 4th, 1937.—On October 4th, 1937, the Assembly, after hearing a statement by M. Edwards followed by a statement by M. Litvinoff (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), adopted the draft resolution proposed by the Committee of Twenty-eight.

General Discussion in the Assembly at its Eighteenth Session (September-October, 1937).

During the general discussion, various Governments stated their views on the question of the application of the principles of the Covenant.

CHAPTER II.—THE QUESTION OF THE REFORM OF THE LEAGUE : SOME ASPECTS OF PRESENT-DAY IMPORTANCE.

A number of elaborate reports have been published on the various questions with which the Committee of Twenty-eight will be called upon to deal,² and we would refer the reader to them. We will confine ourselves to questions which the Committee has already discussed or will begin to discuss in detail at an early meeting.

These questions are connected with the general problem of the universality of the League. Various Governments urge

with information from which it might derive the greatest benefit and which it would therefore be happy to possess.

"As regards the circumstances in which this information might be obtained, it is difficult for the Committee, which is only an investigatory body, to express an opinion. It is inclined to believe that the question should be examined by the Council, which is particularly well qualified to judge the expediency of the measures to be taken for this purpose."

¹ Committee of Twenty-eight, Minutes of the Fifth Meeting, page 4.

² See Chapter I, pages 74 *et seq.*

that this universality should be achieved. Other Governments, while admitting that universality is highly desirable in itself, refuse to pay for it by the total or partial sacrifice of obligations concerning collective security. On the contrary, those Governments are anxious that the system of collective security should be strengthened.

In these circumstances, the question of universality and the question of collective security may be regarded, if not logically, at all events from a practical standpoint, as two sides of the same problem.

In any case, the two problems already discussed and the problem to be dealt with at the next session of the Committee of Twenty-eight are more or less closely connected with the question of universality. Those problems are :

- (1) The co-ordination of "covenants";
- (2) The separation of the League Covenant from the Treaties of Peace;
- (3) The question of the participation of all States in the League.

The co-ordination of "covenants".

These "covenants" are the Pact of August 27th, 1928 for the Renunciation of War (Pact of Paris, often called the Briand-Kellogg Pact) and the Argentine Treaty of October 10th, 1933 (Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, commonly called the Saavedra-Lamas Pact).

The question of the Pact of Paris has already engaged the attention of the League. In 1929, the United Kingdom Government proposed that the League Covenant should be brought into harmony with the Pact of Paris.

The Pact of Paris prohibits resort to war in general, whereas the League Covenant simply prohibits resort to war in certain cases—in other words, it recognises lawful wars. The bringing into harmony of the League Covenant and the Pact of Paris gave rise to considerable political difficulties and the question is in abeyance. Its importance appears to have declined, as it seems useless to lay down a stricter rule of law if circumstances do not enable the observance of the more modest rules now in force to be ensured.

But the problem of the co-ordination of covenants is a different one and is connected with the question of the collaboration of the League with non-member States, which is dealt with in its general

aspects in Lord Cranborne's report,¹ and from a special angle in M. Pardo's report.²

As a matter of fact, the League has frequently collaborated with non-member States, particularly in the technical sphere (communications and transit, health, opium, social, financial and economic questions, etc.). The United States of America and Japan participate regularly in the technical activities of the League.

In the political sphere, the League has on some occasions collaborated with non-member States, but not so often, of course.³

As regards collaboration with non-member States, Lord Cranborne observes in his report dealing with this question that :

“ Collaboration appears to thrive best in an atmosphere as free as possible from rigid rules and regulations. The less organised it is the more it is forthcoming.”⁴

As regards the co-ordination of covenants M. Pardo, in his report dealing with this question, stated in connection with the Argentine Pact that the object was not to co-ordinate the texts (*i.e.*, to amend one covenant so that it might contain provisions similar to those of another), but to co-ordinate action (*i.e.*, to establish agreement between the States parties to the different covenants and to harmonise their efforts). The United States and Brazil, which are not Members of the League, are parties to the Pact of Paris and the Argentine Pact, and nearly all the Members of the League are parties to the Pact of Paris, while a number of States, both American (including the United States) and European, are parties to the Argentine Pact.

“ Our immediate task, ” M. Pardo states, “ is to consider how the League can contribute to ensuring that where the common purpose and the obligations of all three treaties are in danger of violation, or even are actually violated, the common interest of the parties to all three may be recognised and parallel action (if not concerted) by the parties to the two other Treaties may reinforce the effect of the action taken in virtue of the Covenant of the League. . . . ”⁵

¹ Document C.S.P.21, September 8th, 1937.

² Document C.S.P.18, April 30th, 1937.

³ In 1931, the collaboration of the United States with the League in the Sino-Japanese conflict was so close that a representative of the United States took his seat at the Council table of the League (although without the right to vote).

⁴ *Op cit.*, page 3, § 7 (2).

⁵ Document C.S.P.18, page 8.

As we have already seen, the League Assembly, in view of an Argentine proposal examined by the Committee of Twenty-eight, adopted on October 4th, 1937, a resolution which stated that :

“ In the event of war or a threat of war, the League of Nations, while not delaying for that purpose its own action in virtue of the Covenant, shall take suitable steps and shall establish such contacts as may appear to be necessary to associate in its efforts for the maintenance of peace those States which are not Members of the League, but are mutually bound by the above-mentioned covenants (Paris Pact and Argentine Pact), the common aim of which is to maintain peace.”

This resolution appears to settle for the time being the question of the co-ordination of covenants.

Separation of the League Covenant from the Treaties of Peace.

The question of the separation of the League Covenant from the Treaties of Peace appears to have been presented in a false light. It may not be out of place to enumerate the various links established rightly or wrongly between the League Covenant and the Treaties of Peace. We will then mention the aspects of the question examined by the Committee of Jurists.¹

I. Connections which it has been sought to establish between the League Covenant and the Treaties of Peace.

(1) The League Covenant constitutes Part I of the Treaties of Peace.

The same legal instrument contains the provisions of the League Covenant and of the Treaties of Peace.

We will refer later to this aspect of the question which has been considered by the Committee of Jurists.

(2) The League Covenant contains certain expressions which recall the sides taken in the war. For instance, Article 4 begins as follows :

“ 1. The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. . . . ”

This aspect of the question, which was also considered by the Committee of Jurists, will be dealt with later.

¹ There is no preparatory report on this question, but only a memorandum by the Secretariat, which has not been published.

(3) The Treaties of Peace confer certain powers on the Council of the League.

Article 5 refers to those powers when it states that :

“ 1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant *or by the terms of the present Treaty*, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the . . . ”

We should like to make the following observations regarding these powers :

(a) The majority of them have now lapsed. The special regime of the Saar, which conferred particularly important powers on the League, is a case in point.

(b) Apart from the Treaties of Peace, other treaties conferred special powers on the League.

(c) It is not true to say that the powers conferred on the League by the Treaties of Peace were conferred in the interest of the victors. At a time when the execution of the Treaties of Peace appeared to be a normal proceeding, it was better for the vanquished States that their execution should not be left solely to the interpretation and discretion of the victorious States, and that there should be an impartial authority competent to supervise the application of the Treaties and prevent errors of interpretation and possible abuses.¹

(d) This is a question which concerns the States parties to the Treaties of Peace rather than the League of Nations. It was apparently on account of this latter consideration that the League decided to put the question on one side.

(4) Article 10 of the Covenant and the frontiers determined by the Treaties of Peace.

The criticism has sometimes been heard that Article 10 of the League Covenant guarantees the new frontiers determined by the Treaties of Peace.

As a matter of fact there is no special link between Article 10 and the frontiers laid down in the Treaties of Peace. Article 10 guarantees the territorial integrity of all Members of the League

¹ On the German side, it was more than once admitted that this attitude of the League had in certain circumstances served German interests (see the article by Dr. Ernst Weiner on the Separation of the League Covenant from the Treaty of Versailles, *Völkerbund und Völkerrecht*, July 1926).

alike, whether their territorial status was determined by the Treaties of Peace of 1919, by other older or more recent treaties, or is the outcome of a traditional state of affairs.

In a similar connection, it was stated that the League system was more conservative than dynamic and that the provisions designed to ensure respect for the existing law (Article 10) and those providing for its revision (Article 19) were not of equal weight. Even if it is well-founded, this objection does not affect the question of the separation of the Covenant from the Treaties of Peace, but the system of the Covenant considered as a separate entity.

(5) It is asserted that the Covenant was drawn up and applied in the spirit of the Treaties of Peace.

In a speech made on November 6th, 1933, at the "Deutscher Club", Baron von Neurath said that :

"In 1919, the war-weary nations were promised . . . an equitable, lasting and guaranteed peace, whereas in reality a utilitarian association was created whose most essential aim, according to the intentions of its principal members, was to perpetuate the position of power acquired at Versailles and to oppress the vanquished for ever. It was not only as a matter of form that the League Covenant became an integral part of the Versailles system—far from it. The spirit of this Covenant was, from the outset, the spirit of the Versailles system, which constituted its true foundation."¹

It is not for us to discuss this political thesis which, moreover, relates to the general system of the League and not to the special links between the Covenant and the Treaties of Peace.

We should like to point out, however, that :

(a) Among the Allied and Associated Powers the elements which wished to obtain the greatest possible advantage from victory were, for the most part, opposed to the League;

(b) The revision between 1920 and 1933, on various important points, of the Treaties of Peace in favour of the Powers which lost the war was largely due to the fact that those Powers were Members of the League and that the Governments and public opinion of the victorious Powers considered that the policy of conciliation represented by the League justified those concessions.

¹ *Völkerbund*, November 20th, 1933, pages 1 and 2.

II. *The Separation of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Treaties of Peace : Methods contemplated.*

The Committee of Twenty-eight considered only two of the points enumerated above, and it is these two points that are dealt with in the report of the Committee of Ten Jurists¹ which it set up in September 1937.

1. The elimination of certain expressions employed in the Covenant.

The Committee found that the only procedure by which certain expressions recalling war-time divisions could be removed from the Covenant was that of amendment.

It proposed amendments to the Preamble, Article 1 (paragraphs 1 and 2), Article 4 (paragraphs 1 and 2), Article 5 (paragraph 1) and the Annex.²

It further pointed out that it might also be desirable to amend Article 22 (paragraphs 1 and 4) and Article 23 (concluding paragraph).

2. The legal connection between the Covenant and the Treaties of Peace.

The Covenant and the Treaties of Peace are parts of the same instruments. The only way of severing this legal and historical link would, it would appear, be to embody the present provisions of the Covenant in a new and separate treaty.

Such a procedure would involve considerable practical difficulties. The new Covenant would have to be signed and ratified by all States.

From another point of view, it was thought undesirable to disavow the origins of the League and attempt to disguise the historical fact of its creation through the Treaties of Peace. In a memorandum on the reform of the League, the Netherlands Government, in 1934, expressed the following view :

“ The Netherlands Government, while not a party to the Peace Treaties, has always considered it a matter of congratulation that the Peace Conference should have provided an opportunity of creating the League of Nations. It is no exaggeration to claim that, if advantage had not been taken of that opportunity, no League of Nations would exist at the present day.”³

¹ Document C.494.M.335.1937.VII.

² See Chapter I, page 74 *et seq.*

³ League of Nations *Official Journal*, March 1934, page 289.

It is all the more unnecessary to sever this purely formal link between the Covenant and the Peace Treaties as the obligations of Members of the League and of parties to the Peace Treaties are different, and as the Covenant and the Treaties each have an existence of their own.

To bring out the fact that the League has an existence of its own, the Committee of Jurists prepared a draft resolution for submission to the Assembly.¹

The report of the Committee of Ten Jurists, embodying proposals for the amendment of the Covenant and a draft resolution for submission to the Assembly, has been transmitted to the Governments. The question will again come before the Committee of Twenty-eight in due course.

**Participation of all States in the League of Nations.*

This question is exhaustively discussed in a report by Lord Cranborne which the members of the Committee of Twenty-eight regarded as exceptionally valuable.²

As has already been said, everyone is agreed that universal membership of the League is eminently desirable, and that to be fully effective the League must achieve complete or approximate universality.³ As, however, it is not universal in fact, what is to be done?

There are two rival schools of thought.

According to the first, the paramount consideration must be the achievement of universal membership, and for this purpose sacrifices must be made in the form of the abolition or relaxation of the obligations regarding collective security.⁴

¹ See Chapter I, page 20.

² Document C.S.P.20, September, 1937.

³ The fact that the League is far from universal is, for practical purposes, due to the absence of three Great Powers—Germany, Japan and the United States of America.

In his report, Lord Cranborne says: "What would really be meant in practice, though not in theory, by universal membership would be a membership which would not fail to include all 'essential States'—*i.e.*, those without whose participation no scheme of international co-operation could produce the desired results." (Document C.S.P.20, page 4).

⁴ In its observations on the application of the principles of the Covenant the Swiss Government said:

"This aim"—that is, universality—"in itself is deserving of every effort and would justify changes which to some may appear in the light of sacrifices, though they are not in reality so. What the League would lose in juridical substance it would gain in moral force." (*Official Journal of the League of Nations, Special Supplement, No. 154, page 56.*)

In the opinion of the second, the League, even as it is, is capable of performing its duties—one of the most important of which is to guarantee the security of States—and the chief purpose of its existence should not be renounced for the sake of a problematic universality.¹

We shall now briefly set out the respective arguments of the “universalists” and the champions of collective security, while pointing out that such a summary can scarcely be more than a general outline. Its sole purpose is to convey a general idea of the position in regard to these questions and it cannot go fully into all the different and often somewhat subtle shades of opinion which distinguish the attitudes of the various Governments.

Moreover, the reconciliation of apparently diametrically opposite conceptions is by no means impossible. As Lord Cranborne points out, in addition to the two conceptions mentioned above, it is possible to conceive of a third “or intermediate” type of League.²

The “universalists” rely on three different arguments.

(1) Without universal membership, the League cannot ensure the effective application of certain articles of the Covenant.

To be effective, the system of sanctions would have to be applied by a universal League. Even admitting that, in theory, it could be worked by a non-universal League, it would, in that case, involve Members in excessive burdens and sacrifices out of proportion with those they had contemplated and would be willing to assume.³

¹ On September 28th, 1936, M. Litvinoff in a speech to the Assembly said: “I would object . . . strongly if, in the name of universality, the League were to set about eliminating from the Covenant all that makes it an instrument of peace and a threat to the aggressor . . . Better a League without universality than universality without League principles . . .” (*Official Journal of the League of Nations, Special Supplement No. 154, page 57*).

² The report adds: “Those who support this conception of the League would argue that, on the one hand, the removal of obligatory coercion, so to speak, would facilitate the achievement of universal membership, and that, on the other, the idea of coercion would not be entirely sacrificed, since this type of League would not rule out the possibility of coercion and would, indeed, make provision for it in certain circumstances.”

³ On this point, Lord Cranborne says:

“It may also be urged that, although lack of universality might not necessarily mean that military sanctions must fail, it might well make success more or less difficult and protracted. It might mean that wars on behalf of the Covenant, instead of being relatively short and speedily successful, would involve a prolonged struggle into which Members of the League would have to throw their whole resources, with the result that ultimate success might be achieved only at a price which would make its realisation of doubtful value.” (*Document C.S.P.20, page 8.*)

(2) The League should not be regarded as a coercive organisation.

The League should be essentially a medium of consultation and conciliation ¹ and its authority a moral authority. This moral authority would increase as it approached universality.

(3) A non-universal League would tend to appear in the light of an alliance directed against non-member States.

This argument is stated by Lord Cranborne as follows :

“ . . . one of the objects for which the League was founded was to supersede the old system of alliances and rival armed camps pursuing different ends, and to substitute therefor membership of a universal organisation in which all States would have an object in common—the preservation of peace; and that the League is at present, for lack of universality, in danger of degenerating into something corresponding to an alliance of its members against non-members, or certain of them; that this alliance is, roughly speaking, one of those who are satisfied with the *status quo* against those who are not and that this tendency, unless corrected, must lead to that very war which it was the purpose of the League to prevent.” ²

It is further pointed out that the problem of universal membership is not merely to secure the entry or re-entry into the League of States not at present Members, but also to avoid a further decrease of membership by which the drawbacks of an incomplete League would be increased. ³

¹ Lord Cranborne states this conception as follows :

“ . . . a League which would involve no obligations to impose sanctions of any kind or in any circumstances, and in which the only duty resting on its members in the event of an international crisis, so to speak, would be to consult with one another. This type of League may be termed a ‘non-coercive’ League. It would, of course, provide machinery for the pacific settlement of international disputes, and its members would bind themselves to make use of this machinery. But, in the event of the procedures of pacific settlement being exhausted without result, or of a member failing to carry out his undertakings as to the employment of these procedures, or of an act of aggression being committed by a member without recourse to them, there would be no actual obligation upon other members to employ any measures of coercion or do more in the first instance than to enter into consultation in regard to the situation.” (Document C.S.P.20, page 2.)

² Document C.S.P.20, page 5.

³ See Lord Cranborne’s report, document C.S.P. 20, page 5, paragraph 14.

The conception of the supporters of collective security.—This conception is based on the following arguments :

(1) The League as it is to-day, that is to say, a League without universal membership, is capable of performing its functions under the Covenant.

The Covenant, it is pointed out, itself contemplates a League which may not be universal (Article 1, paragraph 3, Article 16, paragraph 4, Article 26, paragraph 2).¹

For the application of certain Articles of the Covenant it would be enough that the Members of the League should represent a combination of forces capable of successfully resisting an aggressor. If they do universality is not indispensable. What is necessary is that the Members of the League should be prepared to use their power for the application of the Covenant.²

It is conceivable that a League more nearly approaching universality might be less effective than a smaller League whose members were prepared to act. ³

“ On this view ”, says Lord Cranborne, “ the problem of the participation of all States in the League is at least in part the problem of securing, not merely their actual membership, but their constant and effective co-operation when they are members.” ⁴

(2) The League must not, for the sake of universal membership, renounce the chief purpose of its existence :

Under this theory, one of the League's primary purposes is to provide for the security of States by deterring possible aggressors through the prospect of sanctions and ensuring failure should they be rash enough to resort to war.

It is argued that lack of universality makes the League incapable of discharging certain duties provided for in the Covenant, and, to enable it to achieve the universal membership which it

¹ See Lord Cranborne's report, document C.S.P.20, page 6, paragraph 22.

² Lord Cranborne states this argument as follows :

“ It is at least arguable that if the Members of the League were really ready to apply the Covenant in its entirety, they would be successful, probably, in preventing the attempt at, and certainly in defeating the realisation of, aggression, from whatever quarter; though lack of universality might render success to a greater or lesser degree more difficult, dangerous and protracted.” (Document C.S.P.20, page 8.)

³ Lord Cranborne says :

“ It is possible to argue (see paragraphs 20 and 26) that the failure of the League is not wholly or even principally due to its lack of universal membership, and that it would not necessarily function adequately even if it was universal.” (Document C.S.P.20, page 11.)

⁴ Document C.S.P.20, page 4, paragraph 12.

lacks, it is proposed to abolish those obligations. But in this way the achievement of universality would mean the sacrifice of the very advantages which it is proposed to obtain. This is the first of the paradoxes propounded by Lord Cranborne though without expressing any view as to their validity.¹

The causes of non-membership of the League.—The problem of universal membership cannot be considered *in abstracto*. An attempt must be made to discover the reasons for the absence of the various States whose entry or re-entry into the League is desired.²

Certain States hold aloof from the League through a lack of interest in international questions and a desire to avoid the expenses of membership (annual contributions, representation in the Assembly). These States, however, are not "essential States" from the point of view of universality.

The other States which have refused or renounced membership Lord Cranborne divides into two main categories: "those which have done so on grounds of principle and those which have done so for some special reason peculiar to their case".

The importance of such special reasons—*e.g.*, the League's attitude in a given dispute (Japan) or failure to settle some particular question, such as the armaments question (Germany)—has been considerable. It may be noted, however, that in addition to such special reasons there may also have been grounds of principle.

The States which remain outside the League on grounds of principle may be divided into a number of groups, indicated by

¹ The first paradox may be briefly stated as follows:

"The ground on which the desirability of universal membership of the League is most generally urged is that the League was intended to be universal, and that it will not function properly, at any rate in its present form, unless it is universal. At the same time, it is also suggested that there are reasons for thinking that universal membership will prove impossible of achievement unless the existing provisions of the Covenant are materially altered. It is not for the Rapporteur to say whether this view is correct or not; that is a matter for consideration in the Committee. If it were correct, the following position would result: that the steps which would have to be taken to achieve universal membership of the League would in the same breath, so to speak, cause the achievement of it, when realised, to lose a good deal of its value, since the conceptions which so imperatively required universal membership for their full realisation would, in part, have disappeared. In brief, universal membership, in the act of obtaining it, would have been rendered, relatively speaking, unnecessary."

² A page of Lord Cranborne's report is devoted to a general examination of this question (document C.S.P.20, page 9).

Lord Cranborne. The following, it would appear, are the most important :

“

“ (2) Secondly, there are States which are not opposed to the general principle of international co-operation, consultation and control, but dislike definite commitments or the assumption of actual membership of an international organisation. Such States might be willing to co-operate and consult so long as they were not asked to undertake any obligation to do so, or to become members of an international body.

“ (3) Finally, there are States which are neither opposed to international co-operation, consultation and control, nor reluctant to assume commitments or the membership of international organisations, but which disapprove of the particular commitments enshrined in the League Covenant as at present drafted and of the organisation which the League at present embodies.”¹

Only the States in the latter category might be induced to accept or resume membership by reform of the League in accordance with their views.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL HYGIENE.

When the League of Nations was created just after the war, its founders foresaw the great practical part it might play in the different spheres in which Governments are obliged to maintain technical relations with one another, such as economics and public finance, foreign trade, communications and transport, the campaign against opium addiction, the preservation of public health and so on. It was obvious that, in these various fields of human activity, a central body for study and international co-operation, whose duty it would be to assist the various Governments and enable them to reach common decisions by a suitable technical preparation, would fulfil a need that had only been met by previous international agreements in a very haphazard and often unmethodical manner.

That is why the League of Nations to-day has a series of technical organisations with two purposes—first, to prepare the

¹ Document C.S.P.20, page 9, paragraph 33.

work of the directing bodies of the League and, secondly, by establishing direct contact between the technical representatives of the States Members of the League, to make it easier for them to carry out their international duties. The founders of the League, however, while taking care to give these organisations enough freedom and elasticity in their internal administration for Governments to find it worth while to make use of them, kept them, nevertheless, under the general authority of the League.

Our intention here is to examine the procedure, practice and work of one of these technical bodies, the Health Organisation.

Before the war, there was already an international body, the *Office international d'Hygiène publique*, which had been set up in 1907. For practical reasons, it proved impossible to incorporate this body in the Health Organisation of the League of Nations. It was, therefore, agreed that the *Office international d'Hygiène publique* should keep strictly to the functions assigned to it by its own Statute, namely :

(a) To collect and bring to the notice of participating countries facts and documents of a general nature concerning public health;

(b) To supervise the application of international health Conventions and to study any possible improvements.

These duties, therefore, are not those of the Health Organisation of the League, which was given a far more general, wider and more elastic task. In virtue of a decision of December 10th, 1920, this task is :

(a) To promote by every means in its power the advancement of public health throughout the world, confining itself to the study of questions of general or practical interest;

(b) To assist such Governments as may apply to it in their efforts to attain a higher standard of health;

(c) To aim at establishing closer relations between the health services of the various countries, and undertake work of co-ordination and unification that can only be done by an international body.

To carry out its duties, it has at its disposal the funds granted by the Assembly; it has also enjoyed financial assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation from 1920 to 1937.

Of what does the Health Organisation consist?

(1) First, there is a general Conference consisting of representatives of almost all the countries in the world. This Conference, whose duty it is to judge the work of the League in matters of public health, is called the *General Advisory Health Council* and meets once a year. For practical reasons of liaison and co-ordination, this task has been entrusted to the Permanent Committee of the Office international d'Hygiène publique, supplemented by representatives of all the States Members of the League who do not belong to the Office.

(2) The chief technical body is the *Health Committee*, consisting of twelve members appointed by the Council of the League of Nations. One of these twelve members is the President of the Permanent Committee of the Office international d'Hygiène publique; the eleven others are chosen for their personal qualifications in such a way as to ensure that the chief national Health Administrations are represented. This Committee is the technical advisory body of the League Council and Assembly. It meets four times a year, decides on the programme of work of the Health Organisation, examines its results and, in a general way, decides on matters within its province.

(3) Lastly, the Health Organisation has a permanent secretariat in the shape of the Health Section of the Secretariat of the League. The Director of the Health Section is the Secretary of the Health Committee.

(4) The Committee has also the power of setting up international committees of experts, to which it entrusts the study of problems in their province.

* * *

Let us now glance at some of the chief tasks undertaken by the Health Committee, especially during the last few years.

1. *Epidemiological Intelligence and Health Statistics Service.*—The primary object of this service is to supply prompt information to the administrations of the various countries on the health position of neighbouring countries. Governments send in as early as possible their statistical data on births, deaths and the incidence of the principal infectious diseases. Data are now available for 148 countries and territories, covering a total of 1,500 million inhabitants, or 72 % of the world's population.

Figures dealing with the most serious diseases are sent almost daily to the health authorities. The gist of this documentary material is published in the *Weekly Epidemiological Survey* which appears every Thursday and is supplemented by more detailed monthly statistical tables. Lastly, the service publishes an annual report which summarises the whole of the material collected in this way.

The work of this service is of great importance in the East, where the health administrations are continually endeavouring to prevent the spread of epidemic diseases. The Health Organisation has therefore set up a branch at Singapore—the *Eastern Bureau*—which is uninterruptedly in touch with the health administrations of the countries in that part of the world. Its epidemiological bulletin is broadcast weekly by ten wireless stations, and is repeated daily by one of them with the latest additions. If an epidemic of plague, cholera or smallpox breaks out in any Eastern port, the other countries and ships at sea are informed of this *immediately*, and thereby enabled to take suitable protective measures.

2. *International Biological Standardisation*.—The therapeutic arsenal contains drugs the activity of which can only be estimated biologically, that is, by means of tests on animals. To assay insulin, for instance, the effect of a known quantity of a standard preparation on the animal must be compared with the effect produced by the same quantity of the sample of insulin to be assayed. If the standard preparation selected is everywhere the same, the assays will have a common basis and will therefore be comparable. If, in addition, an identical unit of activity is everywhere used to express the results observed, biological standardisation will have been attained.

Before 1921, however, uniformity was far from having been achieved. Many countries had set up national standards which sometimes differed in the ratio of 1 to 2,500!

It was essential to put some kind of order into such a state of affairs, and this is what the Health Committee set out to do. In 1924, it set up a Permanent Commission on Biological Standardisation, which was to attempt a systematic unification of methods of assaying the principal sera and biological products.

By 1935, this Commission had established international standards for 11 therapeutic sera, 1 germ extract, 4 vitamins, 3 sex hormones, 5 glandular preparations and 5 other drugs. Although the work is by no means finished, it may nevertheless be said that

international standards and units are now available for most of the important drugs which are biologically assayed.

At present, thirty-nine countries have adopted these standards. The Health Organisation has thus succeeded in bringing order into an international sphere where formerly anarchy prevailed. The standards are kept either at the National Serum Institute of Denmark, or at the National Medical Research Institute in London. Most Governments have themselves created a national centre which keeps in touch with the above-mentioned institutes and ensures the distribution and use of the international standards within its own country.

(3) *Malaria*.—In 1924, the Health Committee set up a Malaria Commission with the object of :

(a) Undertaking technical studies in order to supply health administrations with more effective equipment^a against malaria;

(b) Helping these administrations to train a staff of experts to fight against malaria.

The present work of the Commission refers to the use of anti-malaria drugs, the stamping-out of malaria by drug prophylaxis combined with therapeutics and the anti-larval campaign, and the application of biological, physical and chemical methods likely to prevent the breeding of anopheles.

In this programme, the question of treatment necessarily plays a very prominent part, since at present it is probably the most efficient way of combating malaria.

In its attempt to provide anti-malaria therapeutics with a product cheaper than quinine but equally effective, the Commission in 1934 suggested the use of *totaquina*, a new preparation with a quinine base. This product had been submitted to careful experiments in laboratories and institutes in many malaria-ridden countries.

Since that time, however, chemistry has succeeded in elaborating so-called "synthetic" remedies. To ascertain their therapeutic and prophylactic value, the Commission in 1935 and 1936 organised an extensive series of tests with the object of comparing them with quinine. These tests took place in Algeria, the Federated Malay States, Italy, Roumania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on prearranged lines, and were made on more than 12,000 persons.

Such experiments were necessary to enable the Commission to supply the health administrations with documentary material

both scientific and practical on the combating of malaria by means of the curative and preventive treatment of malarial populations. The Commission has just finished a report, which will appear in November 1937 and will deal with the whole question under the title of "The Treatment of Malaria." This will be the Commission's fourth general report.

The Health Committee is also considering the holding of a conference on quinine which it hopes may help to reconcile the often conflicting points of view of the producers and the consuming administrations; this would be a great boon to sufferers from malaria. The Committee possesses ample information on the quinine requirements of malarial countries. The purpose of the conference would be to investigate these requirements under present conditions of production of the various therapeutic agents, their cost price, their sale price, their distribution and the cost of a campaign of treatment and of prophylaxis according to the choice of drug.

To assist the health administrations in training their technical staff, international courses in malariology have been organised since 1925 at Singapore and in certain European towns. The Health Committee will continue this work in future years.

4. The Committee's desire to contribute to the solution of the most pressing problems of hygiene and social welfare has led it to include in its programme, at the request of certain Governments, three cognate questions which are at the root of health improvement and which have been made topical by the trend of sociological thought : *housing, nutrition* and *physical fitness*.

In very many countries, the public authorities are already making every endeavour to improve standards of housing and nutrition and the physical condition of their people. If this is to be done systematically, however, a solid technical basis is essential. It is often very difficult to pick out the fundamental principles the application of which would, in the long run, conduce to an improvement in the health and welfare of the people. For instance, it is well known what setbacks governmental action has at times encountered in the attempt to provide the poorer classes with decent homes.

Such is the rôle of the Health Organisation—to study these problems, to collect the most up-to-date scientific data and to supply information on the steps taken by public bodies.

As regards *nutrition*, after thorough studies lasting several years, it has published two reports; the first, entitled "Nutrition

and Public Health",¹ supplied national administrations with invaluable data on the hygiene of nutrition regarded as a problem of preventive medicine. The report examines the nutritional requirements of man, the resources available to satisfy those requirements and the consequences of malnutrition, and goes on to analyse the steps that might be taken to encourage more rational nutrition and gives examples of organised diets.

The second report² provides what amounts to a scientific doctrine on nutrition for the use of national administrations. It shows what are the physiological bases of rational nutrition, particularly during the period of growth—that is to say, from the moment of conception to maturity. It was drawn up by a commission which included the chief specialists on the problem. In this way, health administrations have, for the first time, had the benefit of conclusions the international authority of which could scarcely be questioned.

This Commission of Experts is at present directing enquiries in eleven different countries into certain points in the science of nutrition that are still obscure. These enquiries have the advantage of possessing a common basis and of being closely co-ordinated, so that their results may profitably be compared.

In the realm of *housing*, the Health Organisation has also set out to define the fundamental principles of modern housing hygiene. It published recently a first report on the "Hygiene of Environmental Conditions" and on "Noise and Housing".³ At its instigation, seven countries have already set up national commissions of engineers, architects, town planners and health experts which, under the co-ordination of an International Commission, are pursuing in a practical and energetic fashion the study of the various problems arising from the rationalisation of housing, thoroughfares, public services affecting public health, etc.

As regards *physical fitness*, the Health Organisation intends to proceed on similar lines. In May 1937, it consulted eminent experts concerning the direction to be taken by its studies; and it appointed two technical experts to begin a preliminary study of the chief physical training institutes of Europe, to examine their

¹ *Bulletin of the Health Organisation*, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1935.

² Report on the Physiological Bases of Nutrition, drawn up by the Technical Commission of the Health Committee, June 1936); *Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organisation*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1936.

³ *Bulletin of the Health Organisation*, Vol. VI, No. 4, 1937.

methods and study the modern tendency to give gymnastics a place in the general education of the future citizen.

5. Such are some of the aspects of the Health Organisation's medico-social activities. It is interesting to observe that the evolution of its work on *rural hygiene* is assuming the form of a veritable synthesis of all these studies.

In 1931, under the auspices of the Health Organisation, a European Conference on Rural Hygiene met at Geneva. Twenty-three European countries sent delegations, including officials of the health and civil administrations, engineers and specialists in economic and social questions connected with rural life. This Conference brought out certain guiding principles and methods for economically and efficiently ensuring medical assistance, the organisation of health services and sanitary improvement in rural districts.¹ It recommended practical schemes, in particular the system of health centres, which have already been adopted in many European countries.

In its conclusions, the Conference insisted on the advisability of continuing certain branches of study, especially concerning hygiene in the countryside. The Health Organisation took up these studies with the aid of several national institutions, particularly the schools of hygiene. They are concerned with the whole of the health and social side of rural life : medical assistance, health services, sanitation and environmental hygiene, nutrition and so on. In this way, various forms of the Health Committee's medico-social activity applied to rural districts link up together to form a whole.

These studies have had a number of practical results.

First, a *European Exhibition of Rural Housing* was organised this year by the League of Nations as part of the Paris Exhibition. A pavilion was erected near the Rural Centre in which thirteen countries offered their own solutions of the problems of modern housing and rural hygiene.

A further result was a request from countries in other parts of the world that similar conferences to that of 1931 should be organised. Thus, an *Intergovernmental Conference on Rural Hygiene* in the Far East was held this summer in Java. Thirteen countries and colonies sent representatives. The agenda dealt with the organisation of health and medical services, rural reconstruction, sanitation and sanitary engineering, nutrition,

¹ Report of the European Conference on Rural Hygiene; Geneva, 1931 (document C.473.M.202.1931).

measures for combating certain diseases in rural districts: malaria, plague, tuberculosis, pneumonia, leprosy, etc. The delegations included well-known specialists on all these questions, and the conclusions of the Conference therefore carry great weight. The report has just been published¹ and contains a series of recommendations for setting up technical co-operation between the various Governments of the Far East in their efforts to raise the standard of health in rural districts.

A similar conference for the countries of America is to take place next year at Mexico City. Rural hygiene was also an item on the agenda of the Pan-African Health Conference held at Johannesburg in 1934 under the auspices of the League.

Thanks to this series of studies, the League of Nations can put at the disposal of Governments interested in rural hygiene an invaluable collection of documentary material and recommendations. This emphasises the necessity of taking increasingly into account the interdependence of the health, social and economic points of view. Accordingly, the Assembly of the League of Nations has just decided on the holding of an *International Conference on Rural Life* in 1939, which will be the crowning of the Health Organisation's work in the sphere of rural life. The two years that remain before this Conference is held will allow of careful and adequate preparation.

6. The other fields of activity of the Health Organisation show great variety: leprosy, tuberculosis, syphilis, cancer, sleeping-sickness, diphtheria and scarlet-fever immunisation, plague, cholera, smallpox, methods of preserving public health during economic depression, relations between health services and health insurance institutions, fumigation of ships, the teaching of medicine, etc. Suffice it to say that the object aimed at has always been to provide the health administrations with practical information that they could put to immediate use.

7. In addition, Governments have sometimes asked for the help of the Health Organisation in carrying out certain tasks. Sometimes they had a definite and specific object in view, for instance when Chile wished to carry out an enquiry into popular nutrition (1935), when Greece was at grips with an epidemic of dengue fever (1929), or when Albania, Bolivia and Siam

¹ League of Nations : Report of the Intergovernmental Conference of Far-Eastern Countries on Rural Hygiene. Geneva, 1937 (document A.19.1937. III).

asked for expert advice on malaria questions. Other countries, such as Greece, China and Czechoslovakia, had a general reorganisation of hygiene in mind and wished to take advantage of the Health Organisation's experience and the peculiar facilities it offers.

Before taking any action, the Health Organisation makes an investigation on the spot to find out the exact nature and circumstances of the problem to be solved. It then communicates its conclusions to the Government concerned and assists it, if it so desires, to draw up and carry into effect the resultant plan of action. For instance, the object of the assistance rendered to the Government of China since 1930 has been the reorganisation of the central public health administration and the setting-up of a centre for technical study and of a national school for the training of medical staff. This work has been supplemented by expert reports, particularly on the organisation of medical teaching, the improvement of maritime health services and certain technical problems such as cholera and smallpox vaccination at Shanghai and the campaign against malaria in the Yangtse valley.

* * *

Such, in rapid outline, is the work of the Health Organisation. On application to the Secretariat of the League of Nations at Geneva, more detailed information may be obtained, together with the technical reports that have been published up to the present. Most of them are to be found in the *Bulletin of the Health Organisation*, which appears every two months.

The point to be emphasised is the continuity, the universality and the practical nature of this work. The Health Committee has always done all in its power to help towards the solution of the urgent problems of the day. The very fact that national administrations ask for its assistance is sure evidence that they appreciate its services.

At the last Assembly, a speaker expressed the opinion that here was perhaps the most fruitful work of the League of Nations in the technical sphere. It would be a mistake to underestimate the part played by the League in economics and finance, communications and transit, the campaign against opium and many other fields of technical activity. But there is no doubt whatever that its contribution to the improvement of public health throughout the world is of the highest importance.

CHANGING ASPECTS OF CHILD WELFARE.

In every social order, we find some attempt to provide for the welfare of the weaker members of the group. To-day, we call such activities social service. Child welfare is part of social service work, and deals with the welfare and care of a special group—children.

Child welfare has always depended on the social estimate of the child's place in the social order. We find the child considered successively as a burden and as an economic advantage, and then valued from the point of view of giving prestige to the family or security to the mother's position.

Principles and methods of social service and child welfare work have changed and evolved throughout the ages; the group of people who were considered in need of aid has been greatly enlarged. The simple and primitive attempt to help and relieve has developed through different phases of "rehabilitation" and "prevention" into the modern idea of "social adjustment".

Individual and later mutual help within the family or tribal group has been successively replaced by measures organised on a local, a national and an international scale. This evolution of social service is only part of a general and continuous effort to co-ordinate the life of different groups. Development in the ideological, political and economic spheres continually influences social welfare and the special aspect of child welfare, and specific climatic, geographical and racial factors also play their parts.

PRINCIPLES.

In the highly developed republics of Ancient Greece—to-day we would perhaps call them totalitarian States—children and young people were valued only as the material from which citizens were made. Clearly this attitude did not favour the weak, and it resulted on the whole in a selection of the fittest. •

Ancient Rome provides a complete contrast; there private interests were regarded as more important than public affairs, and the social order was based on the principle of paternal power vested in the head of the family. Although patriarchal society favours the old, both Republican and Imperial Rome were alive to the fundamental truth: "No children, no army". It was a society in which everybody belonged or was supposed to belong to a family group, and to benefit from the protection of a *patria*

potestas. For children to be deprived of these advantages was the only form of distress which received recognition. Child welfare measures—if they may be called by such a modern name—were simply legal or other attempts to restore family connections, by adoption, guardianship or similar substitutes for, and imitations of, family life. As soon as the child formed part once more of a family circle, or technically speaking, as soon as he was again subject to the *patria potestas* of some person, his troubles were considered to be at an end, since the *paterfamilias* was wholly responsible for the welfare of his family group.

The republics of the Greek sages and civic Rome disappeared, and Christianity brought to the world a new ideal of universal brotherhood and charity. Services rendered to another out of neighbourly love or pity were the leading expression of this new ideal. But there was something more: the link of mutual service between the helper and the assisted. The poor man not only receives, he also gives, for he provides the rich man with an opportunity to show unselfishness and self-sacrifice.

The disappearance of the patriarchal social order narrowed down the family circle in which the child could find protection. Continuous warfare at home and in the Holy Land loosened family bonds. More and more frequently children were abandoned, or left to wander about destitute. They were taken care of by charity, but as the only want then recognised was material distress, the measures taken aimed mainly at relieving poverty. Charity extended to children, however, was not distinguished from charity in general. Children were helped and cared for only in so far as they shared the poverty of adults. Causes of distress and its effects on the individual and on the community were as yet not analysed.

Only, at a later stage, towards the end of the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the new era, did the effects of distress, still generally termed poverty, begin to cause alarm. The new conception of the sovereignty of the State resulted in the disintegration of the feudal system and the development of a strong central power. The number and quality of citizens again became a matter of importance, the economic waste of distress was realised, and charity was supplemented by measures which may be considered the forerunners of social assistance.

Church and State united their efforts to remove the effects of poverty—to analyse its causes will be the achievement of a later age—and to extend their charity one step further, by rescuing as well as relieving. Measures for children were still not separated

from those for helping adults, but there was a gradual development towards this end.

The Renaissance and the long line of educationists beginning with Comenius emphasised the special position of the child by their insistence on the value and importance of education and new methods of teaching.

The development of the science of economics and the industrial and political revolutions beginning in the eighteenth century contributed greatly towards establishing a favoured position for children. At the same time, new humanitarian ideas brought about a complete change in the conception of the relief of distress.

A beginning was made in analysing causes of distress and in separating seemingly homogeneous groups, whose distress was due to entirely different causes, and required different treatment. Age, class and other conditions became the criteria for making these distinctions. And, for the first time, children were deliberately singled out as a group needing special treatment.

The analysis of the causes of distress led to a revolution in the conception of its relief and to the idea of rehabilitation. In contrast to the earlier form of relief, which consisted simply in providing for the wants of the individual, the aim of this new method was to strengthen the individual physically, morally and economically, so as to enable him to offer a more adequate resistance to future difficulties. For the first time, too, the person who received assistance was considered in relation to his family.

The analysis of causes, however, had far-reaching results and the principle of rehabilitation began to appear unsatisfactory as investigations continually widened the circle of those who were considered in need of help. New forms of distress were constantly being revealed, and rehabilitation was pushed further and further, especially when dealing with children.

The twentieth century's great contribution to social service and child welfare was the idea of prevention. According to this conception, child welfare work is the forestalling of distress of all kinds; it is the prevention of defects instead of relief, rehabilitation or treatment.

At first sight, this may seem to be such an advanced stage that no further development is possible. And yet the post-war world has been able to improve on the pre-war conception. Before the war the aim was to provide children with the care and protection which would safeguard them from all forms of distress. The post-war conception of prevention attached an added

importance to including the environment also in its sphere of action. There has even been a still further development in child welfare work as a result of new psychological discoveries; the aim is now to adapt the child to his family and his community and to the social order.

Child welfare, and, of course, social welfare, have reached a stage in which many aspects of individual family and community life are submitted to analysis and diagnosis, and preventive measures are taken or treatment provided where it seems necessary.

There is therefore a constant risk that prevention and care will degenerate into interference and weaken individual effort. Every social order is based on a division of functions. Success depends on two factors, how far its unity can be safeguarded, and how well the balance between social and individual action can be maintained. Duties and rights are divided between individuals and the community. To overrate the importance of either or to stimulate its action unduly has a paralysing effect on the other. When the individual assumes rights and duties which should belong to the community, or the community tries to provide for every need of the individual, the efficiency of both is inevitably decreased.

Thus the latest principle of social service, and, incidentally, of child welfare, is the maintenance of a state of equilibrium between collective and individual action. The study of this question is rendered difficult by the necessity of working at such close quarters. A certain distance, whether in time or space, is necessary for a proper appreciation of the picture, but distance in time would mean losing an opportunity of adjusting social service to the needs of the present; while to secure distance in space, it would be necessary to find skilled and impartial observers from some other country, and this is no easy matter. Clearly, therefore, this question could be most successfully treated by an international body.

METHODS AND ORGANISATION.

Before the Christian era, it is hardly possible to speak of methods in child welfare work. If legends are true, the exposure of weakly children was practised in ancient Greece—a very negative attempt at child welfare.

Patriarchal Rome took refuge in custom and common law. The often quoted *pueri alimentarii*, the Roman predecessors of the "soup kitchen" of to-day, were the exception and not the rule.

Charity, as an element of the Christian religion, first took the form of relief. In the early days of the Church, the method followed was that of home visiting, which was carried out by St. Paul's deaconesses. The rich were asked to make donations, and their gifts were then carried to the homes of the poor. There was no planned action; no estimate of supply and demand; charity was the contribution of the individual.

With the spread of Christianity and the organisation of religious communities, a second period followed in the history of charity. The Church had become rich from the many donations it had received, and high ecclesiastical dignitaries began to organise the provision of charity. Their charity usually took the form of *xenodochia*, devised originally as temporary shelters for pilgrims, and gradually developing into the type of institution most suited to the needs of the people—*i.e.*, hospital for incurables combined with a home for the aged and infirm.

The Church kept the sentiment of charity alive, and both the Church and individuals imbued with religious enthusiasm contributed to the upkeep of these homes. As a result both of the development of natural and medical science from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries onwards, and of the continual warfare which left many maimed and crippled soldiers to be cared for, many *xenodochia* were gradually transformed into hospitals, but their aim remained the relief of distress.

The third period is marked by the return to the method followed in the early years of the Church, that of visiting the poor. St. Vincent de Paul and some of his contemporaries were aware of the inadequate number of hospitals and they advocated seeking out the poor in their homes. Child welfare owes him a special debt of gratitude, for he freed himself from the patriarchal prejudice that past achievements should be valued more highly than future expectations. He did not neglect the needs of the old, but he taught his sisters of charity to give preference to children in their rescue work.

Side by side with this development, we have the rise of the sovereign State which began, on its side, to assume responsibility for the care of the destitute. Apart from the contribution of the Church—part of which was obtained by tithes or similar levies—the money distributed by religious charity was given voluntarily by private individuals. Secular welfare services, on the other hand, were paid for out of public money obtained by taxation. These services began as the distribution of alms and food, but the State soon followed the Church's example by setting up

institutions where relief was given. From the civic point of view, however, poverty and distress, no matter how patiently endured, contained no element of virtue. On the contrary, they constituted a heavy burden on the community, and as the poor were regarded as responsible in a certain degree for their own distress, secular relief soon began to some extent to assume a repressive aspect. The Poor Laws and workhouses are the typical expression of the opinions of this period. Relief was made unattractive enough and scanty enough for it to be less "eligible" than the situation of the deserving and self-supporting poor. The power to grant relief conferred many rights on the local authorities which administered it. They had even the power to detain the assisted poor in an institution or workhouse as long as they were receiving relief.

This situation, however, did not last; partly because of the increasing number of people whose families could not provide for them and whose maintenance consequently devolved on the State, partly because of the influence of the eighteenth century humanitarian philosophy on public opinion.

The administration of relief was made less rigid and the tests for eligibility less severe. Detention in a workhouse was no longer made a condition for receiving relief, and the system of outdoor relief was introduced. It was cheaper, it benefited larger numbers of people and it corresponded better with the ideals of freedom and equality in favour at the time.

In the meantime, religious charity was also slowly undergoing a change. Originally it had covered the whole field of assistance; now that the State had intervened, religious charity began to concentrate on the relief of certain types of people such as incurables, for whom no provision could be made out of public funds.

The nineteenth century saw a revival of the old institutional system, but in a very much more developed stage. When the causes of distress were analysed, there were found to be many differing groups of people in need of different forms of assistance. People were sorted out according to age and condition and placed in institutions which specialised in their particular problem.

This new method of analysing causes confronted society with so many unsolved problems and provided it with so many new tasks that public funds soon proved insufficient, and private initiative was again called upon. This period saw the birth of many private charitable organisations. Some of them were based on religious conceptions of charity, but there also appeared for

the first time lay societies with no religious bias. These organisations tried to supplement the work of public bodies. They established and maintained institutions for various groups of people, usually children. Old people, incurables and cripples still remained for the most part under the care of the Church and religious orders. The private lay groups turned their attention naturally towards more hopeful problems which seemed to promise speedier results. These new institutions provided much more than food and shelter; and the educational aspect of social service and child welfare began to be emphasised.

The work of the private organisations soon began to overshadow that of the local authorities. At this stage, more money was spent from private contributions than from public funds.

But methods were changing rapidly. Private organisations had generally started their work in cities, where larger numbers permitted a clearer view of the problems, and where there was a large group of people who could be called upon for financial support. The problems were innumerable, and there was scope for many organisations who would select one particular group of people for assistance, or try to solve one particular problem. At a certain stage, however, when their numbers became too great compared with their field of action, it became necessary to co-ordinate the work which was being done. This co-ordination was sometimes effected by the amalgamation of two societies, sometimes by a simple exchange of policies and information. Not unlike cartels and trusts in highly developed economic systems, the private organisations agreed to co-ordinate their output, and social and health organisations agreed to supplement each others' work. Sometimes at this stage, local and even Government authorities granted these organisations financial aid, as the work they were doing was considered to be of public utility.

The preventive aspect, however, shifted the emphasis from the institutional system back to the home. Relief, rescue, rehabilitation concerned a limited group of people, a small fraction of the population. Institutions could be devised where people suffering from special defects would be cared for. The work of prevention, however, touched even people who were free from defects: and it extended to the great majority of the population. Yet another factor contributed to enlarge this circle of the assisted. Social service and child welfare for those in distress or handicapped by defects was generally only given to the poor. Preventive measures, however, were placed at everybody's disposal, regardless

of their financial situation. This had several important consequences. The method of institutional care could not be applied to such a large number of people, and therefore home visiting (now based on scientific case work) and consultations in social and health centres were introduced as a practical method of bringing the knowledge of how to prevent sickness, poverty and ignorance within the reach of everybody. This is, in fact, outdoor relief, but in a new form adapted to the new aims and principles. It soon became impossible for private organisations to cope with this enormous amount of new work. History repeated itself, and the authorities, realising the economic waste involved in giving relief and treatment for distress and defects which could be prevented, began once more to assume a more important rôle in the social services, and especially in child welfare work.

There was still much specialisation, and people of different ages and conditions received separate care.

The world war and its manifold effects on economics, social life and health produced many changes in the methods and organisation of social service and child welfare. Tendencies which had begun to be visible before the war developed rapidly in the post-war world.

After the close of the war, there was at first a strong tendency to consider every problem from the standpoint of health. But scientific health work cannot stand alone; it was soon realised that a close relationship exists between health, social, economic and educational questions, and also that the proportionate importance of each of these questions varies at different periods in the life of the individual and at different stages in the development of social service and child welfare work.

Yet another reversal in the rôles of private organisations and public authorities took place after the war. Public opinion demanded an extension of social services, especially for children, and demanded it not merely as a privilege but as a right. The authorities had to assume responsibilities, and the amount of public money spent on social services rose in many countries. But at the same time the lead passed out of the hands of the local authorities, as Governments began to realise the advantages of co-ordinating social welfare and public health activities under a responsible Government department.

In recent years, some Governments have aimed at a complete centralisation of their social welfare and especially of their child welfare services.

Private organisations and voluntary efforts have developed

along similar lines, and there have been continual endeavours to ensure co-ordination.

When discussing methods of social service and child welfare, some mention must be made of begging, which has only recently ceased to be regarded as a legitimate means of endeavouring to obtain social assistance. It was considered in turn as an act of Christian humility and as a privilege for which permission had to be obtained from the authorities. Lately, it has come to be regarded as a sign not only of bad economic conditions, but also of inadequacy in the administration or the methods employed in welfare services.

One of the latest developments has been the extension of welfare services to the population in small agglomerations and in rural areas. Previous methods could not, of course, be simply transplanted; new systems had to be devised so as to allow the rural population to benefit from laws and regulations and institutions which had been created chiefly for the urban population. The most striking change in this respect is the introduction of "generalised family welfare" service in contrast to the "specialised" work of the cities.

This new tendency is clearly reflected in the work done by the League in connection with many aspects of the rural problem. The rural hygiene conferences in Europe, Asia and South America and the work at present being done on nutrition and the housing problem, are all signs of a growing interest in the improvement of rural life.

The recurrent fluctuations in the history of voluntary and official welfare work, and the similar alternation between institutional and "outdoor" methods in social service and child welfare, have now entered a new phase.

In the past, private social work and State social work have usually been regarded as opposing systems. According to the prevailing philosophy and the economic conditions or problems of the day, one system has been praised and the other deprecated. Similarly, the advantages of institutional treatment and outdoor relief have been contrasted.

The present tendency, on the contrary, is to seek and exploit the peculiar advantages of every system and every method. There is no longer one recognised system but many, each applied to the problems it is most suited to solve.

The League of Nations Advisory Committee on Social Questions, at its session in 1937, showed its interest in these new eclectic tendencies when it "decided to adopt the suggestion

made by the Fifth Committee in 1936, and to take as one of the first subjects of study the principles adopted in the administration and organisation of welfare work among the young, including social assistance, showing the part played by the authorities and by voluntary organisations respectively ”.

PERSONNEL.

In the early days of Christianity, each person was responsible for administering his own charitable offerings. St. Paul's deaconesses were not social workers, but charitable women, who devoted their lives to visiting the poor.

Later, when charitable relief was given to a great extent in institutions, the question of staff did not arise, as all institutions were managed and sometimes supported by religious orders; the members of these religious communities gave their services unconditionally in the cause of charity. The “visitors” of St. Vincent de Paul were also members of religious communities, but at this time the lay, or “third order”, members of these communities had also begun to contribute more regularly by home visits to the relief work of the Church.

When the dispensing of relief was brought under the control of the local authorities, charitable persons were sometimes enrolled to help in the distribution of food and alms, but even then there was no question of a proper staff.

Only in the nineteenth century, when institutions were organised and run on more scientific lines, and when specialised nursing, social welfare and educational work was needed, did the problem of staffing begin to assume importance.

Following the tradition of many centuries, even in institutions administered by secular bodies, the workers employed were usually members of religious orders; for devotion and self-sacrifice were considered the chief qualities required in caring for those in distress.

In countries where there were few or no religious orders, and the institutions had to be staffed with lay workers lacking the religious spirit of self-sacrifice, it was soon realised—with no desire to underrate these virtues—that technical knowledge was also required. Arrangements were therefore made for training. The first group of workers to recognise the importance of training were the nurses. Their preparation at first was very simple and followed more or less the lines of the apprenticeship

system. The teaching was not only an end but also a means of securing adequate staff for the institution.

On the other hand, in institutions run by religious orders, self-sacrifice and devotion compensated to a certain extent for lack of knowledge, and the need for adequate training was recognised much later than in the case of the lay workers.

At the same time, the rapid development of private organisations and the need for continuity in their work raised the question of permanent or full-time staff.

The work done by these organisations consisted mostly of "outdoor" work, home visiting and similar duties, and the services of members of religious orders—whose freedom of movement was curtailed and often limited to the precincts of the convent—thus could not usually be called upon. Besides, many of these private organisations had a distinctly secular character and preferred to employ lay workers. The first problem which arose was not that of knowledge or training, but of the conditions of employment.

Charitable persons were willing to give to individuals, or even to contribute to the upkeep of institutions or benevolent societies, and were also willing to give their services occasionally, but could not be called upon to give their whole time to the institution or private organisation. Permanent workers had therefore to be found among persons who were willing to take up full-time work, and who had no obligations which would prevent them from doing so.

For the first time, the possibility of salaried welfare workers was discussed. The idea at first seemed revolutionary. It is true that, in institutions, part of the funds for maintenance and upkeep supplied the food and clothing of the religious or lay workers; this seemed, however, perfectly natural as they lived in the institution. But the idea of paying a person for rendering services to the poor and those in distress, was met at first with the disapproval of the majority.

Certain organisations, however, dared to adopt this revolutionary measure, and to take the first step towards making social welfare work a profession.

Soon the spirit of self-sacrifice alone was not considered a sufficient qualification for social service. Workers with at least some practical experience were demanded, and private organisations began to make arrangements for the training of their workers.

Training in this period was haphazard, and was left to the

efforts of private institutions and organisations which trained their own workers and prepared them for special tasks.

Only at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century did this irregular system of training give place to schools. One of the chief causes of this development was the great demand for trained workers. The other important cause was the effort made by the social workers themselves. This was partly due to the secularisation of some forms of social service and child welfare. Members of religious orders, though their freedom was restricted, nevertheless enjoyed the economic security which the religious community provided. They could not be discharged. Lay workers had different problems to face, and, in addition, many of them felt that they would like to be able to work in other institutions or with other organisations. But the private and very special training which these institutions had arranged for their own workers did not equip them for work elsewhere.

It was a logical development that since training was required it should be made general and should not serve only the ends of the institutions providing it.

The training of social workers developed in two directions. There was at first a tendency to specialise either in health or in social welfare work. Sometimes there was even specialisation in some smaller branch within these two main branches. This tendency was particularly marked in the early periods of organised training, when the field of work was often subdivided according to the groups of people of varying ages requiring care, or the groups of problems to be solved. Sometimes a division was made between training for institutional and training for district work. This tendency to overspecialise is, however, disappearing, or, in some systems, changing its character. A movement is on foot to make the basic training as general as possible, and to provide specialised postgraduate training. The hard and fast division between health and social welfare training is also breaking down in certain countries, especially where the special conditions of rural work have made the training of a combined health and social worker indispensable.

The other tendency manifested itself in the organisation of studies, and the relation between these courses and schools and the general educational system. The special courses arranged by institutions and organisations for the preparation of their own workers were soon thrown open to other students as well. But at the same time courses were still regarded mainly as a

means of providing the institutions with staff at a cheap rate; in return for the work done in the institutions, the students were offered the opportunity of learning. Courses of lectures were soon added to apprenticeship training.

Many changes resulted from the introduction of scientific methods into social service and child welfare work, and from the gradual increase and importance of the part played by local and especially central authorities. At first, the training provided by a course—or school, as it began to be termed—had to have a good reputation to obtain the number of students required to staff the institution. Later, the training courses were gradually transformed into institutions with education as their primary aim.

Central and local authorities also began to take an interest in the training of persons to perform the work they had undertaken. In several countries, schools for social work received official grants, and were even organised under the auspices of the Government.

The latest stage of development is the gradual incorporation of the social service schools in the general educational system. On the one hand, there is a tendency for them to become part of the system of technical and professional education. The other tendency is for schools and colleges for the training of social workers to find a place in the academic system and to acquire a similar footing to universities.

Undoubtedly, the professionalisation of social work has now become an accepted fact. The complexity of human relationships and of the problems involved, and the increasing knowledge that has been acquired of how they should be treated, renders the professional training of those who are to undertake this work more and more important.

At present, an effort is being made to ascertain how far the training of social workers meets the demand; that is to say, how far it produces the number of social workers required, and how far courses and schools prepare social workers for the type of work most needed in each country.

One of the latest developments in this field is the decision of the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Social Questions to study the training of persons engaged in social work.

LEGISLATION.

Legislation in the sphere of social service and child welfare is of comparatively recent date.

Tribal custom and the moral obligations imposed by Christianity were considered until a few hundred years ago as a

sufficient basis for the care of the poor and weak. Only when the responsibilities of local authorities were recognised and social welfare services paid for out of public funds, did the necessity for legislation become apparent.

The provisions of the Poor Laws of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not, however, go very far. They imposed certain obligations on local authorities, but at the same time they restricted the rights of those receiving assistance.

In the next stage, when these obligations began to weigh very heavily on the finances of local authorities, legislation empowered them to obtain work in return for assistance.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, the principles of social legislation changed. The causes of distress were analysed, and as a result of this, and of the new humanitarian ideas, social welfare legislation assumed a protective character. For the first time, too, different age groups were considered separately.

One of the first steps was the curtailment of the powers of local authorities; they no longer had the right in every case to insist on work being done in return for assistance. Next, the conditions of work were regulated. Once the period of *laissez-faire* was over, these restrictions were applied to private employers as well. The present-day tendency in social legislation is to place the authorities under a definite obligation to provide for the welfare of the population.

Special child welfare legislation followed on the whole the same lines of development. Compulsory education in the nineteenth century gave the child a right to preferential treatment and placed the State and the community under an obligation to provide the necessary funds. The old patriarchal idea which lingered on till the beginning of the nineteenth century favoured the older members of society, but it gradually vanished and, unconsciously at first, the greater value of the life of the young as compared with the life of the old began to be recognised.

Special legislation concerning children was at first of a negative kind and consisted of restrictions on the rights of those in charge of minors; it gave a final blow to the patriarchal idea by introducing a change in civil law curtailing paternal power and imposing definite obligations on parents and guardians. A reform of penal legislation followed rapidly, and special measures began to be applied to minors who were found to have committed an indictable offence.

The positive phase of child welfare legislation was the

enactment of many laws and regulations which ensured special treatment and special rights for the child by reason of his minority or his status.

The most recent development in some countries has been a codification of all laws relating to child welfare. Certain totalitarian regimes have enacted laws under which, in return for the welfare measures and special care provided for children, the State has a right to claim exclusive power in directing the physical and moral welfare and the education of the young.

It should be added that recent legislation on schools for social work, and on the professional status of persons engaged in social work, constitutes an indirect method of providing welfare services for the young.

The League of Nations has studied many of these questions, among others the principles applicable to the treatment of young offenders, the question of penal responsibility of minors, and the status of children born out of wedlock.

Lastly, the Conventions must be mentioned here. As regards these instruments for regulating questions of international interest, Article 24, paragraph 2 of the Covenant places special obligations on the League of Nations by stipulating that :

“ In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general Conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.”

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION AT WORK

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION AND THE RAISING OF THE MINIMUM AGE OF ADMISSION TO EMPLOYMENT

The International Labour Organisation has had occasion, during the last few months, to take important decisions in this matter, several aspects of which are of interest to educators. The significance of those decisions must first be considered briefly with reference to the history of social protection for young workers.

* * *

In a preface to Mr. Raymond Weiss' book on Daniel Le Grand, who was one of the pioneers of international labour legislation, the first Director of the International Labour Office, Albert Thomas, stated that: "A sound movement for social legislation always begins with the protection of children". That was indeed the purpose of the earliest social laws, whether national or international. Child labour legislation steadily developed in most countries up to the end of the nineteenth century, and when the first two diplomatic conferences on international labour legislation met early in the twentieth century, one of them, in 1913, adopted a draft Convention prohibiting night work for children in industry. When the International Labour Organisation was set up in 1919, it found the trail already blazed. The constitution, which is influenced throughout by the principle that "labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce", states that one of the duties of the Organisation is "the protection of children and young persons", this being amplified as follows: "the abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development".

* * *

From 1919 to 1932, part of the activities of the International Labour Organisation were dominated by an immediate concern for the protection of children and young persons in employment. A distinction may be drawn in this respect between two types of international convention. One deals especially with children and determines the minimum age for admission to employment. The other has a wider scope, which includes all young workers—in other words, both children and young persons; this group of Conventions prohibits employment at night and provides for medical inspection, protection against certain occupational diseases, etc.

All these Conventions have been very well received and they are the Conventions for which the greatest number of ratifications have been registered. The mere fact, however, that international agreements concerning young workers, and especially the Conventions fixing the minimum age for admission to industrial, non-industrial, maritime and agricultural employment had been so successful, already gave the International Labour Organisation occasion to consider, as early as 1930, whether these measures were really effective. Was not success simply a proof that the Conventions had not aimed high enough?

* * *

Moreover, during the same year, the International Labour Conference at its fourteenth session allowed for a new factor in this problem—namely, general education. The Conference adopted a resolution which requested the Governing Body to consider means of giving future workers in their youth the education necessary to make accessible to them later the whole field of science, letters and art and equip them for a “really human life”.

This increased the responsibilities of the Organisation and widened the scope of its investigations. It even involved the question of raising the school-leaving age, for if school attendance is not compulsory for children up to the age of their admission to employment, there is a period during which children who have left school, but are not as yet admitted to employment, are left to themselves without teaching, supervision or any opportunity to earn their living. Accordingly, the question arose whether an attempt should not be made to make the school-leaving age coincide in all countries with the age of admission to employment so that the regulations concerning the latter might have the desired effect.

* * *

In view of the economic depression and the need for providing children with a fuller intellectual and occupational preparation for life, the problem became a much wider one. Measures of protection proved to be more and more necessary, not merely to prevent premature employment, but also to provide employment. At the end of 1933, when the Governing Body of the International Labour Office decided to place the question of unemployment among young persons on the agenda of the Conference, the facts were as follows :

In Denmark, during May 1933, more than 36,000 out of a total of 129,307 unemployed persons were under 25 years of age, and 19,000 of these were between 18 and 22.

According to various estimates, more than a quarter, or 1,750,000, of the 7 million unemployed persons in Germany in 1932 were under 25 years of age.

In Great Britain, during May 1933, the number of unemployed persons between 14 and 18 years of age was estimated at over 140,000.

In Italy, the number of unemployed persons between 12 and 18 years of age was thought to be about 250,000 at the end of 1932.

In Norway, at the beginning of 1933, out of a total of 75,000 unemployed 20,000 were young persons between 18 and 24 years of age, while 7,000 of these had never yet been able to find employment.

In Sweden, a census taken on February 28th, 1933, showed that, of 179,507 unemployed, 59,317 (about 33%) were young persons between 18 and 25 years of age.

In the United States, the number of young persons of both sexes under 18 years of age who were in employment had fallen from 2,700,000 in 1920 to 2,100,000 in 1930.

At an even later date, just before the 1935 Conference, the International Labour Office still estimated that, putting the world total of the unemployed very roughly at 25 million persons, about a quarter, or 6 to 7 million, were young persons of less than 25 years of age. Further, such statistical records as showed the ages of employed and unemployed young people, indicated that the youngest, and consequently the cheapest, were often employed in preference to the older. Sometimes children found jobs when they first left school, but after a short time, when the requirements of minimum wage regulations, trade agreements or their own demands called for increased wages, they were replaced by younger children. The first years of employment too

often laid no foundation for future skill and were merely so much time wasted. Early employment was a serious handicap for children and depressed the labour market by bringing a cheap juvenile labour supply into competition with young persons of more suitable age and even with adults. Happily, the situation has no doubt improved since then, but the problem was a very serious one at the time and cannot be said even now to have been definitely solved.

In these circumstances, the Conference adopted in June 1935 a recommendation concerning unemployment among young persons. The preamble stated that "this unemployment continues and affects a large number of young persons, whose involuntary idleness may undermine their characters, diminish their occupational skill, and menace the future development of the nations".

In view of the measures taken in a number of countries "to remedy a situation, the gravity of which has rightly alarmed public opinion", the following reforms were recommended: raising of the minimum age for leaving school and being admitted to employment; vocational training and guidance; provision of recreational and social services for the young unemployed; action by trade and private organisations; establishment of special employment centres for young persons; prosecution of special public works for unemployed young persons; placing of young persons and development of opportunities for normal employment; compilation of statistics of employment and unemployment among young persons.

* * *

The raising of the minimum age for leaving school is the first principle recommended to all States for application: "The minimum age for leaving school and being admitted to employment should be fixed at not less than 15 years, as soon as circumstances permit."

This statement raised the question of revision of certain decisions taken by the International Labour Conference. The Conventions concerning the minimum age for admission to industrial (1919), maritime (1920), agricultural (1921) and non-industrial (1932) employment, established the rule that the age should be 14 and even allowed for a minimum age of 12 in Japan (industrial employment) and in India (industrial and non-industrial employment).

The Conference recognised the discrepancy between the age

fixed in the Convention (14) and that mentioned in the new recommendation (15), and took immediate measures to put the matter right by taking up the question of revising the Conventions.

Following the initiative of the Conference, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office consulted Governments, drawing their attention especially to the fixing of a higher minimum age and to revision of the "Standard Articles" which deal with the conditions under which Conventions come into force, etc.

The Governing Body, taking note of a resolution on the subject of revision which had been adopted by the Joint Maritime Commission, then placed the revision of the Convention fixing the minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea on the agenda of a special session of Conference, the twenty-second session, which was to meet on October 22nd, 1936.

The Conference unanimously accepted a standard minimum age of 15 years, but allowed by way of exception that, under certain conditions, children might be employed at the age of 14. This was a new departure. Articles 1 and 2 of the revised Convention are worded as follows :

" Article 1.

" For the purposes of this Convention, the term ' vessel ' includes all ships and boats, of any nature whatsoever, engaged in maritime navigation, whether publicly or privately owned; it excludes ships of war.

" Article 2.

" 1. Children under the age of 15 years shall not be employed or work on vessels, other than vessels upon which only members of the same family are employed.

" 2. Provided that national laws or regulations may provide for the issue in respect of children of not less than 14 years of age of certificates permitting them to be employed in cases in which an educational or other appropriate authority designated by such laws or regulations is satisfied, after having due regard to the health and physical condition of the child and to the prospective as well as to the immediate benefit to the child of the employment proposed, that such employment will be beneficial to the child."

Article 5 provided that the Convention should not come into force until after the adoption by the Conference of measures

revising the Conventions fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial (1919) and non-industrial (1932) employment. This condition was shortly to be fulfilled.

In June 1937, the Conference, at its twenty-third session, adopted revisions of these two Conventions which were more thorough and inclusive than that of the maritime Convention.¹

* * *

The revised Convention concerning the minimum age for admission to *industrial employment* was adopted by ninety-eight votes to eighteen. This Convention also establishes the new standard age of 15 years, and it makes this the minimum age for employment in family undertakings involving any sort of danger, while leaving it open to national legislation to permit the employment of children under the age of 15 in non-hazardous family undertakings.

These principles are laid down in Article 2 of the Convention, which reads as follows :

“ *Article 2.*

“ 1. Children under the age of 15 years shall not be employed or work in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

“ 2. Provided that, except in the case of employments which, by their nature or the circumstances in which they are carried on, are dangerous to the life, health or morals of the persons employed therein, national laws or regulations may permit such children to be employed in undertakings in which only members of the employer's family are employed.”

No mention was made in the 1919 Convention of employments that “ are dangerous to the life, health or morals of the persons employed therein ”, and, accordingly, children of 14 might, under this Convention, be given such work. The revised text, however, contains a special article, providing that national laws shall prescribe, or empower an appropriate authority to prescribe, a higher age or ages than 15 for the admission of young persons to such employments.

¹ The Governing Body also decided that the Convention fixing the minimum age for the admission of children to agricultural employment should be revised, though not before the matter was considered by the recently appointed Permanent Agricultural Committee.

For purposes of supervision, the 1919 Convention had made it compulsory for every employer in an industrial undertaking to keep a register of all persons under the age of 16 years employed by him. The revised Convention provides that the register shall be kept for all persons under the age of 18.

Further, the revised Convention contains special clauses for three countries.

In the case of Japan, the minimum age for admission to employment is raised from 12 to 14, while the employment of children under 16 years of age in mines or factories on dangerous and unhealthy work, as defined by national laws or regulations, is prohibited.

In the case of India, the minimum age is maintained at 12, as provided in the 1919 Convention, for employment in factories using power and employing more than ten persons; but it is raised to 13 for transport undertakings, and to 15 for mines and for occupations scheduled as dangerous or unhealthy by the competent authority. Further, under the revised Convention, young persons may not, unless they have been medically certified as fit for such work, be employed in factories between the ages of 12 and 17, or in mines between 15 and 17.

The revised Convention contains a new article to apply to China. The age of admission to factories using machines driven by motor power and regularly employing thirty persons or more is fixed at 12. Children under the age of 15 years may not be employed or work in mines regularly employing fifty persons or more, or on dangerous or unhealthy work, as defined by national laws or regulations, in the factories defined above. It is further provided that every employer in an undertaking to which the article applies shall keep a register of all persons under the age of 16 employed by him, together with such evidence of their age as may be required by the competent authority.

The Conference introduced an important innovation with respect to these special provisions for particular countries. The revised Convention defines a procedure by which they can be amended without recourse to general revision of the Convention. In the event of such amendment, the submission of the revised Convention to the competent authority is not required of all Member States, but only of the States directly concerned; and ratification of the amendment is likewise required only of them.

The Conference took supplementary action with respect to the permissible exception of employment in family undertakings.

It adopted a recommendation declaring " it is reasonable to hope that it will be possible to suppress this exception completely in the not distant future ". The revised Convention already limits the exception to employment not dangerous to " life, health or morals ", but the Conference urged that States " should make every effort to apply their legislation relating to the minimum age of admission to all industrial undertakings, including family undertakings ".

* * *

The same ideas underlie the Convention concerning the minimum age for admission to *non-industrial employment*. This Convention was adopted by eighty-one votes to twenty-two. It applies to all employment that, in any given country, is not considered as industrial, agricultural or maritime. It prohibits in general the employment of children under the age of 15 years, or of children over that age who are still required by national laws or regulations to attend primary school.

In making exceptions, it raises from 12 to 13 years the age at which children may, under certain conditions, be employed on light work outside the hours fixed for school attendance. Such light work is prohibited on Sundays and legal public holidays, and during the night (from 8 p.m. to 8 a.m.). Children under 14 years of age may not be employed on light work for more than two hours per day, whether that day be a school day or a holiday, or spend at school and on light work a total number of hours exceeding seven per day. National laws or regulations are to prescribe the number of hours per day during which children over 14 years of age may be employed on light work, and the hours of the night during which employment is forbidden, with the proviso that they cover a period of not less than twelve hours.

The revised Convention contains, as does the original Convention, special provisions in application to India. These lay down that the minimum age for admission to non-industrial employment shall be 13 years (instead of 10) in general, and 17 years (instead of 14) in the case of work considered as dangerous to life, health or morals.

The " Standard Articles " are the same as those in the Convention concerning industrial employment.

* * *

By way of supplementing the revised Conventions and with reference to the recommendation concerning unemployment

among young persons, the International Labour Conference adopted a resolution asking States to compile annual returns showing the number of children under the school-leaving age employed out of school hours; it asked that these returns be classified by sex, age group and occupation, and give details of the days of the week and the seasons during which the employment was carried on and the number and incidence of the hours of employment. The Governing Body at its session in October 1937 considered the effect to be given to this resolution. The report submitted on the question by the International Labour Office quoted information supplied by the British Home Office, showing " first, that an effective and usual way to control the employment of school-children is by means of an employment-permit system; secondly, when such a system is in force, it should not be difficult to furnish the returns asked for; and thirdly, the utility of keeping these returns in order that a check may be kept upon the nature and extent of child labour as a whole, and its effect upon the health of children in particular cases ".

The system of employment permits for children and young persons is very common in the English-speaking countries. As regards other countries, a table prepared by the International Labour Office, and published in 1935, shows that some form of employment permit is required in the following countries: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Peru, Poland, Spain and Uruguay. In these countries, the relevant laws and regulations are applicable throughout the national territory, whereas, in English-speaking countries, employment permits are issued by various local authorities (States, provinces, boroughs, etc.), which are not always under an obligation to institute a permit system.

* * *

Such, in broad outline, are the recent decisions taken by the International Labour Organisation and its present concerns respecting the protection of young workers. The Organisation will, however, go further than that. The 1938 session of the Conference will deal with technical education and apprenticeship. Moreover, various proposals concerning young persons have been kept on the agenda of the Governing Body of the Office. When the Minimum Age Conventions were revised, the United States Government suggested that consideration might be given to more thorough international regulation of the work

of children and young persons. The Governing Body considered that a general survey should first be made, since the subject was too important to be treated as incidental to partial revision.

However, raising of the minimum age for admission to employment, which is a question within the competence of the International Labour Conference and of national ministries, involves problems closely associated with the raising of the school-leaving age, which is a matter dealt with by public education authorities. These problems have to do with the organisation of more extended education, the relative places, in the curriculum, of general culture, pre-apprenticeship training in connection with better vocational guidance, instruction in domestic science, etc. The finding of the best solutions for these problems is highly important to the preparation of boys and girls for their place in family and social life, and cannot fail to be of interest to such educators as read this *Bulletin*.

GENERAL SMUTS' MESSAGE TO YOUTH

General Smuts has written the following message at the invitation of the British League of Nations Union to be read in British and Canadian schools on Armistice Day, November 11th, 1937. [*Editor's Note.*]

"It is unnecessary to go through the long list of disasters which have almost overwhelmed us: the worldwide depression; Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, and now again China; the decline in the membership and authority of the League of Nations; the abandonment of disarmament and the restarting of a great armaments race; the violation of treaties and the return to a naked belief in force; the disappearance of popular self-government from large parts of the West; and, above all, the loss of faith in ourselves and in the principles of our civilisation. No wonder there are confusion and distracted counsel among us. We are like people who have lost the road and grope about in darkness.

"All sorts of desperate expedients are resorted to. Many have abandoned their ardent faith in the League. Some are for watering-down the Covenant until little or nothing of its vital principles will be left. Some are for out-and-out pacifism, even at the risk of endangering the very causes which are dearer to us than peace or life itself. Many despair of human nature and self-government and seek refuge in one or other of the new ideologies. There is a dispersal of strength and aimless drifting. It is just here that the gravest danger for the future lies.

"In this crisis of our times, what is my message to youth? First I would say let us stick to the light we have seen, let us rally to the Covenant which has born of the suffering of the great war and still remains our noblest and truest vision of the future.

"In the Covenant of the League lies imperishably embodied the road to the future of the world. There is nothing amiss in this vision of a world community functioning in conference and co-operation. Not the sword but the round table is the sign under which we shall win. If the Covenant happens to be in advance of our time, if men and women cannot rise to the height of this

lofty ideal, that is no reason for abandoning it. Stick to the League, even if it functions imperfectly and gives no security for the present. Stand behind the Covenant as our banner and ideal. Men must have vision to live by. For lack of that vision they perish, and perhaps the disease we suffer from to-day is just this lack of vision. In the Covenant we have our revelation. There a great light has risen above the horizon of history. Let it never set again. Meanwhile let us not be disheartened by present failures. For the Covenant is a long-range business like Christianity itself and like all great human causes. Let youth see to it that this light of the future is not quenched in the reaction of our times.

“Secondly, and as an interim policy while the future ideal matures, let us improve the atmosphere for it by fostering human co-operation in every way open to us. There are a thousand ways whereby international understanding can be promoted. Internationalism is increasing. The world of travel is opening out before us as never before. We live in an age of conferences. Despite friction in high places the peoples of the world are coming together, world affairs are studied with growing interest, and sympathy and understanding on a human level are growing apace.

“I have the impression, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, that there is more genuine goodwill among the nations to-day than there has ever been before. Here is our opportunity, here our openings to push causes which are basic to the League and whose success will make the League succeed. Let us not be deterred by national or racial differences or by political creeds which sound strange and unacceptable to us. Let us get down to our common human level and on that deep foundation reconstruct a better world for the future. It is especially for youth to concentrate its enthusiasm and energy on this task of fundamental reconstruction. It may take time, but it will not be in vain.”

BROADCASTS FROM " RADIO-NATIONS "

Each week, " Radio-Nations " broadcasts on short-wave in English, French and Spanish. The transmissions are all given on Friday evenings, at times suitable for the different areas served, and another transmission is given for Australia and New Zealand on Monday mornings.

Next year, the broadcast activities of " Radio-Nations " will be extended in accordance with the decision of the Assembly at its eighteenth session.

The broadcasts are prepared or arranged by the Information Section of the Secretariat. Some of the talks given in recent months are reproduced below.

NUTRITION

The final report of the League of Nations on diet and food habits which has just been published deserves special attention. Two years ago, it was made clear in the discussions in the League Assembly that what we eat has an important bearing, not only upon our own general health and capacity to resist disease, but also upon the state of agricultural production in every country, and hence upon world prosperity.

The first of these discoveries—that is, the important connection between diet and health—is easy to demonstrate. The world economic crisis and the spread of unemployment has brought to our doors distressing signs of malnutrition—lowered vitality, lack of resistance to prevalent disease and even deficiency diseases themselves. But these very signs also taught us that widespread malnutrition is not merely a symptom of the present economic crisis; it is a condition tragically common in every country of the world and in every economic rank of every country. It is true that the most obvious signs of habitual underfeeding are to be found among the unemployed and among people living in poverty. But it is no less true that hundreds of thousands of people in the world who possess quite adequate means of livelihood are living out their days in a sort of physical twilight, without energy, and

subject to every passing complaint, simply because they do not know what foods to buy.

This is a distressing picture, and we must paint it in even darker tones if we recall the fact that this state of affairs exists in a world where there has been a so-called overproduction of agricultural products; where the produce of farms has been a glut upon the markets; where producers have been advised to destroy the fruit of their labour for lack of a market, when in the same world—in the same country even—people were starving.

It was the realisation of the importance of finding a solution for this state of affairs that led delegates in the Assembly of the League in September 1935 to set up the first international committee to enquire into nutrition. This committee was called a Mixed Committee, because it was composed of experts in different fields. There were medical people and health experts who had already done a good deal of research into the so-called deficiency diseases which appear when the human organism lacks minerals or vitamins; there were experts in agricultural production who had been obliged during the four previous years to face the fact that farmers in several countries were going into bankruptcy because people apparently could not afford to buy their productions; and there were economic experts whose chief interest was in promoting trade in the food commodities.

This Committee has now produced two reports. Its first was an analysis of the connection between the food that we eat and our state of health. Here the experts did not deal in generalisations. Instead, they produced a study entitled "The Physiological Bases of Nutrition", which defines in terms of foodstuffs common to the West and usually available at reasonable prices the food values required to keep the human body in good health while performing different kinds of physical activity. The first report defined the balance of minerals and vitamins required for infants, children in their first year, growing children and adolescents, for adults performing heavy manual labour, for adults engaged in sedentary work and, perhaps most important of all, for pregnant women and nursing mothers. The experts emphasised the importance of maintaining a proper diet in the expectant mother, because the kind of food that she eats will determine whether her child is to set out upon life with a well-balanced physical organism or a handicapped physique.

The experts drew attention to the special value of what they call "protective" foods, so called because they have been shown by the biochemists to contain the most essential minerals and

vitamins in sufficiently large quantities to build up reserves of these important commodities against the threat of disease. These protective foods are, first of all, milk, and there can be no exaggerating the beneficial effect of milk, particularly in the diet of children and nursing mothers. Then dairy products, butter, eggs, cheese, fresh fish, fresh meat, the green, leafy vegetables and salads and fresh fruit. Potatoes should not be scorned even by the experts in slimming because it has been shown that they are the only vegetable which retain their vitamin C content unimpaired after cooking. Carrots are a source of a valuable element—carotene—and the citrus fruits—grape fruit, lemons and oranges, as well as tomatoes—are valuable sources of vitamin C. The Committee recommended that Governments should see to it that these protective foods were available at reasonable prices to every citizen within their borders.

After having issued this report on the health aspects of nutrition, the Committee then went on to study the problem of agricultural production and economic relations in this connection. The question that they had to answer was this : Supposing that in every country of the world food habits improve, this will mean a greater demand for dairy products, for garden produce, for fruits and for fresh meat; what effect will this movement have on agricultural production in different countries of the world? When the first report appeared urging the increased consumption of so-called protective foods, some people feared that this would mean diminished consumption of cereals, whose chief quality is that they furnish energy, but they are not the best source of vitamins or mineral salts. The second report of the Mixed Committee on Nutrition, which appeared recently will completely allay that fear. The Committee has pointed out that better nutrition and the adoption of wiser food habits will mean increased demand for foodstuffs of all kinds : not only for the protective foods, but also for cereals. For example, if the agricultural industry of any given country adapts itself in order to produce enough liquid milk to enable the population to drink as much milk as they should, the result will be that more cows will be kept and that, therefore, will increase the demand for animal fodder. This will mean that the national production of cereals for animal fodder will increase. As policies for improving food habits develop, there will be an increased demand for milk, fruit, eggs and vegetables. These products may be produced more economically on the small scale-farms of European countries than can cereals, meat or sugar. So the Committee expects that

European agriculture will adapt itself to produce more of these protective and perishable foods and attach less importance to producing cereals.

An interesting example of such adaptation of agricultural production is furnished by recent history in Denmark. There, in the last sixty years, the agricultural economy has been changed from the production of cereals for export into animal husbandry based on the production of large quantities of cereals for animal fodder. This has made Denmark one of the great exporters of meat and dairy production. It has not, however, resulted in any decrease in the quantities of cereals produced from Danish soil. On the contrary, the national production of cereals has doubled, but this is used mostly for animal fodder.

Then the Committee points out that so far as modern Europe is concerned, the present level of nutrition among agricultural workers is itself a matter of grave concern. If there were a change in the direction of mixed farming in that area, the result would be a marked improvement in the diet of agricultural workers and country dwellers. The farmer who relies for his living on one or two cereal crops has not time to produce garden vegetables for his own family.

The Committee points out that if European agriculture is adapted to respond to the increased demands for protective foods, it will be necessary for Governments to give wider attention to the efficiency of agriculture. It is suggested that the agricultural co-operative movement might play an important part in this adaptation to produce relatively more dairy products, fruit and vegetables. This will, however, require some capital expenditure on the part of the farmers themselves, and the Committee therefore recommends that Governments who are interested in improving the diet of their people should consider the question of agricultural credit. The Financial Committee of the League has already decided to discuss international agricultural credit at its next meeting.

The League's experts have declared that the most important thing that Governments could do to improve public health is to instruct their people about the kind of food that they should eat. If this is done and if, as a result, food habits are improved, there will be an improvement in agriculture at home and abroad. This in turn will increase the purchasing power of farmers for manufactured goods. Improved nutrition should thus bring about a marked improvement in the world economic situation. In the light of this conclusion, the Committee declared that " the

malnutrition which exists in all countries is at once a challenge and an opportunity; a challenge to men's consciences and an opportunity to eradicate a social evil by methods which will increase economic prosperity".

SIR MALCOLM DELEIVINGNE ON OPIUM AND DRUGS

I have been asked to speak to you for a few minutes on the League's work in connection with the control of opium and dangerous drugs. It is a big piece of work, which extends to most parts of the world; and it is not very easy to deal with it in the space of a few minutes, but I will try to give you some idea of it.

First, what is this question of opium and drug control on which the League is working: As we all know, there are in nature many substances, products of what used to be called the vegetable kingdom, which have powerful effects on the human organism. Among these are certain which have the remarkable property of wiping out physical pain, and creating a general feeling of well-being—for a time. Opium, which is the product of the opium poppy, and the drugs which are derived from opium, such as morphine, and cocaine which is the product of a South-American plant, are the best known of these. This property of eliminating physical pain makes them of infinite value to the world for the relief of persons suffering from painful diseases. But if they have their uses, they also have their abuses. They are of such a nature that a person who resorts to them regularly whether for relief of pain or, as often happens, for the pleasurable effects they produce, in time becomes unable to do without them. They produce a craving for themselves which becomes a torment until it is satisfied. The useful servant, in the end, becomes a despotic master. Such persons become slaves to the habit — "drug addicts" they are called.

This abuse in time became so widespread as to be a menace to the community in many countries. Most of us know the evil that has been wrought, say in China, by the opium habit and the drugs which are extracted from opium are more powerful even than opium itself. Governments found themselves confronted with the necessity of taking steps to control the use of these drugs and prevent their being supplied except for medical use. But it was quickly seen that no country by itself could effectually control their use. It was found by persons disposed to make gain out of the weaknesses of their fellows that it was a very profitable

business to supply them with the drugs they wanted : and as a very small quantity of a drug is sufficient to satisfy the craving of an addict, it was easy to smuggle the drugs from one country to another. If one country allowed the drugs to be made and sold without any effective control, nothing could prevent them from finding their way into other countries. If control was to be made effective, and the world saved from what threatened to be a veritable plague, the nations had to help each other and to co-operate. Hence it came about that, in 1912, a number of nations sent their representatives to a conference at The Hague to consider what they could do by joint action in the matter, and they agreed upon a treaty, which is known as the Hague Convention. This was the beginning of the elaborate system of international co-operation and control which happily exists to-day.

How did the League come into the matter? The Hague Convention, valuable as it was, provided no machinery for seeing that the principles agreed upon were made fully effective. No means were provided for supervising what was being done in the various countries; or for enabling the countries to consult together as to the practical measures to be taken for enforcing the necessary control and preventing the illicit traffic in the drugs, which by this time had become rampant. The creation of the League in 1919 provided what was needed—a centre at which periodical consultations could take place, information as to the various aspects of the subject, especially as to the sources and channels of the illicit traffic, could be collected, and plans worked out for applying and strengthening the system of control. The Covenant of the League, after the close of the great war, accordingly entrusted the League with the duty of supervising the execution of the Hague Convention.

What has the League been able to do? In the seventeen years which have elapsed since the League began its work in this field, an elaborate system of international co-operation and control has been built up, covering the whole world. Two new Conventions have been adopted and have received the adhesion of nearly all the countries of the world. The supply of these drugs, except on the prescription of a qualified medical practitioner, is prohibited. No supply of the drugs can be imported or exported without the licence of the Government, and no export of a drug can be made to another country unless the Government of that country has given its permission. More than this, a scheme was worked out in 1931, and has now been applied for four years, by which the amount of these drugs which may be manufactured by any

country is limited to the quantities required for medical purposes, so that there shall be as little chance as possible for the persons who still carry on an illicit traffic in the drugs to get their supplies. The way it works is like this. All the Governments which have joined the Convention—sixty-three have done so—send to the League in the autumn of each year the quantities of the drugs they estimate will be required in the following year. These estimates are examined by a small body of four persons, of which I have the privilege to be the Chairman; and if the amount in any case appears to be greater than the needs of the country require, explanations are asked from the Government and, perhaps, suggestions are made for reducing the quantity. This system has worked very successfully. Reductions have been effected in many cases, and year by year the estimates become closer and closer to the actual medical needs of the world. The body which I have mentioned has just completed its examination of the estimates for 1938. It has had before it estimates for sixty-one countries and 103 colonies, protectorates and other territories. These estimates will be contained in a volume which will be published before the end of the year, and will regulate, in effect, the quantities which may be manufactured or imported by each country during next year. It may be interesting to note that the amount of morphine which it is estimated will be required for medical use in 1938 throughout the whole world is a little less than 10 tons; whereas, before the control was instituted, the amount of morphine manufactured and circulating in the world was at least three or four times that amount. Ever since 1929, there has been a reduction of about 35% in the amount manufactured.

Lastly, is the League's work then practically completed? I wish it were possible to say that it is, but there is much still to be done. When it no longer became possible for the illicit traffic to obtain supplies of the drugs from the known and recognised manufacturers in Europe and America, the secret or clandestine factory came into existence—at first in parts of Europe, where it was quickly stamped out. It has now appeared in a number of places elsewhere, especially in the Far East of Asia, and drugs are finding their way now from the Far East to Europe and America. Wherever the opium poppy is grown, there is the possibility, unless a rigorous control is exercised, of the clandestine factory springing up: and the opium poppy can be cultivated in many parts of the world. The total world needs of opium have been estimated at a little over 1,000 tons. Many times that

amount are produced every year. Proposals have accordingly been made to strike at the root of the mischief, as it were, and to limit by international agreement the cultivation of the opium poppy, as the manufacture of the drugs has already been limited. That is the big question which now confronts the League, and preparations are already in hand for giving practical effect to these proposals.

THE SINGAPORE HEALTH BUREAU

Fortunately, to the great majority of people, plague and cholera are mere names. You may have sometimes seen in the newspapers that thousands of people have died from one or other of these diseases, but this probably did not convey very much to you. Perhaps you may even have read of cholera or plague sweeping across half a continent. In 1894, for instance, plague broke out in Hong-Kong and spread very quickly through the important ports of neighbouring countries. It was carried to India and caused 10,000,000 deaths there. And it is not only in the past—cholera has caused over a million deaths in the last ten years. It takes an effort to grasp these figures.

How do these epidemics spread? And where do they come from? Plague is carried by rats. It is actually a rat illness, but unfortunately man is very liable to it and gets the disease when a flea from an infected rat bites him. So it is in the dark little streets and bazaars of the huge cities of the East that you find the home of plague. The rats have discovered that the hovels which serve to shelter the population from rain and cold serve the same purposes for them, so man and rat share accommodation. Again, in the thousands of river boats and steamers on the great rivers of the Orient, the rats find shelter and food and live with man.

Cholera, on the other hand, is carried by water—usually river water. In the heat of Eastern countries, everybody makes as little effort as possible, and the river is generally the handiest water supply. The fact that it contains sewage from two or three million people does not worry anyone. It is the nearest water available, and everybody drinks it.

Cholera, then, is spread by infected water or by other cases of cholera, whilst plague is carried by rats. But the important thing is that, however fast an epidemic appears to travel over the country, it can never travel faster than man himself. For plague to spread, rats must move from place to place, and they can only

travel by train, ship or air, as man does. Cholera, again, can only spread at the same rate as man can travel, because the infected water or the cases of cholera must be carried from place to place by a ship, train or aeroplane. It is obvious, therefore, that the way to stop either disease from spreading is to make certain that no rats, no infected water and no people suffering from plague or cholera are travelling from one place to another, and particularly from one country to another. So all trains, ships and aeroplanes coming from a country that is infected must be carefully examined. First, cases of the disease must be looked for and then all rats destroyed and finally any infected water disinfected. But that is not nearly so easy as it sounds, and it can only be done by international organisation.

That is exactly what they do at the League of Nations Eastern Bureau at Singapore. I was out there three months ago, and all through the day and night we used to get telegrams and air-mail letters from Governments telling us about outbreaks of plague or cholera in their respective countries. We got these telegrams or letters from a vast area—as far north as Vladivostok, and as far south as New Zealand; as far east as the Hawaiian Islands, and as far west as Egypt—from no fewer than 160 ports of the East. All this material we examined in the Bureau. There were eight of us, and we really formed an enormous clearing-house for all information about these diseases in the East.

But this is not everything. We used to get other messages about the number of rats killed and examined for plague in each port, and weather reports—for some weathers are much more likely to spread the disease than others.

This information about urgent epidemics of plague and cholera begins to arrive in the Bureau on Monday, and most of it has arrived from all the countries by Thursday. During these four days we were busy sorting out and rearranging the information for distribution to ships, aeroplanes and ports all over the Far East. Then one of the clerks would prepare a summary, which would be cabled to the powerful wireless station at Saigon in French Indo-China. Every Friday morning, this station broadcasts the summary all over the Far East. It is picked up and rebroadcast by Government wireless stations in China, the Netherlands Indies, Japan, India and Madagascar (for East Africa).

From these wireless stations, the information is sent to every part of Asia, Australasia and Africa, and all over the Indian and Pacific Oceans. So the information which we collected and sent

off on Friday would be spread half round the world the same day, for everybody who wanted it.

Who wants to hear this information? Three kinds of people—ships' captains, pilots of aeroplanes and doctors in ports and on aerodromes. The ship's captain must know before he reaches each port what serious infectious diseases there are there, because he wants to know whether he can allow his crew and passengers to go ashore or not. The ships of the Far East are crowded with all kinds of third-class or deck passengers, hundreds of coolies going to work in some other country, pilgrims on their way to Mecca, whole families moving from one district to another; and if one individual goes ashore at a port infected with plague or cholera, that may be enough to infect the whole ship when it sails again. Pilots of aeroplanes must have similar information about the places where the aeroplane comes down to spend the night. Similarly, the doctors in ports and aerodromes must know which ships or aeroplanes are coming from infected countries and may therefore bring plague-rats or cholera-infected water in their water tanks.

All—sea captains, pilots and medical officers in ports—are informed by the Singapore broadcast where the enemy is, where his strength is greatest and what steps to take to avoid meeting with him—in other words they are given the names of all ports infected with plague and cholera and the number of cases and deaths that have occurred in them during the previous week.

Besides these diseases of plague and cholera, there is now a new danger for the East, which has started with air traffic. There exists a disease called yellow fever, which, up to now, has only occurred in South and Central America and in Africa. No case has ever been known in the Far East, although the same mosquito that carries yellow fever in Africa exists all over the East. Why have there been no cases of yellow fever? The reason is very interesting. After a mosquito carrying the disease has bitten an individual it is six days before the person shows any sign of the disease. By sailing ships and steamers it was impossible to reach the Far East from either South America or West Africa in less than five days. By this time anyone who had been infected showed the disease and had either died or recovered long before the ship touched any Eastern port. So yellow fever was never carried to the East, but nowadays aeroplanes pass from Africa to the East—India for example—in less than five days, and a person may be infected in Africa and have flown to his home in India and been there a day or two before the disease shows itself.

There he becomes ill with yellow fever. The mosquitoes in the district get infected from him; and thus the disease would have started in the East. This is a very real danger at the present time. In addition to precautions taken at the first aerodrome at which every aeroplane comes down in Asia, cables are sent to the Singapore Bureau giving information about the extent of the disease in Africa and about passengers arriving in India from places infected with yellow fever. This information is again broadcast for the information of health authorities all along the routes of the air services.

Perhaps that is the most spectacular function of the League's Bureau at Singapore, but it is not the end of the work. The Bureau co-ordinates research work in the East, especially in connection with such diseases as cholera and plague.

A scientist doing research on, say, cholera, will write to the Bureau, asking for samples of bacilli to be sent to him from other countries where the same disease exists, so that he can compare their action and mode of life. The Bureau arranges to get bacilli for him and forwards them to him.

Then it arranges for doctors and scientists working in one country to visit hospitals and laboratories in other countries, so that they can benefit by seeing how similar problems or diseases are tackled by their neighbours. For instance, a doctor working in India at plague may be sent to Java and China; or one working at cholera may go to Siam, Indo-China and India.

The Bureau also arranges courses of study in malaria for doctors from different countries.

If you consider the speed of modern transport and the great increase in the number of people who travel, it is easy to see how the need for international collaboration has also increased if we are to get the fullest possible advantage from our own and our neighbours' knowledge in the control of disease. There can be no question of the value of international collaboration in the control of plague and cholera, in the co-ordination of research in all nations and in the pooling of information from different countries which have had to face similar problems.

That is why the League of Nations created and maintains the Singapore Bureau to assist in the control of plague and cholera in the Far East.

PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

I want to speak to my fellow countrymen in Australia and New Zealand on the subject—please don't turn off the wireless as soon as you hear what it is—of intellectual co-operation. The name repels everyone, yet all it means is that the various Members of the League who already try to co-operate in political work, in finance and business, should make their practical co-operation easier by also co-operating in thought and feeling. What we all crave for in this distracted world is a policy of appeasement, of gradual building-up of friendliness and goodwill. Many different methods can be tried and are being tried to that purpose. I want to explain this particular one. It was initiated by Lord Balfour, an ex-Prime Minister of England, and Léon Bourgeois, an ex-Prime Minister of France, helped by the celebrated philosopher, Bergson. It has had such members as Bergson himself, Einstein, Lorentz, Mme. Curie and others. But for many people quite outside politics who have to a special degree the power of both guiding and interpreting fellow currents of thought and feeling in their respective countries, if it were possible for these people to meet intimately, to know one another, to work together at the subjects they have most at heart, if the leading writers, thinkers, artists, teachers, men of science, social reformers, directors of museums and picture galleries from different countries could from time to time get together, not to talk politics or wrangle about tariffs, but to discuss their common difficulties and help each other to meet these difficulties, would not this mere fact of their meeting and getting to know one another, quite apart from any useful concrete result they might obtain, be an invaluable instrument for appeasement and the spread of goodwill?

That idea is the origin of the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, or as it is generally called, the C.I.C.I. Some nations support it with enthusiasm; some, I am afraid, are rather proud of taking no notice of it at all. They say: Intellectual co-operation, what a name! Evidently an affair of the highbrows. We are not highbrows and intellectuals and we don't care much for what your intellectuals say or do.

I dare say there are some completely unintellectual nations, but Australia is certainly not one of them. There are not many people in Europe who are of such intellectual fame as, for instance,

Lord Rutherford in Australia, or Sir William Bragg in New Zealand. Some years ago, when the Royal Society in England was looking out among the younger scientists for the man who had done the most promising original work in any science, the choice fell on a young Australian. The President of the C.I.C.I. is an Australian. Australia cannot excuse herself from taking an interest in the C.I.C.I. on the grounds that she is not an intellectual nation. Some say that the C.I.C.I. is a League of Nations Organisation and the appeasement that is most wanted is for nations outside the League. But you will only get true appeasement by increasing the area of your friendships, not by deserting your friends in order to please those who don't wish to be your friends. But as a matter of fact the C.I.C.I. stands far beyond the limits of the actual political League. It is not much affected by political divisions, or what people now call ideological divisions. Its American and South-American members, Japanese, Chinese and Russian members get on quite well together and all take an active part in the common work.

Some say again, what does this Committee do? What practical results has it produced? Well, it would not be hard to make a considerable list of modest, but useful, services. It worked to get the Germans accepted as members of the various international scientific societies. It has done a good deal to improve the museums and art galleries of Europe by organising co-operation and consultation between them. It has managed to remove some injustices in the law of copyright and the laws affecting an artist's right over his work. It has encouraged a new and better spirit between nations in education.

But instead of giving a catalogue, let us take one particular instance of its work—the International Studies Conference. We all know that there are two great problems now harassing the chief Governments of the world. One is the problem of collective security, that is, the problem of how the great mass of nations that want to keep at peace and are willing to submit to arbitration and obey law, can, by standing together, protect one another against the danger of war. The other is the problem of “peaceful change”; that is the problem of dealing with any injustice there may be in the state of the world and removing it by common consent before it becomes dangerous. These two problems, collective security and peaceful change, will eventually have to be settled by Governments, but they need to be thought out first. They need a lot of thinking out and Governments are generally not very good at thinking. Now all the principal countries have

institutes for the study of international problems, but they study them, of course, each from its own angle and with a view to its own interests. There is no solution that way. The C.I.C.I. has for several years been getting them to meet together and study these problems in co-operation—not each nation to its own advantage, but with a view to the peace and contentment of the world as a whole. The Conference does not attempt to settle the problems; that is for the Governments. But it makes that preliminary international study without which such questions could not possibly be settled.

But I have been led away to proving the usefulness of the actual, concrete results of our co-operation. The really important thing, quite apart from results, is the co-operation itself. We are living in an age of strife; an age when civilisation itself, or at least the peace on which civilisation depends, is being threatened on every side. The Governments and politicians are on terms of suspicion and enmity; the popular journalists fling insults across the frontiers; the Press censorships in certain countries are eager to pervert the truth, the masses are stirred to ill-feeling by unscrupulous politicians in newspapers. Even athletes and football players, generally so good-tempered in their international contests, sometimes quarrel. Almost the only region known to me in which men and women of different nations meet in general harmony and goodwill are the conferences of learned societies, of scientists, historians, writers, thinkers, artists. Such people have their different schools of thought, they certainly have their different individual languages and ambitions, but they do not split into national groups. German, French, English, Italian, they work together at the subjects of their common interest and keep alive that spirit of human companionship without which civilisation cannot continue. That is where intellectual co-operation comes in.

Now most countries have a national committee working in harmony with the central International Committee which meets at Geneva. Australia at present has not one. Australia is very far from Geneva, that is true, but cannot Australia do what America and Brazil and Japan and China have done? I should like her to do even more.

STATUS OF WOMEN

The meetings of the First Committee of the Assembly are always devoted to discussions of legal questions which come up in the course of the League's work; and here you will see eminent jurists from different countries. You could find many of their names if you looked into the section of your public library where books and periodicals on public law and international law are kept. Some of the members of the Committee are professors; some of them are in the service of their Governments as legal advisers.

This year, the Legal Committee of the Assembly has had only one subject to discuss, and this is a subject on which you will find very little material in any of the legal publications. They are discussing the status of women—the position of women under the law in different countries. But there is more in it than just questions of law. The eminent jurists of the First Committee are discovering that they cannot define the position of women merely by examining the law in different countries. They have also to look into the whole network of custom and tradition which has produced society as it is in different parts of the world.

Why should the League of Nations be discussing the status of women? Perhaps the best answer to this question was furnished by M. Cassin, who represents the French Government. M. Cassin said "everything that concerns mankind concerns the League of Nations". Does the position of women under the law and in the political and social life of their country concern mankind? For the past two or three years, the League of Nations has been receiving a good deal of evidence to show that it does. This evidence has come both from Governments and from organisations which have made it their business to try to improve the lot of women in every country.

The position of women under the law was first discussed at an international conference, when the League made an attempt some years ago to codify the various national legislations relating to the question of nationality. The object of this Codification Conference, which was held at The Hague in the Netherlands, was simply to bring the regulations of different countries into relation with each other in order to avoid cases in which people might find themselves with no nationality or with two nationalities at once.

The women's organisations at that time drew the attention of the legal experts to the special position of married women. In their effort to harmonise the different national legislations

concerning nationality, the experts had more or less taken it for granted that in many countries women who married foreigners had no right to choose their future nationality. In some cases, they were obliged to adopt the nationality of their husbands, which might have made them foreigners in their own countries, so the women's organisations urged that there should be no codification of laws about nationality which would contain unfair treatment for married women.

From that time onwards, the whole question of the position accorded to women under the law in relation to that of men was more and more discussed. When the Assembly of the League met in 1935 it was faced with a resolution brought before it by a number of Governments that the delegates should conclude an international treaty obliging countries to adopt the principle of equality between the sexes in all their national legislations. If such a treaty were adopted and properly carried out it would entail many changes in the national legislations of most countries. For example, in the countries where parliamentary institutions exist, women would have to be accorded the right to vote on the same terms as men, in other countries regulations would have to be revised in order to allow women to enter all universities, schools of higher training, and professional life and Government services. The position of women in different countries varies a good deal, but most delegates were prepared to admit that the application of the principle of equality between men and women in all aspects of political and civil life would oblige their Governments to introduce new legislation.

Most Governments felt that they were not yet prepared to do this; or rather that they did not yet know enough about the problem to do it wisely. And so, instead of discussing further the question of whether or not they should adopt an international treaty giving equal rights to men and women, the Assembly decided to set on foot an enquiry into the actual position of women under the law and in custom in the different countries. This enquiry was carried out not, as is frequently the case, by a special commission set up by the League, but simply by the Assembly's inviting the Governments to furnish information about the political and civil status of women in their territories. The Assembly went one step further. Recognising the important part which the women's organisations had played in protecting the rights and well-being of women in many parts of the world, it asked these international organisations to submit their observations on the whole enquiry.

That was two years ago, and this year, when the First Committee of the Assembly met, it was presented with a document containing the replies which both the Governments and the international women's organisations had sent in response to this invitation. These replies are very interesting because they show the position which women occupy in some forty countries with regard to the political and civil rights that civilised mankind has always held dear. The enquiry showed that in ten countries women are given equality with men in the right to choose their own nationality after marriage; twenty countries, however, refuse this right. The right to vote in parliamentary elections and eligibility to stand as candidates for Parliament is enjoyed by women in twenty-four countries. Four of the countries which replied to the enquiry said that they refused this right, and a number of countries did not state the position with regard to the right to vote. The enquiry also asked what was the position of married women with regard to the right to choose their domicile. Only four countries so far grant a married woman a right equal to that of her husband to choose where she shall live. Twenty-three of the countries which replied said that they refused her this right.

With regard to the guardianship of children, we have still much to learn. All that the results of the last two years' enquiry reveals is that in six countries women are granted equal rights with their husbands to hold guardianship over their children, and six countries refuse them this right.

Then, as regards the right to work, fourteen countries grant women the right to work without restriction. In at least sixteen, and probably more, the work of women is restricted in some way. Sometimes, of course, these restrictions are regulations adopted for the sake of protecting the health of women employed in different kinds of industrial processes or safeguarding the health of children; but even when these restrictions have a beneficial side, there still seems to be some possibility that, in practice, they might limit a woman's chance to obtain work.

The enquiry lastly asked for information about the right of women to administer their own property, income and earnings. Twenty-four of the countries which replied said that under their laws women had equal rights with men in this respect, but in ten countries women have not the same right as men to administer their property or dispose of their income and earnings.

The replies of the Governments and the debate in the First Committee in which not less than twenty-three delegations took

part, showed that the status of women is not a question which at present one can hope to see settled for all countries by the adoption of a simple and all-embracing formula. Although some speakers were inclined to consider that it would ultimately become possible to secure general acceptance for an international convention on the subject, no delegation proposed that the League should at present attempt to have a convention negotiated under its auspices, and certain delegations declared that the status of women was essentially a matter of domestic jurisdiction, and that it ought not to be considered to fall within the field of action of the League.

Other delegations feel that, at the present stage, legislative progress may be co-ordinated as the result of League action.

In the light of the discussion which took place in the First Committee, the Assembly decided that a Committee of Experts of both sexes should be entrusted with the carrying-out of a comprehensive and scientific enquiry into the legal status enjoyed by women in the various countries of the world as the result of the provisions of national law and the application of those provisions. The Committee will have to determine the exact scope of the enquiry and to distribute the work among various suitable scientific institutions qualified to undertake such a study. The Committee will also have to settle the final form and content of the resulting documents, with a view to the preparation of a synthetic survey. The publication of such a comprehensive study will be of assistance to Governments and to all organisations interested in the problem. The League will be provided with an entirely objective picture of the actual legal position of women, and upon a completion of the study will be free to consider taking further steps in the matter.

SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION

The agenda of the International Conference on Education, which is prepared so as to reflect as faithfully as possible the questions engaging the attention of the educational authorities of the different countries, falls into two parts. On the one hand, the Conference examines the reports of the Education Ministries on the educational events of the past year and, where occasion arises, discusses the points touched on in these reports. On the other hand, it makes a more thorough study of certain questions (three as a rule) chosen in advance. It is assisted in this special study by the reports which the Bureau prepares beforehand on the basis of the replies received from Ministries in response to its enquiries.

Although the Conference only takes note of the reports of the Ministries concerning the educational events of the year, it makes recommendations to them on each of the other points of the agenda.

This procedure has been followed at the six general meetings organised by the International Bureau of Education, and has proved a very practical one. The monotony of studying only one subject is avoided, as well as the diffuseness of too encyclopædic an agenda. At the same time, the delegations have opportunities for raising a large number of educational questions incidentally.

EDUCATIONAL EVENTS IN 1936 AND 1937.

In examining and discussing the reports drawn up by a permanent secretariat, and then voting recommendations, the Conference merely proceeds on the same lines as certain other international organisations, whether or not specially concerned with education. But in asking the Education Ministries to send it an official report on the chief educational events of the year, it introduced an innovation.

It was with interest tinged with a certain scepticism that

educational circles awaited the results of this experiment. They had imagined all sorts of difficulties, every one of which seemed to them an obstacle to international collaboration in the field of education. But the experiment succeeded; indeed, it would now be difficult to dispense with this survey of the course of education during the twelve preceding months. The Ministries concerned at once realised how valuable it would be for them to know, at the end of each school-year, the principal changes that had taken place in other countries, and thus to see the direction of those main currents which determine future developments in teaching. For, if "to govern is to anticipate", there is no doubt but that—in a period in which the mind can scarcely keep pace with educational reforms, so rapidly does one succeed another—the educational authorities are aware that it is to their interest, not only to keep themselves informed of what is taking place to-day, but to foresee what will happen to-morrow.^o

Although we propose to revert to this aspect of the Conference in the *Annuaire international de l'Education et de l'Enseignement*, 1938, we are summarising here, for the benefit of readers of the *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, the special educational developments of the year 1936/37, as shown in the reports of the Education Ministries presented to the sixth International Conference on Education.¹

In the first place, one welcome tendency should be noted. As a result of the improved economic situation, a number of countries have been able to abrogate—either entirely or in part—the measures adopted during the depression. In some countries, those restrictions are indeed no more than an unhappy memory; in others, educational finance seems definitely to have entered the convalescent stage.

It should also be observed that in consequence of the depression, and to some extent to circumstances of a political nature, the State—in accordance with the rule that the person who pays the piper calls the tune—is exercising greater control over the schools. Many countries have increased the number and the powers of their school inspectors.

The era of educational advance, which began in 1918, is far from being over. Like pieces on a chessboard (when one is

¹ All the reports on educational events in 1936/37 presented to the sixth International Conference on Education will be reproduced in the *Annuaire international de l'Education et de l'Enseignement*, 1938; they will be accompanied by statistical data and, by way of preface, there will be a general survey representing a kind of educational balance-sheet for the year.

moved, the others must be moved accordingly) educational reforms inevitably lead to further changes.

It is not only as regards their methods that schools are developing; their very structure is being transformed. These structural changes are especially noticeable in secondary education. As it is now the duty of the secondary schools to direct their pupils towards their future work, secondary education has to deal with a variety of problems. These include the question of secondary schools for all, which is a problem of internal structure and rationalisation, and the question of "boundaries" with cognate branches of teaching (especially with higher elementary education and with vocational training).

In the matter of curricula and methods, there seems to be closer collaboration, in elementary and secondary education, between educational theorists and the teachers themselves, on the one hand, and the educational authorities on the other. The educational principles now embodied in the laws of a great many countries are to all intents and purposes the same as those which, only a few years ago, were held by the most advanced theorists.

According to the official reports, physical training is one of the matters to which the authorities are giving most attention. Physical training and sports are being accorded a more important rôle, sometimes at the expense of time hitherto devoted to intellectual subjects. The interest shown by the authorities in physical training often goes hand in hand with rearmament and national defence work, and takes the form—to note one of its aspects—of a further extension of the pre-military training of youth.

We may also note, among educational movements which overstep national frontiers, the work that has been done to organise vocational training and co-ordinate it with secondary and intermediate education; the competition between the two systems of training the staffs of the elementary schools (advanced training in university institutes, or special training in teachers' training colleges or lycées); the movement in favour of rural schools, seeking to do away with the educational injustice from which the children of country districts suffer and as a result of which they are apt to be handicapped in life; the checking of the "rush" to the secondary schools as a step towards preventing unemployment among intellectual workers, etc.

But it is not possible to recount here in detail all the problems raised in that survey of the educational horizon which is made by

the International Conference on Education; we must be content to draw attention to the main items in this educational balance-sheet for the year 1936/37.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.

The sixth International Conference on Education is mindful of the rights of national sovereignty in matters of education and has not the least desire to thrust a hard and fast educational doctrine upon the Governments that send representatives. Nor does it wish to draw up a kind of guide to international teaching principles. Setting out from the fact that the problems of education are very much the same in different countries, it confines itself to passing recommendations on what it regards, when adapted to the special peculiarities of each nation, as the best solution to the questions on its agenda.

This year, three questions which had been dealt with at an international enquiry amongst Ministries of Education were to be laid before the Conference : the inspection of schools, the teaching of modern languages, the teaching of psychology in the training of elementary- and secondary-school teachers. The first problem is of distinct administrative interest, the second is rather more educational in character, and the third comes under the heading of educational science.

The representatives of forty-six Governments unanimously voted in favour of these three recommendations. It must be agreed that this fact invests them with unquestionable value in the eyes of the educational administrations for which they are intended, even if they do not express a universal and official pedagogical doctrine.¹

INSPECTION OF SCHOOLS.

One of the tendencies of education in 1936/37 is, as we have said, towards greater State control of teaching. This, chiefly takes the form of a more effective inspection of schools. The question of inspection was on this year's agenda of the Annual Congress of the International Federation of Teachers' Associations. Study of the same problem by the International Conference on Education would therefore make possible a comparison

¹ The complete text of these three recommendations will be found in the volume "Sixth International Conference on Education : Minutes and Resolutions". Collection of Publications of the International Bureau of Education, 1937, 126 pages.

between the opinion of the teachers inspected and that of the inspecting Government.

It must not be imagined that the attitudes of the teaching profession and the scholastic authorities are fundamentally incompatible. The summary of the recommendation of the Government delegates will give some idea of the broadminded understanding of the rights of the teaching staff shown by the representatives of the forty-six Governments gathered together in the Palais Wilson. Paragraph 4 of the recommendation declares that the "point of fundamental importance in the life of an inspector is that he shall understand the teachers in his charge and be able to advise them, bearing in mind that he must at all times respect their intellectual freedom and encourage the spirit of initiative in educational matters".

The Conference, which included several general inspectors and several chief inspectors of the various grades of teaching—such was the case, for instance, for Great Britain and France—proved very exacting as to the choice of educationists to carry out this "most delicate function". According to paragraph 2, "no one should be appointed to the inspectorate who has not previously shown an interest in and an understanding of general educational problems, either in a period of probation or by following a special course organised by a post-graduate institution".

In order to be able to carry out their duty properly, and to keep pace with educational progress, the Conference considered that "inspectors should not be in charge of too large districts or have duties which are too complicated—that, in secondary education particularly, administrative control should be in the hands of other officials, and that direction in purely educational matters should constitute the proper mission of the inspectors".

Lastly, the Conference indicated its attitude with regard to the problem of inspection in private schools; it recommended that "in the interests of the children and of the private schools themselves, these latter should be subjected to inspection as are the public educational establishments".¹

THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES.

After examining in previous years the problems of admission to secondary schools and the professional training of secondary-school teachers, the International Bureau of Education continued

¹ The results of the enquiry into the inspection of schools will be found in the volume "L'inspection de l'enseignement", Collection of Publications of the International Bureau of Education, 1937, 264 pages.

its series of studies on secondary education by an enquiry into modern language teaching.¹ At the same time as this enquiry was carried out, the International Intellectual Co-operation Organisation undertook a study of modern-language teaching as a factor in mutual understanding between peoples. The International Bureau of Education was invited to take part in this work.

The Conference took up the following attitude to the question. After recommending that the teaching of modern languages should be fostered in the various grades of education, including occupational schools and the upper classes of elementary schools, the Conference asserted that such teaching should have as its aim, not only the capacity to use a language for practical purposes, but also, what is even more important, the educational interest inseparable from a knowledge of foreign civilisations and a mutual understanding between peoples. Lastly, the teaching of foreign languages should tend " towards the wider development of human personality ".

From the methodological point of view, the Conference considered that " neither in object nor method should the teaching of modern languages be modelled on that of dead languages ". A large proportion of the time should be devoted not only to learning vocabulary and grammar, but also to pronunciation and intonation. The vocabulary should be based on the more common words and be suited to the pupil's interests.

In its recommendation, the Conference, remembering always that the chief part must be played by the master, pointed out the special aids put at the disposal of the modern-language teacher by modern scientific developments.

THE TEACHING OF PSYCHOLOGY IN THE TRAINING OF ELEMENTARY- AND SECONDARY-SCHOOL TEACHERS.

The fourth International Conference on Education had already examined in 1935 the question of the professional training of elementary- and secondary-school teachers and had adopted recommendations on that subject.

The appearance of the problem of the teaching of psychology in the training of elementary- and secondary-school teachers on

¹ See the volumes that have appeared in the Collection of Publications of the International Bureau of Education: " L'admission aux écoles secondaires ", 1934, 222 pages; " L'enseignement des langues vivantes ", 1937, 282 pages.

the agenda of the sixth meeting of the Conference was a necessary sequel to the work done in 1935.¹

The Conference was unanimous in considering "that future teachers should acquire a sound psychological training integrated with their general educational preparation and particularly with their teaching practice". Such training should lay special stress on the psychology of children and adolescents.

Psychological training should include, besides the study of normal children and adolescents, the study of refractory and abnormal children, individual aptitudes and characteristics, the various environments in which children are reared: home, school, etc.

The Conference drew the attention of the educational authorities to the danger of giving this psychological training at an age when pupil teachers would be incapable of understanding the significance of the experiments in which they are called upon to collaborate. For, although it acknowledged *ex cathedra* courses to be necessary, it nevertheless insisted that the psychological training of future teachers should consist essentially in "personal observations, experiments and research on the intellectual, moral and social development of varied types of children".

* * *

It is somewhat consoling, when the world is torn between so many conflicting forces, to see the representatives of forty-six Governments bring their loyal contributions to the work of international collaboration in the sphere of education to which the International Bureau of Education had invited them.

It is a spectacle which cannot be easily accounted for unless one remembers that interest in children and education is fortunately still one of those common denominators of mankind which cannot be destroyed by crises in international friendship. Attempting to rise above the present depressing state of affairs, representatives responsible for the education of forty-six countries have worked together to improve teaching technique and educational organisation.

¹ See the following volumes which have appeared in the Collection of Publications of the International Bureau of Education: "La formation professionnelle du personnel enseignant primaire", 1935, 402 pages; "La formation professionnelle du personnel enseignant secondaire", 1935, 206 pages; "Documents officiels sur l'enseignement de la psychologie dans la préparation des maîtres primaires et secondaires", 1937, 130 pages.

Perhaps, too, crudely materialistic minds might be tempted to attribute to the incorrigible idealism of zealots this ardour with which, in spite of the gathering storm, they still believe in the possibility of improving the future of mankind. Is it a Utopian dream to continue to have faith in education and to work for its development, even if the great catastrophe were to occur? What materialist would blame the peasant who, in spite of the ever gloomy prospects of approaching winter, unhesitatingly sows his seed in the certitude that under the soil ravaged by the winter cold it will spring to life at the first beams of the April sun?

P. ROSSELLO,
*Assistant Director of the International
Bureau of Education.*

Official Documents

WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION DURING THE PAST YEAR

In order to enable readers of the *Bulletin* to acquaint themselves with the work of the Organisation in the field of education, it has been felt advisable to give in the following pages a brief survey of the various questions on its programme.

More complete information on the work of the nineteenth plenary session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will be found in the Committee's report¹ and in the *Bulletin de la Coopération intellectuelle*, published by the Paris Institute. Furthermore, the text of the resolutions referring to questions of education is reproduced in this number on pages 193 *et seq.*

As regards the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in the field of teaching of the facts and principles of international co-operation, the reader may consult the special articles under this heading.²—[*Editor's note.*]

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES.

The Institute of Intellectual Co-operation published last year a first volume of a series under the main title "Organisation of Higher Education". The Institute, continuing the work that has been proceeding since 1932, with a view to the presentation of a comparative survey of university systems, is considering a second enquiry amongst governmental officials for the central administration of higher education and scientific research, and in countries where the State does not directly concern itself with these matters, amongst the directors of national committees exercising a similar control over university institutions. The results of this enquiry will be published in a second volume, in which the following countries will probably be considered: Austria, Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, Japan, Mexico, Poland, Roumania, Switzerland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Since 1928, the Institute has published an annual list of vacation

¹ See document C.327.M.220.1937.XII.

² See pages 35 *et seq.*

courses in Europe. The subjects taught are practically the same as those hitherto announced. The study of the language, literature, civilisation and history of the country in which the courses are organised generally predominates, but the arts (music, drama, folk dances, painting, etc.) and the political, technical and medical sciences also figure in the programmes.

The bulletin of the organisations which concern themselves with students in foreign countries, published under the title of *Students abroad* (French edition : *L'Étudiant à l'étranger*) has continued to appear twice a year. Readers are given a half-yearly review of the efforts that are being made in all parts of the world to facilitate the international circulation of university youth in spite of unfavourable conditions.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

This Conference was organised by the " Société de l'Enseignement supérieur " in Paris and by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. It was held in Paris during the month of July. More than 150 University professors representing 115 higher education establishments in forty-one countries attended the meeting. The Conference divided its proceedings into eight sections. The findings will be published shortly in a separate volume. The Conference was of opinion that the questions which were under its attention should be made the object of further investigation and decided to set up at the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation a permanent Committee of Higher education composed of a limited number of directors of higher education and university representatives who will meet at regular intervals.

The report of Dr. J. F. Zook (United States) on the rôle of the university in the contemporary world, gave rise to an interesting debate on the balance that should be struck in universities between research of a purely scientific and disinterested nature and the applied sciences. The Conference also discussed the merits and drawbacks of the continental system and those of the systems applied chiefly in the Anglo-Saxon world.

In view of the extraordinary increase in the number of students attending the modern universities, the Conference recommended that professors be assisted in their teaching duties by an auxiliary scientific staff, along the lines of the system of assistants applied in the science faculties.

The organisation of faculties was widely discussed. The question was raised as to what extent, in what form and by what methods can the mediæval organisation of universities and the ancient divisions between faculties be adjusted to the scientific, intellectual and social needs of modern times on the one hand, by creating new faculties and by making the indispensable specialisation more flexible and, on the other, by establishing closer links between the various faculties.

Professor A. Rohn (Switzerland) submitted a report on higher technical education. He emphasised that the worship of truth and the freedom of scientific investigation is a principle which is common to both higher technical education and the higher classic education.

There can be no antagonism between classical humanism and the new scientific humanism; on the other hand the two must not be merged. Some members of the Conference advocated the idea of incorporating higher technical education in the university programme. Other members were in favour of maintaining the autonomy of the major technical schools. Everybody agreed that it would be highly desirable to establish closer contacts between the two branches of teaching.

The report of Mr. D. De Blasi (Italy) deals with the method of recruiting teachers for Higher Education, with transfers and disciplinary rules and with the question of assistant teachers and lecturers. The Conference was of opinion that the distinction made in some university systems between "fundamental teaching" and "complementary teaching" in no way prejudices the scientific value of the subjects considered but merely indicates the part which these subjects play in the study programmes drawn up with a view to obtaining various university degrees. The Conference also agreed that the methods applied for the selection of professors should take into account not merely the scientific ability but also their teaching ability. Moreover, without questioning the right of the State to intervene in the appointment of professors, especially when the university is an institution established and maintained by the State, the Conference was of opinion that the university itself is the competent body to judge the scientific and didactic qualifications of university teachers. It was also recommended that the appointment of a professor should be preceded by a probationary period during which the latter would have an opportunity of proving his scientific and didactic ability.

Finally, the Conference emphasised the importance of the work of assistants and the need for organising their recruitment. It was felt that the function of assistant cannot constitute a career and that consequently the period of his employment should be limited. Keeping this in mind, it was deemed advisable that assistants who cannot be definitely attached to a university should be afforded facilities enabling them to take up other careers.

The admission of students to the university was dealt with in a paper presented by Mr. J. Toutain (France). The Conference agreed that immediate measures should be taken to remedy a twofold evil: the overcrowding of faculties and the inadequate preparation of a great number of students. To this effect, new methods of selection should be applied, either by arranging for initiation courses which should make it possible to test the ability of students to pursue higher studies, or by means of a preparatory year which should preferably supplement the period of secondary education. The Conference pointed out in this connection to the system practised in France of *premières supérieures* and *mathématiques spéciales*. In conclusion, the Conference was unanimous in recognising that secondary education as at present organised has its own educational aims and does not necessarily prepare its students for the university. Moreover, the Conference recommended the organisation of qualifying examinations for admission to higher educational establishments whereby it would be possible to determine the general intelligence of candidates as well as their knowledge. The selection would have to take place during the special year referred to above between the secondary school and the university.

Sir Frank Heath (United Kingdom) examined in his report the problem of education at the university. The university should not merely aim at giving general and specialised knowledge but should also aim at training men and citizens. It should open their minds to the great political, social and spiritual issues which confront the modern world. Moreover, the university should train students to act and work in common.

On the basis of a paper submitted by Mr. V. Winkler (Australia) dealing with unemployment among intellectuals, the Conference agreed that it would be futile to expect a final solution of this problem from the application of only one of the measures advocated to combat the overcrowding of universities. However, three measures of this character might have a determining influence: the appropriate selection of students carried out by the universities, the establishment of bureaux for the study of the employment market for university graduates and the creation of new posts for university graduates.

In his paper, M. Charles Petit-Dutaillis (France) studied the problem of international university relations. The Conference recommended that suitable central offices be established in all countries which had not already done so. The task of these offices would be to co-ordinate and facilitate exchanges between the universities and other higher educational establishments of the countries and similar institutions abroad. Moreover, the Conference felt that it would be necessary that students who propose to become teachers of modern foreign languages should during at least one year continue their studies in the country whose language they will be required to teach. The Conference also drew the attention of Governments to the necessity of considering the possibility of providing the indispensable material means for facilitating and developing the exchange of professors and students. With regard to the visits of foreign professors, the Conference recommended that these visits should not be limited to isolated lectures but should be extended sufficiently to enable the exchange professor to give a series of lectures and to direct practical work and experiments on subjects which they would be free to choose. Finally, the Conference requested the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to carry out an enquiry into the experience in universities of countries which allow the use of several languages in teaching.

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG INTELLECTUALS.

In 1936, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, disquieted by the information which reached it from several quarters concerning the situation in regard to employment in numerous countries, approached for the first time the question of unemployment among intellectuals. As regards the overcrowding of universities and liberal professions and the guidance of students and young graduates, the Committee asked the Institute to study the practical measures which might be taken to ascertain the situation of the intellectual labour market in the different countries and even to co-ordinate action taken in this respect. To achieve this purpose, university information bureaux are essential and the establishment of international co-ordination between them should enable them to improve their methods

and activities and can provide a basis for international action against unemployment, promote exchanges of intellectual workers and arrange for the emigration of qualified persons to new countries. Accordingly, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has approved the creation at the Institute of an international bureau together with an advisory committee consisting of representatives of the national bureaux and of the principal international organisations concerned. The main task of the new office will be to co-ordinate all the efforts in this field and to encourage, in the countries in which no organisations of this kind exist at all, the creation either of information bureaux or of institutions combining similar activities already carried on by other bodies.

The Institute is able to count on useful support from various quarters. It participated at an International Conference on Unemployment among Students who have graduated from Universities and Higher Schools, organised by the Bureau universitaire de statistique of the French Ministry of National Education, in December 1936. It also attended a meeting of experts held in Paris in the course of July, which had been arranged by the International Student Service, in order to provide an opportunity for discussing the contents of the report drawn up by Dr. Kotschnig on Unemployment in the Learned Professions.¹

CO-ORDINATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION SYSTEMS.

The reform of secondary education systems has been suggested as one of the remedies which would ultimately relieve unemployment among intellectuals, prevent the entry of too many students into the universities and check the overcrowding of the liberal professions. In the majority of countries, educators have recognised that adolescents should be guided towards the careers for which they are best qualified before attaining the age at which they are fit to enter the field of higher studies. If they could be advised in good time and as a matter of course, without there being any possibility of provoking a feeling of humiliation, and recommended to take up studies that will not necessarily lead them to one of the liberal professions, a notable step forward would be made towards a more balanced distribution of youth among the occupations open to them.

The Institute is conducting a comparative enquiry on this question. To this effect, a Committee of Experts drew up a plan of studies to be made, after a discussion in which they defined and established the principles on which the reforms to be introduced should be based. Studies are to be conducted on the following subjects: Specific character of secondary education systems; vocational guidance; the problem of selection and the influence of home and social life on the choice and guidance of pupils; organisation of higher primary courses; liaison between primary education and the first-year programme of national vocational training colleges; organisation of periods in second-

¹ "Unemployment in the Learned Professions: An International Study of Occupational and Educational Planning", Oxford University Press, 1937, 347 pages.

ary education programmes; organisation of adaptation or linking-up classes; training of technical teachers.

Upon the basis of the consultations which have been made, it is already possible to discern a number of interesting conclusions which can be briefly summarised as follows :

The economic and social conditions of modern life demand that scholastic studies be so organised as to afford children an opportunity of acquiring, in the best possible conditions, the knowledge that they will need in life and receive the soundest advice as to the choice of a career. This guidance should in no case be made a measure of compulsion; it is generally agreed that selection should be conceived not as a barrier which will, once and for all, close certain channels to the pupil and, by an act of authority, direct him towards a given career, but as the beginning of a process of continuous guidance. The pupil should be kept under observation as long as possible, so that account may be taken of the greatest number of pointers regarding his personal inclination, his physical and intellectual aptitude.

It has been generally recognised also that all the methods of investigation should be employed concurrently : examinations, tests of school knowledge, index-cards and average marks, and that the results recorded should be regarded as provisional throughout the period of childhood and as being of value only for the initial stage of the studies to follow. A number of recommendations have been formulated as to the continuous collaboration that should be established between teachers and parents, consultation of doctors with a view to obtaining their diagnosis of sensorial deficiency and consequent inaptitude for certain occupations and professions. They refer also to the case of children who, at about 11 years of age, already show themselves unfit for a course of secondary education and for whom arrangements must be made for an extension of elementary studies with a low-density syllabus.

On reaching the level of secondary school education, it is suggested that teaching should be conducted along two distinct paths : on the one hand, there would be programmes aiming at an earlier termination of studies and more directly applicable to the pupil in view of the occupation chosen; on the other, attention would be given chiefly to general scientific and literary tuition to prepare the pupil for higher studies. It is desirable, however, that these two systems should be co-ordinated and that, in the pupil's interest, during the first few years of secondary technical training, a substantial part of the programme should be devoted to general culture—that is to say, not only the classics; but everything of a nature to ensure (apart from any form of professional specialisation) a proper balance and the means of developing the individual intellectually and morally, without overlooking the question of physical education. In this way, it would be possible to establish a community of culture favourable to the co-ordination of studies and calculated to fortify social harmony, one of the principal aims of culture.

The experts consulted have thoroughly considered the problems arising out of this alignment of the two main systems of intermediate education : character of the general culture courses to ensure a training of the mind in the initial period of technical and vocational tuition;

means of ensuring a certain correlation between the two forms of teaching during this period, after which the pupils would be definitely guided towards studies of a more specialised nature; training of teachers and the question of their unity of origin; measures to be taken to ensure a certain community of the mind, penetrating into the different grades of teaching and facilitating their co-ordination, both by the similarity of methods and by the elimination of rivalry; advantages offered, whenever this solution is possible, by institutions practising the two forms of teaching concurrently, to facilitate direct relations between pupils and to dispel the prejudices held by a great number of parents.

The findings of the Committee of Experts will be published as a report in the "Cahiers" series. Documentary material has, moreover, been assembled concerning the action taken in a large number of countries for the co-ordination of secondary education systems. This material already includes statements regarding Argentine, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Grand-Duchy of Luxemburg, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Scotland, Spain, Sweden and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Institute has continued to publish the International Educational Bibliography which it has issued for the last three years, thanks to the help received from the national centres responsible for the selection of entries. The last volume announces the notable works and articles that appeared in 1936 on questions relating to education in the strict sense of the term and educational science, besides certain points dealing with administration. The bibliography, which was compiled from the index-cards sent in by twenty-nine national educational documentation centres, is divided into the following sections :

- A. General works : Year-books, bibliographies, biographies, encyclopædias and dictionaries.
- B. Works on education : general problems of education, methodology and didactics, psychology.
- C. National education systems.
- D. International relations in the field of teaching.

This bibliography, although still incomplete owing to the fact that certain countries continue to abstain from collaborating, constitutes a source of authoritative information the recognised value of which will increase as more national centres decide to give it their support.

REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS.

The section of the *Bulletin de la Coopération intellectuelle* devoted to the teaching of history and to the revision of school textbooks has been supplied with an abundance of material, several fortunate developments having confirmed the progress which had been made in this field and which was announced last year.

The Casares resolution is being applied in an ever-increasing measure by the National Committees; several of them have continued, this year, their examination of the textbooks in use in other countries and have forwarded their comments to the National Committees concerned, which have communicated them to highly qualified historians and educators in their own countries.

The Pan-American Peace Conference, which was held at Buenos Aires in December 1936, passed a number of resolutions regarding the revision of school textbooks and civic instruction, inspired by the same spirit as that which guided the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in its treatment of these questions. Mention should also be made of the outstanding work accomplished by the Committee for the Teaching of History of the Norden Association : each of the five sub-committees which it appointed for the revision of textbooks has examined the schoolbooks in use in the other four Scandinavian countries, and a system of practical collaboration has been introduced to ensure a satisfactory improvement of all the books used by school pupils.

Another example of collaboration, in a particularly difficult case, was recently given : it will be recalled that a group of French and German professors, who met at the end of 1935, drew up forty recommendations concerning certain controversial questions in the history of France and Germany, with a view to indicating the general lines to be followed by the authors of textbooks in the two countries. Final agreement has just been reached and the resolutions adopted were recently published. On many of the most controversial points, the two groups of teachers came to an agreement; it is true, however, that reservations were formulated on many other points by one or other of the delegations or by the two groups together, but the texts adopted none the less represent constructive work of the highest value.

The object of the enquiry that is being conducted into passages of school textbooks which can be cited as being satisfactory is not to obtain the opinions of different countries on the manner in which their own history is dealt with in the textbooks of other countries; in this respect, therefore, the enquiry differed from many previous experiments in this field. From the psychological standpoint, it constituted an interesting experiment, since it sought the views of the national committee on books which, in the country of that Committee, distinguished themselves by their impartiality. It is true that, up to the present, with the exception of France (which cited seventy-four passages taken from nineteen books), and the United States (thirty-seven passages from eleven books) it is chiefly the countries which remained neutral during the great war that supplied material for the enquiry : Denmark (five passages from one book), Finland (eight passages from three books), Netherlands (five passages from five books), Norway (eleven passages from three books), and Sweden (thirty-two passages from seventeen books). The International Committee had decided, however, that the first experiment would cover a limited number of countries. Apart, moreover, from questions of such a controversial nature as the origins of the great war, there are a number of events in history which might give rise to misleading statements, for example, the break between Norway and Sweden. These two countries called attention to the manner in which this question is dealt with in their respective

textbooks and pointed out that it is presented tactfully and with the utmost impartiality. The most voluminous and most complete report, that of the United States, has just reached the Institute. It deals with books in current use and recently published, and gives a general survey of a question which is of the highest interest from the educational point of view : the influence of the world war on history textbooks in the United States. In an introductory chapter are given the reasons why attention has been concentrated on this recent period of history, showing the evolution that has occurred in the judgment of the authors of textbooks on this subject. It is interesting to compare, for instance, the books which appeared immediately after the war with later editions based on the official European records and documents on the origins of the conflict. Another question discussed is that of immigration; extremely clear explanations and well-chosen examples are given to show the part it plays in the United States and how important it is, for future generations, that it should be treated objectively. The report also stresses the prominence which American textbooks give to intellectual and social matters, and quotes a few remarkably well drafted pages by way of illustration. It also shows that a question such as that of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which gives rise to acute discussion amongst the general public of the country, has been very fully treated in school textbooks. The conclusion reached by the author of the report is that American textbooks are fairer in their treatment of international relations than they were a few years ago.

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL CORRESPONDENCE.

The Permanent Committee for International School Correspondence at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation held a meeting of national bureaux of international school correspondence on July 15th, 1937, under the chairmanship of M. Charles Marie Garnier, Director of the French Bureau. Fourteen countries were represented at the meeting. The following questions were examined.

1. *Technical Questions.*

Various measures were adopted in order to simplify the methods of the distribution of correspondence. The Permanent Committee was requested to approach the competent authorities with a view to obtaining practical facilities for the young letter-writers. As regards the organisation of group-correspondence advocated by the German Bureau, which had been hitherto the task of the Junior Red Cross League, the meeting was of opinion that it should be limited to pupils of elementary grade as a first step toward individual correspondence.

2. *Social Aspects of International School Correspondence.*

The bureaux were invited to study the moral effect upon the pupils resulting from international contact established through school correspondence.

3. *Exchanges of Texts between Correspondents.*

The international school correspondence bureaux were invited to establish close links with school travel offices in order to facilitate individual or group travel of corresponding pupils.

4. *Extension of International School Correspondence to Adults.*

The directors agreed not to admit application for correspondence emanating from persons outside the schools without having previously ascertained the moral qualifications of the applicants. In this connection, the meeting recommended strongly the encouragement of correspondence between foreign language teachers of different countries.

COMMITTEE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ORGANISATIONS.

The Committee of International Student Organisations held a plenary meeting on October 28th and 29th, 1937, in Geneva.

It will be recalled that the Committee, at its previous session, had taken the initiative to organise an "Entretien" of university youth. This meeting was to have taken place in the month of May at Luxemburg on the invitation of the Government of the Grand-Duchy. As the participation of student groups outside the Committee could not be secured, the meeting had to be postponed until 1938.

The subject of the "Entretien" will be "University Education, its Aims and Methods". The subject will be subdivided in the following manner: "The Purpose of University Education in Modern Life; the Research for Truth at the University; Specialisation and the Unity of Human Knowledge; the Autonomy of the University; the Responsibility of the University in the National and International Community; the University as a Community between Teachers and Students".

The Committee also examined the grave situation of many Chinese universities resulting from recent events. Considering that it was incumbent upon the whole academic world to manifest its solidarity by joint action, it was gratified to know that the International Student Service had taken the initiative of relief measures to be carried out in a spirit of absolute neutrality on behalf of Chinese students, and recommended the affiliated organisations to support this movement with all the means at their disposal.

In the field of unemployment among university graduates, the Committee requested the International Student Organisations to give their support to the International Bureau of University Statistics which had been created at their suggestion within the framework of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

Lastly, the Committee invited the Transit and Communications Committee of the League of Nations to consider the demands submitted by the student organisations on behalf of students travelling alone, when taking up the contemplated study of the introduction of international railway rates.

LIAISON WITH THE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

The Liaison Committee which groups some thirty major international organisations, held two plenary assemblies in the course of the year, one in Geneva on February 19th and 20th, 1937, and one in Paris on June 30th and July 1st. The co-operation carried on by this body extends to many fields of the activity of intellectual co-operation, notably the teaching of the principal facts of intellectual co-operation, the teaching of history, geography and modern languages, the utilisation of modern means of spreading information on the unemployment of intellectuals; in particular, it has devoted several meetings to the problem of international education and the training of public opinion. The Committee also dealt with the problem of a wider distribution of League publications, the visits and lectures of educationists, literature for young people, the raising of the school-leaving age and relations between East and West.

Through the agency of its affiliated federations and their national branches, representing several million members in every part of the world, the Liaison Committee is able to exert a far-reaching action in the cause of peace and mutual understanding. The bulletins and periodicals which many of its members publish, make a special endeavour to increase public interest in the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and in the activities of the International Labour Office relating more specifically to the welfare of the younger generation. With regard to the disquieting problem of unemployment in the learned professions, the Liaison Committee has published a remarkable study by Mr. Marc Dubois under the title "Que deviendront les étudiants?"¹

Moreover, it has published a study by the same author on workers' leisure and the cultural aspirations of the workers' community² based upon an enquiry conducted by the Committee amongst its members.

¹ "Que deviendront les étudiants? Etude sur le chômage des jeunes diplômés", by Marc DUBOIS, preface by Professor Gilbert Murray; Librairie du Recueil Sirey, Paris, 1937, 123 pages.

² "L'aspiration ouvrière vers la culture et les loisirs des travailleurs", by Marc DUBOIS, Librairie du Recueil Sirey, Paris, 1937, 59 pages.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE TEACHING OF THE PRINCIPLES AND FACTS OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

REPORT BY PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY ON THE WORK OF THE FOURTH SESSION, HELD IN PARIS, JULY 2ND AND 3RD, 1937.

I.

In view of the importance and the somewhat specialised character of the chief subject on the Agenda for this session—namely, *The Use of Modern Means of spreading Information in the Cause of Peace*—that matter has been dealt with in a special report.

The Advisory Committee duly performed the task confined to it by the Executive Committee, in accordance with the resolution of the Assembly. At the same time, however, it also considered the programme of studies and consultations which it drew up at its previous session. In this connection, it heard a verbal report on the progress of the consultations set on foot by the Secretariat both as regards the teaching of the principles of the League of Nations as part of the history course in secondary schools, and the teaching of geography.

It also took note of a communication from Professor Piaget, Director of the International Bureau of Education, on the inquiry conducted by that body into the teaching of modern languages.

The Advisory Committee decided to defer detailed examination of what has been done in these various branches of education until its next annual session.

II.

Two other questions also claimed the Committee's special attention
Survey by Mr. S. H. Bailey¹ on the Teaching of International Relations in Various Countries.

It will be recalled that Mr. Bailey was requested by a joint Committee of representatives of the permanent Conference on Higher International Studies and the Advisory Committee respectively, to compile this Survey on the basis of an enquiry conducted by the Secretariat, together with such additional material as he could himself collect.

¹ Senior Lecturer in International Relations at the London School of Economics.

The Advisory Committee learned with keen satisfaction that the Survey was now complete and expressed its appreciation of the thoroughness and efficiency with which Mr. Bailey had performed the task entrusted to him.

Considering it important that this Survey should be published and as widely circulated as possible, the Committee requested its Chairman to take steps to obtain the necessary financial support to permit of the work's being issued in both English and French. The Committee also authorised its Chairman to consult with the author as to how the Committee could best sponsor the publication of his work.

Title of the Committee.

At its third session, the Advisory Committee requested the plenary Committee to change its title. It has since been informed that the Committee of Experts set up to examine the Statute of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation proposed that the Advisory Committee be henceforth known as "The Advisory Committee on the Use of the Educational System to increase Knowledge of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation".

After a short exchange of views, the Advisory Committee unanimously recommended that the plenary Committee should authorise the adoption of the following title: "Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation".

**NINETEENTH PLENARY SESSION
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION**

**THE USE OF MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING
INFORMATION IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.**

ACTION TAKEN AS A RESULT OF THE ASSEMBLY'S RESOLUTION
ON OCTOBER 10TH, 1936.

The Assembly, in the course of its seventeenth session (September-October 1936), on the proposal submitted by its Sixth Committee through the Danish and United Kingdom delegations, adopted a resolution concerning the use of modern means of disseminating information to promote mutual understanding among the nations. This resolution assigned a special task to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and read as follows :

“ The Assembly,

“ Emphasising once more the desirability of developing international co-operation and mutual understanding between nations;

“ Having regard to the rapid contemporary development of the technical means of disseminating information;

“ And considering that this development increases, the possibilities of furthering the mutual exchange between nations of information relating to their respective institutions and cultures:

“ (1) Is of opinion that this question might well be the subject of discussion at the next ordinary session of the Assembly;

“ (2) To this end, invites the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to draw up, after such consultations as they may deem appropriate, detailed suggestions to form the basis of the Assembly's discussions;

“ (3) And further invites the Secretary-General to report on the above-mentioned technical means of spreading information at the disposal of the competent sections of the Secretariat in order that the Assembly may consider at its next ordinary session whether such means are adequate or whether their further development is desirable.”

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation considered that it should annex to its main report a separate statement containing the information which it had collected in accordance with the Assembly's resolution. The following procedure was adopted.

The Executive Committee of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation instructed the Secretariat of the Intellectual

Co-operation Organisation and the Institute to carry out the preliminary consultations recommended in the Assembly's resolution. Further, it entrusted to the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation the task of carrying out an enquiry before the next session of the International Committee so as to be able to submit to the latter suggestions which could constitute a basis for discussion.

The composition of the Advisory Committee was proper for this purpose, since the Executive Committee had invited persons from different countries, experienced in the use of the cinematograph and broadcasting for cultural and educational purposes, to participate as assessors in the Advisory Committee's work. The composition of that Committee for the purposes of its special task is shown in the attached report.¹

The Advisory Committee's statement contains the elements of a practical programme of action for the use of the cinematograph and broadcasting in the spirit of the Assembly's resolution.

The suggestions made in the above report appeared to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to form a sufficiently complete whole for the Committee to be able to endorse them, subject to certain modifications of form.

The Committee has therefore confined itself to adopting the following resolution, in which it submits to the Assembly, for the purpose of any subsequent discussion, the facts contained in the Advisory Committee's report :

"(a) The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

"Having been instructed by the Assembly to submit to it suggestions on possible ways of using modern means of disseminating information to further international co-operation and mutual understanding among the nations, through the interchange between the various countries of information on their respective institutions and culture;

"Having consulted individual authorities and organisations conversant with the use of broadcasting and the cinematograph for educational and cultural purposes;

"Having noted the opinions formulated with the assistance of experts, by the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation :

"Endorses the proposals of the above-mentioned Committee, believing them to constitute a basis for discussions such as those contemplated by the Assembly.

"(b) The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation considers it its duty to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that if, on the conclusion of the above-mentioned discussion, the Assembly should see fit to entrust any of the tasks proposed to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, the latter could not undertake the additional work involved unless the necessary funds were placed at its disposal."

¹ See Professor Gilbert MURRAY's special report on pages 185 *et seq.*

SPECIAL REPORT BY PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY ON
THE USE OF MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING INFORMATION
IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

I.

At its seventeenth ordinary session (September 1936), the Assembly adopted a resolution on the use of technical means of spreading information to further the mutual exchange, between nations, of information relating to their respective institutions and cultures. In accordance with that resolution, the question has been placed upon the agenda for the eighteenth ordinary session of the Assembly.

To facilitate consideration of the subject at its next session, the Assembly invited the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to draw up, after such consultations as it might deem appropriate, detailed suggestions to form the basis of the Assembly's discussions.

At its session in December 1936, the Executive Committee of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation accordingly drew up a plan of work such as would enable it to give effect to the Assembly's wishes. It instructed the Secretariat of the Organisation and the Paris Institute jointly to approach public and private organisations and individual authorities on these questions, with a request for their opinion as to the possibilities of developing the use of broadcasting, the cinema, and perhaps even television, as a means of furthering mutual understanding among the nations.

As, moreover, the question raised by the Assembly had been engaging the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation's attention for some years past and had formed the subject of enquiries, both by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the Educational Cinematographic Institute in Rome, the Executive Committee asked both Institutes to prepare memoranda describing what the Organisation had already done in this sphere.

In the last place, the Executive Committee decided that there was no reason to depart, for the purpose of the enquiries requested by the Assembly, from the method habitually followed by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in similar cases. It thought it essential that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should have the benefit of the opinion of a Committee of experts to which all the material and suggestions collected would first be submitted. It decided, therefore, to entrust this work to the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation and, for this purpose, to attach to it, in the capacity of assessors, experts from different countries particularly conversant with the use of the cinema and broadcasting for cultural and educational purposes.

In accordance with the Executive Committee's instructions, those who took part in the proceedings of the fourth session of the Advisory Committee were therefore as follows :

Representatives of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

Professor Gilbert MURRAY (British), sometime Professor of Greek Philology in the University of Oxford, Doctor of Letters of the

University of Lyons, Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

Professor J. CASTILLEJO (Spanish), Professor of Roman Law in the University of Madrid.

Professor J. HUIZINGA (Netherlands), President of the Netherlands Academy of Learning (Section of Letters), Professor of History in the University of Leyden.

Representative of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute.

M. Berne DE CHAVANNES (French), Head of Service at the Institute.

Special Expert.

Madame L. DREYFUS-BARNEY (American), The International Council of Women's Liaison Officer with the International Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation; permanent member of the Liaison Committee of the Major International Associations.

Member of the Executive Committee.

M. Julien CAIN (French), Administrator-General of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Specially invited.

Dr. M. P. MUNCH, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark.

M. J. PIAGET (Swiss), Director of the International Bureau of Education, Geneva.

Assessors.

Miss M. LOCKET (British), General Manager of the Instructional Films Bureau, London, representing the British Film Institute.

Mme. Germaine DULAC (French), Film Expert, Paris.

Mr. Edward MURROW (American), former Programmes Director and new European Representative of the Columbia Broadcasting Corporation.

M. J. KUYPERS (Belgian), Member of the Governing Body of the Belgian Broadcasting Institute.

Miss BENZIE (British), Foreign Director of the British Broadcasting Corporation, London.

M. Pierre GORECKI (Polish), Programmes Director of "Polski Radio", Warsaw.

M. Sven WILSON (Swedish), of the Talks Department of the "Radiotjänst", Stockholm.

Observer.

Mr. A. R. BURROWS, Observer appointed by the Council of the International Broadcasting Union.

II. Cinema.

The Committee was guided in its proceedings by the numerous studies and proposals prepared and put forward by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation with a view to the use of the cinema to promote international understanding.

It devoted particular attention to the enquiries conducted by the International Educational Cinematographic Institute in Rome and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris.

It also gave the fullest consideration to the opinions collected by the Secretariat of the League of Nations during the last few months from individual authorities on these matters. In this connection, it considered the opinions of M. Jean Benoit-Lévy, the British Film Institute, Mme. Germaine Dulac, M. Cavalcanti, M. van Staveren, M. Langlois and the Community Service Department of the Motion Picture Producers to be worthy of special mention.

In the last place, the numerous resolutions adopted by the International Congress on Educational and Instructional Films held in Rome in 1934 were also taken as a basis for discussion.

In framing its suggestions for submission to the Assembly of the League of Nations, the Committee was guided by the following considerations :

(1) The Convention to facilitate the International Circulation of Educational Films concluded in Geneva on October 11th, 1933, is one of the essential instruments of any future action, whether international or national, with a view to the use of the cinema to further mutual understanding among the nations by acquainting them with their respective institutions and culture.

(2) The International Educational Cinematographic Institute in Rome, as the body appointed to supervise the application of that Convention, must be the focus of any future action, through the co-ordination of the efforts of the various national groups.

(3) The Committee is convinced that, while the cinema is pre-eminently an international influence, the production, circulation and exhibition of films must be considered primarily from the national point of view. Hence the outstanding importance of the national organisations.

In the light of these considerations, the Committee thought it desirable to convey its opinion to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation for submission to the Assembly of the League of Nations in the form of the following three resolutions :

1. *Convention to facilitate the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character.*

The Committee, noting with keen satisfaction the large number of countries which have signed and ratified the Convention to facilitate the Circulation of Educational Films, urges the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to recommend the Assembly :

(a) To induce such Governments as have not already done so to become parties to the Convention, in order that that instrument may embrace the greatest possible number of States;

(b) To examine the possibility of extending to other categories of films the facilities provided for in the Convention on educational films, within the meaning of Article 1 of the Convention.

In this connection, the Committee has particularly in mind "commercial" films of high artistic and cultural value, films representative of the genius of the producing country, which are thus capable of

helping to further mutual understanding among the nations, together with news films of like character.

From a somewhat different point of view, the Committee also draws attention to the desirability of exempting films which are no longer of great trade value from Customs duties, so as to facilitate their international circulation and in this way to enrich the stock of films available.

2. *National Action.*

The Committee wishes to draw attention more particularly to the importance of the following considerations :

(a) The desirability of creating national film institutes in countries in which they do not so far exist, and of fostering and encouraging their activities in countries in which they are already in being;

(b) The importance of taking immediate steps to provide for prompt and effective co-operation between such institutes and the national committees on intellectual co-operation which, on their side, should do everything possible to fit themselves to discharge these new functions.

The support granted to national institutes by the public authorities should be designed :

(1) To stimulate the production of good quality films by encouraging, where necessary, special agreements between producers in different countries, as provided for in the resolutions of the 1934 Rome Congress;

(2) To encourage the production of films conveying an accurate idea of the characteristics, culture and institutions of the country in which they are produced, and particularly of films dealing with folk traditions;

[In this connection, the Committee points out the desirability of encouraging the practice of obtaining the assistance in the production of films, and particularly of documentary films on foreign countries, of properly qualified nationals of the countries concerned so as to ensure that such films will be true to life and respectful of the feelings of the peoples whom they depict.]

(3) To encourage a higher standard in the production of news films, due regard being had to the importance of the spoken commentary from the point of view of the manner in which the film will be understood in other countries, and to prevent such commentaries being given a tendentious character;

(4) To ensure, in countries which, as the result of their colonial possessions or international connections, supply films to countries whose civilisation is not of the Western type, that such films make due allowance for differences of mentality and culture.

(5) To promote the creation of national film repositories—technically equipped to ensure the preservation of films and so organised as to be capable of acting as centres of international exchange—to store films of permanent value worthy to form part of the cultural inheritance of the countries concerned.

(6) The Committee thinks it proper to urge the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to recommend Governments to see that steps are taken in educational establishments of all grades to give young people proper standards of criticism and taste in regard to the cinema.

The Committee attaches particular importance to the associations (cinema-goers' clubs) which are endeavouring to educate the taste of adults in these matters. In this connection, it draws attention to the great value of what is being done in this direction, more particularly in the United States and in the United Kingdom.

3. *International Action.*

The Committee considers that, with a view to assisting Governments and the National Film Institutes which are of vital importance in this connection, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation might be instructed to provide for the co-ordination of new developments in the various countries and to facilitate the relations of the various Institutes with each other.

For this purpose, the Committee considers that the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, working in conjunction with the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and under instructions of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation might, with advantage, be entrusted with the following tasks, to which reference has been made in the two foregoing resolutions :

(1) To enquire into the possibilities of extending to new categories of films the provisions of the Convention to facilitate the International Circulation of Educational Films;

(2) To encourage, where necessary, the creation of National Film Institutes, to supply them with information more particularly as to the experience gained in other countries, to facilitate their relations with each other, and to organise frequent conferences of their representatives;

(3) To carry out a new enquiry into the measures recommended in the resolutions of the Congress on Educational and Instructional Films in 1934, and to lay before the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, at its next session, proposals designed to give the fullest possible effect to those resolutions;

(4) To conduct enquiries into the production and circulation of films, the creation of film repositories, the value of amateur films and the education of the public taste, and to supply national institutes with comparative statements of the information thus collected, while at the same time formulating in the light of these enquiries a programme of action to be constantly kept abreast of all new developments.

III. *Broadcasting.*

Turning now to the problems raised by the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace, the Advisory Committee thinks it desirable to recapitulate what the League of Nations has already done in this sphere.

Early in 1931, the Paris Institute set on foot an enquiry into the use of broadcasting in schools. In the course of its enquiries, interesting suggestions were received regarding the broadcasting of information on international problems, life in other countries, the work of the League and the use of broadcasting in the teaching of foreign languages.

At its 1931 session, the Assembly decided that the scope of the Institute's enquiry should be extended so as to include the various international problems raised by the use of broadcasting, from the point of view of international harmony.

The question also came before the Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments in connection with moral disarmament.

The question of programmes designed to improve knowledge of other peoples and international problems was studied, more particularly by a Committee of Experts at the Institute set up in 1933 to consider, in accordance with the Assembly's instructions, what conditions should be fulfilled by broadcasting agreements to conduce to better international understanding.

The results of these enquiries were published by the Institute in a booklet entitled "Broadcasting and Peace".

At the same time, the Institute was conducting an enquiry into the educational possibilities of broadcasting from the point of view of the general public.

Furthermore, a Committee of Experts prepared a draft International Convention on the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace. That draft was submitted to the Governments for their observations by the Council of the League of Nations and ultimately became the basis of the Convention signed at Geneva in September 1936.

The Advisory Committee thought it important to note that certain of the provisions of that Convention are closely related to the aims of the resolution adopted by the Assembly in 1936 on the use of technical means of disseminating information. Article 5 of that Convention provides as follows :

" Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes to place at the disposal of the other High Contracting Parties, should they so request, any information that, in his opinion, is of such a character as to facilitate the broadcasting, by the various broadcasting services, of items calculated to promote a better knowledge of the civilisation and the conditions of life of his own country as well as of the essential features of the development of his relations with other peoples and of his contribution to the organisation of peace."

Furthermore, the Final Act of the Inter-Governmental Conference held in September 1936 included a recommendation in the following terms :

" The Conference recommends the High Contracting Parties to reserve in the programmes broadcast in their respective territories a place for transmissions of such a character as to promote a better knowledge of the civilisation and the conditions of life of other peoples, as well as of the essential features of the development of their relations with those peoples and their contribution to the organisation of peace."

In addition to the results of the enquiries and studies carried out by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation prior to the Assembly's resolution, the Advisory Committee also considered the results of the new consultation latterly set on foot by the Secretariat and the Institute in pursuance of that resolution.

Among the replies received, the Advisory Committee considered that the attention of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should more particularly be drawn to the very valuable report of the International Broadcasting Union on the efforts made both by the Union itself and its constituent organisations to promote international understanding.¹ The Union, which groups almost all the national broadcasting companies of the continent of Europe, and which is in close co-operation with a large number of other European companies, has done a great deal to bring about the broadcasting of matter calculated to further the objects set out in the Assembly's resolution.

The Advisory Committee therefore took note with keen satisfaction of a communication from the Council of the Union stating that the latter would give the most careful consideration to any proposals or suggestions which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation might care to lay before it.

The Advisory Committee also considered the suggestions put forward by M. Yngve Hugo, Programmes Director of the Swedish Broadcasting Company, and M. Kuypers, member of the Governing Body of the Belgian Broadcasting Institute, as to ways in which the Secretariat of the League and the related international institutions might assist the programmes departments of the national broadcasting companies.

The Committee also took note of a proposal put forward by M. Raestad and M. Sæland for the creation—for the guidance of programmes directors—of an international centre at which information could be obtained regarding the scientific, literary and artistic life of the various countries, together with a suggestion from Dr. Munch, Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the effect that a Committee should be appointed to enter into negotiations with the broadcasting companies in the different countries, with a view to encouraging the broadcasting of talks on international problems.

In formulating its opinion for submission to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the Advisory Committee was guided more particularly by the following considerations :

(1) The International Convention for the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace, already signed by more than thirty countries, is a valuable basis on which to develop the use of broadcasting along the lines indicated in the Assembly's resolution.

(2) All future action by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, with a view to the better use of broadcasting to foster mutual understanding among the nations, should be primarily directed to supporting the efforts already being made by the national broadcasting companies. Close co-operation with the

¹ See *Radiodiffusion*, No. 4. Review published half-yearly by the Union.

International Broadcasting Union would be one of the most effective means of achieving this end.

The suggestions and proposals of the Advisory Committee are set out in the following resolution :

“ The Advisory Committee,

“ Considering that the coming into force of the International Convention for the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace should be the signal for a redoubling of the efforts already being made to use broadcasting to bring about fuller mutual understanding among nations :

“ Noting, more particularly, the provisions of Article V of the above-named Convention and Recommendation IV, adopted by the Inter-Governmental Conference which met at Geneva in September 1936; .

“ Having taken cognisance of the communication dated June 29th, 1937, from the Council of the International Broadcasting Union in which the latter declares its readiness to give the most careful consideration, through a Committee specially set up for the purpose, to any proposals or suggestions which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation might submit to it:

“ Takes note of this communication with keen satisfaction and commends it to the attention of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

“ The Advisory Committee,

“ Having taken note of the report submitted by the International Broadcasting Union on the action taken both by the Union itself and by its constituent organisations to further mutual understanding among the nations;

“ Having examined the opinions and suggestions collected by the Secretariat and the Institute, together with a memorandum submitted by Dr. Munch, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, and having likewise taken note of a recommendation adopted by the Joint Committee of Major International Associations :

“ Urges the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to recommend the Assembly :

“ *Convention for the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace.*

“ To consider the possibility of approaching the Governments which have not yet signed or ratified the Convention.

“ *Ways in which the League of Nations might assist broadcasting organisations by increasing their facilities for obtaining information on the institutions and civilisations of the various countries and thus enabling them to perform their proper function as an educational agency.*

“ 1. To instruct the competent service of the League of Nations to consider the possibility of framing either bilateral agreements or an international convention, to provide for the granting of special facilities to enable accredited broadcasting correspondents and reporters to enter foreign countries for professional purposes, more

particularly in the form of privileged treatment in the matter of the clearance of their equipment (motor-cars, recording vans, electrical and sound apparatus, etc.) through the Customs.

" 2. To authorise the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to consider, more particularly in close co-operation with the International Broadcasting Union, the most influential international body in this sphere, in what ways the Organisation might assist broadcasting companies in drawing up their programmes, with particular reference to the following :

" (a) Information and documentary material on the work of the League of Nations and the related international institutions;

" (b) Information on international problems of the day, on current developments in science, letters and the arts, in the light more particularly of the proposals made by M. Kuypers, M. Munch, M. Raestad and M. Saeland;

" (c) Compilation by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation with the assistance of the national committees, of lists of persons in the various countries qualified to give radio talks, in the languages and for the information of other countries, on political, economic, social and cultural questions;

" (d) Creation of gramophone record repositories to permit of the organisation of an international service for the loan and exchange of records of a documentary and educational character (for example, folk music).

" 3. Development of the information service of the Radio-Nations Station, particularly by arranging for broadcast talks at that station by statesmen and other representative spokesmen of the various countries. To provide, for the use of European and non-European stations, either news records or advance information to be broadcast on some subsequent date.

"To approach the Governments of the countries concerned with a view to obtaining facilities for the use of telephone lines for the communications of the Radio-Nations Station."

RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING QUESTIONS OF EDUCATION.

Educational Questions.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation requests the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation to study and report on the following questions :

(a) Means of enabling instruction in the elementary and secondary schools to contribute to the advancement of international understanding.

(b) Means for assuring the school teachers and administrators the necessary training and experience for this purpose, and of providing them with the most appropriate equipment.

The Committee also requests that the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation take all such measures as may be most effective for laying before the various international organisations, congresses, conferences, etc., of educators and teachers of the various subjects the importance of international understanding.

Declaration on the Teaching of History.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

Having been informed that a considerable number of States have accepted the Declaration on the Teaching of History communicated by the council of the League of Nations to both Members of the League and non-member States;

Recommends the Assembly to approve the addition to that instrument of clauses to permit of its signature by the States and its registration at the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

Unemployment among Intellectuals.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

Recognising the effectiveness of the action taken by the Institute to give effect to the resolutions adopted at the last session, on unemployment among intellectuals;

Requests the Institute to continue its action in accordance with the same methods;

Emphasises the value of co-ordinating, under the auspices of the Institute, the activities of the national and international organisations dealing with this question, and to that end authorises the constitution at the Institute of an Advisory Committee consisting of representatives of national bureaux and of the chief international organisations concerned.

WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION

EXTRACTS FROM M. ÉDOUARD HERRIOT'S SPEECH IN THE SIXTH COMMITTEE OF THE EIGHTEENTH ASSEMBLY DURING ITS MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1937

Following the wish expressed by the second General Conference of National Committees, that Governments should attach to their delegations to the Assembly a member of their national committees, the French Government appointed M. Edouard Herriot, member of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and Chairman of the Governing Body of the Paris Institute, to represent it at the eighteenth Assembly for questions of intellectual co-operation.

M. Edouard Herriot gave an account of the results obtained at the "Month of Intellectual Co-operation". The following passages from his statement refer to questions of education :

.....

One of the resolutions proposed dealt with a question which had often been before the Committee and would no doubt again come before it—namely, that of the teaching of history. A declaration on this matter awaited signature by any Government willing to accept its principles.

The Rapporteur wished to draw the special attention of the Committee to two questions. The first, to which he and many of his colleagues had devoted particular attention, was that of unemployment among intellectuals. That was a matter the importance of which it would be impossible to exaggerate. The lack of work and remuneration confronting those who, in ever-increasing numbers, studied at universities, was a matter of concern, not only for Governments, but for the whole world. He had no wish to be indiscreet, but it was readily comprehensible that a mind which had failed to find an outlet for its talents and had met with no reward for its efforts, should drift into discontent, not to say open revolt. One of the great tasks before those striving for intellectual brotherhood was to find worthy occupations for intellectuals, perhaps in a foreign country, if their own had no openings for them. M. Herriot quoted the example of Austria, a country which had every right to feel dismay at being unable to use so much of the talent and intelligence available among her citizens. Something must be done to help her. Attempts had been made to that end by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and, if the Committee so desired, details could be supplied to it. It was a difficult task to recruit, find and utilise the available resources,

either in old countries or for the purpose of spreading civilisation in new ones. It was, however, a task entirely worthy of the League, and the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation needed encouragement by the Sixth Committee, if it was to carry it out.

M. Herriot believed that great events only came to fruition if they were preceded by a great movement of ideas, and he was tempted to seek for the explanation of the failures sustained in attempting to find a solution for the great political and economic problems confronting the world in the inadequacy of our preparation, study and concentrated effort in the realm of thought. If the necessity for such preparation was obvious in times when the world followed much simpler formulæ than to-day, and when men lived in obedience to strictly legal precepts behind which lay moral principles common to all nations, it was all the more striking in our age, with its more complex problems. We should perhaps have made greater progress in the economic sphere, or towards a political *rapprochement*, if the preliminary intellectual work had been carried out with greater care, conscientiousness and conviction, and if there were no longer sceptics who refused to admit the value and importance of the League's work in that field.

.



DECLARATION ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY : REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

With reference to his Circular Letters 45.1936.XII and 35.1937.XII, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations has the honour to bring to the notice of the Governments of the Members of the League of Nations and non-member States the text of a resolution concerning the "Declaration on the Teaching of History" adopted by the Assembly on October 2nd, 1937 :

" The Assembly,

" Referring to its resolution of October 10th, 1936, concerning the signature of the ' Declaration on the Teaching of History ' ;

" And having been informed that numerous Governments have accepted the principle of the Declaration :

" Approves the addition to that instrument of the final clauses drawn up by the Committee¹ to enable it to be signed by Governments and registered by the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and requests the Secretary-General to transmit it to such quarters as may be necessary in order to obtain the signatures of Members of the League and non-member States."

2. In accordance with the terms of this resolution, the Secretary-General has the honour to inform the Governments of the Members of the League of Nations and non-member States that the said " Declaration on the Teaching of History " was opened for signature on October 2nd, 1937, and that the competent services of the Secretariat are at the disposal of the representatives of the Governments to facilitate signature of the said Declaration.

Geneva, October 19th, 1937.

* * *

DECLARATION REGARDING THE TEACHING OF HISTORY. (REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS.)

The undersigned plenipotentiaries in the name of their respective Governments :

Desirous of strengthening and developing the good relations uniting them with other countries;

Convinced that those relations will be further strengthened if the younger generation in every country is given a wider knowledge of the history of other nations;

¹ International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

Realising the necessity of obviating the dangers that may arise through the tendentious presentation of certain historical events in school textbooks :

Declare that they agree, each for its own part, upon the following principles :

1. It is desirable that the attention of the competent authorities in every country, and of authors of school textbooks, should be drawn to the expediency :

(a) Of assigning as large a place as possible to the history of other nations;

(b) Of giving prominence, in the teaching of world history, to facts calculated to bring about a realisation of the interdependence of nations.

2. It is desirable that every Government should endeavour to ascertain by what means, more especially in connection with the choice of schoolbooks, school-children may be put on their guard against all such allegations and interpretations as might arouse unjust prejudices against other nations.

3. It is desirable that in every country a committee composed of members of the teaching profession, including history teachers, should be set up by the national committee on intellectual co-operation, where such exists, in collaboration with other qualified bodies.

The committees so constituted would be empowered to co-operate among themselves, and it would in any case be their function to study the questions contemplated in the present declaration and to suggest solutions to the competent national authorities or organisations. They would, in particular, be empowered, should they think the revision of school textbooks necessary, to follow the procedure provided for in the resolution adopted on July 29th, 1925, by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, on the proposal of M. Casares, the recommendations of which were confirmed and amplified in 1932 and 1933 by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations.

4. The present Declaration, the French and English texts of which are equally authentic, shall bear this day's date and shall be open for signature on behalf of any Member of the League of Nations or of any non-member State to which a draft of the said Declaration has been communicated.

5. The present Declaration shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations when it has received two signatures, on which date it shall come into force.

6. The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall notify the Members of the League of Nations and the non-member States mentioned in paragraph 4 of the signatures received.

Done at Geneva on October 2nd, 1937, in a single copy, which shall be deposited in the archives of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and of which certified true copies shall be delivered to all the Members of the League of Nations and to the non-member States mentioned in paragraph 4.

MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING INFORMATION UTILISED IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

REPORT SUBMITTED BY THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE EIGHTEENTH ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : M. H. FRISCH (Denmark).

In the course of its last session, the Assembly requested the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to examine the problem of utilising modern means of spreading information in the cause of peace.

The Assembly's intention was that the first aim of this study should be to show what methods and conditions would enable these new technical resources to further the mutual exchange between nations of information relating to their respective institutions and cultures. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was requested to draw up suggestions to form the basis of the Assembly's discussions.

The Sixth Committee recognised with great satisfaction the importance of the contribution made on this occasion by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. In the different reports which it placed at the Assembly's disposal, that Committee gave an admirable account of the work it had previously done in this field, the first results of which had enabled it to determine what the items of a future programme of work should be.

Opinions were drawn up by the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching with observations by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and it was in the form of these opinions that a large and varied number of suggestions for action recommended by experts in the fields both of cinematography and of broadcasting were brought before the Assembly.

In view of the importance of the recommendations made to it and of the complexity of the questions involved, the Sixth Committee thought it desirable to appoint a Sub-Committee to make a preliminary examination of all the material contained in the report of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. This Sub-Committee has drawn up, on the basis of information furnished by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, a practical programme which could be progressively carried out by that Organisation from next year onwards. This programme, in which the general Rapporteur of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, M. de Reynold, together with representatives of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute and of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation were asked to collaborate, is explained in the following paragraphs :

Cinematography.—The Sixth Committee, in recommending the Assembly to approve the following provisions as regards cinematography, would like to point out that the execution of the proposed programme will not involve any addition to the League's budget, as the Rome and Paris Institutes are in a position to carry out the proposed work by means of their own resources.

1. As regards the Convention to facilitate the Circulation of Educational Films, the Sixth Committee is of opinion that a consultation should be undertaken among all the States which have not yet signed the Convention, or have signed it and not yet ratified it, in order to ascertain the reasons for their abstention and to examine the possibility of eliminating the drawbacks which have caused it. As a revision of the Executive Regulations of the Convention is under consideration, the new text might be attached to the circular letter sent to the States for the purpose of this enquiry.

The results of this enquiry among the Governments might be communicated to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, after study by the competent organs of the Institute, with a view to a report to the Assembly at its next session.

With regard to the proposal that a committee of specialists should study, from the point of view of the cinematograph and Customs legislation, the question of extending the provisions of the Convention to new categories of films, a proposal which raises some very delicate problems, including more particularly the choice of the criteria to be taken as a basis in forming an opinion, explanations furnished by the representatives of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome showed that, in the proposed study, all material obtained as a result of the enquiry among Governments which had not yet acceded to or signed the Convention, would be taken into consideration.

2. The Committee considers that the plan of action recommended on *national lines* cannot be carried out by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation itself. The more important tasks will devolve upon the national bodies. The rôle of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute will be to promote, encourage and support national action in the different countries, and, if necessary, to co-ordinate these several activities, with the idea not of exercising supervision, but rather of increasing their efficacy and suggesting fresh possibilities.

In 1938, the International Educational Cinematographic Institute should convene at all events a preliminary meeting between representatives of the National Film Institutes now in existence and other bodies working on similar lines. The meeting should be prepared so as to encourage the setting-up of National Institutes and enable those invited to send representatives to study the principal points mentioned in the Advisory Committee's report, more particularly folklore films, news films, colonial films, film posters, etc.

A special enquiry, with the assistance of the National Institutes and other organisations such as the International Bureau of Education, should be carried out with reference to a new question: the training of children's taste in regard to the cinema.

Consideration should also be given to the rôle of cinema-goers' clubs, as a means of encouraging the production of good quality films,

3. During this first period, *international action*, should, in the Committee's opinion, be directed chiefly towards encouraging national initiative. It cannot, however, be confined to this. Meetings have been recommended more particularly by the Congress on Educational Cinematography in 1934, between film producers, scenario writers, educational experts, intellectuals, etc. Their object should be to study the means of preventing the production of tendentious films and encouraging the production of truly artistic films which will enable the different peoples to understand one another better. Such meetings, organised by the Rome and Paris Institutes, with the assistance of the competent circles in all the principal film-producing countries, might undoubtedly prove to be of very great value.

The Committee is of opinion that a first attempt on these lines, if it is to achieve the desired results, would have to be very carefully prepared. It feels, accordingly, that, during the coming year, the Paris and Rome Institutes should hold comprehensive preparatory consultations on the basis of instructions from the Intellectual Co-operation Committee. These consultations would help to bring out the features which could most usefully be included in the programme of a meeting of this kind, and would also facilitate the choice of the individuals who might be invited to be present.

When the Intellectual Co-operation Committee has provided it with the necessary data next year, the Assembly will have all the facts at its disposal, and will be able to take a decision as to the desirability of encouraging these meetings.

Broadcasting.—The Sixth Committee recommends the Assembly to approach those Governments which have not yet signed or ratified the Convention on the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace. It approved the programme of work set forth in document A.VI/S.C.I/1.1937.XII.

In the light of the additional explanations furnished by the Rapporteur to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and by the Director of the Paris Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, it recognised that the suggestions made by the experts of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation met the aims of the Assembly resolution of 1936, and that the Organisation could not place on its programme the new questions which the Assembly had requested it to study without consulting an *ad hoc* Committee of Experts, which would be responsible for co-ordinating the proposed programme of collaboration. This Committee would have to go thoroughly into the question of the action to be taken in connection with the following matters :

(1) Information and documentary material on the work of the League and the main institutions connected with it, for the use of programme directors in broadcasting stations.

The Committee noted that this suggestion was to a certain extent connected with the questions regarding which proposals had been made by the Secretary-General in document A.18.1937.

(2) Documentation on contemporary international problems and on science, letters and art in the world to-day. That is the sphere in which the technical assistance which the Intellectual

Co-operation Organisation could give to national broadcasting concerns would be most valuable.

(3) Preparation by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, with the help of the National Committees, of lists of persons in the various countries who are qualified to give broadcasting talks in the language of other countries, for listeners in those countries, on economic, social and cultural problems.

(4) The formation of gramophone-record libraries, and the organisation of an international service of loans and exchanges of documentary and educational records (of folk music, for example).

(5) Preliminary study—with the assistance of the Communications and Transit Section, and after consultation with the competent international and national organisations with a view to the conclusion of bilateral or multilateral agreements for the purpose of granting special facilities to broadcasting reporters duly authorised to travel abroad for the purposes of their profession, in particular with a view to affording them privileged treatment enabling them to get their equipment (*e.g.*, automobiles, recording-vans, electric sound apparatus, etc.) through the Customs.

The conclusions of the Committee of Experts will be communicated, together with the observations of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, to the Assembly at its next session, in order to enable it to establish, in the light of more detailed information, a definite programme of technical collaboration with national and international broadcasting organisations.

The Sixth Committee has approved the recommendation of its Sub-Committee contained in the last paragraph of its report (document A.VI/8.1937) and, under Article 16 (*c*) of the Financial Regulations, has decided to transmit to the Supervisory Commission, with a favourable report, the request for a credit of 12,000 Swiss francs for the constitution of the Committee of Experts referred to above.

As the Fourth Committee has now approved, in its turn, this request, the Sixth Committee has the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“ Approves the report of the Sixth Committee and the proposals contained therein.

“ It decides, on the proposal of the Fourth Committee, to insert in the budget for the coming year a supplementary credit of 12,000 Swiss francs.”

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION CONCERNING THE USE OF BROADCASTING IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE APPLICATION OF ARTICLE 7, PARAGRAPH 3.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The International Convention for the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace, concluded at Geneva in September 1936, which has already been ratified by four States—*i.e.*, Australia, United Kingdom, Denmark and India—entrusts the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation with a task of settling, by friendly means, certain disputes between States parties of the Convention.

This task is defined in Article 7 of the Convention as follows :

“ Should a dispute arise between the High Contracting Parties regarding the interpretation or application of the present Convention for which it has been found impossible to arrive at a satisfactory settlement through the diplomatic channel, it shall be settled in conformity with the provisions in force between the Parties concerning the settlement of international disputes.

“ In the absence of any such provisions between the Parties to the dispute, the said Parties shall submit it to arbitration or to judicial settlement. Failing agreement concerning the choice of another tribunal, they shall submit the dispute, at the request of one of them, to the Permanent Court of International Justice, provided they are all Parties to the Protocol of December 16th, 1920, regarding the Statute of the Court; or, if they are not all Parties to the above Protocol, they shall submit the dispute to an arbitral tribunal, constituted in conformity with the Hague Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

“ Before having recourse to the procedures specified in paragraphs 1 and 2 above, the High Contracting Parties may, by common consent, appeal to the good offices of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which would be in a position to constitute a special committee for this purpose.”

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is thus invested with a mission of good offices and it was authorised by the Council of the League of Nations on October 10th, 1936, to carry out this mission.

Article 7 is supplemented by recommendation 7 of the Final Act. This recommendation is the outcome of the wish expressed by several delegations to the Conference that the Committee should set up for purposes of expediency a small committee composed of persons specially qualified for such a task. The recommendation provides that, among the persons selected, one should be chosen on the proposal of the International Broadcasting Union and another on the proposal of the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. In addition, "the International Committee might attach to the special committee, persons proposed by the Bureau of the International Union of Telecommunications and by the International Federation of Journalists".

In order that the States parties to the Convention should at this juncture be acquainted with the manner in which the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation means to discharge the new tasks devolving upon it, the Executive Committee instructed the Secretariat of the Organisation and the Institute on Intellectual Co-operation to draw up, along the lines laid down by it, draft rules of procedure. These were submitted to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation which adopted them in the course of its nineteenth plenary session.

The text of these rules of procedure is given in full below. In accordance with these rules, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is to ensure the constitution of the committee and to direct its work. The Chairman of the International Committee or another member delegated by him will be, *ex officio*, chairman of the special committee. It has also been provided that two of the Members and substitutes may be chosen from the members of the International Committee or from the committees of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

On the other hand, the special committee shall include one person chosen on the proposal of the International Broadcasting Union and another on the proposal of the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. In addition to this, the Committee may further choose persons from lists drawn up by the Bureau of the International Union of Telecommunications and by the International Federation of Journalists.

The International Committee has taken fully into consideration the last paragraph of recommendation 7, which is as follows :

"The committee should submit its findings as soon as possible, and in any case within six weeks from the day when the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has been informed of the dispute."

With this in view, the draft rules provide, as regards both the constitution and the discussions of the special Committee, a procedure which is extremely flexible as regards details (see notably Articles 2 and 9). This procedure, however, gives the Committee full time and scope for the settlement of the dispute.

RULES FOR THE APPLICATION
OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION CONCERNING THE USE
OF BROADCASTING IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

*Adopted by the Committee and transmitted to the Council
of the League of Nations.*

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

Considering that Article 7 of the International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace, concluded at Geneva on September 23rd, 1936, invests it with certain powers for the friendly settlement of disputes relating to the interpretation or application of the aforesaid Convention;

Considering that, by its decision of October 10th, 1936, the Council of the League of Nations authorised the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to undertake the task allotted to it by Article 7 aforesaid;

In view of the recommendations contained in the Final Protocol accompanying the Convention, for the guidance of the Committee in the fulfilment of its task;

Being of opinion that the High Contracting Parties ought to be informed of the manner in which the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation proposes to perform its functions, should the occasion arise, and of the procedure which it proposes to follow to ensure, as far as it is concerned, that the Convention is applied :

Lays down, as Rules of Application, the following provisions, while reserving the right to make, in exceptional cases, derogations compatible with the spirit of the said Rules.

Article 1.

1. Appeals to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation under Article 7 of the International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace shall be lodged in the form of a written request addressed to the Chairman of the Committee through the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, by the parties in question acting, either jointly or separately, by common consent.

2. The request, after giving a brief account of the subject of the dispute, shall contain an invitation to the Committee to take all appropriate steps to bring about an agreement.

3. Should there have arisen between the parties more than one distinct dispute, which they shall have resolved to submit to the Committee with a view to a common solution, each dispute shall form the subject of a separate request.

Article 2.

1. On receipt of a request, the Chairman shall submit it to the Committee if the latter is in session or if its next session is to open in the immediate future.

2. In all other cases, he shall submit the request to the Executive Committee, summoned, if necessary, for an extraordinary session, or shall himself make a decision, with the assistance, if he thinks fit, of

two members of the Executive Committee specially appointed by the latter to act in that capacity during the current year.

3. Within one week from the date on which the request shall have reached the Chairman, the Committee, or the authority making a decision in its place, shall consider whether the request is in good and due form and receivable under the Convention, and whether the action requested of the Committee falls within the scope of the functions vested in that body by the Convention.

4. For this purpose, the Chairman shall obtain suitable legal advice such as that provided by the competent technical services of the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

Article 3.

1. Within the period stated in Article 2, the authority by which the request shall have been declared receivable shall form a Special Committee for the purpose of examining the dispute.

2. This Committee shall include five members and five substitutes. Nationals of the countries which are parties to the dispute, and persons resident in their territory or who are employed in their service in any capacity, shall be excluded from the Committee. The Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation shall be a member of the Special Committee and shall preside over it. He shall be able to delegate these functions to another member of the Executive Committee. Such delegation shall always take place if the Chairman is a national of one of the parties.

3. Two members and two substitutes shall be chosen from the lists drawn up by the International Broadcasting Union and the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, respectively. The other members and substitutes shall be chosen, either from the members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, or from the Committees of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, or from lists drawn up by the Bureau of the International Union of Telecommunications and the International Federation of Journalists respectively or from other specially qualified persons.

4. The International Broadcasting Union, the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, the Bureau of the International Union of Telecommunications and the International Federation of Journalists shall each be invited to send to the Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, within two months of the publication of the present Rules and, thereafter, in the first fortnight in January of each year, lists of persons suitable to be members and substitutes on any Special Committees which may be formed. These lists shall be printed as an annex to the annual report of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

5. Should a member of the Special Committee be prevented from attending, the Chairman shall appoint one of the substitutes to take his place.

Article 4.

The Committee shall hold its first meetings in the place appointed by its Chairman, regard being had, as far as possible, to any suggestions made by the parties.

Article 5.

The discussions of the Committee shall be public only if a decision to that effect is made by the Committee in agreement with the parties.

Article 6.

1. Subject to any provisions which may be agreed upon between the parties, the Committee shall itself decide on its procedure which, in every case, must provide for the hearing of both parties.

2. The representatives of the parties may obtain the assistance of counsel and experts appointed by them for the purpose and may request that all persons whose evidence they consider material be given a hearing.

3. The Committee shall be empowered to ask for verbal explanations from the representatives, counsel and experts of the parties, and from all persons whom it may think desirable to summon, subject to the agreement of their Governments.

Article 7.

The parties shall be requested to facilitate the work of the Committee and, in particular, to provide it, in so far as possible, with all relevant documents and information, and to use the means at their disposal to enable it to proceed, in their territory and according to their laws, to the summoning and hearing of witnesses or experts, and to visit the localities in question.

Article 8.

The decisions of the Committee shall be taken by a majority; the Committee may not decide on the substance of the dispute unless all its members are present.

Article 9.

1. It shall be the Committee's duty to elucidate the questions in dispute, to collect for this purpose all relevant information either by enquiry or otherwise, and to endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement. After it has examined the matter, it may inform the parties of the terms of settlement which seem suitable to it and lay down a period in which they are to make this decision.

2. On the completion of its proceedings, the Committee shall draw up a minute stating, as the case may be, either that the parties have come to an agreement and, if necessary, the terms of the agreement, or that it has been impossible to effect a settlement. This minute shall be sent to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation along with a report. It shall also be communicated to the parties; the latter alone shall decide whether it is to be published.

3. Unless the parties agree otherwise, the proceedings of the Committee shall be concluded within a period of six weeks from the date on which the request was declared receivable.

Article 10.

1. The Secretariat of the Committee shall be provided, by mutual agreement, by the Secretariat of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

2. The Committee shall decide, with the consent of the parties, on the language or languages to be used during the proceedings. The original text of the minute mentioned in Article 9, paragraph 2, of the present Rules shall be drawn up in French and English, or at any rate in one of those languages.

3. During the work of the Committee, each member shall receive an allowance calculated according to the scales in force for the League of Nations. These expenses, together with all other costs arising out of the work of the Committee, shall be borne by the parties, who shall pay equal shares.

4. Before the first meeting of the Committee, the Chairman shall fix the sum to be paid by each of the parties as an advance towards the amount of the costs which it will incur. These payments shall be made to the Secretariat of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

5. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation shall preserve in its archives the various documents relating to the proceedings of the Special Committees meeting in virtue of Article 7, paragraph 3, of the Convention.

Article 11.

Each year, at the close of its ordinary session, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation shall issue a report on the discharge of its functions under the Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace. Such reports shall be communicated to the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations, and to the States parties to the Convention which are not members of the League.

Article 12.

The present Rules shall be communicated, through the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, to the Governments of the States parties to the Convention, and published in the *Bulletin of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation*.

**INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOR THE
MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, HELD IN BUENOS AIRES,
DECEMBER 1ST TO 23RD, 1936**

**RESOLUTIONS AND CONVENTIONS RELATING
TO EDUCATION.**

**CONVENTION CONCERNING PEACEFUL ORIENTATION OF
PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.**

The Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,

Recognising that, to reaffirm reciprocal confidence between the nations of the continent and to perfect the political and juridical organisation of peace, it is necessary to establish a certain number of international rules for the peaceful orientation of the peoples as one of the essential aspects of the vast work of moral and material disarmament; and

Taking into account the fact that the success of the measures taken to this end in one country depends in large part upon the application of similar measures in the others :

Have resolved to conclude a Convention concerning this matter and to that end have named plenipotentiaries of the following countries :

Argentine, Paraguay, Honduras, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Peru, El Salvador, Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Colombia, Panama, United States of America, Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia, Haiti, Cuba,

Who, after having deposited their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following provisions :

Article 1.

The High Contracting Parties agree to organise, in their public educational establishments, the teaching of the principles of pacific settlement of international disputes and the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, as well as the practical applications of these principles.

Article 2.

The High Contracting Parties agree to prepare, through their administrative authorities on public education, textbooks or manuals of instruction adapted to all school grades, including the training of a teaching staff, in order to promote understanding, mutual respect and the importance of international co-operation. Persons in charge of instruction shall teach in accordance with the principles expressed therein.

Article 3.

The High Contracting Parties shall entrust the National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, provided for in previous agreements in force, with the fulfilment of the provisions mentioned above, and with promoting the publicity which moving pictures, the theatre and the radio may give to the cause of international understanding, and with the study and application of any other measures which may increase the spirit of tolerance, equity and justice between nations. Each Commission shall send annually to the respective Division of the Pan-American Union, at Washington, and to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, at Paris, a detailed report concerning the measures taken by its country in fulfilment of the present Convention.

Article 4.

The present Convention shall not affect obligations previously entered into by the High Contracting Parties by virtue of international agreements.

Article 5.

The present Convention shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective constitutional procedures. The original instrument shall be deposited in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, which shall transmit authentic certified copies to the Governments for the aforementioned purpose of ratification. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan-American Union, at Washington, which shall notify the signatory Governments of said deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications.

Article 6.

The present Convention will come into effect between the High Contracting Parties in the order in which they deposit their respective ratifications.

Article 7.

The present Convention shall remain in effect indefinitely but may be denounced by means of one year's notice given to the Pan-American Union, which shall transmit it to the other signatory Governments. After the expiration of this period, the Convention shall cease in its effects as regards the party which denounces it but shall remain in effect for the remaining High Contracting Parties.

Article 8.

The present Convention shall be open for the adherence and accession of States which are not signatories. The corresponding instruments shall be deposited in the archives of the Pan-American Union, which shall communicate them to the other High Contracting Parties.

In witness whereof, the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries sign the present Convention in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French and hereunto affix their respective seals, at the City of Buenos Aires, Capital of the Argentine Republic, on the twenty-third day of the month of December 1936.

REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS.

Convinced of the importance and the necessity of guiding the judgment of future generations in conformity with ideals of peace and friendly collaboration with all peoples, and thus keep them from being contaminated by the preaching of international hatreds, antagonisms and prejudices;

Being certain of interpreting the feeling of the peoples represented, that well conceived patriotism, the historical truth, the glorification of great national achievements and the homage due to the heroes of each country do not require that public-school textbooks keep alive the controversies between research workers, alter facts established by critical investigation in general works of history or belittle the glories of the heroes of other nations;

Desiring to promote in an effective manner in the various school grades where national ideals are formed the task of purifying individual conscience and public opinion by preventing activities which tend to keep nations from living together in order and peace; and

Recognising the obvious advantages of profiting by the agreements already concluded with this lofty aim;

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,

Resolves :

To recommend to the American Republics, that have not already done so :

(1) To adhere to the Brazilian-Argentine Convention for the revision of history and geography textbooks, signed at Rio de Janeiro on October 10th, 1933;

(2) To ratify the Convention on the Teaching of History, signed at the seventh International Conference of American States;

(3) To subscribe to the declaration on the revision of school books prepared by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and submitted by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to the Governments of Member and non-member countries, and

(4) To promote, *motu proprio*, the revision of the school books used in each country, as a voluntary contribution to the great work of the spiritual preparation of future generations in an atmosphere of international peace and goodwill;

With regard to the principles which should govern the revision of schooltexts,

Recommends that :

(1) With reference to history texts, consideration should be given, not only to topics that promote or excite hatred toward any people, but also to the omissions that may have been made, taking care that the effort of each country in the cause of national independence, and its contribution to continental independence, be given full recognition;

(2) An effort be made to the end that geography texts contain the most complete information possible, not only with reference to resources and production, but also with respect to the orographic, climatic, cultural, political, social and public health aspects of each country, and

(3) That advantage be taken of the excellent suggestion of the Casares plan, prepared by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, at Paris, and that due attention be given to the carefully and well conceived indications contained in the plan prepared by the Commission for the Revision of History and Geography Textbooks, under the Chairmanship of the distinguished educator Dr. Ricardo Levene, established by the Minister of Public Instruction of the Argentine Republic in connection with the Brazilian-Argentine Convention on this subject.

Approved, December 19th, 1936.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE TEACHING OF CIVICS.

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,
Resolves :

(1) To recommend to the Governments of the American Republics that they emphasise and generalise the teaching of civics in all grades of primary and secondary schools, in schools for adults and in other centres of education controlled by the State, adopting the necessary texts so that the instructors may teach the ideals of democracy and peace and the application of this ideology in the laws of the different American countries; and

(2) To promote a competition, which shall be organised and patronised by the Pan-American Union, to obtain a textbook of inter-American civics, drafted in accordance with the spirit of this resolution.

Approved, December 21st, 1936.

PERIODICAL INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCES ON EDUCATION.

Whereas, for greater mutual knowledge of teaching in American countries and co-operation of the States with regard to the improvement of teaching and the efficiency of educational systems; for scientific and cultural interchange between pedagogic and social service institutes of the various nations; for the preparation of adequate textbooks for fostering inter-American brotherhood; for common standards of curricula and professional titles; in short, for the spiritual unity of the American nations,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,

Recommends :

(1) That the Inter-American Conferences on Education meet regularly and periodically with a view to considering all matters serving to establish firmer bonds between directors of teaching with regard to methods and aims;

(2) That the said Conferences study especially those subjects concerning the means of attaining in all America the revision of text-books, approving standards similar to those agreed upon between the Republics of Argentine and Brazil which embraced this important question in form and substance;

(3) Distribution in teaching and cultural centres of each of the American States of selected works of American authors; and

(4) Publication in the languages of the various States of a library of selected American authors in literature, history, science, political science, law and art.

Approved, December 21st, 1936.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching

THE TEACHING OF THE PRINCIPLES
AND FACTS OF
INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

No. 5.—December 1938

Published every year by the
Secretariat of the League of Nations

GENEVA

CONTENTS

	Page
PRINCIPLES OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION, by Professor Gonzague de Reynold	5
WORK OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE TEACHING OF THE PRINCIPLES AND FACTS OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION .	18
THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES AS A MEANS OF PRO- MOTING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN NATIONS	28
Trends in the Teaching of Modern Languages	30
Teaching Methods	36
Exchanges and Stays abroad	41
Broadcasting and Cinema	47
Training of Teachers	53
Facilities for Teachers having entered their Profession.	60
THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES AS A FACTOR IN THE PROMOTION OF A SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONAL COLLA- BORATION : Report of the International Bureau of Edu- cation.....	63
THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES IN ENGLAND, by J. O. Roach	73
THE RÔLE OF "LYCÉES" AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES, by M. Ibrovač.	84
THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES AND FOREIGN FORMS OF CIVILISATION : PROSPECTS AND LIMITATIONS, by L. P. Thomas	93
THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES IN FRANCE, by A. Tibal	101
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION : ITS AIMS AND METHODS; An Inter- national "Conversation" for Students at Luxemburg	106
MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING INFORMATION UTILISED IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE	112
SOCIAL, MORAL AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY OF BROAD- CASTING, by Ingve Hugo	119
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK :	
Fresh Activities of the Economic Committee	123
European Conference on Rural Life	146
The League of Nations and Epidemics	150
Exhibitions as Means of International Education	159
THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION AT WORK :	
The Evolution of Social Progress	164
The Protection of Young Workers	170

	Page
BROADCASTS FROM " RADIO-NATIONS "	181
Status of Women.....	181
Assistance to Indigent Foreigners.—The Migration of Settlers	185
Agricultural Labour	188
PEACE-TEACHING AT THE INTERNATIONAL TEACHERS' CON- FERENCE IN LONDON	193
SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION, by P. Rossello	196

Official Documents.

WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION DURING THE PAST YEAR :	
International Collaboration between Universities	202
University Teaching of International Relations	203
University Exchanges	205
Unemployment among Intellectuals	206
Co-ordination of Systems of Secondary Education	208
Revision of School Textbooks and the Teaching of History	210
International Educational Bibliography	211
International School Correspondence	211
Liaison with the Major International Associations	211
TWENTIETH PLENARY SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COM- MITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION :	
Modern Means of spreading Information utilised in the Cause of Peace	213
RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING QUESTIONS OF EDUCATION	223
CONFERENCE ON THE APPLICATION OF THE CONVENTION OF OCTOBER 11TH, 1933, FOR FACILITATING THE INTER- NATIONAL CIRCULATION OF FILMS OF AN EDUCATIONAL CHARACTER (Geneva, September 10th-12th, 1938) :	
<i>Procès-verbal</i> adopted by the Conference concerning the Application of Articles IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XII and XIII of the Said Convention.....	226
NINETEENTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS :	
Action taken on the Proposals of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation concerning Modern Means of spreading Information utilised in the Cause of Peace.....	228
DECLARATION REGARDING THE TEACHING OF HISTORY :	
List of Signatures	232
INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION CONCERNING THE USE OF BROAD- CASTING IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE :	
List of Ratifications	234

PRINCIPLES OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION¹

During the past twelve months, from July to July, the world situation, and particularly the situation in Europe, has grown still more serious, and international relations have again become more difficult. Our Organisation therefore encountered new obstacles, many of which appeared insurmountable. Yet we can truthfully say that our work, far from slowing up, has continued to progress. Why?

In the first place, because it is independent of politics; and secondly, because, in spite of circumstances, it has everywhere found friends who remain faithful to it and whose number is constantly increasing owing to the services our work is rendering and the idea for which it stands. That idea, that conviction, is that to-day intellectual co-operation is more necessary than ever.

Intellectual co-operation—we are sufficiently modest and reasonable not to identify it with our Organisation; for it goes far beyond it, alike in scope and in time—intellectual co-operation belongs to all ages; it is a need felt in intellectual life, wherever that life finds means of expression. The more difficult the times and the greater the threat to intellectual life, the greater becomes the need for intellectual co-operation. That is what the history of intellectual co-operation would show, should it ever come to be written. It would teach us that—ever since the end of the Roman Empire and the formation of the first barbarian States, down to the hour when this report is being drafted—it is more especially during periods of anarchy, turmoil and ruin that thinkers have felt an imperative need to join forces and work together to save the essentials of civilisation and prepare for the times to come. No centre of culture has ever been able to exist in isolation: either it has disappeared, or else it has been kept alive by other and often far distant centres.

Our Organisation is only one of the forms taken by intellectual co-operation in the course of history—one of its aspects in

¹ Extracts from Professor G. de Reynold's report on the work of the twentieth plenary session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

the world to-day. Hence, far from imagining that we represent the whole intellectual co-operation movement or trying to monopolise and centralise it, our primary duty, our *raison d'être*, is to serve it—and to serve it as it wishes to be served.

It is that conviction—based on the reality of intellectual life and a sense of our own limitations—which has hitherto enabled us to live, to endure, to work, to progress. It governs our principles and our methods. If, therefore, in spite of ill times, we are able to point to achievements and successes, we do so primarily because we have held to those methods and those principles. To prove that is the object of the present report.

I

First principle : *Our Organisation has been established to serve intellectual life.*

That is the principle from which we started. When, on August 1st, 1922, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation embarked upon its task, what the Council asked it to do was not to carry out propaganda in intellectual circles on behalf of the League of Nations, but to bring to those circles the League's help and support. The world was emerging from the war, and relations and exchanges, which had been so long and so violently interrupted, had to be renewed. The Council therefore asked us to study three questions—the renewal of exchanges between universities; the renewal of exchanges between libraries and the international organisation of scientific documentation; and, finally, the renewal and organisation of scientific congresses. Anything that we have added to the original programme—such as assistance to countries where intellectual life was specially endangered, and the whole question of intellectual rights—only represents a wider application of the same principles. To serve intellectual life is to show it the utility and efficiency of the League of Nations. Such indirect propaganda is, indeed, more convincing than the direct method, because its arguments are its achievements themselves.

True, we have not disregarded the direct method; none the less, experience and the force of circumstances have turned us back to the indirect method.

Here are two examples :

When the *Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching* was attached to us, its mandate was based on the Assembly

resolution of September 24th, 1924, which brought it into existence: "To invite all teachers and professors to collaborate in the work of the League by preparing and distributing to all scholastic institutions literature instructing the young in the aims of the League". Having followed that programme for several years, the Sub-Committee decided to extend its scope. The new stage reached in 1937 was marked by a change of name: since then, the Sub-Committee has been known as the *Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation*. The aim is no longer to teach about the League of Nations itself, but to imbue teaching with the separate methods and traditions of that international co-operation of which the League is to-day the most important form. The first idea of propaganda—or, if it is preferred, of propagation—has been replaced by the idea of study. The Advisory Committee has studied the principles and facts of international co-operation successively in the spheres of history, geography, and, during the past year, modern languages. For the coming year, the question of instruction in civics has been placed on its programme.

The second example is the revision of school textbooks, in particular history and geography textbooks.

In 1928, the Committee adopted the Casarès Proposal. The proposed method was a very simple one. It left all initiative to the National Committees, with a kind of right of appeal, if necessary, to the International Committee. In that way, we tried to encourage a movement in favour of the idea. We supported it in our publications, a recent example being a special number of the *Bulletin Coopération intellectuelle*.¹ Readers of that publication will see that the movement which started from the centre—the International Committee—progressed very slowly for a long time; the Casarès Proposal did not produce any great results. The idea slowly made headway, however, and began to permeate the outside world. Spreading beyond the limits of our Organisation, it found acceptance in ever-widening circles of historians and teachers. The International Congress of Historical Sciences adopted it and made it its own. Clauses providing for the revision of geography and history textbooks were even inserted in agreements between States—States that were not always Members of the League. An idea which we originated has thus been taken up and turned to good account.

¹ See No. 84.

The methodical application of our first principle has been responsible for all the satisfactory, all the positive aspects of the experiments we have made, and for all the gains that have been won by them. We might here refer to the majority of our publications, to all our Committees of Experts and to all the various forms of co-ordination which we have succeeded in establishing. Intellectuals, it may be repeated, instinctively mistrust anything savouring of propaganda; yet they need help, for these are difficult times for them. What is it, then, that is expected of us—not only by students, teachers, scholars, specialists and research-workers, but also by writers and artists? They expect us to provide them with the means of work—for example, lists and indexes; to facilitate meetings and collaboration between them; and to support them in their rights and the protection of their works. The resolutions and annexes show how we have progressed in that part of our programme during the past year.

In this connection, we draw the attention of the Council and the Assembly—and through them that of the Governments—to the distressing question of unemployment among university graduates and the involuntary emigration of intellectuals. For it would really be futile to concern ourselves exclusively with general ideas and pure science when so many young people and so many eminent men are doomed to poverty and see all roads closed to them.

With regard to intellectual rights, we have proceeded with our studies on the rights of the scientist and of the inventor, and on the contract of publication. But we have given all our attention—and devoted all our collaboration—to the revision of the Berne Convention and the preparation of the Brussels Conference. Finally, we are submitting to the Council a “draft International Agreement on the Protection of Monuments and Works of Art in Time of War”.

* * *

And here is a fresh factor: for some years past, intellectuals have not been disposed to rest content with facilities which are primarily material. No longer do they ask us just to help them themselves; they expect from us some mental progress, some advance in intellectual life.

We shall adduce four examples: the first is the *International Studies Conference*.

This Conference has, it can be claimed, given such an impulse to the development of international studies that these can now justifiably be regarded as a new branch of learning. It has

defined their object, fixed their methods, delimited their field and generalised instruction in them. We would emphasise that this development would have been impossible if the Conference had not been set up and maintained on a basis of complete autonomy. Had we thought only of ourselves and endeavoured to include it within our framework, extensive though this is, it may be doubted whether it would have found there all the freedom of movement and of thought that it required. But it was sufficient for our purpose that the Conference should be linked to us by a slender thread, and that was enough for the Conference itself. It has now become an independent organisation, based on National Committees throughout the five continents, and on a number of large international organisations. Thanks once again to the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation, it enjoys adequate financial support. In short, it has been enabled to pursue its co-operation with representatives or institutions of all States.

Another example—and another success—is the result achieved in the domain of exact science through the agreement we signed in July 1937 with the International Council of Scientific Unions. The relevant resolution gives full details of activities which, after having been restricted for many years to mere tentative gropings, have suddenly, in the course of a few months, developed in quite unexpected fashion. Here again direct researches have been initiated and are still progressing, thanks to an extremely simple system of co-operation within this autonomous body.

The third example is what might be described as our entry into the domain of social science. We have begun with an extensive enquiry into the problem of mechanisation, which is being carried out in collaboration with the International Labour Office. Approximately eighty experts, coming from thirty-one countries, are taking part in it. National Study Committees have been formed in Luxemburg, Czechoslovakia and Mexico. As will be seen, this is a case not of organisation preceding research, but of research itself determining the nature of the organisation.

The fourth and final example is provided by the *International Museums Office*, and in a general way the Art Department of our Institute. This Department constitutes the Secretariat of the Office, which is thereby assured of permanence and continuity; but it also constitutes that of the International Committee on Folk Art, and is itself the international centre of the Institutes of Archæology and of the History of Art, and the centre of studies on architecture and urbanism.

It is not suggested that we have either invented or inaugurated museography or museology. We have, however, given them an impulse which has enormously developed both of them along parallel lines—one that of technical improvement, the other that of increased knowledge. It is due to the Office, to its publications—first and foremost the periodical *Museion*, the only one of its kind—to the congresses it has organised and the international agreements it has prepared, that this movement to conduct research and to advance knowledge in different fields now rests on a solid system of co-ordination, which it has itself established on the basis of national institutions. The progress made in this direction, even from the purely scientific point of view, is considerable enough to have been the subject of a recent doctorate thesis.

II

Second principle: *Establishment of our Organisation on solid national bases.*

Mental life does not immediately assume a universal character. Universality is only the result of selection. Actually, the primary characteristic of mental life is national. Its roots, like a tree's are in the soil. Such a comparison shows us that our Organisation would have remained an artificial one if, for the sake of some theoretical unity, it had tried to exist entirely cut off from the national roots of intellectual life.

The history of the *National Committees of Intellectual Co-operation* illustrates our second principle. It is not we who promoted them; they were created spontaneously from the end of 1922 onwards, to inform us of the most urgent requirements of intellectual life in war-ruined countries, at a time when so many cultural centres were threatened with extinction. But ever since 1923, and in all cases spontaneously, these Committees have manifested a desire to be associated with our work. In the end, and still without intervention on our part, they placed themselves at the basis of our Organisation. They constitute the link between us and national diversity. They have brought us into contact with all those centres where this diversity is revealed. The network of National Committees has thus spread slowly and naturally in the course of the past fifteen years. As is well known, the National Committees are organised independently and on different plans, ranging from simple associations due to private initiative, to official institutions, and including every intermediate variety.

This federal method, which aims at union and not unity, has proved singularly effective. This was proved when the delegates of the National Committees met for the second time at Paris in July 1937. The success of a meeting is not in itself sufficient proof: the results and consequences must be awaited. During the past year, these results and these consequences have repeatedly been evident. We have enumerated them in a long resolution showing that the Paris meeting of last year gave a fresh impulse to the National Committees. No longer are the National Committees content merely to keep in touch with the International Committee, or even to take action each in its own country: they are trying to form groups and to co-operate with each other according to their territorial contiguity or affinities of language or culture. We had already noted similar attempts in previous years, but these had remained isolated efforts. None was as important as the meetings organised by the Baltic and the Scandinavian Committees; none can be compared with the great American Conference which the Chilian Committee is arranging for 1939. This is another movement we have started, a particular method of organising intellectual life within and between nations.

A second proof is the development of our system of international co-ordination, by which we mean the endeavours we have consistently made since 1931 to harness for a common end all national intellectual forces, whether special groups or institutions. That is a very different system from the congress system, and one capable of extension where the congress is not. For it has two advantages over the congress—smallness of number, and duration. It is thus much less expensive, and it is much more easily managed.

We do not propose to give here the whole detail of this network of co-ordination, but we wish to draw attention to one of the most important examples of it, first of all because it seemed the least easily attainable, and secondly because of the extent to which it has developed. It is that of the universities, or, if the term be preferred, of higher education. Starting with a small Committee of Directors of Higher Education, we organised last year in Paris what might justifiably be called the first International Conference on Higher Education. The venture seemed a bold one after so many others had failed or proved fruitless. That it has succeeded is due to the lengthy preparation made for it and the very unambitious starting-point chosen for it. Any results that flow from it will be attributable to the fact that the continuation of its work is guaranteed by the constitution of a permanent

committee. Lastly, and most important, the success of this venture lies in the manner of its conception and in the spirit which inspired it—a spirit unshackled by any ideology, but determined to work with national institutions, both for them and through them, within the limits of what is concrete and what is possible.

III

Third principle : *To respect the diversity and originality of all forms of culture and all aspects of civilisation.*

Once again, we must not look for abstract theoretical unity, nor even what we might call a common denominator. It is not by purely artificial and brain-devised methods that this diversity can gradually be harmonised and a general civilisation constructed from it. That can be achieved only by the extremely slow process of life, helped forward by its great collaborator, which is not organisation, but creation; not the anonymous system, but personal genius. In this domain, let us repeat, our Organisation can act only as a useful intermediary.

To this end, we must be brought to realise first of all that our Organisation must keep in touch with all forms of culture; secondly, that these forms are of unequal value and are not interchangeable. And for that purpose we must endeavour to seek not primarily the like, but the unlike, so as gradually to be able to make nations and peoples understand, love and respect each other for their very differences.

That is the purpose of our Ibero-American collection and of our Japanese collection, pending the formation of other similar collections; for one leads to another, and the idea travels and spreads. But if we take the American ethnographical and historical collection promoted by M. LEVILLIER, we find another form of development in the same direction. What is its real purpose? To induce European scholars to co-operate with American scholars in illuminating the origins and most characteristic aspects of American civilisation. Finally, to go farther—or rather, deeper—the same principle leads us to the very roots of this diversity—popular traditions and literature. The Levillier collection will begin with the ethnographic part; our Ibero-American collection is to be extended by the addition of a series, parallel to the literary series, devoted to popular traditions, and this has encouraged us to try to resuscitate, despite the many present difficulties, our *International Committee on Art and*

Folklore, while not forgetting the scheme for an international exhibition, however remote this may have become.

IV

Fourth and last principle, or, rather, supreme aim : *Universality*.

Universality is something higher than internationality. By comparison with universality, internationality—or, if the term is preferred, internationalism—is merely a means to an end, and this end itself universality. Internationalism means, etymologically, relations and exchanges between nations; universality means a superior mental quality, a supreme form of culture. It is this culture and this spirit which must inspire the *élite* that has devoted itself to the service of intellectual co-operation and made that its life's work. The Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation is international. The work of international co-operation demands universality. “L'universalité d'esprit, par laquelle le sage jette sa vue et considération sur tout l'univers”, wrote old Charron in his *Traité de la sagesse*. Universality for us is the “vue et considération” of every form of thought and the whole diversity of cultures, the “vue et considération” of civilisation generally.

The base and the foundations of our edifice are national when we place ourselves at the service of States and cultivate the diversity of peoples. We are international within the body of this edifice when we take practical steps to develop relations and exchanges between nations by the methods and in the spirit of intellectual co-operation. We have reached the universal when we serve the life of mind itself “dans sa belle inutilité”, as our colleague Madariaga once declared at one of our meetings.

The “Conversations” are the “belle inutilité” in our work. And here is the use of this uselessness.

Intellectuals cannot be brought together solely for the practical work of co-ordination; nor can they be tied down each to his own special subject: they would find it too tedious. Mental effort cannot be thus divided into watertight compartments. We well remember how careful the International Committee was, from the outset, to point out all the dangers to which excessive specialisation would expose intellectual work and its future. Somewhere there must be a centre for the discussion of ideas. That is the first service rendered by the “Conversations”. The

second is that "Conversations" turn intellectual co-operation into an article of export, carry news of it beyond Geneva or Paris, bring it into touch with different intellectual centres. "Conversations" bring a change of air every year. Furthermore—and this is the third service they render—"Conversations" promote valuable friendships through which we renew our forces.

Lastly, being devoted to ideas and concerned with subjects selected on account of their topical and general interest, "Conversations" afford an opportunity of comparing the most diverse trends of opinion, and may thus lead to the discovery of common ground. In any event, through them we become better known, even if we are not always understood; and that is the greatest service they render.

It cannot be said that the "Conversations" already held have all been of the same value. After six years experience—the first "Conversation", on Goethe, was held in Frankfort in 1932—we need to define this mode of expression more clearly, to select subjects less wide and therefore less vague, to introduce a little order, and above all to see that there is some continuity in these "disputations", for so they would have been described in the thirteenth century—that golden age of "Conversations", as our colleague Huizinga reminded us.

The most interesting feature is that in this field too we are gaining experience similar to that gained in other fields. The system of "Conversations"—if one may use so material a term as "system" for so delicate a matter—tends to expand, to break its bounds. Indeed, "Conversations" are becoming more common, quite apart from our own. They are gradually making headway as a means of expression on the intellectual life of a world nameless as yet, a world that is feeling its way. As proof, we have the scientific "Conversation" on "New Theories of Modern Physics" at Warsaw in June. It is with pleasure that we include here the very successful mathematical "Conversations" sponsored by the Faculty of Science of the University of Geneva. The next one will deal with "The Bases and Method of Mathematical Science" and will be arranged by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in collaboration with the University of Geneva. Lastly, mention must be made of the "Conversation" very carefully prepared and well arranged by the Committee of International Student Organisations, on "University Education, its Aims and Methods". This "Conversation" was held in Luxemburg from May 22nd to 25th, and we hope it, too, will be followed by others. We attach particular importance to "Conversations"

of this kind because they bring us into touch with young people and with their thoughts and aspirations.

V

While dealing with these four principles, I venture to refer to a conviction borne in upon us in 1924, though at that time we saw no possibility of putting it into practice—that *in our work we should make use of the most modern means of disseminating information*. That is only another way of saying that it is our constant aim to follow the course of life from its source.

We first turned our attention to the cinematograph. We saw at once that it was a very valuable means of education and of promoting the cause of peace. We have tried to study it and to develop it on those lines. There was the work accomplished in this field by the International Educational Cinematographic Institute, which had its headquarters at Rome. Now that circumstances have led to the closing of the Institute, we are most anxious to make the best arrangements possible to ensure that the essentials, if not the details, of its work shall be carried on provisionally. That is the purport of our resolution on this subject. We are passing through an interim period, and we are anxious to avoid prejudicing the future in any way.

But we have a mission to fulfil. In 1936, the Assembly instructed us to consider by what methods and in what conditions modern means of spreading information could be utilised in the cause of peace. We must pursue our work on the cinematograph despite present difficulties. Hence the programme we recommended—co-ordination to be arranged or resumed, lists of educational and scientific films, problems connected with collections of films, intellectual rôle of the recreational cinematograph.

We are treating broadcasting in the same way as the cinematograph; that is to say, we regard it as an increasingly valuable means of education and of promoting the cause of peace. The Assembly instructed us to set up a Committee of Experts on broadcasting. The Committee laid down the main lines of a programme for collaboration first with our Organisation itself, then with the Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, and lastly with the national broadcasting companies. The Committee, whose chairman is M. Julien CAIN, has handed in its report.¹ This report contains proposals which we recommend

¹ See document A.19.1938.XII.

to the Assembly, as they seem to us to constitute a programme of work of the kind the Assembly expected of us, a programme which we believe will enable us to achieve the aim it set before us.

In conclusion, we intend to enter a field we have never really penetrated up to the present—music. The way is opened by a proposal from the Swiss Intellectual Co-operation Committee to the Conference of Representatives of National Committees.

We do not want, out of undue optimism or self-satisfaction, to exaggerate either the importance of our work or the progress achieved, despite highly unfavourable circumstances, during 1937-1938; nor are we working for ourselves. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is merely a method; and, like all methods, it has constantly to be adapted to new circumstances, even the most difficult—especially the most difficult, indeed. It would therefore be a fatal error to reduce intellectual effort to our own measure and to regard our work as an end in itself.

But, once more, we can confidently assert that our work is viable; our work is living. Despite all obstacles, it is making progress; and its influence is growing. This report is evidence of it.

That does not mean we have not had setbacks. Nor does it mean that all the results we have achieved are of equal importance—that everything we have produced is of equal value. By its very nature, an organisation such as ours runs two risks—the risk of adopting too wide a programme, and the risk of having inadequate means at its disposal. Hence a temptation to disperse efforts and to be too easily satisfied.

An organisation of this kind therefore needs revising from time to time. We have now reached the end of a stage. The first—the initial—stage of research and experiment led us from 1922 to the reform undertaken in 1929-1930. The second, the stage of effective work and progress—a period during which intellectual co-operation at last found its real mission and gradually spread throughout the world—brings us up to the present. At each of these stages, we attempted to adapt ourselves to an ever-changing world—from 1922, the post-war world, and, from 1929, a world passing through a period of depression. What are we to do now in a world more and more divided, more and more disturbed, a world in which peace is threatened daily?

Let us go on our way. But, in so doing, let us renew our strength, avoiding the fatal danger of becoming static. Let us go back to our principles, to those principles we have just

compared to roots, the first being to serve intellectual life in and for itself. We shall need to follow its fundamental principles more closely if we are to train ourselves to serve its purposes more faithfully. For intellectual effort needs space: it tends to rise above political contingencies and to maintain on, or restore to, a higher plane what politics have destroyed or divided.

In saying this, we are not issuing an indictment of politics: we simply look at history—contemporary history and past history as well. In saying this, we are giving expression to the spirit of the draft International Act to be studied next November by a diplomatic conference to which the French Government has been good enough to invite all States. In saying this, we are fully conscious that we are of the League of Nations and that our duty lies towards the League.

Our duty is to promote civilisation, order, peace, in the firm conviction that, while we are not responsible for the results, we are at least responsible for our own actions. Work on behalf of civilisation, order and peace proceeds along different lines, however, according to whether the start is made from the political or from the intellectual point of view. We are convinced that, by proving that our organisation is able to serve intellectual life, is able to hold its ground within the ideal setting of the League of Nations, we have, in difficult circumstances, done our best to fulfil our mission, and we hope to do even better in the future.

G. DE REYNOLD,
Vice-Chairman,
Rapporteur of the International Committee
on Intellectual Co-operation.

WORK OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE TEACHING OF THE PRINCIPLES AND FACTS OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

The Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation held its fifth session on July 6th and 7th, 1938, at Geneva.¹

In 1935, the Committee requested the International Education Bureau to collect from Ministries of Education documentation

¹ It consisted of the following :

Chairman :

Professor Gilbert MURRAY (British), Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

Members of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

M. J. CASTILLEJO (Spanish), Professor of the Institutions of Roman Law at the University of Madrid;

M. J. HUIZINGA (Dutch), Professor of History at the University of Leyden, President of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Science, Division of Letters.

Special Assessor :

Mrs. L. DREYFUS-BARNEY (American), Liaison Officer of the International Council of Women with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, permanent member of the Joint Committee of Major International Associations.

Assessors :

M. Miodrag IBROVAC (Yugoslav), Professor of French Literature at the University of Belgrade, Chairman of the Yugoslav National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Belgrade;

Dr. Waldo G. LELAND (American), Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington;

M. J. PIAGET (Swiss), Director of the International Education Bureau, Geneva;

Mr. J. O. ROACH, M.A. (British), Assistant Secretary of the Local Examinations Syndicate, Cambridge University;

M. Heinrich STRAUMANN (Swiss), Lecturer in English Literature at the University of Zurich and Professor of English at the College of Aarau;

M. L. P. THOMAS (Belgian), Director of the Royal Academy of French Literature, Brussels;

M. André TIBAL (French), Professor of German Language and Literature; Lecturer at the Sorbonne;

M. C. S. TRONSEGAARD (Danish), Assistant to the Inspectorate-General of Colleges, Ministry of Education, Copenhagen;

M. Otakar VOCADLO (Czech), Professor of English Language and Literature at the Komensky University, Bratislava.

concerning the teaching of modern languages as a means of promoting mutual understanding between nations. The International Education Bureau, which had at that time also undertaken a general investigation into the teaching of modern languages, agreed to extend the scope of its enquiry in order to comply with the Advisory Committee's request. The Committee was therefore anxious to hear a statement on the results of that enquiry by Professor Jean PIAGET, Director of the International Education Bureau, before discussing the various items on its agenda.¹

Professor Piaget's account of the existing situation in a large number of countries added usefully to the information at the Committee's disposal.

The Committee then proceeded to discuss the various items on its agenda. The main tendencies which appeared, and certain conclusions reached as a result of the discussions, are summarised below.—[*Editor's Note.*]

Importance of Classical Languages.

The Committee unanimously recognised that the classics, and Latin in particular, were an essential factor in all teaching designed to impart to the rising generation a knowledge of the common elements of a vast cultural heritage.

The Committee, while noting that the introduction of modern languages into educational curricula had resulted in a broader conception of the humanities, was strongly of opinion that instruction in the classics could not thereby be replaced. It considered, however, that such instruction should be planned in such a way as to furnish pupils and students, not only with linguistic knowledge, but also with information regarding ancient civilisations.

The Study of Modern Languages in Relation to the Study of the Mother Tongue.

The Committee supported the views expressed by several of its members to the effect that the teaching of foreign languages could not in any way interfere with the teaching of the national language and literature.

The mother tongue is the most direct means of expressing thought. Mastery over one's mother tongue is therefore an

¹ This *exposé* will be found on page 206 *et seq.*

essential condition for acquiring a thorough knowledge of a foreign language.

At the same time, the study of modern languages, by the comparisons to which it gives rise, is of use in adding to one's knowledge of one's mother tongue.

The Committee noted that the idea of a modern culture based on a comparison between the mother tongue and foreign languages had been put forward in connection with the training of teachers. The Committee was informed of the scheme in France to provide for a combined examination in French and another modern language (a so-called "Franco-modern" examination) which would enable modern-language teachers to take sole charge of instruction in the two cultures.

Choice of Foreign Languages.

The Committee noted that the factors which helped to determine the choice of the foreign languages to be studied were extremely variable. The relations between different countries, economic and political conditions, cultural traditions and affinities, and even fashion, all had a bearing on the matter.

The Committee recognised that, in general, an adequate place was reserved in higher education in many countries for widely used languages.

Further, it drew attention to the value of making provision in secondary schools for the optional study of languages in wide-spread use, which were not obligatory in the curriculum.

The Committee was of the opinion that facilities might usefully be offered in each country to a limited number of nationals to enable them to acquire a knowledge of languages which were not often taught, or were not widely used. They would thus be in a position to make known the national culture of the peoples who spoke such languages.

In this connection, the Committee was interested in hearing an account of what had been done in the United States to give small groups of students and adults an adequate knowledge of languages which did not form part of the curriculum, but were of educational or practical interest to that country.

Aims of the Teaching of Modern Languages.

The Committee unanimously recognised that the teaching of modern languages should aim at introducing the rising generation to the special genius of other peoples. The spirit and inner life

of a nation are revealed in its language. Such teaching can therefore not be purely utilitarian in character. Attempts to put pupils and students in touch with the everyday aspects of the contemporary life of the people whose language they are studying should be accompanied by a study of the manifestations of its national life illustrating the finest aspects of its civilisation.

Higher Education : Training of Secondary-school Teachers.

The problem of the training of teachers was considered. The discussion turned more particularly on the place which should be given to instruction concerning foreign civilisations in connection with the teaching of modern languages. The Committee stressed the importance of a close connection between the teaching of the language itself and that of kindred subjects (history, geography, political economy, etc.), which also dealt with the civilisation and institutions of other countries. Attention was drawn to the disadvantages of too definite a division of higher education into separate compartments. The Committee also noted that the extension of instruction concerning foreign civilisations, in courses for future modern-language teachers, might result in overlapping and encroachment on allied subjects.

The Committee recognised that it would be a mistake to apply too rigid rules, but agreed that there should be a reasonable compromise between the provision in modern-language courses of instruction in such subjects and instruction in other subjects.

Teaching in Secondary Schools.

The Committee discussed what form instruction concerning foreign civilisations should be take in modern-language courses.

It came to the conclusion that modern-language teachers should confine themselves to studying foreign countries through the language, in particular by making their pupils familiar, through their vocabulary, with the actual life of the country concerned. Such studies might be supplemented by a careful choice of texts giving accounts of those aspects of foreign civilisations which had not been studied in detail.

Liaison Rôle of Lecturers and Assistants.

The position and duties assigned in higher education to assistants and lecturers belonging to the country of which the language is being studied were also discussed. The Committee

noted the dual rôle which such persons are called upon to play in the task of promoting better understanding between nations. On the one hand, they help to interpret the life and spirit of their own country abroad; on the other hand, when they return to their own country, they are in a position to help their compatriots to become better acquainted with the civilisation of the country whose guests they have been. The Committee was interested to note that former lecturers belonging to a country with a widely used language often became the best interpreters of countries with a less widely used language.

Necessity of Periods of Residence abroad.

With regard to the residence abroad of future modern-language teachers, the Committee unanimously recognised the value of facilitating such periods of residence and of making them obligatory. It appeared, however, that visits to foreign countries were at present rendered difficult by existing economic conditions. The Committee was of the opinion that those conditions and their results formed part of the problem of "obstacles to intellectual exchanges between different countries", which is already being studied by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

Additional Means of teaching Modern Languages.

Choice of Textbooks.

The Committee unanimously recognised the importance of a careful selection of textbooks. The latter should combine a choice of passages from well known writers with accounts of the various aspects of the life of the country whose language is being studied.

With that object in view, the Committee recommended that modern-language-teachers' associations should exchange information regarding the books they consider suitable.

The Cinema.

The Committee took note with interest of the preliminary study published by the British Film Institute on the teaching of modern languages by means of films. It also heard an account of experiments in that connection in Czechoslovakia with regard to the teaching of English.

The attention of the Committee was drawn to the educational advantages of combining pictures with sounds in teaching foreign

languages to children in infant schools and the lower classes of elementary schools.

In the absence of suitable sound films, the value of documentary films about the country whose language is being taught, accompanied by a commentary in that language, was pointed out to the Committee.

The Committee noted that the enquiry undertaken by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation into international problems connected with the cinema would provide useful information regarding the teaching of modern languages through films.

Broadcasting.

The Committee noted that in a large number of countries the wireless is being used in teaching modern languages. It heard accounts of various experiments carried out in different countries, and in particular of the progress made in this respect in France.

The Committee recognised that special broadcasts for modern-language classes might be of great assistance, provided that they did not encroach on the main functions of the teacher.

The Committee adopted the recommendations of the Third Congress of the International Federation of Modern Language Teachers' Associations concerning the equipment of special classrooms for the reception of wireless transmissions, and the value of broadcast exchanges for students between the countries whose languages are being studied.

The Gramophone.

The Committee unanimously recognised that gramophone records might also be a useful additional means of enabling students to hear foreign languages spoken correctly.

It noted that the use of gramophone records had been largely discussed, and that efforts had been made in various countries to examine and choose appropriate records, to establish gramophone records depositories, and to issue catalogues. •

Collections of Books and Periodicals for the Use of Pupils.

The Committee stressed the importance of establishing special libraries and carefully chosen collections of periodicals, illustrated papers and newspapers. Such collections might be of great assistance to teachers, and offered a useful means of applying the practical method of teaching.

Special Classrooms : Theatre, Folklore, Music.

The Committee expressed its appreciation of the various practical methods of teaching modern languages. It considered that the value of such teaching was enhanced if it was given in special classrooms where an attempt was made to evoke by illustrations, photographs, wall-pictures and collections of objects, the atmosphere of the country of the language studied.

It also noted the value of theatrical performances, music and folklore.

International School Correspondence.

The Committee noted that international school correspondence occupied a place of primary importance among the various activities connected with the teaching of modern languages so as to promote international understanding.

It considered, however, that there would be no purpose in its discussing the technical aspects of this system of exchanges between pupils in different countries, particularly in view of the fact that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was already dealing with the question and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was acting as permanent secretariat of the International School Correspondence Organisation.

Instruction outside the School : Adult Education, Popular Workers' Universities, etc.

The Committee noted that the general problems of adult education were already being studied by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, and thought attention should be drawn to the interesting experiments carried out in this sphere in various countries, in particular in the United States.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND PROPOSALS

The Committee submits to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation the following recommendations and proposals :

I

The Advisory Committee, having considered a proposal that students of certain universities should be encouraged to specialise in the study of less widely used modern languages,

Recognised the value of facilitating in this way the establishment of groups which could subsequently ensure intellectual

relations and exchanges between their own country and the country whose language they have studied :

Requests the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to bring this suggestion to the attention of the International Federation of Modern Language Teachers, and to mention it in the report to the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations.

The Committee also hopes that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will draw attention to the value of a more general adoption in the curriculum of secondary schools, in addition to languages the teaching of which is compulsory, of other widely used languages, instruction in which would be optional.

II

Having recognised the importance of placing at the disposal of secondary-school pupils not only textbooks, but also anthologies of works of the country whose language they are studying and of monographs on that country, periodicals, etc.;

The Committee proposes to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, that the attention of the International Federation of Modern Language Teachers should be drawn to this point, so that it may urge its national groups to exchange regularly information regarding works which best meet these desiderata.

III

The Committee trusts that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will endeavour by the most appropriate means to draw the attention either of Governments or of specialised groups to the importance of travel and residence abroad for secondary-school teachers, students and pupils desirous of perfecting their knowledge of the countries whose language they are studying.

As regards the residence of future teachers in the country whose language they are preparing to teach, the Committee considered that this should, as far as possible, be made compulsory.

The economic or other obstacles which at present stand in the way of such journeys or exchanges might usefully be studied by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

IV

The Advisory Committee noted with interest certain recommendations adopted by the Third Congress of the International

Federation of Modern Language Teachers, transmitted to it by the Committee for International Affairs of that organisation.

It requests the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to recommend the fitting-up in secondary schools of a room for broadcast talks. A competent organisation should publish a list of the necessary apparatus.

The Committee also urges the importance :

Of an agreement between the competent organisations for the purpose of notifying modern-language teachers beforehand of the visit of any distinguished person who might be willing to give talks to their pupils;

Of time-tables being arranged in such a way as to enable such talks to be organised at any time;

Of an agreement between the organisations responsible for school broadcasts in the various countries, with a view to the exchange of broadcasts between different countries.

V

The Advisory Committee also noted with interest certain recommendations of the Sixth International Conference on Education, dealing with the teaching of modern languages.

It draws the attention of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to the interest displayed during the discussions, in certain practical methods of teaching modern languages—namely :

(a) The use of specially arranged classrooms with books, reviews and other material—maps, pictures, objects, etc.—connected with the country whose language is being studied;

(b) The use of special methods, such as theatrical performances, songs, discussions in foreign languages, etc., with the object of giving pupils ample scope for work undertaken on their own initiative.

The Committee requests the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to bring these views to the notice of the International Federation of Modern Language Teachers.

VI

The Committee,

Taking into consideration the fact that the study of modern languages and contemporary civilisations, by reason of the comparisons which it induces with the pupils' own language and

civilisation, represents a most useful means of improving their knowledge of the latter;

Draws the attention of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to the importance, in the training and activities of secondary-school teachers of modern languages, of encouraging the teaching of modern humanities in such a way as to combine the foreign and the national elements.

**THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES
AS A MEANS OF PROMOTING
MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN NATIONS**

A great number of teachers' associations of various countries have generously co-operated with the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation. The valuable information they have contributed has been most helpful in supplementing the reports submitted by the experts invited to participate in the Committee's work. For the convenience of the readers of the *Bulletin*, this information has been classified according to countries.¹ [*Editor's Note.*]

¹ The following have made a contribution :

Belgium :

M. CLOSSET, Association des Professeurs de langues vivantes de Belgique;
M. NIZET, Syndicat des Ecoles moyennes officielles de Belgique.

Bulgaria :

Professor E. BELDEDOV, former Chairman of the Educational Council at the Ministry of Public Education.

Czechoslovakia :

Professor O. VOCADLO.

Denmark :

M. C. S. TRONSEGAARD, Ministry of Public Education.

England :

Mr. J. O. ROACH, Cambridge;
Modern Language Association;
Central Council for School Broadcasting;
British Film Institute.

France :

Professeur André TIBAL;
M. Ch. GARNIER, Inspecteur honoraire de l'Education nationale;
Association des Professeurs de langues vivantes de l'Enseignement public;
Office national des universités et écoles françaises.

Hungary :

Hungarian Association of Secondary-school Teachers and of Teachers of Modern Languages.

Netherlands :

Vereeniging van Leerares bij het Chr. Middelbaar Onderwijs.

It is only quite recently, and after much opposition, that the teaching of modern languages has acquired an important place in education. Whereas the classical humanities aimed at giving the rising generation an education based on the common elements of the cultural heritage of the West, the object of the modern humanities is to impart a culture based on the very diversity of the various national cultures.

The modern humanities acquire special significance at a period when national cultures tend to look inwards rather than outwards, and when mutual understanding between nations consequently becomes more difficult than ever. The modern humanities constitute a unique means of contributing to a form of international equilibrium in which a lively appreciation of original national characteristics would be set off by the no less definite traditions which nations possess in common.

In the discussions which have taken place in various countries on the teaching of modern languages, prominence has been given, not only to the question of the part to be played by such teaching as compared with that of the classics, but also of its relationship to instruction in the mother-tongue. The idea of a modern culture based on a comparison between the mother-tongue and foreign languages has been put forward in various countries, and it has even been asked, in connection with the training of teachers, whether language teachers should not give instruction in their own language at the same time as in a foreign language, and whether the national literature and civilisation should not be interpreted with reference to a foreign literature and civilisation.

Norway :

Filologenes og realistenes Landsforening.

Scotland :

Educational Institute of Scotland.

Sweden :

Läroverklärarnas Riksförbund.

Switzerland :

Professor H. STRAUMANN;

Professor W. WIDMER;

Schweizerischer Romanistenverband.

Yugoslavia :

Professor M. IBROVAC;

Association of Yugoslav Teachers;

Association of Teachers of Modern Languages and Literature,
Belgrade.

The International Federation of Teachers of Modern Languages.

The International Federation of Secondary-school Teachers.

In several countries, attention has been drawn to the imperfect way in which young graduates speak and write their own language, and it has been pointed out that a way of solving the difficulty would be to associate modern-language teachers in a task which is of primary importance in public education since its aim is to give to children a feeling of respect for their own tongue.

At a period of which one of the most outstanding features is the increase in exchanges of every kind between different countries, a knowledge of foreign languages has become essential, and its practical value is recognised in all school programmes.

From the educational point of view, the study of modern languages is a general cultural subject affording useful comparisons with the mother-tongue. It introduces students to new linguistic and philological ideas and contributes to their literary and æsthetic education.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was, however, specially interested in a third aspect. In a large number of countries, the teaching of modern languages tends increasingly to be directed, not only at making students familiar with the pronunciation, grammar and syntax of another language, but at enabling them to understand the life and civilisation of the country whose language they are studying. If instruction is given with that object in view, and particularly if it is completed by a visit to the country concerned, it may help to make the younger generation aware of the existence and peculiar genius of other national civilisations, and enable it to understand problems connected with the interdependence of the modern world.

This slow change in the general trend of the study of modern languages is perhaps most marked in countries with languages which are not widely used and where the need for cultural exchanges with countries with a widely used language is most keenly felt. The new trend is, however, evident in other countries also.

TRENDS IN THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES

In order to supplement the enquiry conducted by the International Bureau of Education, various experts, as well as associations of teachers of the secondary grade and specialised institutions, have been consulted for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent the study of modern languages as foreseen in the secondary-school curriculum is conceived with a view to spreading among

the younger generation a knowledge of the contemporary civilisation of foreign countries (literature, social and intellectual life, customs and habits).

In *Belgium*, school programmes and instructions dealing with the study of modern languages provide for the study of civilisation, of history, and of the folklore of the countries whose language is to be studied.

In *Bulgaria*, the study of the great literary works of the foreign language taught in schools is one of the aims of modern-language teaching. For this purpose, textbooks adopted in Bulgaria contain selections dealing with the literature, geography, history and political economy of the countries whose language is being studied.

In *Czechoslovakia*, according to the scheme regulating instruction at Czechoslovak secondary schools, the study of foreign countries and their civilisations is provided for in connection with the teaching of modern languages. It is an important part of the higher grade teaching—*i.e.*, after two years of preliminary study of the language.

In this respect, the teaching of three languages has to be considered: German, French and English.

German has a privileged position in Czech (and Slovak) schools, being taught during the whole course of study—*i.e.*, eight years in classical (*Gymnasium*) and semi-classical (*Real Gymnasium*) and seven years in the modern (*Real*) schools. The time that is allotted to it and the proximity of the German-speaking areas makes it easy for the students, not only to acquaint themselves with the everyday language, but also with German life and ways at close range. Exchanges of students between Czech and German families are a long-standing tradition in Bohemia. The educational value of German literature is less obvious than the great importance of a practical command of the language for business men and civil servants in Central Europe.

In the case of both French and English, however, it is the literature and the study of the cultural background and the democratic traditions and institutions that are of greatest educational value. Since these two languages (English with some regrettable further restrictions) are given only half the time that is allowed to German, and out of this time only two years are available for the study of literature and civilisation, we shall mainly confine our attention to the problems involved in their study.

Textbooks are used which, apart from specimens of literature both classic and modern, also contain articles on social and economic conditions in the country concerned. Besides, annotated editions of standard authors are read in class or lent to advanced students for home study. Reading of topical news in foreign periodicals brings zest and interest to the routine work. Special school periodicals (such as *Le Petit Journal* of Prague and *Le Courrier tchécoslovaque* of Brno) contain a selection of articles on recent events as well as descriptions of the country, etc.

From time to time, French or English lecturers are invited to give literary lectures and narratives or interesting and easy talks on aspects of intellectual life in their countries. Whenever possible, the pupils are encouraged or taken to see foreign educational films.

In *Denmark*, a formal text of the law provides that students shall receive instruction in the history of general civilisation and be introduced to the social and geographical conditions of the countries whose language is taught. Besides classical texts, modern texts are being read, selected with a view to making known to pupils the intellectual and material aspects of the German, English and French civilisation.

In *England*, the choice of texts for reading in the middle forms of secondary schools, where the ages of the children range from 11 to 16, is left largely in the hands of the schools themselves, and there are no officially prescribed books at this, or indeed at any other, stage. The practice therefore varies a good deal from school to school; but it may be said that the courses followed in the first two years deal mainly with subject matter calculated to impart information about the country concerned in as simple and as attractive a way as possible. In the succeeding three years, a large number of texts are available dealing with life and manners in the foreign country, but it cannot be said that such texts are very widely used. In many cases, the choice of a text may be made mainly on account of its immediate interest (*e.g.*, novels), linguistic utility or literary value rather than for its bearing on contemporary life. Some of the texts designed to impart a knowledge of foreign civilisations tend to be mere compilations of facts and to be uninteresting to read. It should, however, be possible to select from the material available a number of texts for use at this stage which would promote a better understanding of the country whose language is studied.

At the sixth-form stage, where the ages of the pupils range from 16 to 18 or 19, the curriculum is largely determined by the higher school certificate syllabuses. The prescribed courses of reading vary largely from one examining body to another. Some of them still prescribe for detailed study either of two periods: in French, the classical or the romantic period; and in German, either (roughly) 1750-1800 or 1800-1850. But the lists of books for general reading of the examining bodies have of late years included historical material and a number of more modern works typical of the foreign civilisation studied, and there are indications that, in place of the study of a prescribed period, a wide choice of books, including modern books on political economy, history, geography and the arts are now allowed by some bodies. In some large schools, where numbers in the sixth form and the standard of staffing permit, special courses are conducted for boys and girls not taking the higher school certificate examination. These courses include one or more modern languages, which are studied with a view to familiarising the pupils with contemporary life and thought, and not as a preparation for the more literary university courses.

In *France*, the study of modern languages in secondary schools is conceived with the definite object of imparting a knowledge of contemporary civilisation.

Both the authors and the civilisation subjects prescribed in the curriculum for the *baccalauréat* (school-leaving certificate) bear witness to the desire that instruction should aim at giving pupils a knowledge of all the main features of the present-day life of the countries whose language is being taught. In that respect, the modern-language curriculum completes the history curriculum and aims at the same object—namely, to reveal the culture and civilisation of the various countries, not only as reflected more or less haphazard in literary works, but as illustrated by folklore institutions, festivals, costumes, the plastic arts, music, etc.

The above statement is borne out by the secondary-schools curriculum for the years 1923 to 1925, and the ministerial instructions regarding its application. (Other instructions are in course of preparation, and will doubtless be issued towards the end of 1938; they will stress the point still further, as there is a very definite movement in that direction which is gaining in strength and scope.)

The principle followed by secondary-school teachers, particularly the younger ones who have been trained since the war

(let us say those under 40, without necessarily excluding a number of older ones), is that to teach a foreign language "is to teach the whole country. Is not to teach English, for instance, to teach, ceaselessly and at every turn, everything to do with England—but also the history, geography, economic system, literature, philosophy and art of England? Though such instruction may perhaps not be given in any definite form, such as lessons or lectures, it should be imparted in connection with every text, task or commentary." (M. Vettier, President of the Association française des professeurs de langues vivantes.)

In *Hungary*, from the end of the first year, the passages read include extracts from the literature of the country whose language is being taught, while, during the second year, the history of the foreign literature in question is studied with the help of skilfully chosen textbooks.

In the new curricula which are being prepared and will come into force during the school year 1939/40, more stress is placed on the practical side: economics, geography, habits and customs.

In *Norway*, the knowledge of the respective countries naturally varies according to the number of years devoted to the teaching of the languages of those countries.

The Norwegian student has a superficial knowledge of French and France, while most of the students, and even pupils in intermediate schools, have a good knowledge of Germany and England and those who have taken the full course of English history are usually thoroughly acquainted with English literature, social and intellectual life, habits and customs.

The textbooks used testify to a real desire to give the pupils clear and definite notions with regard to the occupations and crafts of foreign nations (fisheries, marine, lighting of coasts, mining, industry, commerce, sports, etc.).

In *Scotland*, since inspectors and teachers of modern languages in secondary schools have all had lengthy residence abroad, they are naturally at pains to impart a knowledge of the contemporary civilisation of France, Germany, etc., to their pupils. This teaching is given during lessons on the life and habits of the "foreigner", which are rather less formal than the ordinary lessons, or in the form of recreational talks. Furthermore, the Scottish Education Department encourages schools to employ Germans or Frenchmen as student-teachers, which enables the pupils to come into intimate contact with foreigners.

The regulations relating to secondary education in *Sweden* provide that the teaching of modern languages shall comprise the study of at least one classical work. Naturally, the results obtained depend entirely on the interest shown by the teacher in his subject, his spirit of initiative and his knowledge. The textbooks used in Swedish colleges are generally of some literary value.

In *Switzerland*, the choice of appropriate reading material is left either to the teacher himself or to the school. Various study outlines stress the importance of selecting texts with a view to making better known the spiritual and intellectual life of other countries.

In *Yugoslavia*, great importance is attached in the curriculum in secondary schools to the fact that the teaching of modern languages should aim at giving the pupils "a real mastery of the language they are studying—namely, the capacity to understand and speak it so that they may become familiar with the spirit and civilisation of the nation whose language it is".

Beginning with the fourth year of French studies, for instance, the curriculum prescribes descriptions of Paris, of France and of life in France, and accounts of French history and civilisation.

The literary texts are accompanied by notes on French writers. August Dorchain's "Cent meilleurs poèmes de la langue française" are read and learnt by heart in all the higher classes. The pupils learn to sing the Marseillaise in their third year. The reading for the sixth year includes "Paul et Virginie" by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, "Le Petit Chose" by Daudet, a book by Jules Verne, "La Mare au Diable" or "La Petite Fadette" by George Sand, "Colomba" by Mérimée, "L'Ami Fritz" by Erckmann-Chatrion, "L'Abbé Constantin" by Halévy and Voltaire's "Histoire de Charles XII". That of the seventh year includes Victor Hugo ("Hernani"), Augier ("Le Gendre de M. Poirier"), Sandeau ("M^{lle} de la Seiglière"), Daudet ("Tartarin de Tarascon" and "Lettres de mon Moulin"), Anatole France ("Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard"), Erckmann-Chatrion ("Histoire d'un conscrit"), Sarcy ("Le Siège de Paris"), Maupassant (selected tales), and Seignobos ("Histoire de la civilisation contemporaine"). In the eighth and final year, the classical authors are read: Molière, Corneille ("Le Cid"), Racine ("Britannicus"), La Fontaine and Rousseau.

The main periods in the history of French literature are taught through the texts. A new book is taken in class every month

and the pupils are left to finish the previous one at home.

Teachers are recommended to hang pictures in the classrooms showing French landscapes and scenes from French life, to supply the school libraries with children's magazines (fifth and sixth years) and illustrated newspapers (seventh and eighth years), and to encourage and give advice regarding the purchase of French books for the private library of each pupil, however modest the latter's means may be.

The performance of scenes or short plays is also recommended as a means of stimulating the children's interest in their work.

These excellent recommendations cannot, of course, always be carried out, owing to lack of funds. They show, however, the spirit in which school programmes in Yugoslavia are planned.

TEACHING METHODS

Experts and various specialised organisations were also requested to point out which methods have proved to be particularly helpful in this respect.

In *Belgium*, the curriculum in the upper stages of secondary education (atheneae, *lycées* and colleges) provides, to a certain extent, for the study of modern languages with special attention to knowledge of the countries concerned and of their civilisation.

Thus, under the heading, "English as a Second Language" (ancient and modern humanities), the following items are included in the curricula of the third and fourth forms :

Vocabulary and phraseology : daily life in England; idiomatic expressions; exercises (chiefly *viva voce*); practice under guidance.

Elocution : language exercises, in conjunction with studies of the vocabulary and comments on texts.

The curriculum for the second and first forms includes, under the same heading :

Vocabulary and phraseology : the British Empire; idiomatic expressions; proverbs and sayings; practice under guidance.

Texts to be read with a commentary are as a rule taken from the best English authors and from good writers readily understood by young people, such as Swift, Carroll, Irving, Lamb, Barrie, etc., for the fourth and third forms; Stevenson, Eliot, Galsworthy, Barrie and Dickens for the second form;

Shakespeare, Sheridan, Shaw, Charlotte Bronte and Conrad for the first form.

Pupils from the fourth form onwards are given a "reader", and from the third form onwards an anthology.

Up to the second form inclusive, the teaching of foreign literature remains incidental. In the first form, however, the curriculum includes reading designed to impart some knowledge of the literature as a coherent whole, and, accordingly, capable of use as a basis for an outline of the history of English literature reduced to its salient features.

Readings with explanations : Analyses of passages taken from the chief prose- and verse-writers, including the Elizabethan period; brief biographies of the selected authors.

The teacher is asked to include a broad outline of the growth of English literature from the Elizabethan age to the present day. He confines himself to essentials, and describes briefly the characteristics of the leading authors.

As regards "German as a Second Language", the curriculum is in the main similar to that for English. In one or two respects, it is, however, more definite.

Thus, in the third and second forms, teachers are expressly instructed to select writings which will enable them to impart a knowledge of German life in its more characteristic aspects. In the second form, the teacher is also instructed to give pupils information about the country, its industrial, commercial and colonial achievements and its more important institutions.

As the facts above indicate, the curriculum of intermediate teaching in Belgium allows some place to the characteristic features of the daily life and civilisation of those foreign countries whose languages are taught.

At the same time, this aspect of teaching is not yet established on its own wide basis; it appears under particular items, and not as a general systematic subject in the teaching programme. The following facts emerge :

1. The information in question is imparted in the course of the acquisition of a vocabulary by the pupils, and it is only incidentally that the teacher is urged to select writings designed to teach the pupils something of the foreign civilisation in question. It follows that the objects with which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is at present concerned are not fully met.

At the same time, it will be found that the lists of books suitable for reading with commentaries are given by way of example, and are in no way exclusive.

2. Despite the occasional tendency to which we refer above, the curriculum includes no single work specifically intended, in pursuance of a settled scheme, to impart knowledge of the national life of a given country.

3. It will be noticed that, in Belgium, even in the departments of modern humanities and commerce, English and German are the only modern foreign languages included in the programme of official secondary teaching. Voluntary Spanish classes have, however, been introduced in a number of atheneae and *lycées*. Spanish and Italian are also included in the curricula of the commercial and consular schools.

The limitations of language teaching in Belgium and the small number of languages taught, are in part due to the importance of the second national language (Flemish or French, as the case may be), and to the consequent fear that an already heavy programme of work might be still further loaded, to the detriment of the pupils. The fact nevertheless remains that these limitations result in a regrettable lack of equilibrium. In particular, insufficient attention, if any, is given to the wide field of life and civilisation in the Spanish-American continent, while, as regards English, the United States is left completely outside the field which, in the legislators' formal view, should be covered by the teaching programme.

In *Bulgaria*, in teaching foreign languages, the direct or "intuitive" method is used—that is to say, they are taught by word and conversation. In some of the secondary schools, geographical, literary and psychological questions are explained and then discussed in the language that is being taught. The pupils are given textbooks containing extracts from the literature, history and geography of the country whose language is being studied. The strict direct method is used in the third form of the pro-gymnasium and the fourth and fifth forms of the gymnasium, while, in the three highest forms, the mixed method is employed.

In *Czechoslovakia*, it is thought that the method offering the best results could only be found out by statistical evidence collected from the teachers, which is still lacking. But it seems that educational films accompanied by appropriate explanations are easily the most attractive form of imparting useful knowledge

to young students. Exchange of correspondence with colleagues abroad has also proved stimulating.

In *Denmark*, as far as possible, the teaching is in the language studied, especially in the case of English and German, which are the languages most akin to Danish. The principle of teaching in the language studied is the rule during the last three years, except in the case of poetry or difficult prose texts which require critical analysis.

In *England*, the most successful method is that which aims at providing as much material as possible to exercise the pupil's powers of expression, both orally and in writing. Thus the early stages are occupied in acquiring and using an active vocabulary of common things. This vocabulary is gradually widened by reading and is used mainly as a vehicle for expressing the pupil's ideas in the language. Side by side with the acquisition of vocabulary, the facts of accidence and syntax are mastered in strict sequence and carefully revised. In short, free composition and not translation is the main business of the course, and the foreign language is made the language of the classroom. The weight laid by bodies conducting the school certificate examination on translation, both from and into the foreign language, results in many schools being inclined to spend too much of their time on these exercises, though it is not generally realised that a method largely based on free composition is not antagonistic to good translation if strict grammatical accuracy is insisted on from the start.

In practice, the direct method (with certain modifications) is generally employed, with the help of other procedures—*e.g.*, dramatic representations, school journeys, music and singing, etc.

In *France*, the direct method, even when employed in conjunction with other methods, has certainly been found particularly helpful. Photographs of sites and types of representative people are used, as are also paintings and objects of documentary or artistic interest. New discoveries, such as the wireless, the pick-up, the silent film and the sound film are also employed.

The direct method was introduced in the teaching of modern languages in 1902. It obviously aimed to a greater extent than the earlier method at placing pupils in contact with the life of foreign countries; it was also better suited for the purpose. To start with, however, it was somewhat overdone. After the war, it was generally agreed that it was advisable to use a modified

form of the direct method which, while still assigning an important rôle to intuition and conversation, also paid attention to instruction in grammar, given if necessary in the pupil's mother tongue.

The whole question, together with other related problems, was discussed at length in 1937 in Paris, at the international congress organised by the International Federation of Teachers of Modern Languages. The French delegates agreed that their present method, which leaves considerable room for individual initiative, fulfilled the essential requirements of modern-language teaching, which has three main objects, as follows : (1) a practical object; (2) a cultural object : the understanding of the life and character of the foreign nation whose language is being studied; (3) an educational object : to develop the child's own qualities and to enable him, through comparison between his own national values and those of the foreign nation, to acquire a better understanding^g both of himself and of others.

The method used in *Hungary* holds the balance between what has been called the grammatical method and the direct method. Lessons always begin with the reading of a short passage for conversation, followed by grammatical analysis. In this way, a systematic knowledge of the whole grammar of the language is acquired. In the upper forms, passages are studied containing information on the civilisation of the country whose language is being taught, and films, post cards and the gramophone are also used.

In *Norway*, teachers are strongly in favour of the direct method, which is employed by and recommended to all Norwegian teachers of modern languages.

In the *Netherlands*, each teacher endeavours to add vividness to his lessons by examples taken from the manifold aspects of life in the foreign country in question. In the lower forms, these examples relate mainly to habits and customs, and, in the higher forms, to political, religious and literary questions.

In *Sweden*, books such as Cohen-Portheim's "England, the Unknown Isle", Carr's "The French at Home" and Sieburg's "Dieu est-il Français?" are recommended.

In *Switzerland*, it is generally considered that the most effective way of giving the pupils some knowledge of a foreign civilisation is to develop the greatest possible mastery of the foreign

language. For this purpose, writers belonging to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are, of late, given prominence in reading exercises.

In *Yugoslavia*, the direct method has been found to be most helpful, provided that sufficient importance is attached to the teaching of grammar.

The best results have been obtained by this method, in which each pupil plays an individual part. It appeals to the eye and the ear by means of pictures, wall charts, maps, songs, gramophone recitals and reading in chorus. Advantage is taken of the visits of actors to organise recitals which are recommended by the Ministry of National Education.

EXCHANGES AND STAYS ABROAD

Information was also received as to the measures applied in order to facilitate the exchange of teachers and pupils travelling abroad.

In *Belgium*, steps have been taken to a steadily increasing extent in recent years to promote the exchange of teachers and pupils and to stimulate foreign travel generally.

Mention may be made, for example, of the work of the Belgian League of Nations Society, the holiday courses organised in Great Britain, the Netherlands and Belgium, various organised excursions, which are often combined with folk-lore displays, receptions of groups of foreigners in Belgium, Belgian and Luxembourg school trips, exchanges between schools and the Boy Scout movement. There are also many pupils who travel alone with the help of youth hostels, and exchanges of young people take place between families in different countries.

Taken as a whole, these activities have resulted in many varied contacts and in a considerable movement of young people from country to country.¹ The result for Belgium has been to lay the foundation of a deeper understanding of foreign nations, achieved both by personal contacts and by learning foreign languages.

It cannot, however, be denied that most of these movements and brief contacts amount to nothing more than a tentative first step towards a much more distant goal. Real and lasting results will only be obtained when it becomes possible to organise lengthy visits to foreign countries for large numbers of young people.

Up to the present, the results achieved are too limited to be viewed with complacency. In this respect, Belgium is in an inferior position as compared with larger countries which possess important institutes abroad. Such establishments, of which the various French institutes are outstanding examples, enable nationals to acquire a knowledge of foreign languages and civilisations and to make their own form of culture known abroad to an extent which is beyond the reach of this country.

It is well worth mentioning that, in recent years, scholarships have been set up in various countries in order to enable students as well as young professors to follow during one or several terms courses in foreign universities.

Such scholarships have been set up particularly in Poland, Italy, Ireland, Portugal, Czechoslovakia. For some time past, Belgian students were entitled to be the guests of the "Ecole normale" in Paris. Every year, Belgian students and professors avail themselves of these provisions and are therefore in a position which can be described as first-rate for the purpose considered. In several cases, the Belgian Government has taken measures of reciprocity, and thereby useful exchanges have been promoted.

So far, no measure has been taken to facilitate the exchange of teachers of secondary schools. Too many of the latter teach a language without having lived in the country where it is spoken. International school correspondence and the exchange of pupils are carried on by private institutions under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Education. The following can be given as instances in this connection: the Belgium-Luxemburg Bureau for Tourism and the Belgian Bureau for Correspondence among, and the exchange of, students. So far, the Ministry's support to the latter organisation has been purely moral. The former has organised trips abroad covering a few days and visits of foreign students to Belgium. The Belgian Bureau works to promote the exchange of pupils speaking different languages during three, four or five weeks.

The School Visits Committee, which is not a profit-making concern and is under the patronage of the Education Department, organises group visits to foreign countries. The Belgian Office also undertakes the organisation of school correspondence, the individual exchange of pupils and the placing of pupils and teachers as paying guests abroad, as also the organisation in Belgium and foreign countries of holiday courses in modern languages for secondary-school pupils.

Pupils from the principal countries do not come to *Bulgaria*, but Bulgaria desires exchanges. The international school correspondence is at present the only means available for Bulgarian pupils and the same applies to teachers. Nevertheless, exchanges are effected with teachers from the Slav countries—Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc. During the holidays, the Ministry of Education sends groups of teachers to take modern-language courses in foreign universities, but that is not sufficient.

In *Czechoslovakia*, the exchange of professors and pupils is still in a rudimentary stage. It is evident that, in this respect, smaller nations are at a disadvantage because there is not much demand for their language. It may, however, be claimed for the Czechoslovak language that it is the key to the whole Slavonic world. An exchange of pupils has been started with France. Every year about ten pupils are awarded scholarships for French *lycées*, where they stay for three years. The British Council also provides a summer holiday in England for a certain number of successful secondary-school students. Well-to-do families frequently send their children abroad for the summer vacation. Student organisations occasionally arrange, under the guidance of professors, visits to French university towns where students may attend courses specially designed for foreigners. Camping abroad is also sometimes practised.

As regards *Denmark*, there have been hitherto no exchanges of teachers except with Sweden and Norway. Occasionally, however, English teachers in fairly large numbers have stayed in Denmark and Danish teachers have been to England.

During the summer of 1938, some teachers of German in Denmark visited Hamburg where they followed, as observers, the lessons in the German gymnasia.

Next year, German teachers are going to reciprocate by a visit to the Danish *lycées* some time before the end of the school year. Regular exchanges of pupils have been arranged on a fairly extensive scale with Norway and Sweden.

During the summer holidays, English schoolboys are boarded in Danish families and Danish schoolboys in English families.

In the same way, a regular exchange of German and Danish schoolboys has been organised with Hamburg. A hundred boys from Danish *lycées* will spend a fortnight with their Hamburg schoolfellows and attend classes in the German gymnasia. In 1939, boys from German *lycées* will in turn attend school in Denmark. This travel is organised by the school inspection authorities.

In *England*, the Board does not itself arrange directly exchange of teachers and pupils travelling abroad.

As regards teachers, the Board participates in two schemes of this measure : (a) the exchange of full-time teachers, in which two teachers, one in this country and one overseas, exchange posts in each other's schools for a year; and (b) assistant schemes, whereby arrangements are made with foreign Governments for the appointment of students or teachers to posts in educational institutions abroad for a year, the person receiving board and lodging in return for giving conversational lessons to the pupils of the institution to which he is attached for about twelve hours a week.

As regards pupils, the Board itself takes no part in the various arrangements made for the exchange or travel of pupils abroad. These are generally made by the school authorities themselves, sometimes by the local education authority, and in other cases through one or other of the organisations which exist to facilitate these matters. Some of these organisations are on a non-profit-making basis, others may not be.

Schemes for the Exchange of Teachers.

(a) Exchange of full-time teachers with France and Germany.—Under arrangements made between the Board of Education and the Ministries of Education in France and Germany, a limited number of modern-language teachers exchange posts for a period of one year. The number of exchanges with each country rarely exceeds four in any year.

(b) Exchange of "assistants".—Under this scheme, a number of young teachers or intending teachers spend a year attached in a supernumerary capacity to schools or universities in France or Germany. They usually teach small groups for a limited number of periods per week and are given opportunities of continuing their own studies. They receive free board and lodging or its equivalent in money. There may be as many as fifty go to each country in one year and a similar number of French and German teachers come to England.

(c) Exchange with the United States of America.—This is a scheme for the exchange of full-time teachers between schools in Great Britain and the United States. The scheme is organised by the English-speaking Union, and exchanges must be approved by the Board of Education. The number may be anything up to ten in any year, mostly women.

(*d*) Exchange with the dominions.—This is a similar scheme to (*c*) but organised by the League of the Empire. In 1936, there were 174 exchanges, of which sixteen were secondary teachers.

Under (*a*), (*c*) and (*d*), each teacher obtains a year's leave of absence from his or her school authority but remains in the service of the authority and continues to be paid by it. Those who take advantage of (*b*) have not as a rule yet held a full-time teaching post.

In *France*, the staff belonging to French schools is entitled to some advantages which have been granted by the Government.

French teachers who have been detached abroad in this capacity are entitled to their full rights to promotion and to retirement, exactly as if they had remained on the French teaching staff.

The National Office of French Schools and Universities, which is under the State, has endeavoured for many years past to facilitate the exchange of professors and students. It has succeeded in organising exchanges, partly with Great Britain, but currency barriers and the present considerable differences in the matter of curriculum and hours, as well as of salary, render these exchanges very difficult. On the other hand, owing to a diplomatic convention between France and several countries such as Germany and Great Britain and to the practice established between France and other countries, such as the United States of America, it has been found possible to exchange every year a considerable number of young people who stay in principle for a year in the secondary schools of the other country in the capacity of assistants. Special organisations see that the young people recruited for this purpose are qualified.

In *Hungary*, from time to time, the Government grants scholarships to teachers. Each year, two or three young people desirous of studying the foreign language which they teach are sent abroad for one year, and sometimes two. The peculiar character of the Hungarian language makes the exchange of teachers and pupils with foreign countries difficult.

In the *Netherlands*, conducted tours have taken place for the past few years between Belgium and the Netherlands, and a beginning has been made with the organisation of such tours between England and the Netherlands. They are of a semi-official character and are openly encouraged by the school and other authorities of the two countries : there are official

receptions, reduced rates and meetings with the young people of the countries visited. No other definite scheme exists.

In *Norway*, exchanges of teachers are found to be difficult in practice in view of the relatively minor advantages derived by a British, French or German teacher from a visit to Norway. Such exchanges have taken place, but they are comparatively rare.

Exchanges of pupils between Norway and Germany have been regular and successful and there has been a good deal of correspondence between British and Norwegian pupils.

As regards *Scotland*, the Scottish Education Department is prepared to facilitate the exchange of teachers between Scotland and the British colonies, principally Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and also the United States of America, but offers no facilities of any kind for an exchange with continental teachers. There is, however, a scheme operated by the Scottish Education Department for the exchange of students preparing to be teachers of modern languages. This applies to France and Germany. With regard to pupils, teachers have been able to arrange excursions to other continental countries, and, for groups of pupils, steamships have been chartered for cruises.

While such journeys are encouraged by the authorities, no grants are obtainable and so all expenses become a personal outlay for teachers and pupils.

In *Sweden*, there are no arrangements for the regular exchange of teachers between Sweden and Germany, England and France. Exchanges of pupils take place between Sweden and Germany.

In *Switzerland*, the schools organise a direct exchange each year between England and Switzerland. The same thing is about to be done in the case of France. There are also exchanges of young teachers.

However, the number of cantons having developed exchanges in a methodical way is still small. Still there is a general trend towards the development of such exchanges.

In *Yugoslavia*, exchanges of teachers and pupils are at present fairly frequent.

France, which received thousands of young Serbs during the war, continues to grant some fifty scholarships to young Yugoslav graduates, most of them being teachers of French.

The Yugoslav Government grants three scholarships annually to French students wishing to study the literature, art, history or folklore of Yugoslavia. Every year, a group of some twenty students of the French language and literature visits France for one month.

An English fund at the Yugoslav Legation in London (derived from the Relief Fund opened during the war) every year awards a number of scholarships (two, four or six) to Yugoslav students, and the Belgrade Government awards two to English students studying in Yugoslavia.

With Czechoslovakia, exchanges have been going on for some years in the form of five Czech holiday scholarships, ten annual scholarships for students and ten for the pupils of secondary schools, and three Yugoslav scholarships enabling young Czechoslovaks to study in Yugoslav universities.

With Poland, the exchange of teachers and students is increasing every year, and at present includes more than twenty-five persons from each of the two countries.

As regards Turkey, there are two scholarships to promote mutual study between the two countries, formerly enemies and to-day friends and allies.

In the case of Bulgaria, scholarships are not necessary, as a large number of Bulgarian students attend our university courses (particularly those in medicine, technics, arts and science).

Exchanges with Germany and Italy have recommenced recently. In August 1936, a group of about twenty teachers and students of the German language and literature from Belgrade University paid a three weeks' visit to Germany. In July 1937, two other groups also stayed there for a month, one consisting of twenty-two persons at Wernigerode (Harz), the other of twelve persons at Walchensee (Upper Bavaria).

BROADCASTING AND CINEMA

Broadcasting may be a useful means of enabling students to hear foreign languages spoken correctly. For beginners, they generally give phonetic exercises in sounds which are not used in the mother tongue. For more advanced pupils, broadcasting is of great assistance in enabling them to become acquainted with foreign pronunciation and diction and idiomatic expressions. This means of spreading information has the advantage of being more alive, more direct and less mechanical than the gramophone. Pupils can thus be placed in direct contact with all kinds of aspects of the country whose language they are studying.

Wireless offers one of the most direct forms of contact with the life of the foreign country which can be obtained at school.

The general problems connected with the use of wireless in schools have been widely studied, particularly by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.¹

The use of wireless for teaching modern languages was also the subject of an important debate at the last congress of the International Federation of Teachers of Modern Languages at Paris in 1937.²

As regards the cinema, modern language teachers all agree that *sound films* are a valuable means of enabling their pupils to become acquainted with the life of other countries.³

The Secretariat has also gathered information as to the use made of broadcasting and the cinema and of the results of experiments made in this field.

In *Belgium*, a great deal has been done, on the other hand, to encourage the use of *broadcasting* in schools. A large number of lectures are broadcast on many subjects relating to foreign countries; they are often given in the language of the country concerned. A bulletin summarising the theme of the lectures is published and despatched to teachers before the date of the broadcast; where suitable, it is accompanied by such vocabularies, etc., as may be required to enable the listeners to benefit fully.

Recent Ministerial circulars have advocated the use of broadcasting, which is organised by the Department of Education.

It is scarcely possible to draw any conclusions from past experience.

Moreover, not all the educational establishments are equipped for reception, nor do the time-tables always allow of use being made of the programmes that are broadcast. Praiseworthy efforts are being made to interest the pupils. The lack of response of the latter during broadcasts of foreign languages would seem to show that the programmes are not always suitable to their stage of development and that such broadcasts do not yet

¹ See especially "La radiodiffusion scolaire" (in French only), International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, 1933.

² See proceedings of the third International Congress of Teachers of Living Languages, edited by Serge DENIS, Paris, Maison du Livre français, 1938.

³ The British Film Institute has published an interesting study on the subject entitled "Foreign Language teaching Films, an interim report presented to the Governing Body of the Institute by the Languages and Literature Committee of the Education Panel, 1937".

possess all the educational qualities necessary to awaken their interest. Nevertheless, the National Broadcasting Institute is asking teachers for opinions, criticisms and suggestions.

Although the *sound film* is not yet used regularly in teaching, a few private institutions are now equipped for the purpose. The use of the cinema in schools, although it has been advocated in Belgium, is not yet current.

In *Bulgaria*, sound films, the gramophone and broadcasting are used in the programmes of the Rodnoradio at Sofia.

Three French hours are given per week and talks on various subjects are also given in French, German, Italian and English, with valuable results.

In *Czechoslovakia*, broadcasting is much more in use, though all schools are not yet provided with radio sets. The radio, however, cannot replace the lecturer's living word and gesture. The same applies to the gramophone which is, however, extensively used as a labour-saving device (in view of the possibility of repetition).

Sound-films are hardly used at schools because of the expensive apparatus. Special educational programmes, however, are arranged for students in cinemas.

In *Denmark*, school wireless has been in constant use for more than ten years. It constitutes a subsection of the State broadcasting service and is administered as such in close co-operation with the inspection authorities. It has a teacher as director: the present Director is the headmaster of a *lycée*. Broadcasts for primary and secondary schools consist either of modern language lessons or of literature and culture (history and geography). Members of the company of the Royal Theatre occasionally recite masterpieces of literature.

Wireless teaching is always given during school hours by teachers. Schools have the option of using these broadcasts or not: actually they make frequent use of them. It is too soon to give an opinion as to the results of this method. The interest it may arouse and the real profit which may be derived from it depend as much on the subject as on the teacher. Teachers who have acquired the special technique of this form of teaching are very popular, not only with school-children, but also with the general public. School broadcasts in short are everywhere regarded as one of the most effective forms of broadcasting.

In the teaching of languages, much use is made of records played by electrically operated gramophones, with which nearly all *lycées* are now equipped. The records reproduce the sounds with fair accuracy, and serve also to convey the rhythm, the musical accent, and above all, the intonation which without this instrument is difficult to acquire. Gramophone records are regarded as indispensable in the teaching of music and singing.

Hitherto the talking film has not been used in school teaching; but the silent film is being used more and more, especially in the teaching of geography and history.

In *England*, so far, the use of the gramophone for the teaching of modern languages is very limited, although some interesting experiments have been made, particularly in distressed areas, where it is a means of giving children who cannot afford to travel a knowledge of foreign countries.

The gramophone is used in some schools as an aid to the acquisition of correct intonation, but teachers do not generally find it very satisfactory, owing to the restriction to a limited amount of material. It is also used in the form of courses—*e.g.*, linguaphone German for late beginners in the sixth form. In general, it cannot be said that much use is made of the gramophone.

The broadcasts provided by the B.B.C. are taken by a large number of schools. The results are said to be: (*a*) better comprehension of spoken language; (*b*) increased vocabulary; (*c*) increased knowledge of the life and institutions of foreign countries; (*d*) marked improvement in the pupils' pronunciation and intonation.

The Central Council for School Broadcasting indicates that broadcast courses in modern languages for the year 1938/39 are as follows: The figures given after each course indicate the number of schools which are taking the course this year (1937/38).

Early stages in German	313
Early stages in French	1,034
French for sixth forms	721
German for fifth and sixth forms	249
Intermediate French. No figure available for this course.	

In the early and intermediate stages, the aims of the broadcasts is to familiarise pupils with a foreign language as spoken by a variety of French and German voices, thus to strengthen the habit of listening with attention to the foreign tongue, to train and accelerate the recognition of common phrases, hence

to help an understanding of everyday speech, to increase the ease with which that speech is used by the pupils themselves. The introduction of simple songs eases the strain of continuous listening, and leads to semiconscious acquisition of greater skill in speech.

Repetition is an essential part of the method, and regular sound-drill helps the teacher to combat slovenly habits of speech.

In the senior stages, the aim is to provide practice in following a variety of voices, to interest the students in foreign life and environment and to let them hear examples of literature well read.

In *France*, the use of wireless in schools is being rapidly developed, and regular school broadcasts have already been organised by three important Paris stations. Before long, school broadcasting will undoubtedly play a large part in modern language teaching.

The first attempts date from the end of 1936. It is thought that it would be a good thing if at any rate senior pupils listened to special broadcasts for them from foreign stations (of the country whose language they are learning). For that, an international agreement would be necessary.

The part which wireless should play in the classroom has been (and still is) the subject of somewhat lively discussion. The principle laid down (which has not, however, completely dispelled mistrust) is that the wireless should in no way replace the teacher. It must merely "illustrate" the lesson and be an episode in the class. It is also admitted that the teacher should be entirely free to use the wireless as and when he thinks fit, and even not to use it at all.

Very complete technical equipment was installed in 1937 in the Lycée Lakanal in the suburbs of Paris, on the initiative of the headmaster. In general, however, it is too early to judge of results.¹

¹ The following, for example, is the programme of French broadcasts connected with the teaching of modern languages :

Two series of broadcasts are organised for each language, and are given in the language itself. They are prepared by secondary-school teachers and are spoken or acted by carefully chosen foreign assistants.

There is a weekly series for students who have been learning the language for at least two years. The general theme is a journey in the country of the language studied, dealt with as a rule in the form of sketches with several characters.

[Continued on following page.]

Sound films are not yet in general use in French secondary schools. They are, however, being introduced under the auspices of the Musée pédagogique. Considerable use is made of silent films.

In the *Netherlands*, no use is made either of broadcasting or of the sound film. On the other hand, the gramophone is very often used and with much benefit.

In *Norway*, the national wireless station transmits every year to secondary and primary schools broadcasts dealing with the teaching of languages, and the programme of these broadcasts, which last half an hour, is distributed regularly. This form of teaching is optional and many teachers hesitate to employ it in view of the difficulty of fitting the broadcasts into the fairly extensive curriculum of compulsory subjects.

The attention of the pupils is merely drawn to the films which may be of use to them. The sound film does not yet hold a regular place in the teaching of languages in Norway.

On the other hand, considerable use is made of gramophone records, such as those of the linguaphone Institute or of the Swedish company Nordlund.

There is a second, fortnightly, series for beginners, which is aimed at accustoming their ears to sounds, intonations, accents and rhythms which are new to them.

After some general explanatory remarks, short poems, stories and easy anecdotes are read, in many cases being repeated several times.

A publishing firm issues three-monthly booklets containing the texts or summaries of German and English talks.

Until a regular exchange of broadcasts with the British Broadcasting Corporation can be arranged, teachers of English in France are invited to listen in direct to the school broadcasts given in England, and to send their comments to the Association of Teachers of Modern Languages in Paris.

There is also a series of French talks on foreign literature, the foreign professional Press and foreign news.

At the last Congress of Modern Languages in Paris, the possibility of international collaboration in connection with broadcasts for the teaching of foreign languages was examined.

By agreement with the B.B.C., French teachers were invited to give a number of broadcasts both for secondary students in France, and for beginners or intermediate pupils in other countries. The broadcasts are to consist of exercises in pronunciation, intonation and diction, and studies of words; detailed summaries will be published, and sent to various countries. The organisers hope that foreign national broadcasting stations, especially in England and Germany, will arrange for an exchange of suitable broadcasts for use in connection with the teaching of English and German in France.

The Congress also recommended that international broadcasts should be arranged which would enable young listeners to come into close and lively contact with the peoples whose languages they were studying. A weekly talk from one of the national stations in each country would thus be a living complement to instruction in modern languages, and a constant reminder of the value of modern languages as a means of bringing countries closer together and enabling them to understand each other.

In *Scotland*, broadcasting and cinematography are being increasingly employed in the schools. The British Broadcasting Corporation broadcasts for Scottish schools a weekly twenty-minute lesson under the general heading "Elementary French", suitable for children from 12 to 15 years of age. A Frenchman, with his wife as broadcasting assistant, is responsible for the course, under the guidance, however, of an *ad hoc* committee composed of representative modern-language teachers in active service.

The British Broadcasting Corporation invited French student-teachers of English residing in Glasgow and Edinburgh and the pastors of the French Protestant churches of those towns and other Frenchmen passing through to come to the microphone. There are at present in Scotland 1,100 "listening" schools out of approximately 3,017, including primary and secondary schools.

The cinematograph is more widely employed as an ancillary aid to teaching in primary schools. Film companies do not yet possess any modern-language films of a suitable type for schools: this is due to commercial causes. There is, therefore, a dearth of films dealing with such subjects as a day in the life of a German or French schoolboy or other scenes in the life of those countries.

In *Sweden*, sound films are very rarely used, as few schools possess the necessary equipment. Modern-language lessons and short talks are broadcast fairly regularly. These broadcasts are generally of a practical nature, being designed to accustom the pupils to the sound of the language. As, however, they are sometimes transmitted at times which do not fit in very well with the other lessons of the forms for which they are intended and the pupils do not always possess receiving sets, they are not always as successful as might be expected.

In *Yugoslavia*, no systematic use is yet made of sound films or broadcasting; but the knowledge of foreign languages and civilisations already owes something to the increase in broadcasts, especially those on short wave-lengths from the Belgrade station, which broadcasts daily lectures in foreign languages.

Silent films have been introduced in several secondary schools, and help to make foreign countries better known.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS

There can be no doubt that the general trend of modern-language teaching largely depends on the direction given to it by higher education. The nature and extent of the higher

education received by secondary-school teachers will have a considerable effect on the spirit in which their teaching is given and on its objectives and methods.

In addition to purely linguistic studies and the study of literary history, the sphere of foreign studies has been generally extended and tends increasingly to include the psychology and sociology, and, in a word, the civilisation of foreign nations. Such studies are occupying an increasingly important place in the various faculties of letters. The rest of the world is no longer merely treated as a background against which the national life develops; an attempt is made to acquaint students with the distinctive characteristics of all the great foreign civilisations.

When examining the important problem of the training of future modern-language teachers, the Advisory Committee was informed of general developments connected with such training at the universities and, in particular, of the extent of the studies planned for future teachers.

Accordingly, experts and specialised associations were also asked the question whether the training of future secondary-school teachers of modern languages takes into due account the general orientation of language teaching with which the Advisory Committee was concerned (scope of studies, compulsory stays abroad, etc.).

In *Belgium*, teachers in lower intermediate schools (assistant masters—*régents*) are trained in intermediate training sections, their studies lasting two years. Higher intermediate teachers are trained in the universities: their studies last four years, after which they become licentiates of arts. They are also required to take professional training courses, both theoretical and practical. They then graduate for higher intermediate teaching. Up to the present, students of philology have been given a probationary period and allowed to complete their professional training during the second year after obtaining their degrees. Masters in teachers' training colleges have either graduated for higher intermediate teaching, or they are *régents*. The latter, before they can be appointed to training colleges, must have passed a special examination.

The training of future teachers of modern languages in secondary education is, strictly speaking, only slightly directed along the lines considered by the Advisory Committee. In the universities, during the two-year course for the degree in philology, the important part allotted to general culture gives students, up to a certain point, the type of knowledge desired. In addition,

numerous practical courses encourage close acquaintance with foreign languages—*e.g.*, unseen translations from works in modern languages, exercises in philology, and detailed commentaries on the works of foreign authors.

The two-year course for the degree in philology gives a very large place to foreign literatures, especially to the modern contemporaneous period. In the Teutonic philology department, advanced courses in the history of Flemish, German and English literature are compulsory, while, in the Romance section, the same is true of the corresponding literatures, including—in addition to French—Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Provençal. Since the passage of the 1929 Act, students may elect to attend special courses in the literature of the countries concerned, and there are also voluntary courses consisting of commentaries on Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Provençal authors. Finally, the course in Slavonic languages and literature created at Brussels University (Institute of Oriental and Slavonic Philology and History) allots an important function to the teaching of modern languages.

It will therefore be seen that the study of languages figures much more prominently in the Belgian universities than in the secondary schools, though the scientific standpoint prevails in both cases.

It follows that a possibility exists of initiating useful action in the sphere of university teaching to foster mutual understanding between nations through the knowledge of languages. In the sphere of the culture and history of the various nations, the universities also have at their disposal numerous means of encouraging and extending the type of knowledge which is best calculated to instil mutual regard and understanding between peoples.

Teachers are not bound to visit foreign countries.

In *Bulgaria*, teachers of modern languages are trained for the most part at the University of Sofia, where the Ministry has organised courses in Romance, German, English and Italian philology. Those who follow the whole course acquire a good theoretical training. The practical training, however, leaves much to be desired. Nearly all future teachers of modern languages pay visits of two or three weeks to universities in the country whose language they are studying.

In *Czechoslovakia*, the requirements for the teachers' examinations include a good knowledge of literature and civilisation of the particular country in question. For example, for the first

education received by secondary-school teachers will have a considerable effect on the spirit in which their teaching is given and on its objectives and methods.

In addition to purely linguistic studies and the study of literary history, the sphere of foreign studies has been generally extended and tends increasingly to include the psychology and sociology, and, in a word, the civilisation of foreign nations. Such studies are occupying an increasingly important place in the various faculties of letters. The rest of the world is no longer merely treated as a background against which the national life develops; an attempt is made to acquaint students with the distinctive characteristics of all the great foreign civilisations.

When examining the important problem of the training of future modern-language teachers, the Advisory Committee was informed of general developments connected with such training at the universities and, in particular, of the extent of the studies planned for future teachers.

Accordingly, experts and specialised associations were also asked the question whether the training of future secondary-school teachers of modern languages takes into due account the general orientation of language teaching with which the Advisory Committee was concerned (scope of studies, compulsory stays abroad, etc.).

In *Belgium*, teachers in lower intermediate schools (assistant masters—*régents*) are trained in intermediate training sections, their studies lasting two years. Higher intermediate teachers are trained in the universities: their studies last four years, after which they become licentiates of arts. They are also required to take professional training courses, both theoretical and practical. They then graduate for higher intermediate teaching. Up to the present, students of philology have been given a probationary period and allowed to complete their professional training during the second year after obtaining their degrees. Masters in teachers' training colleges have either graduated for higher intermediate teaching, or they are *régents*. The latter, before they can be appointed to training colleges, must have passed a special examination.

The training of future teachers of modern languages in secondary education is, strictly speaking, only slightly directed along the lines considered by the Advisory Committee. In the universities, during the two-year course for the degree in philology, the important part allotted to general culture gives students, up to a certain point, the type of knowledge desired. In addition,

numerous practical courses encourage close acquaintance with foreign languages—*e.g.*, unseen translations from works in modern languages, exercises in philology, and detailed commentaries on the works of foreign authors.

The two-year course for the degree in philology gives a very large place to foreign literatures, especially to the modern contemporaneous period. In the Teutonic philology department, advanced courses in the history of Flemish, German and English literature are compulsory, while, in the Romance section, the same is true of the corresponding literatures, including—in addition to French—Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Provençal. Since the passage of the 1929 Act, students may elect to attend special courses in the literature of the countries concerned, and there are also voluntary courses consisting of commentaries on Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Provençal authors. Finally, the course in Slavonic languages and literature created at Brussels University (Institute of Oriental and Slavonic Philology and History) allots an important function to the teaching of modern languages.

It will therefore be seen that the study of languages figures much more prominently in the Belgian universities than in the secondary schools, though the scientific standpoint prevails in both cases.

It follows that a possibility exists of initiating useful action in the sphere of university teaching to foster mutual understanding between nations through the knowledge of languages. In the sphere of the culture and history of the various nations, the universities also have at their disposal numerous means of encouraging and extending the type of knowledge which is best calculated to instil mutual regard and understanding between peoples.

Teachers are not bound to visit foreign countries.

In *Bulgaria*, teachers of modern languages are trained for the most part at the University of Sofia, where the Ministry has organised courses in Romance, German, English and Italian philology. Those who follow the whole course acquire a good theoretical training. The practical training, however, leaves much to be desired. Nearly all future teachers of modern languages pay visits of two or three weeks to universities in the country whose language they are studying.

In *Czechoslovakia*, the requirements for the teachers' examinations include a good knowledge of literature and civilisation of the particular country in question. For example, for the first

examination in English (which takes place after two years of university studies) a student must study some prescribed books of modern authors and has to show a general knowledge of English literature from the Renaissance. It is also expressly stated that the student should be familiar with "the most important aspects of modern English life".

For the second and final examination (after another two years), the student is expected to have a good knowledge of the whole field of English literature as well as of American literature from the end of the eighteenth century. In his study of literature, he has to take into account "the history of England and America and the evolution of British and American institutions, especially in so far as they throw light on the origin and development of the cultural atmosphere". In this connection, it may be mentioned that, at the Commercial and Economic Department of the Technical College at Prague, a course of lectures is delivered every term on different aspects of English civilisation.

There are similar courses on other civilisations, too, for which special text books are being gradually provided. (The latest is Dr. L. V. Kopecky's useful book on contemporary Russia.)

University professors in their lectures on literature have ample opportunity for discussing cultural conditions, but special lectures on contemporary life and institutions of the country in question are as a rule left to "Readers" from that country as part of the practical courses in the language for which they are responsible. At the same time, students are recommended to spend one term, or at least to attend a summer course, at a foreign university. One term abroad is reckoned as two terms of practical exercises in the country. For this purpose, scholarships are open to university students.

Some of them are due to the generosity of the French Government as well as to different organisations. For several years now, the British Council has awarded annually four scholarships (there are three Czechoslovak universities and one German) to students of English, which are greatly appreciated. Scholarships are also granted on a basis of reciprocity by American colleges through the Institute of International Education, and by other States including Poland, Yugoslavia and Italy, whose languages may be taught in the seventh and eighth classes of the secondary schools if a sufficient number of students so desire.

The Czechoslovak Government (and, in Slovakia, the provincial government) also awards scholarships to deserving students. The number of such scholarships, however, is still inadequate.

In *Denmark*, by the terms of the provisions drawn up by the Ministry of Public Instruction in agreement with the university and the Inspector-General of *Lycées*, candidates for the teaching profession are trained at the university. Candidates for secondary education are examined by language, history or science specialists.

The Inspector-General is Chairman of the Examining Board of the Faculty of Letters of Copenhagen and Aarhus.

Periods of residence abroad are not compulsory; but students and teachers often travel at their own expense.

In *England*, teachers of modern languages are not required to follow any special type of training and the Board of Education lays down no regulations regarding the qualifications for teachers on this subject in any type of schools. The qualifications of such teachers are a matter for the local education authority or governing body concerned in the light of the requirements of the post. Generally speaking, however, applicants for such posts in secondary schools are expected nowadays to hold an honours degree in modern languages, having preferably spent a period abroad. In many cases, a year of professional training is also required, or considered to be an additionally desirable qualification.

Normally, such a teacher will have followed a course in a secondary school of seven or eight years and will have taken the school certificate and higher school certificate examinations. He will then have taken a university degree course in modern languages lasting three, and in some cases, four years, after which he may follow a year of professional training, most commonly for a diploma in education. Residence abroad is not a common feature before the university stage is reached, but a number of universities make provision for counting the work of a period, varying from a term to a year, at an approved foreign university as equivalent to work in the university itself, and a number of students take advantage of this concession. The character of the university degree courses varies somewhat in the scope of the syllabus and also in regard to the requirements as to subsidiary subjects.

In *France*, the training of future teachers has long aimed at ensuring that they have definite and direct knowledge of life in foreign countries in all its aspects. That result is achieved in part through the syllabus of the various examinations or competitions (degree, secondary-school teachers' diploma and qualifying examination). Philology occupies a small place, but considerable

importance is attached to literature. The latter occupies a similar position to that allotted to it in the courses in civilisation or culture prepared by professors in the universities. Such courses include art, philosophy, history, geography and political and economic questions (even those which are most topical and controversial), etc.

The place allotted to "civilisation" in the universities naturally varies according to the tastes and qualifications of the professors, but, on the whole, it is not less important than that allotted to literature.

Periods of residence abroad are obligatory (one year for the degree and two years for the qualifying examination) for all modern-language students receiving a State scholarship. For those who carry out their studies at their own expense, the standard of knowledge of the written and spoken foreign language required in examinations and competitions is such that, in practice, candidates must have spent a considerable time in the foreign country.

Finally, it should be mentioned that modern-language teachers in France are highly specialised. Each teacher teaches only one foreign language, and is therefore able to devote his whole attention to a single country.

In *Hungary*, after eight terms at the university and two very difficult examinations, future teachers of modern languages are given a probationary period during their fifth year of study at a "practical" school, under an expert teacher, during which time they are trained in the methodical teaching of their two languages. It has not been possible to make stays abroad compulsory. Nevertheless, there are hardly any modern-language teachers who do not go to foreign countries from time to time during the long vacation.

In the *Netherlands*, the training of future teachers of modern languages takes into due account the general orientation of language teaching to be considered by the Advisory Committee. Visits to foreign countries are not, strictly speaking, compulsory, but it would be difficult without them for future teachers to attain the fluency and facility in the language they desire to teach which are required by the examiners.

In *Norway*, all future teachers recognise the need for a prolonged stay in the country whose language they are to teach. They take advantage, in particular, of the youth hostels for this

purpose. There is an official fund at Oslo which grants ten or twelve scholarships a year for facilitating visits of students to France and England.

In *Scotland*, future teachers of modern languages in secondary and high schools aspire, in the main, to be recognised under what is called Chapter V of the Regulations for the Training of Teachers. Such recognition demands a twofold qualification—viz., (a) the possession of an honours degree (first or second class) in two languages, the most common combination being French and German; (b) either continuous residence abroad during one year (October to July), or a cumulative non-continuous period of residence equal to one calendar year. Six weeks' residence, however, is the minimum period accepted as counting towards a cumulative year.

In addition, all modern-language teachers must, before certification, have attended a training centre for one year. ☉

In *Sweden*, future teachers of modern languages are required for their first examination to take four compulsory subjects apart from pedagogy. The groups of subjects usually taken are: Northern languages, English, German and French, or Northern languages, literary history, English and German.

Neither the statutes of the Swedish universities nor the professors of their faculties regard a stay abroad as compulsory, but competition and the compulsory probationary year make such a stay almost inevitable.

There are now very few teachers who have not spent some time abroad.

All future doctors of philology are obliged to spend time abroad in order to consult libraries.

In *Switzerland*, a stay abroad from three months to a year is compulsory in most of the cantons for the diploma required for eligibility to a teaching post in secondary schools. . . .

In the *Yugoslav* universities, the training of future modern-language teachers follows closely the lines advocated by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. Those who collaborate in this work include the occupants of the respective chairs, the Institutes of French Studies, the German-Yugoslav and Anglo-Yugoslav Societies, etc.

The law does not provide for obligatory periods of residence abroad, which is a serious mistake. The great majority of

teachers do, however, manage to spend some time in the country whose language they are teaching.

FACILITIES FOR TEACHERS HAVING ENTERED THEIR PROFESSION

Beside the problem of training the future modern-language teachers, information was also collected as to facilities offered to teachers having already entered their profession in order to allow them to keep in close contact with the life of the countries whose language they are teaching.

Various countries replied to this question.

In *Belgium*, the modern-language teacher is responsible for perfecting his knowledge of his subject.

On the other hand, the Belgian Government grants each year, on the results of a competition, a number of travelling scholarships which are intended for scientific and research purposes, and not to perfect the students' knowledge of foreign languages, although that object is, of course, reached incidentally. Of necessity, however, these scholarships can only be granted to a very limited number of pupils, and, in most cases, not to those who stand in the most need of acquiring practical knowledge of a foreign language.

The same limitations apply to the grants made by the University Foundation.

Nothing has been organised with regard to facilities for teachers who have already entered their profession, in order to allow them to keep in close contact with the life of the countries whose language they are teaching.

In *Bulgaria*, under the terms of Article 131 of the Law on Public Education, teachers have the right to visit foreign countries for one year or two years, in order to improve their knowledge and study the school system of the country in whose language they are specialising. Courses are organised by the Ministry every year at home for modern-language teachers who cannot go abroad.

It may be added that, during the past few years, the economic crisis has made the work of the Ministry very difficult.

In *Czechoslovakia*, teachers already employed at schools may obtain scholarships for the summer vacation to keep in touch with the foreign countries and their languages. In this case too, the number of scholarships is still very limited.

In *Denmark*, the State used to grant travelling scholarships; but these have now been abolished. It is, however, easy to obtain leave for study travel, and the State pays the salaries of the substitutes.

In *England*, the Board of Education does not prescribe any further courses of study for teachers already in service, though it makes provision for the further training of teachers in two ways. In the first, provision is made under the Regulations for the Training of Teachers for the award each year of a number of studentships to assist teachers who have completed at least five years of service in approved schools to undertake further study of an advanced character. The studentships may be held for work in this country or abroad, and the types of courses proposed are not restricted in any way. In the second, vacation and other short courses are arranged by the Board for teachers in service in this country, and also by other bodies—*e.g.*, universities and, on some occasions, local education authorities. These courses are generally organised to refresh the teacher's knowledge of the language and the country concerned, as well as to give an opportunity for the demonstration of modern teaching methods.

Local education authorities may also grant assistance to teachers and students wishing to follow vacation courses on the Continent, where special provision is not infrequently made for students or teachers of modern languages.

In *France*, the Ministry of National Education gives scholarships direct to modern-language teachers at colleges or higher primary schools for visits abroad, in order to enable them to keep in contact with the country whose language they are teaching.

Holiday scholarships (approximately sixty this year) are given to modern-language teachers who have already entered their profession to cover at least part of the expense of a visit of a few weeks to a foreign country. Everybody agrees that the number and amount of such scholarships are definitely inadequate. France also has "houses" or institutes in London, Berlin, Rome and Florence (not to mention Madrid) which are able to pay part of the expenses of a short visit for teachers who apply to them.

In *Norway*, the State grants a number of scholarships to teachers of modern languages each year. These scholarships are, however, few in number.

In *Scotland*, leave of absence may be granted and generally is granted, by Education Committees to permit modern-language teachers to go abroad, but such leave is unpaid and, while every endeavour is made to ensure that the teacher will find employment on his return, no guarantee is given that his or her former post will be reserved.

In *Sweden*, the facilities offered to teachers who have already entered their profession are confined to some dozen scholarships of about 600 crowns. But it should be pointed out that there are school libraries which subscribe, not only to philological reviews, but also to weekly foreign periodicals. There is also the Nobel Library, which enables any teacher to borrow free of charge the most important literary reviews published in the principal countries.

In *Switzerland*, the State grants a very limited number of facilities to teachers with a view to further professional training. The expense of visits abroad falls on the teacher. However, educational authorities grant special leave and in fact they often refund the difference between the professors' salary and the expenses deriving from the appointment of a substitute. This means financial assistance amounting to 10% to 20% of the ordinary salary.

In *Yugoslavia*, the Ministry of National Education formerly granted a fairly large sum to enable modern-language teachers to spend periods in foreign countries, but that grant ceased as the result of the budgetary economies made in recent years. The Ministry does, however, grant paid holidays to the Yugoslav holders of scholarships mentioned above.

THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES AS A FACTOR IN THE PROMOTION OF A SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION

On July 11th, 1935, the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching adopted the following resolution, which was duly approved by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and by the sixteenth Assembly of the League of Nations :

“(a) In recommending to the attention of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation the importance of modern-language teaching as a means of illustrating the intellectual contributions of different peoples, the Committee fully realises the part that may likewise be played by the study and knowledge of the classical languages as a common fund of culture and a factor of mutual understanding and *rapprochement*.

“(b) The Committee considers, however, that the examination of the various aspects of the question of modern-language teaching, from the standpoint from which the Committee must regard it, has not yet been carried far enough to enable it to make any specific proposals.

“The Committee is of opinion that the study carried out by the British League of Nations Union, the results of which are embodied in a pamphlet entitled, ‘Modern-language Teaching in Relation to World Citizenship’, might be taken as an example for purposes of guidance in similar consultations in other countries.

“(c) Being anxious to secure the utmost possible assistance from specialised institutions, the Committee proposes that these preliminary consultations should be carried out by the International Bureau of Education, acting in conjunction with the International Association of Teachers of Modern Languages and in liaison with the Secretariat.

“(d) The results of these consultations, carried out for, but not by, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, will

be embodied in a report on the basis of which the Committee will draw up a programme of possible action at its next session.

“The Committee submits these various proposals for the approval of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and requests the latter to give any necessary directions to the Executive Committee for the purpose of fitting in the execution of this programme of work with the other activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.”

The International Bureau of Education was glad to accept this invitation of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, as the Executive Committee had decided at the fifteenth session of the Bureau (May 11th, 1935) to undertake an enquiry into secondary-school curricula, including modern-language teaching.

At its sixteenth session, the Executive Committee of the International Bureau of Education approved a questionnaire—to be sent to Ministries of Education, in accordance with the Bureau's usual method—comprising general questions on modern-language teaching and a number of special questions on the role of such teaching in promoting a spirit of international collaboration.

A large number of replies were received.¹ They were published by the Secretariat of the Bureau in *Modern-language Teaching*,² which contains, in addition to the replies themselves, conclusions of a general character.

This publication was taken as a basis for the proceedings of the sixth International Education Conference, at which a report was drawn up by Dr. Gräfe, delegate of Germany³ and a number of recommendations were passed.

We propose to summarise below the main features of this material, in the order of the questionnaire.

Question 1.—In what sections of secondary schools (middle schools, high schools, etc.) are modern languages taught?

¹ They were from the following countries : Albania, Argentine, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Uruguay, United States of America, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

² Publication of the Bureau, No. 54.

³ “Minutes and Resolutions”, pages 88-97.

Are modern languages taught in other types of schools (elementary schools, normal schools or training schools, commercial schools, vocational schools, etc.)?

Modern languages are taught in all sections and all grades of secondary schools, including schools which provide a general education, training schools, vocational and industrial schools, commercial schools (in Japan, even in the special schools for the blind and deaf and dumb). They may sometimes be taught in the elementary schools (*e.g.*, in Bulgaria, Hungary, the Netherlands, etc., and in bilingual countries : Belgium, Luxemburg, etc.) and at the universities.

Question 2.—For each of these types of schools or sections, which modern languages are (*a*) compulsory, (*b*) optional? Is one of these languages considered as the “first principal language”? If so, which one?

As a rule, English, French and German are compulsory and often in addition, Spanish, Italian, Russian—more often Spanish.

Proximity is rarely a determining factor; nevertheless, in Roumania, in addition to the three above-mentioned languages, a fourth—that of a neighbouring country—may be introduced. In Poland, Italian, Roumanian, Russian and Czech may be optional. In France, Italian is most usual in schools in the south-east and Spanish in the south-west.

The choice of the foreign language or languages may rest (*a*) with the pupil, which makes it necessary to provide for the teaching of several languages and as a rule to restrict the choice to some extent (*e.g.*, in Chile, pupils must learn one Germanic and one Latin language), (*b*) with the authorities, who decide which language or languages shall be taught in each school.

Modern-language teaching is compulsory in all except the Anglo-Saxon countries (though even there modern languages are widely taught in view of future examination requirements).

Question 3. — During which school year is each of the languages taught in each type of school or section?

Reference is invited to the tables compiled in the course of the enquiry.

Question 4.—How many hours per year are devoted to each of the modern languages taught in each type of school and each section? How are these hours distributed throughout the week?

For these purely technical details, reference is invited to the tables in the publication already quoted.

Question 5.—What modifications in the number and in the order of importance have been introduced in the modern languages taught since 1910? Are other modifications envisaged? For what reasons?

There have been no modifications in Bulgaria, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, France, Greece, Luxemburg, New Zealand, Norway.

There is a very general tendency to intensify and extend the teaching of modern languages as the result of better communications, wireless, the cinema, etc. Their optional study is found practically everywhere (*e.g.*, Italian and Japanese have been introduced in a number of schools in Victoria, Australia; Japan has made Chinese compulsory in middle-grade schools.) The same tendency appears also in elementary schools (*e.g.*, in Venezuela).

The teaching of German had been dropped during the war in many countries (particularly, Anglo-Saxon countries), but it is gradually being introduced again in the ordinary curriculum. English is considered important and is very widespread in the Latin-American countries (*e.g.*, in Bolivia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Brazil); since Easter 1937, it has been the first foreign language in German schools. French, which was formerly very common, is now somewhat less so, owing to the advance of other languages. In most countries, German, English and French rank equally.

Question 6.—What are the official curricula for instruction in modern languages in each type of school or each section?

On this point also, reference is invited to the publication quoted.

Question 7.—Are there any official rulings (decrees, regulations, curricula, instructions, etc.) assigning an aim to the teaching of modern languages according to the different types of schools or different sections (practical aim, general culture, better understanding of the genius peculiar to each country)?

According to the type of school, emphasis may be laid on practical aims (in technical and vocational schools and commercial schools in particular, though, in Italy, the technical commercial schools include in their curricula the study of civilisation, history

and *Volkskunde*), or on cultural aims for purely intellectual purposes (secondary schools preparing for the university). Attention is, however also being devoted in a number of countries to a third objective: a better understanding of the genius of other nations. In practice, the particular purpose of modern-language teaching is not always explicitly defined either in the programmes or in the official rulings, when teachers are allowed a certain amount of discretion. Thus, any specific mention of a better understanding of other peoples is rare, and this tendency can best be realised by studying the answers to the next question.

Question 8.—Do the curricula or official instructions relative thereto, include the study of the civilisation, history, folklore, customs (*Volkskunde*) of the countries whose languages are being taught?

Official curricula exhibit an increasing tendency to link up the study of modern languages with civilisation and history and with the folklore and customs of the countries whose languages are being studied. The replies from Australia, Canada, Chile, Finland, Japan, etc., are of particular interest. In Japan, the official instructions provide that real objects, pictures and picture-books shall be used in the teaching of modern languages to enable the pupils to obtain some idea of the social conditions and habits of the countries in question. Modern-language teaching is also linked up in a number of countries with the national history and geography of the particular country whose language is being studied.

Question 9.—What are the official instructions relative to: (a) The choice of textbooks? (b) The choice of readers and literary texts? (c) Special material to be employed (collections of pictures and of views, etc.)?

Practically every country has official regulations on textbooks. These are generally selected by the Ministry of Education, or the Government or by special commissions set up by the Ministry, on the recommendation of members of the teaching profession. There are several possibilities: (a) a number of textbooks may be authorised, from among which the teacher makes his choice; (b) the same textbooks may be prescribed for the same types of schools throughout the country (a number of States of the United States of America). Instructions regarding the choice of literary texts and reading matter are generally on the same lines as for textbooks, though a wider measure of discretion is allowed

(*e.g.*, in Egypt, the inspectors select the reading matter each year; in France, the published list is meant to be taken as a guide; in Italy, representative authors are named).

Question 10.—What are the official instructions relative to the methods to be employed (direct method, etc.) and to the auxiliary procedures (dramatic representations of the pupils in a foreign language, dramatic tours of school-children abroad, music and singing, use of the wireless, cinematograph, gramophone, etc.)?

Teachers are generally given a fairly free hand. The natural direct method (Viator) is very common in China, Cuba, Guatemala, Iran, Lithuania, Norway, Roumania and Yugoslavia, but is not so usual as the mixed direct and indirect method—known as the “moderate method”—which appears to be most generally used.

Many auxiliary means are employed: dramatic performances, singing, reading and repetition, discussions, gramophone records, international school correspondence, wireless, magic lantern views and the cinema. In China, all schools must, by order of the Ministry, possess a wireless set; Nanking broadcasts an English lesson every morning. Certain national committees belonging to the International Federation of Teachers of Modern Languages have prepared lists of the gramophone records which are on sale.

Other auxiliary methods employed less often but all the more interesting on that account are discussions organised by the head of the school or by teachers (*e.g.*, in Egypt), libraries of foreign books, study tours and—most important—regular dramatic performances by pupils.

Question 11.—Is there any difference between the status of modern-language teachers (appointment, qualifications, salaries, etc.) and that of other teachers in the same type of school?

There is equality of status practically everywhere, except in Greece and the Argentine, where the position of modern-language teachers may be slightly inferior, according to circumstances; again, their situation may be more advantageous. (In Latvia, they receive a bonus for correcting written work while, in Luxemburg, all language teachers must have taken a doctor's degree in philosophy or in arts).

Question 12.—What is the nationality of modern-language teachers? Is foreign-language teaching in the hands of nationals or of citizens of the foreign country? Or is the foreign language taught by nationals of the home country with the help of teachers or assistants belonging to the foreign country?

Modern-language teachers may be (*a*) foreigners (Colombia, Uruguay, etc.); (*b*) nationals or foreigners (Argentine, Japan, Venezuela); (*c*) nationals or, by way of exception and subject to certain conditions, foreigners (Costa Rica, Ireland, Poland, etc.); (*d*) nationals only (Belgium, Great Britain, Bulgaria, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, etc.).

Foreign assistants may be engaged or exchanged (France, Germany, New Zealand, Scotland, etc.). In Sweden, they are appointed for one year; and go from school to school, spending not more than three weeks at any one school.

Question 13.—What special training do modern-language teachers undergo. Are they required, for instance, to spend one or more years studying in the country whose language they wish to teach. Are there any scholarships for this purpose?

(*a*) In certain countries, modern-language teachers study abroad (Egypt, Iceland, Luxemburg); (*b*) teachers may be taught by foreign nationals (Argentine, Egypt, Japan, Ontario, etc.); (*c*) they may be required to spend a certain time abroad (Latvia, Roumania, Switzerland, etc.).

In many cases, nothing is stipulated about residence abroad, as this is the usual practice.

Governments or universities may award scholarships for residence abroad (Bulgaria, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Japan, Roumania, Switzerland)—in some cases, on terms of reciprocity.

One system very commonly employed is that of foreign assistants ("readers"), particularly in big university towns (*e.g.*, in Bulgaria, Finland, Portugal).

Question 14.—What possibilities are there for the in-service education of modern-language teachers (exchange of teachers, summer courses, travel scholarships)?

Question 15.—What university summer courses in your country can serve as refresher courses for modern-language teachers from other countries? Are there foreign assistants in the

universities of your country whose courses facilitate the training of modern-language teachers?

Refresher courses for teachers generally come under the heading of (*a*) exchanges of teachers (*e.g.*, between England, France, Germany, Spain, etc.) and (*b*) holiday courses at foreign universities.

In England, the Board of Education published annually, for the use of teachers and students, a list of holiday courses on the Continent dealing with various subjects, including modern languages.

According to some of the reports, these courses are mostly attended by young teachers. In bilingual countries, such as Canada, the case is simpler; modern-language teachers can attend summer schools or courses in a different part of the country, where the mother-tongue is the language which they are teaching. Teachers from Ontario (Canada) are encouraged, for example, to attend summer courses in French, organised by the Education Department and some of the universities of Ontario, in the Province of Quebec, where they can live with French families. The same applies to Nova Scotia.

In Bulgaria, the German Cultural Society at Sofia organises summer courses in German, and the French Institute organises similar courses in French.

Foreign currency restrictions, which make it difficult for modern-language teachers in Germany to go abroad, have led to the creation of special camps, where they can "brush up" their foreign languages by conversing with foreign teachers.

Summer courses and holiday courses are also organised in a number of countries for modern-language teachers who are nationals of those States. The Board of Education in England organises every year a course lasting about a fortnight for modern-language teachers from secondary schools. Similar courses may be organised by local education authorities, universities, teachers' associations and other institutions.

Refresher courses are organised in Scotland in the summer under the auspices of provincial committees.

In Turkey, special courses are arranged more or less regularly for teachers of foreign languages.

In Chile, the Directorate-General of Secondary Education organises refresher courses in collaboration with the university. In China, such courses are arranged by the principal universities, and, in Latvia, by the Ministry of Education.

The special classes formerly held in Iran for teachers have recently been replaced by elementary and higher training schools.

Next year, courses will be organised in Bolivia by inspectors of modern languages.

A number of countries state that leave may be granted to modern-language teachers already holding posts, for foreign travel or residence abroad; this is the case in Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Switzerland, Turkey and Yugoslavia. The staff of Government schools in Denmark can obtain leave of absence, with a paid substitute, for study tours (at their own expense).

Modern-language teachers in Turkey receive full pay throughout the period—generally one year—which they are allowed to spend in the country whose language they teach.

Portugal grants scholarships for residence abroad to modern-language teachers, as a rule for the period of the school year.

In England, the Board of Education offers a number of bursaries to enable teachers in recognised schools to attend advanced courses. These are sometimes held abroad, and may be combined with foreign travel. The bursaries are for not less than one term and not more than one year.

As regards methodological and practical refresher courses, it is of interest to note the "methodological centres" instituted as an experiment in Poland some five years ago. There are at present one hundred and eighty-five such centres, for the various branches of education. Teachers have access to a wealth of information: a library, a collection of auxiliary educational material, periodicals and educational and other reviews. They can attend courses given by the Director of the centre, or ask him to visit their schools, and consult him regarding methods of teaching, the latest publications, etc. Members of the centre meet twice a year to discuss various problems of teaching and methodology; travelling expenses are defrayed by the teachers' own schools. Special study circles and lectures are organised at the centre, to keep teachers in touch with contemporary intellectual movements.

The Polish report states that the centres have proved their usefulness and are extending their field of activity. They exercise a decisive influence in the teaching of modern languages in schools.

Lastly may be mentioned, as being of assistance to modern-language teachers, specialised reviews and periodicals, educational museums with practical and methodological documentation

from which they can learn of new publications, rooms equipped for the teaching of modern languages, etc.

Question 16.—Do modern-language teachers teach one or more languages? Are they required to teach other subjects in addition?

(a) They may have to teach a single modern language, particularly in Government schools, (Australia, Chile, China, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, etc.);

(b) They may specialise in one language and in other subjects at the same time (Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Iran, Ireland, etc.).

Such are the main features of the material collected by the International Bureau of Education, as a result of the enquiries which it addressed to Ministries of Education. It will certainly be useful to compare this material with the data collected by the various professional associations which were also consulted.¹

¹ Reference is invited to the recommendations on modern-language teaching passed by the sixth International Education Conference in 1937. The text is as follows :

The International Conference on Education, convened at Geneva by the International Bureau of Education, and being assembled on July 19th at its sixth session, adopts, on July 21st, nineteen hundred and thirty-seven, the following recommendation :

The Conference,

Considering that the study of modern languages in different types of schools is steadily gaining in importance;

By reason of its practical utility at a time when the taste for travel and the possibility of indulging it have developed very considerably and the economic relations between nations are becoming more numerous;

By reason of the cultural interest provided by a direct knowledge, not only of the literature but also of the customs, the history and the civilisations of foreign countries;

By reason of the influence which this closer understanding of one people by another can and must exercise on the growth of the spirit of peace :

Recommends to the Ministries of Education of the different countries :

(1) That the study of modern languages should be, as far as possible, encouraged in different kinds of schools, including vocational schools and the senior classes of elementary schools;

(2) That the acquisition of one foreign language at least should be made possible for all types of teachers—to enable them to keep alive their curiosity about what is happening in foreign countries in the subject which they teach—and also because of the profit, both intellectual and social, that their teaching is bound to derive from the knowledge of a foreign civilisation;

(3) That the teaching of modern languages should have as its aim, not only the capacity to use that language for practical purposes, but, what is even more important, the educative interest inseparable from a knowledge of foreign civilisations and a mutual understanding between peoples;

THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES IN ENGLAND.

The general instructions issued by the Board of Education guarantee, if such a guarantee were required, that modern languages are taught in English secondary schools. The most reliable way of appreciating the relative importance of the various languages is to read the statistics of the public examinations—the school certificate, taken as a rule at the age of 16 and in at least

(4) That, with this end in view, the methods of teaching be directed, not only to produce a facility in the use of the foreign language, whether written or spoken, but also to make the teaching of modern languages more and more a means towards the wider development of human personality;

(5) It should be clearly understood, however, that neither in object nor method should the teaching of modern languages be modelled on that of the dead languages; that, side by side with the more formal exercises, a large proportion of the time should be devoted to practice in the actual use of the language—although the use of the direct method should not be allowed to exclude explanations and that exactitude of expression which is only possible in the mother tongue;

(6) That sufficient time should be devoted, not only to the acquisition of vocabulary and grammar, but also to the practice of correct pronunciation and intonation, and that with this object in view the essential phonetic exercises should be regularly practised;

(7) That the vocabulary taught should bear close relation to "word frequency" and should be adapted to the interests of the pupils;

(8) That textbooks (courses) should be written appropriate to the age and needs of the pupils—possibly by teachers of the two countries in collaboration—and that room be found in them—though not to excess—for idioms and expressions of common speech, and that the subject matter be designed to describe the foreign country and the customs of its inhabitants;

(9) That special teaching material, such as wall pictures, children's newspapers, libraries of foreign books, should be available for the staff; that the formation of foreign language circles be encouraged outside the work of the classroom; and that, finally, holiday courses, exchange of pupils, and foreign correspondence should further the acquisition of a greater command of the language and a more direct knowledge of the foreign country;

(10) That, remembering always that the chief part must be played by the master, the teaching of foreign languages should be put in a position to profit from the resources supplied by modern science: silent or sound films representing scenes of foreign life, typical landscapes, records in the foreign tongue and broadcasts—whether intended for the general public or arranged for the use of schools;

(11) By reason of the peculiar circumstances inseparable from the teaching of modern languages, the size of classes should be kept reasonably small.

five subjects; and the higher school certificate, a more specialised examination taken at the age of 18.

These examinations are directed, not by the State, but by university boards under a representative council called the Secondary School Examinations Council. The boards deliver certificates on behalf of the universities, which are independent institutions. The present-day tendency is for the boards to consist of representatives of the chief parties concerned—universities, secondary schools, and local or regional education authorities. The Board of Education is not directly represented.

Secondary education is in the hands of the country and borough education committees, with the assistance of His Majesty's inspectors. The great public schools, however, do not come under this system; they are more independent, and much less public, than the universities themselves.

This does not mean that in such an empirical and typically English arrangement the authority of the Board of Education does not make itself felt on occasion. Neither is it the right moment to regret that education in England is not rigorously organised by the Government: our system, not being totalitarian, has kept under its apparent incoherence a certain adaptability and a great deal of freedom.

The number of candidates for the school certificate in England alone is roughly 85,000 a year. Each candidate is entitled to offer eight subjects. The five in which he must pass include an English subject, a foreign language, and either mathematics or a branch of natural science. As a result of these relatively rigid conditions, a small minority of candidates are "failed" every year, even though they undeniably reach a satisfactory average, because they are weak in one of the compulsory subjects. More often than not, that subject is French. There are many intelligent young people who do not know how to take advantage of their language studies. "Fail" them, then, say the traditionalists. The problem, in practice, is not so easily solved.

It is doubtless essential for every pupil in secondary schools and colleges to have some knowledge of a language other than his own, but the absence of a gift for foreign languages is not necessarily an adequate reason for barring the entry to almost every career. Aviators, health inspectors, nurses in the big hospitals would not carry out their long and arduous duties any the worse for having turned out youthful French proses chock-full of mistakes.

One measure of reform, however, is included in the programme of all the associations of the teaching profession and local education committees; and the Board of Education will perhaps not be too long in authorising it.¹

Modern-language teachers will be the first to welcome the possibility of granting a school certificate without foreign languages, for the present system has serious disadvantages for them. The fear of sacrificing some of their pupils in the examination makes them distrust new methods and deprecate innovations. Nevertheless, in the opinion of many teachers, there is need of an adaptation and a renovation of technique in the teaching of modern languages in England.

FRENCH

The first advantage to be expected from the forthcoming reform, then, is a little more elasticity and the possibility of making useful experiments. But—and this is a matter for headmasters rather than language teachers—advantage should be taken of this new freedom to introduce greater variety into the choice of languages. In a word, an end must be put to the hegemony of French and Latin, in the interests of that mutual understanding between nations which the Advisory Committee for the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation wishes to encourage.

Let me make myself clear. I do not aim in any way at undermining the influence of French civilisation—the most precious of all—on the thought of my fellow-countrymen. My own upbringing will not allow me to forget the value of French as an intellectual discipline, once the elementary stage has been passed. But the figures speak for themselves. Out of 77,278 candidates for the school certificate in the summer of 1937, 73,367 offered French, 29,641 Latin, 9,425 German, 1,312 Spanish, and 215 Italian; only 3 took Russian.

I do not intend here to go into the historical and social reasons for such a predominance of French in our syllabuses. Nor shall I attempt to decide how much snobbery there is in the conception of a "gentleman's education". All the same, I regret that there should be far too much selfish slackness on the national plane. Schools, parents, pupils—all must have their say. We have not yet thought about mobilising our resources. We lose ourselves in barren pedagogic discussions about the relative value

¹ This reform was accepted in August 1938.

of the different languages in the education of children under 16, instead of trying to meet the needs of the country, and of Europe generally.

The chief languages should be more fairly distributed, by methodical organisation in each area, in order little by little to spread a fuller understanding of the other European countries, at the same time establishing a reserve supply of individuals capable of direct communication with our neighbours. It is obvious that this reserve supply would always be a very small group of selected people; for the masses, the interest aroused at school by the study of a foreign language would remain as ephemeral as it is at present. The teaching of at least a few of the less common languages should also be systematically encouraged. This very principle of variety would greatly assist in giving us a healthier attitude to foreigners. The Board of Education has pointed out in an official publication that German lost ground in England during and after the war, chiefly because we resented learning the "enemy" language. No English newspaper would ever have dared to print the words found in German periodicals during the war: "Learn English and be ready for peace!"

LATIN

Latin obtained 29,641 votes as compared with 9,425 for German and 1,312 for Spanish. Far be it from me to cast any doubt on the value of the classics, and so reflect upon the work of our Chairman. I also understand the choice of those who, without doing Greek, specialise in French and Latin for the higher school certificate and at the university. But of the thousands of adolescents who take Latin for the school certificate only to drop it without more ado as soon as the examination is over, there are many who are compelled to take it willy-nilly by the regulations of some of our universities. We would mention those admirable institutions, Oxford and Cambridge, and the considerable obstacle they constitute. The conditions for entering those universities and for obtaining their scholarships exert an influence that extends far beyond the chosen few who are in later life to perpetuate the entirely superficial rivalry of those worthy twins.

French and Latin monopolise the attention of pupils who might more profitably study two modern languages; and those who are already studying two modern languages are often obliged to overwork in order to learn Latin at the same time. Latin and French overburden science students, who consequently neglect

German. All that undeniably helps to discourage initiative. Yet the obvious remedy is simple: two languages should be required for the Faculty of Letters (or Arts), with no obligation to learn Latin, and for the Faculty of Science one only. We would mention the fact that the University of London has recently decided to accept certain modern languages on an equal footing with Latin. That is the beginning of wisdom.

REFORMS NECESSARY

French and Latin teachers will not abdicate voluntarily. Reform must come from above; the authorities must agree to an energetic training of public opinion. Indeed, abdication is too big a word. A slightly more intelligent distribution of pupils and energies is all that is required.

It is true that the Headmasters' Conference has^o recently encouraged the formation of Russian classes in four boys' secondary schools; it is also true that the University of Cambridge has put Italian and Russian on the syllabus of the higher school certificate as principal subjects, with the sole object of encouraging the study of those two civilisations, for candidates are entirely lacking. In a large college for girls that I recently visited, a small group of enthusiasts were even learning Swedish. We are at the same time beginning to deal methodically with the young foreigners coming to our country to study English.

On the other hand, there is talk of removing Italian from the syllabuses of some public examinations, on the ground that it is not part of the normal secondary-school course. That is unfortunately true. Yet Italy is not only our present-day neighbour in the Mediterranean; she is also a country with a civilisation that has had, and still has, a profound influence on our own.

The first urgent necessity is, then, greater variety in the choice of the languages to be taught and fairer and more methodical distribution of them.

It is difficult to reach definite conclusions about the value of studying a modern language up to the age of 16 as an introduction to the civilisation of another country. Everything depends on the teachers, and even if they be quite willing, they often have not enough time. There is no doubt room for progress, and we may be permitted to hope that, freed to a certain extent from the examination complex, teachers will look upon this aspect of their work with increasing broadmindedness.

It is in the classes preparing for the higher school certificate that the subjects on the syllabus become of the greatest importance. Out of 11,967 candidates entering for the 1937 examinations, 4,344 chose French, 749 German, 157 Spanish, and 4 Italian, as the principal subject. From these candidates, our universities will select the future modern-language students; and it is they who will most directly undergo the academic influence through their teachers' personality and the examination syllabus. A minority will eventually enter the university; and the same disproportion in the choice of languages will be observed as for the first examination.

CHOICE OF TEXTS

The syllabuses of some university boards still show clearly academic tendencies in the choice of texts. Tradition demands that in French every candidate should choose a literary period, either the age of Louis XIV or the Romantic Period. Modern literature and contemporary or even recent civilisation are neglected. Other boards ask for general ideas of contemporary France, but only as a sideline.

Some years ago, at Cambridge, we embarked upon a campaign against the tradition of prescribing a literary period either the classical or the romantic. The campaign was directed solely against secondary education, and was carried on on behalf of an advisory committee having no influence over the faculty itself. The first step was to allow a choice of texts dealing with the two periods; more recent and varied texts were offered as an alternative, and some eighteenth-century texts were inserted in the list. To relinquish the period distinction and put all the prescribed texts on one list was the next obvious step. In that list, everybody could find something to suit him and choose as he pleased, and nobody protested.

Now we are going still further and requiring, under the principal subject—French, German, Spanish, and occasionally Italian or Russian—a study of the geography of the country, its recent history, and its contemporary institutions. What protests there are are feeble, for the idea has at last been grasped. A secondary-school headmistress, who suggests some prudent changes, ends her letter thus: "All the same, I hope your efforts to make good Europeans of us will be successful".

The orthodox, however, put forward the objection that, by being satisfied with this collection of unconnected texts from different centuries, entirely devoid of artistic unity, we are

destroying the intellectual unity of our system of language teaching, which they hold should be based on literature, and preferably on the detailed study of a fairly short period. We are told that we are encouraging the acquisition of superficial knowledge, and that, in particular, we are obliging language teachers to dabble in what is not really their business—geography, history politics, sociology—by suggesting such texts as Siegfried's "*La Crise de l'Europe*" or Léon Blum's "*La Réforme gouvernementale*".

A CONCEPTION OF CULTURE

We must in actual practice eliminate a wrong-headed conception of culture to be found in the traditional teaching of modern languages—the conception that the mind is formed by the contemplation of a civilisation from all angles, and especially through its literature and philosophy. It is immaterial, we are told, what period is selected, but it had better be fairly far back, so that reliable verdicts that will not be contradicted in the future may be reached, and bubble reputations neglected. In a word, authors must have been contained in textbooks for half a century before they are worthy of our attention.

We owe this tradition partly to the battle modern languages had to fight to win a place in the curricula of our schools and universities, and partly to our early teachers. Under the disapproving gaze of their classical colleagues, the Greek and Latin teachers, our predecessors' chief concern was to avoid the accusation of training waiters rather than cultured people. To be respected in the academic circles of the country that invented snobbery, one had to be superbly useless, and to despise the vulgar allurements of topicality. Moreover, our early teachers were Frenchmen. These pioneers ploughing a frequently infertile soil did magnificent work, but they believed that they could and should give English pupils a French education. And what about English?

It is only fair to note that when the teaching of modern languages was being organised in England, the methodical study of English and English literature was almost unknown in our secondary schools, and still more so in our universities. Our pupils who study two foreign civilisations more often than not receive a singularly incomplete education. They have some pretensions to philology, but have neglected their mother tongue. They read Descartes and Pascal, but know nothing of Bacon or Locke. They will have no hesitation in holding forth on the style

of Racine, when their own English style is still unformed. They are selling their birthright.

If English is thus to be at the root of any kind of education for us islanders, what will be left of the traditional modern-language training? The mental training implied by any study of languages! That is the only intellectual unity of value to us. By using foreign languages to gain a mastery of his native tongue, by learning, too, to handle those languages with accuracy and elegance, the student will train and polish his intelligence; and I, for one, shall care relatively little what he has read, so long as he reaches that admirable objective. He will have acquired a technique, and that in itself is a great deal. Let him read what he likes, more or less. Why, in any case, should a modern-language student be a man of letters rather than a sociologist, historian or economist?

When this conception of modern-language training has been understood, we may allow ourselves certain reasonable liberties. We shall read French less obviously to develop our intelligence than to learn about France and the French. We shall no longer be tempted to unearth minor authors or those of purely historical interest, whom the French themselves have consigned to oblivion. We shall ask the French what they think of their neighbours, or of the difficulties that face Europe and the world. The same principle justifies the inclusion of the book "Lebendiges Frankreich" in the syllabus of German for the Cambridge higher school certificate.

I should add that we have a quite special obligation to consult the opinion of free, democratic France on problems that ask for our co-operation with perfect mutual understanding. We shall go, indeed we have already gone, much further than that, and in a direction in which we were preceded by the French Ministry of Education. If I am not mistaken, certain categories of French secondary-school pupils who do not do Latin have additional English classes for the study of English translations of Greek and Latin authors. The thought is ancient, but the medium modern. Courses in ancient civilisation might be organised with the aid of practically nothing but English, French and German translations.

We do the same thing ourselves on occasion. Even when we have an English text to study, it often happens that we read it for preference in French, German or Italian. For once in a way, I recently read the English translation of Giraudoux' "Racine", and I do not think it has suffered under the pen of

one of my colleagues. We might even go further in that direction, and point out to our pupils the resources to be found in the great writers and thinkers of the other countries of Europe—nay, of the whole world—whom we are obliged to read in translation or not at all. In this way, the unity of civilisation would to some extent be restored, and a justification would be found for those few languages that we have the time and opportunity to teach. As mediums of thought, those languages would not be demeaning themselves by broadening our outlook and accompanying us beyond the frontiers of their home countries.

THE MODERN HUMANITIES

You will say that the programme is too vast and vague. Perhaps; but it contains the guiding principles of the true modern humanities. Selection is necessary throughout. But dare anyone say that our universities encourage that broadmindedness which alone would make such an evolution possible? Certainly not. It would not suit the exclusiveness of the literary man. Academic inertia also plays its part, as well as a pedantic tendency to classify human activity into "subjects", an often arbitrary pigeon-holing of the mind; whence lack of understanding and petty rivalries. It is far simpler to set up as a specialist in some literary period or other and take refuge behind a façade that will not be renewed or even receive a fresh coat of paint. A colleague suspected of modernism will never get a Chair. He would do well to seem more bookish, to write a thesis of the most magnificent superfluousness.

My students in the Modern-language Faculty at Cambridge, who do a year or two of French, write at the end of their course an essay on a literary or historical subject selected from one of the two prescribed periods. You will already have guessed that those periods are the age of Louis XIV and the Romantic age. Poor France invariably expires for those students in 1850. And it is not only future teachers who suffer under this archaic system. The majority of the candidates will go on to other subjects—history, law, economics—and would be only too glad to learn about contemporary France. Considerable reforms on this point are happily in contemplation for 1940.

That is not to say that we are any worse than the rest. A professor of London University has said: "In the university training of our future modern-language teachers, the conditions and development of modern civilisation are completely left out".

A professor of the University of Wales considers that "the modern-language syllabus in our universities needs to be entirely recast to serve as an introduction to modern civilisation"; and an inspector who is well acquainted with the results of the system has said that "the way in which future modern-language teachers are trained in most of our universities is ridiculous".

If some of us thus show signs of bitterness, it is because this new conception of our task is not new at all. We have not yet fulfilled the dream of a Committee appointed by the Prime Minister in 1916 to draw up the Magna Charta of our modern-language teaching: "By modern studies alone . . . can be gathered and disseminated that more intimate knowledge of foreign countries which is necessary for the wise conduct of its affairs by a democratic people; they are required for the public service of the country at home as well as abroad; through and by them our people can learn what is best and highest in other countries. . . . The universities are the keystone of the whole structure of higher education. To them we must look for the continuous rebirth and renovation of modern studies. In them should be consummated scholarship, learning and the final product of research into every element of national life among the great peoples of the modern world. From them should spread the stimulus of that enthusiasm which comes from aspirations realised."

FRESH PROBLEMS

A reaction is only to be expected. The powers of darkness will soon hold all the trumps in their hand when they preach the need for academic seclusion; for there is a fresh problem threatening our teachers. Next to French, the three chief languages are those of two totalitarian States and that of a country torn asunder by a so-called civil war. If we attempt to deal with the contemporary period, we shall sooner or later have to tackle questions of principle and burning controversies. If our colleagues are tempted to make sure of a quiet life by preferring the past to the present, shall we, blissfully ignorant of such complications so far as French is concerned, cast the first stone? Let us admit that the question may have its delicate aspects, and that, even for those who know how to maintain an Olympian detachment, the choice of texts—or the absence of texts—will present considerable difficulties in the future.

While thus stating certain problems and pointing out certain deficiencies, I should like to make it clear that immense progress

has been achieved in the last twenty years by a highly conscientious body of teachers. The type of Englishman who stammers a few words of French or some other foreign language with a strong "English accent" will not quickly disappear from our comic stage, but he will soon be banished from real life. I should also like to mention the value and interest of the replies to the questions asked by the Committee, received from the Board of Education, the Scottish Education Department, the Central Council for School Broadcasting, the British Council, and some fifty teachers and civil servants.¹

No one nowadays would dream of doubting the importance of the work to be done. We may differ as to methods, but on the fundamental issue we are as one. Witness the aims of the Modern Language Association, to which nearly two thousand modern-language teachers in our secondary schools and universities belong. I may perhaps quote them here.

(a) To set forth the vital importance of a knowledge of modern languages, in conjunction with history and geography, as the only direct means of understanding foreign countries and peoples, in the interests of general education, international intercourse, industry and commerce;

(b)

(c) To emphasise the close relation into which the study of modern languages should be brought with other modern studies, such as English, history, geography and economics, in order to form a complete course of modern humanities.

J. O. ROACH.

Cambridge.

¹ These replies have been sent to the Secretariat of the League of Nations at Geneva, where they are available for reference.

THE ROLE OF "LYCÉES" AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES.

Professors have always had an innate tendency, which indeed does them honour, to attach more importance to doctrines (programmes and methods) than to the material conditions that prevent those doctrines from being put into practice. The latter, however, would appear to have an important bearing on the former. 'It is all very well for educational programmes to emphasise, as in Yugoslavia, that the object of modern-language teaching in secondary schools should be "the possession of the language—that is, the capacity to understand and speak it, so as to be able to become familiar with the spirit and civilisation of the nation whose language is being studied". That object is still far from being achieved.

Let us for the moment leave aside theoretical controversies and confine ourselves to examining the various elements which go to make up the education of our students from the time when, as children, they begin to spell a foreign language until the day when they go back to teach it in the classroom as masters. Let us follow their studies before, during and after their time at the university. Those studies present such a continuous chain of cause and effect as almost to constitute a vicious circle. There must be a clearer definition of, and an improvement in, the relationship between secondary teaching and higher education, between the *lycée* and the university, since these to-day are separated by a watertight division of which people affect to be unconscious. The facts are largely the same everywhere—in France and Germany, as well as Yugoslavia.

The number of college students is increasing at an abnormal rate: whether gifted or not, healthy or sickly, townfolk or peasants, rich or poor, children are sent to the *lycées* and from there to the university. The number of classes has had to be increased, and even so they are overcrowded, sometimes containing over sixty students. Owing to lack of premises, each

division has lessons for only half the day; that has a particularly unfortunate effect on the teaching of modern languages. Thus, in addition to such students as possess ability, there are others who acquire habits of which it is difficult to cure them later on. They stultify secondary education and lower its level.

But the evil does not stop there. It has spread to the university, which is full to overflowing with a mass of students who, having been insufficiently prepared for literary studies, are sometimes ignorant of even the elements of the language which they propose soon to teach. As it is morally impossible for the professors to turn such students away, they resign themselves to starting again from the beginning with the work which ought to have been done by the *lycée*, and (much against their will) sacrificing such students as are gifted. The university, having had the *lycée*, so to speak, implanted in it, lacks a sufficient staff to carry out the necessary organisation.

This, for instance, is the way in which two hundred and fifty students of French at the Faculty of Letters in Belgrade¹ are divided: sixty beginners (first and second terms), sixty intermediate students (third to sixth term), seventy degree candidates (seventh and eighth terms), and sixty taking French as a subsidiary subject.

For each of those four divisions, which are regular classes, separate courses are given by only four teachers (one professor, one lecturer and two readers). The courses consist of pronunciation classes (with gramophone), explanation of old and modern texts, exercises in grammar and conversation, correction of papers and discussion of students' essays. There are also common courses in phonetics, versification and literary history.

A staff three times the size would be required to give proper instruction to such a large number of students of such varying standards. One can imagine the difficulties with which a professor has to contend at such lectures, the amount of time which he has to devote to them (often wasted) and the almost heroic resistance which he must offer to weak examination candidates who sometimes present themselves for the degree examination as often as four times.

What are the causes of this rush to learning? Is it a thirst for knowledge, as was generally the case before the war? Alas, not in the least! It is almost solely due to the wish to obtain posts in the civil service—and poorly paid posts at that.

¹ The largest group of modern-language students at that university.

On the one hand, there is an economic crisis : on the other, a crisis of mind and will. The free professions, such as trade and industry, are difficult to enter, and require initiative and endurance, which are lacking in most young people to-day. The post-war generation's markedly changed attitude to life is shown in a weakened sense of responsibility, and an ever-increasing claim to support and protection from the community. As a rule, the extent of the claim is in inverse proportion to the merit of the claimant.

Under these conditions, the university offers a providential refuge. One enters freely. Matriculation fees are low. Lost in the mass of students, the lazy and incapable young man peacefully allows himself to drift on floods which overflow all barriers. An ancient and honourable tradition invests the student with a mantle of romance, and, what is more, provides him with many facilities, of a material nature : he is cheaply housed and fed in student hostels and in " university cities " built by noble founders (such as King Alexander of Yugoslavia, who built a magnificent home for five hundred students in Belgrade, and Queen Marie, who contributed to the foundation of a home for a hundred students); he gets scholarships and long-term loans from funds to assist poor students, and he travels by rail at a quarter the usual fare.

With the community making such sacrifices, one would expect the students to show an ability and intellectual energy worthy of encouragement. Unfortunately, although there are a limited number of gifted and hard-working young people, the great majority are unworthy of the noble name of student. They do not study; they have never been taught the habit, and are quite content not to learn. To get their degrees, they have only to follow the stream, get the "*index*" signed, and make a slight effort on the eve of the examinations.

This is not a pessimistic view based on local and passing observations. Warnings are heard on every side. In France, one of the most intellectual countries, Professor L. Blum, like so many others, finds the French universities overcrowded with a " throng of uncultured or insufficiently cultured students ". After taking their degrees, and even after receiving their teacher's diplomas, they remain mediocre. In their reports, the chairmen of the Boards of Examiners for the State examination for teachers have severe things to say about the majority of candidates. In connection with the history and philosophy papers, they speak of " frankly deplorable " spelling and style, and " the absence of

any organic plan, development by mere enumeration, carelessness and mistakes". In connection with the German papers, they say that "the inexactitude of thought is only surpassed, as a rule, by the inappropriateness of the vocabulary", and "some of the mistakes would be inexcusable in a beginner". Referring to translation, they state that "the large majority of candidates are incapable of rendering a text into French that could be read and understood without the original".¹

We shall not weary the reader with a long enumeration of such complaints, which are always the same, for the evil is one from which the teaching of modern languages suffers more than that of any other subject. The universities are invaded by students whose ignorance of the language selected prevents them from engaging in the study of literature and cultivating their taste and their minds, which is the great object of such teaching. To remedy this state of affairs, closer co-operation between the *lycée* and the faculty is necessary. An illustration is the dialogue which has become classic, in which the professors say to their colleagues in the schools; "Send us good undergraduates and we will turn them into good graduates"; to which the others reply: "Send us good graduates and we will send you better undergraduates".

Far be it from us to seek to refuse the children of any social class access to higher education; but should the pretext of democracy be used to encourage slackness and mediocrity? To each according to his merit—that is the greatest and truest principle of modern democracy. Whether the education of future scholars or the training of "practical workers" is in question, such merit is indispensable. One of the essential duties of the universities is to form an intellectual *élite* capable of upholding and developing the culture of a nation, and thereby the general culture of the world. It would therefore be a veritable crime against the nation and against humanity if universities were turned into institutions issuing "degrees at cheap rates" and turning out petty bureaucrats.

It is to save the secondary schools and universities from such a fate, which would benefit nobody, that, without wishing to upset the existing order, and at the risk of putting forward recommendations often made before, we shall try to indicate certain possible reforms, of varying importance.

¹ "Licence et recrutement des professeurs", *Revue de Paris*, December 1st, 1930.

I. The primary necessity is the opening of vocational or technical schools, wherever, as in South-eastern Europe, practically the only type of secondary school at present is the *lycée*. In such schools, many of our children would discover their true bent, instead of persisting in forms of study that suit neither their capabilities nor their financial position, and only succeed in turning them into cynics and misfits, if they are not indeed driven to suicide or even crime (as, for example, when wounded pride leads a student to assault the master he holds responsible for his failure).

II. A fee, which could be quite small, should be made payable for attendance at the *lycée*; this little sacrifice would have a psychological effect on parents and children, and would bring home to them the importance and the dignity of education. Poor but gifted children would be exempted. The fee might even be returned in the form of books and school supplies.

III. Modern-language classes should not contain more than thirty pupils.

IV. The examination known as *petite maturité* should be introduced for promotion to the higher classes at the *lycée* (at the end of the fourth year in Yugoslavia, where the first year is the lowest and the eighth the highest), and, where it exists, its standard should be raised. This is the right time to guide each pupil towards his real walk in life. The choice will seem much easier at this earlier age.

V. The *baccalauréat* should be reformed, and its standard raised. This highly important examination has fallen into some disrepute. The war brought in its wake an absolute mania for kind-heartedness: anything, or nothing, was an excuse for leniency. We are told that the candidate is "poor", or "ill". If his composition is bad, why, "everyone can't be talented"; if it is chock-full of spelling mistakes, it is because the candidate was "nervous and upset". Nobody asks how his fellow-students so miraculously passed the examination. Instead of giving way to this leniency, which is ruining higher education by recruiting an army of second-raters, would it not be preferable to take pity on the entire generations of pupils who will be sacrificed at the hands of such teachers, and give a thought to our national culture, to which they are a menace? It is no longer a praiseworthy feeling of charity; whether it be demagogy or intellectual short-sightedness, it shows at any rate a deplorable lack of the

sense of responsibility. The duties of a judge are not a personal matter; they are a social function.

In face of the growing number and incompetence of the *bacheliers* (successful candidates for the *baccalauréat*), a choice of candidates for higher education is obviously the most pressing need. How is the choice to be made? Our experience, which is doubtless that of all our colleagues, has persuaded us that the simplest and most practical method would be to introduce, side by side with the general *bachelier's* diploma (a school-leaving certificate issued by the *lycée*), a special supplementary certificate issued by the university, which alone would testify to a candidate's fitness to follow a higher course. This duty would naturally devolve upon the professors of the faculty and school that the candidate proposed to enter.

Such a *colloquium* would form an intermediate system between the one at present in force in France and the system practised in Germany and other countries. We are convinced that university professors would willingly take on the extra work, and that secondary-school teachers would not look askance at this innovation, which would relieve them of a too heavy responsibility.

This reform would, of course, apply to all the faculties; it would reveal its full value, however, in the teaching of modern languages and literatures. In Yugoslavia, it has already been virtually introduced by the Law on Universities of July 4th, 1930, one clause of which stipulates that "Courses in seminaries and university institutions may be attended only by students who have passed the entrance examination".

VI. The examination fees should be raised in universities, especially for candidates who come up three or four times for examination without proper preparation. This is a regrettable source of disorganisation in our universities, and of exhaustion for the professors.

VII. Degree candidates should be required to reside for at least six months in the country of which they are studying the language and literature, and should be obliged to bring back a short essay. Facilities for residence should be granted to them. Advantage might be taken of the special courses and exchanges organised by the universities in a friendly spirit of reciprocity. An appeal might be made to the Government in aid of poor students.

VIII. Facilities for residence abroad should be granted to young language teachers. The Yugoslav Ministry of National

Education included a fairly large sum in the budget to encourage residence in France, Germany and England, but economies effected by the Treasury led to the abolition of this subsidy. Nevertheless, holidays with pay are occasionally granted.

On this point, too, international co-operation is of great value. Yugoslav students who obtain their degree in French, for instance, are eligible for about fifty renewable annual scholarships that have been generously granted for some years past by the French Government to graduates from all our universities. In return, the Yugoslav Government grants a few annual scholarships to young Frenchmen wishing to study Yugoslavia. Scholarships, in most cases, reciprocal, are also granted by the Governments of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Turkey, Germany and Italy, and by a special British foundation.

IX. For the same purpose, the co-operation of students from the linguistic minorities of the country could be enlisted. Such an intermixing of students would not only further their studies, but would also be an excellent way of bringing together the different elements in a country.

X. Other methods may be used as auxiliaries to university education, such as, for instance, the work of the *Instituts français* which exist in many countries. In Yugoslavia, there is one in each of the three chief university towns: Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. (The other two—Skoplje and Subotica—have "French circles".) These "instituts", which in Yugoslavia are attached to the universities, organise courses and lectures, special courses for backward students and dramatic performances by the students; with the approval of the university and the Ministry, they hold vacation courses for degree candidates and teachers from all the secondary schools in the country. Scholarships granted to those who take these courses enable them to have theoretical and practical training in the foreign language, provided by the staff of the university and by professors from France. These free courses, which are held in Belgrade in July, have proved their worth. They are attended by more than sixty students.

XI. The importance of a course in education for young foreign-language masters has, perhaps, been exaggerated; but they must get a clear idea of methods of teaching languages, both in theory and in practice. At the Belgrade Faculty of Letters, a general pedagogic seminary, organised by the university in co-operation with the Ministry of Education, fulfils this

requirement. Under the direction of a professor of education and professors of each of the languages taught, the degree candidates attend the courses and hold classes themselves in the *lycées* of the capital. Discussion after the lesson is compulsory.

XII. We shall not linger over the methods at the disposal of the central authorities for guaranteeing and checking the standard of teaching. Language masters are generally made to give far too many lessons, in view of their extra work, especially the correction of papers. When all is said and done, the method is precisely as good as the master. If he is badly paid and overworked, he will be unfit, will give his lessons badly, and there will be nothing to be done about it.

On the other hand, enlightened inspection, friendly yet firm, seems to us to be indispensable. Until last year, such inspection was practically non-existent in Yugoslavia, and we were only too well aware of the fact when presiding over the Board of Examiners for the *baccalauréat* or when examining candidates for the *agrégation*.

XIII. Lastly, we come to a delicate problem which forces itself everywhere on our attention. Secondary education, particularly in the department of languages and letters, is becoming more and more the monopoly of women. Of our two hundred and fifty French students, more than two hundred, or 80%, are women. The proportion of women in the Faculty of Philosophy at Belgrade (letters and sciences), which was 56% in 1926, went up to 65% in 1929, with a slight drop, to 60%, in 1938. This curious anomaly (for the most militant feminist could not sensibly justify such a high percentage of women in education) is explained by the crises of all kinds caused by the war, and especially by the terrible losses inflicted upon the teaching profession, in Yugoslavia more than anywhere else. Moreover, before the war, the most gifted undergraduates went in for philosophy, whereas now they prefer technology, law and medicine, as being more remunerative. The women, weaker or more unassuming, flock to the Faculties of Science and Letters.

There is no need to dwell on the consequences of this state of affairs, which is general in many European countries, as well as in America.

These facts strengthen the conviction we expressed at the beginning of this article, that external conditions (which are said to be material, but are only apparently so) are a greater obstacle than lack of method to the success of our educational system.

A remedy should and could be found without great financial sacrifices. The chief thing, as in every reform, is to desire it resolutely and to avoid beating about the bush. Moreover, the few measures we have described do not stir up, as far as we can see, any of those political controversies with which people almost everywhere love to complicate these already complex problems that concern the future of a people and of mankind.

In a twofold capacity, as good patriots and as qualified builders of peace, modern-language teachers are bound and entitled to raise their voices high enough for Governments to hear.

Miodrag IBROVAČ,
Professor of French Language and Literature,
University of Belgrade.

THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES AND FOREIGN FORMS OF CIVILISATION : PROSPECTS AND LIMITATION.

SPECIFIC ELEMENTS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE STUDY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

In quite recent years, a tendency has gradually developed to look upon the teaching of modern languages as no longer limited to purely practical and utilitarian objects.

To-day such teaching is considered, not only to satisfy practical considerations, but to constitute a very valuable aid to knowledge of foreign civilisations, and, more generally, of all the factors which go to the making of the life and culture of a people.

In advanced education, where the ground to be covered can be freely subdivided, the practical difficulties which arise only require sufficient power and skill on the teacher's part to be overcome. In secondary teaching, on the contrary, although some of the same difficulties reappear, many further problems arise. For what is then required is a highly complex and not readily adjusted combination of a number of separate factors, which must all be incorporated in each language course.

The new tendency is much to be welcomed, since it is likely to foster mutual understanding between nations and to broaden the basis of a branch of teaching which was formerly often tedious and unimaginative.

The science of teaching itself stands to gain greatly. A concept and its expression in words are inseparately wedded; hence a study of living facts and ideas, sustained by instructive, unusual or picturesque detail, promotes remembrance of the appropriate words and phrases. The student memorises the concrete fact and the corresponding symbol simultaneously.

In the days when textbook exercises were solely designed to encourage grammatical proficiency, the actual texts offered no sort of stimulus to the student's memory; indeed, it can be asserted that the artificiality, if not the all-too-frequent foolishness of the content, prevented the acquisition of an ability to speak

the language correctly, owing to its hollowness and far-fetched character.

If a given text is to be accepted as typical of the language, it must of necessity convey some significant meaning, whether relating to such current matters as trade and industry, or to science, the arts and philosophy.

It would be difficult to find more interesting material for the student than descriptions of the appearance, customs and modes of feeling and of reaction of the country and people whose language he is mastering. A good textbook¹ should present facts in their natural setting, including the character and atmosphere of the country, its fauna and flora and the configuration of its soil, thus borrowing from geography and cognate sciences, taken as auxiliaries, elements appropriate to the object in view.

Accordingly, there is every reason for insisting on the study of the salient characteristics of the country concerned and of the relationship between its geography and resources and the commercial and industrial activity dependent thereon.

For example, the situation and course of rivers, their navigability and the natural resources of the districts they traverse, provide an explanation both of the living conditions of the inhabitants and of the relative importance of harbours and the extent to which different countries trade with them.

These questions should be discussed simply, without pedantry or recourse to far-reaching theories unlikely to appeal to unspecialised students. Unusual or over-technical terms should be avoided, and care should be taken not to enter into such details or complexities as to transform the language course into a lecture on geography or political economy.

The kind of information we have referred to is designed to introduce into the lectures, and subsequent conversations, a rich and useful vocabulary constituting a logical and coherent whole.

A good textbook should also describe the towns, their streets, typical posters and signs, the crowds and their way of dressing, the cries of street vendors and other elements in the general activity. Then, delving deeper into the life of the country, it should briefly describe national institutions, social customs,

¹ In a subsequent article, we propose to enumerate a number of suitable textbooks and to examine the appropriate methods for their use. Here we are only concerned with those general principles which we consider should govern the teaching of languages in correlation with national civilisations, in order to set out more clearly the objects and methods of such teaching.

local standards of behaviour, etc., and make some effort to throw light on the psychology of the nation.

The history of the country concerned may usefully be invoked to explain the different aspects of the present conditions and of the physical and spiritual mould of the people.

But it will be readily appreciated that history is a vast and complex field, and is incapable of contributing as much to the knowledge of a modern language as physical geography, natural and human, which itself covers a very considerable part of the vocabulary.

I need not refer here to the history of language and grammar. Although this subject is of manifest importance, in connection with many problems relating to the evolution of idioms and their determinant causes, it would take us into a purely philological field, best left to specialists, of which secondary education must, to a large extent, keep clear.

The comparative study of languages may also prove of use, provided it is confined to limits compatible with the pupil's powers. Well-chosen comparisons between different systems of grammar can lead to a better understanding of the mechanism and interplay of modes of expressing thought in each of the languages considered.

In treading on this ground, we are entering a sphere where linguistic practice provides the intellect with opportunities for deep reflection, and where some progress can be made towards establishing a philosophy of language.

The history of the literature of a country, and familiarity with its outstanding masterpieces, will, however, probably contribute even more to an understanding of its national culture. Literature is, in essence, the vehicle through which that culture expresses its fundamental beliefs and personal or collective aspirations.

Besides revealing the particular reactions and æsthetic tendencies of the country, its literature will accordingly provide an inexhaustible source of material which, in the mass, represents a synthesis of the life and culture of its inhabitants. Often that literature also provides information on geography, history and social structure, which is readily absorbed and of which advantage can be taken without recourse to specialised works.

It will be noticed that, generally speaking, literature has for more than a century tended to adopt the vocabulary, and to a large extent the style, of common speech. At the same time, it has extended its range of interest to cover the most varied human activities, to such an extent that to-day there is no philosophical

or social theme with which it is not, in principle, concerned.

Texts selected from the country's literature, with due regard to the main object in view, should be given a paramount place in the study of its language and of the civilisation expressed by that language.

It goes without saying that the cinema, the gramophone and the wireless are also capable of contributing most usefully, since they bring the most distant country near in sight and sound. Accordingly, they should be used as adjuncts to the teacher's purely linguistic efforts. We will, however, not consider them here, as they merit separate treatment.

STANDARDS AND LIMITATIONS OF MODERN- LANGUAGE TEACHING

It is a well-known fact that some teachers, attracted by the brilliance and interest of a form of language teaching which concentrates on the study of manners and culture, tend to devote a large part of their lectures to dissertations on every conceivable topic, going so far as to deal at length with purely philosophical issues.

We must however, not overlook the danger inherent in allowing the teaching of languages to spread into an over-wide and over-ambitious survey of the elements of civilisation we review above.

Whatever his personal merit, no professor giving a course in modern languages can possess encyclopædic knowledge, even in an idiomatically limited field. Exaggeration in dealing with subjects foreign to the immediate object of the lecture would involve him in digressions on a range of topics with which he has only an imperfect and second-hand acquaintance. In many cases, he would be tempted into vague, confused or inaccurate statements, or into errors of proportion due to the hazards of his own training.

Such a situation must of necessity lead to diffuseness, incompetent verbosity, amateurishness and extemporisation. The teacher would, in fact, be forsaking his art for a hobby, and, in so doing, risk losing sight of the wood for the trees. A still greater danger would be that the knowledge imparted in such circumstances could not be fitted into a systematic framework, permitting satisfactory classification in the mind of the pupil. It follows that all this tenuous material would promptly be

forgotten and, with it, such notions of language as had been imparted.

We therefore consider that the teacher of modern languages should confine himself to a study of the country concerned *as reflected in its language*.

The main foundation should be the vocabulary, methodically grouped so as to present side by side words of universal bearing and words of particular relevance to the country in question, the whole being based upon the principles of direction and co-ordination which we have set out above.

Great care should be taken not to leave such vocabularies, or the related idiomatic expressions, unsupported; in other words, use must be made of them in compositions and translations. They may also be used for conversation, in the course of which the teacher may with advantage indulge in personal reminiscences, in order to give life to the local characteristics he mentions.

Those factors, knowledge of which (we are agreed) can contribute to the acquisition of a foreign language, will in this way readily find a place.

* * *

In order to avoid errors in the practical application of these principles, it will be necessary to arrive at a clear notion of the *limitations* which perforce inhibit the study of a given form of civilisation as part of the study of its language.

We must not overlook the fact that, in the case of a country occupying an average position in the scale of modern culture, the main elements of its particular form of civilisation are of a *universal* character. Over a considerable field, those elements which form the basis of the mother-tongue are identical with those of any other language on the same cultural level. Indeed it is obvious that, as regards language, the universal notions are the more important, even though local notions may be infinitely more characteristic.

Nevertheless, if we situate the foreign language in its proper setting, disregarding unusual and obsolescent customs, we shall find the universal necessarily intermingled with the particular, whenever the text in question has been written with real knowledge of the country or district and of its fundamental problems.

In any sphere relating to technical or scientific issues, to planning or transport or any other factor of modern life, the individual civilisation of the country will naturally not express

itself in any original manner, and will exert no appreciable influence upon the mode of thought reflected in the vocabulary.

Even philosophy has a super-national character and remains free of any particular idiom. While her exponents owe allegiance to nations, her realm is the world.

Limitations to that statement may begin to be apparent, when we come to consider old civilisations, such as the Egyptian or the Chinese, which to-day seem to possess unity because the details of their evolution and the influences that bore on them are not fully known.

Clearly there are also certain schools of philosophy which, even in modern times, illustrate certain national traditions. But quite apart from the fact that classification by nations, even in those cases, is often arbitrary and merely a matter of convenience, these questions can only be entered into in special lectures devoted to that specific purpose, and not incidentally in a language course. Nor must it be forgotten that the systematic study of a given civilisation cannot be undertaken in disregard of the time element. On the contrary, it postulates knowledge of the history of events and of the ideas which have gradually shaped the form of culture under study.

These considerations should suffice to show that philosophic surveys cannot be included in the teaching of languages proper, except with extreme caution and by way of exception, where the text studied justifies a digression. All that is permissible is the occasional and appropriate raising of a screen to allow a brief glimpse into another realm of thought.

The more typical customs of a foreign people are doubtless of great interest. But, as in the modern world they are becoming more and more unusual, they tend to survive only in folklore—and even then precariously and, very often, in a concealed form. Here we touch the peak of particularism. These are things which properly belong to the past, things of which a traveller—or indeed a native—will only be reminded on feast-days, by accident, or in out-of-the-way places.

Any relatively detailed attention to folklore as part of the study of a language would introduce a mass of works very seldom used, idiomatic terms relating to obsolete customs, names of things no longer met with, details of clothing, etc.—in a word, a whole charming, amusing and intriguing set of things which have no connection with the present civilisation.

The language teacher should therefore severely limit his references to folklore, although not disregarding its sympathetic

aspect and popular significance, and use it merely to give an occasional touch of bright colour.

The need for such limitations should not be a matter for regret; for the unwise addition of too great a number of external factors to the fundamental basis of the teaching would soon stifle the inculcation of the language, which must remain the principal purpose.

Let it be remembered that the body of any language is constituted by a coherent system of symbols which characterises it, and that that system must not be allowed to disappear under a mass of irrelevant factors.

But these limitations do not invalidate the principle that the teaching of a language should include descriptions of the conditions of life of the foreign population concerned. Nor do they detract from the value of such descriptions as a contribution to the furtherance of mutual comprehension. Their only object is to determine when digression is opportune as a contributory factor, and when it becomes an impediment, to the efficient study of a modern tongue.

CREATION OF SPECIAL FACULTIES FOR THE STUDY OF FOREIGN CIVILISATIONS

All those arguments which, in secondary education, militate in favour of acquaintance with the conditions of life and culture of foreign countries reappear, even more imperatively and on a higher plane, when we consider advanced teaching. Here, however, there is little to be said. This stage of education, which to a large extent demands independent research, does not require that its methods should be justified.

There is no limitation to be placed as a matter of principle upon the furthest extension of the teaching of the most varied types of civilisation. Universities allow any number of general or special courses of lectures. Institutions for advanced studies are so organised as to be able to supplement the teaching of modern languages with classes in history, human geography, philosophy, sociology, etc.: they include in their curricula, or have power to include, courses in historical and comparative grammar, descriptive or experimental phonetics, and courses specifically devoted to foreign civilisations, the history of literature, the plastic arts, music or archæology. In this way, every aspect of the ancient or modern life of peoples, whether considered

at a given stage in their history or from the standpoint of their historical evolution, can be made the subject of specialised teaching.

This conception of the understanding of foreign populations in modern times corresponds with our conception of the humanities in ancient times. In both cases, although on different ground, the objects are similar and equally lofty.

Lucien-Paul THOMAS,
*Director of the Académie royale
de langue et de littérature françaises,
Brussels.*

THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES IN FRANCE

There are few modern-language teachers in France who would not agree that the fundamental problem in teaching modern languages is how to reconcile them with the classics, how to make the modern humanities work in friendly collaboration with the ancient humanities to train the minds of the younger generations of Frenchmen.

As one of the documents issued by the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation points out, the aim of the classical humanities is to give the youth of each country a form of education based on the common factors in the cultural inheritance of the West, whereas the object of the modern humanities is to disseminate a form of culture founded on the very multiplicity of cultures in Europe—nationalism as against internationalism. At a time when national cultures are tending to become self-sufficient, just as races are becoming politically and economically self-sufficient—when, as a result of such a policy, mutual comprehension between nations is growing more difficult than ever—the modern humanities, if they are taught with full understanding and no false exclusiveness, constitute along with the ancient humanities the finest means of building up an international cultural equilibrium in which a lively feeling for national idiosyncrasies would be counterbalanced by a no less clearly defined conception of the traditions that are the common property of the nations of Europe. The classical tongues, especially Latin, are the foundation of Mediterranean culture and the medium through which it expressed itself; in the Middle Ages, that culture was handed down to Western and Central Europe, and in modern times to Eastern Europe and the two Americas—the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin. Modern languages are the expression of more restricted cultures grafted on to the old stock and flourishing there.

In our times, the political and cultural "catholicity" of Europe is being torn asunder. While North and South America and Western Europe remain faithful to the old ideal, the greater part of Central and Eastern Europe is in open rebellion against

Latin, Roman, classical thought. This phenomenon is not of recent birth; it may easily be traced back to Herder, and even Luther, in the Germanic world, and in Eastern Europe to pan-Slavism and the reaction against "Westernism". But in the last twenty years it has become painfully acute, and in politics it is reflected in the struggle between the so-called ideological *blocs*. To mend, if possible, the broken intellectual and moral homogeneity of the peoples in both the Old and the New World, one of the methods adopted should be to emphasise the universality of the classical legacy and the culture of the ancients. Whether the teaching of dead languages—Latin, for instance—would not be improved by reform on the lines of modern-language teaching, whether it would not benefit by being made less grammatical and standardised, greater attention being paid to the study of the vocabulary and civilisation, is a question which Latinists and Hellenists are pre-eminently fitted to answer, and to which some of them indeed are now turning their attention.

To France and, I think, the other Latin countries, the problem of the co-existence of modern-language teaching and the teaching of the classics, and collaboration between them, presents a special aspect. As we shall see later, in France, as elsewhere, some intelligent people are urging that our youth should be given a modern culture based on a comparison between the native tongue and the other languages spoken at the present time—in other words, on the comparative study of the civilisations which find their expression in the various idioms of our time. Everybody will agree, moreover, that the modern language to which greatest attention should be paid, the language which should be studied and assimilated before all others, is none other than the native tongue. There would be no need to repeat what might seem a commonplace and a truism if all teachers, including modern-language teachers, at least in France—for I am insufficiently acquainted with the position in other countries—were not agreed that there are regrettable, indeed lamentable, deficiencies on that point; the situation has come to be known as the "crisis in the French language". Any deep study of French ultimately comes down to Latin, which is, as it were, the bedrock that emerges everywhere through the accumulation of sediment. To know his native tongue well, a Frenchman can dispense with Latin much less easily than a German or an Englishman. Hence the peculiar importance of studying Latin in France.

When justice has been done to the ancient humanities, what remains as the fair share of the modern humanities? Modern-

language teachers in France claim what is known as "linguistic equality" for them—they should have a pedagogic value in the syllabuses equal to that of Latin and Greek; the dead languages should still be taught as a solid foundation, but that each pupil should have a compulsory minimum of modern linguistic culture. All students without exception should learn a modern language and learn it well, and, together with the language of the country, its literature, art, civilisation and character; it should be officially acknowledged that modern languages are an indispensable element of all higher culture, and that the study of them should be regarded as a disciplinary training for young minds as valuable as that of Latin or mathematics. When making these claims, teachers take care not to bring forward the utilitarian argument that makes a special appeal to the public, and particularly parents—the practical value of knowing modern languages. They have not forgotten how irksome they found this sentence from the long-out-dated Ministerial Instructions of 1901: "Whereas the study of ancient languages aims essentially at a certain cultivation of the mind, modern languages are taught chiefly for practical purposes". Nowadays, the necessity for modern languages as the basic element in all forms of teaching is shown, not by their practical or commercial utility, but by their educational and cultural effect. How the practical teaching of modern languages could be co-ordinated in detail with the teaching of ancient languages, how any pupil studying Latin would be strictly bound to make a thorough study of one or even two modern languages, how those languages would find a place in the *classes d'orientation* (classes in which the chief duty of the form-master is to find out the most suitable career for each individual pupil), how still further questions would be settled—all this is too vast a subject for me to tackle here. I might as well say, too, that it bristles with difficulties.

Some, and not the least eminent, modern-language teachers go further and propose a way of teaching the modern humanities based on comparison between the native tongue and one or more modern languages, between the civilisation of the home country, and one or more different contemporary civilisations. During a speech at the close of the third International Congress of Modern-language Teaching in Paris in 1937, my colleague, Professor Vermeil, said: "The question is whether the language teacher may one day become a sort of departmental head by teaching his own language at the same time as a foreign tongue, and the literature and civilisation of his home country in the light of a foreign

literature and civilisation. In other words, will the modern-language teacher be given in the department of modern studies the importance already conferred on the Latin teacher in the classical department?" What M. Vermeil put into the form of a question, another of my colleagues, Professor Cazamian, was then maintaining in the most unequivocal way by brilliantly pleading, in the June/July 1937 number of the review *Les langues modernes*, in favour of a Franco-modern teaching-degree course (*agrégation*), to train and qualify teachers in both French and another modern language. M. Cazamian pointed out how the implicit or explicit weighing-up of foreign values against national values, which was the constant preoccupation of the "neophilologist", might arouse in him a feeling for and mastery of his own intellectual nationality. He added: "The modern-language teacher should be an excellent French master, because, by his training, his cast of mind, his pedagogic and practical experience, he would be in the best of positions to be a professor of modern humanities in the full sense of the term. He could break the evil spell which in our universities still holds our national literature in thrall in the palace of the *literæ humaniores*, where sleep the superseded gods. . . . As modern foreign literatures set innumerable problems towards the solution of which the legacy of Greece and Rome generally contributes little, a specialist in those literatures is quite obviously able to have a fresh outlook on French literature, and to study it in itself and for itself; he will feel more keenly the originality in the spirit that animates it, because his efforts have been expended to feel instinctively in the literary work of another country the presence of another and comparable spirit. Between the language, thought, civilisation and culture of a human group, the neophilologists are expert in seeking out and bringing to light all the connecting links, massive or frail, visible or hidden. It is through their method and example that the basic unity of the peculiar genius of the French will be grasped in its various manifestations."

With the innovators whose ideas are expressed by M. Cazamian, we have gone a fair distance from our starting-point; for the linguistic equality postulated by the less ambitious is substituted a linguistic inequality of which the ancient languages would bear the brunt. After keeping their rivals' share for a long time at a mere pittance, they, in turn, would suffer the same fate. Respect for truth compels me to say that the idea of a Franco-modern *agrégation* has very many adversaries, even in the ranks of modern-language teachers; indeed they are perhaps, at least

for the moment, in the majority. Their chief objection appears to be a practical one—the danger of biting off more than one can chew. A genuine mastery of two languages and two more or less heterogeneous civilisations so as to teach them represents, they say, too vast an undertaking. May I take the liberty, in conclusion, of reverting to those general considerations of politics and culture which, on account of my activities, are perhaps more especially liable to interest me? A form of teaching that juxtaposes the language and culture of the home country with the contemporary language and culture of a foreign country seems to me to be comparable to what, in present-day diplomacy, is called a bilateral agreement. A national and classical education, on the other hand, brings to my mind the idea of a multilateral agreement; for it is the Latin-Hellenic, or, more accurately, the Romance-Byzantine, foundation that for centuries past has secured, and still secures, that European “university” or universality which is yet one of the most reliable guarantees of intellectual peace, and therefore of peace itself, on our continent. Even the Third Reich, so fundamentally hostile to the spirit of Rome and the West, has not banished Latin—it has, indeed, encouraged it—and the combination of German, Latin and English which it recommends is worth considering. Bilateral methods in European politics are intensely popular at the present time; but who would dare to claim that their popularity is in the highest interests of all the nations together? Let us beware lest a form of education on national modern lines be too effective in pigeon-holing European minds, and let us do our best to prevent the cultural unity of our continent, which has been so often assailed since the end of the eighteenth century, from being once more threatened by new dangers.

André TIBAL,
Professor at the Sorbonne.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION: ITS AIMS AND METHODS

AN INTERNATIONAL "CONVERSATION" FOR STUDENTS AT LUXEMBURG

The holding of an international "Conversation" for Students marks a new stage in the activities of the Committee of International Student Organisations.

It will be remembered that when this Committee was first formed, its functions were chiefly of an administrative character, and it was only gradually that the joint study of certain university problems appeared on the agenda of its annual meetings. The Committee has thus successively discussed such questions as the social rôle of students in the national and international community; the measures calculated to promote study travel abroad; and the grave problem of unemployment among young university graduates. When each of these questions was discussed, the full moral responsibility of the organisations affiliated to the Committee was committed; the delegations which took part in the discussions were very largely composed of the officers actually serving on these organisations.

At the meeting which the Committee held in 1936, it was suggested that general problems and vital questions of present-day interest should be examined by the Committee, and that their discussion should be organised in such a way that students of every opinion and of every nationality—even those who were not represented on the affiliated organisations—should have an opportunity of expressing their views.

The subject chosen for the first international "Conversation" for Students was University Education: its Aims and Methods. In proposing this subject, the aim of the Committee was to ascertain whether there was any justification for the criticism that the university confines itself exclusively to *teaching* and too often neglects *education*; whether the university could really fulfil an educational mission in the true sense of the expression, and, if so, by what means.

The Committee recommended that the greatest possible number of countries and doctrines should be represented at the "Conversation", and that the age-limit should, in principle, be fixed at 30. The majority of the participants should, however, be students under 25.¹

PRELIMINARY REPORTS

The theme of the Conversation was studied from the five following points of view :

1. The purpose of university education in modern life.
2. The research for truth at the university. Specialisation and the unity of human knowledge.
3. The intellectual autonomy of the university.
4. The responsibility of the university in the national and international community.
5. The university as a community between teachers and students.

Thirteen preliminary reports had been prepared by the delegates on the above aspects of the question.

M. Rudi Salat (*Pax Romana*), in a comprehensive report, put forward the view that the university, in its educational activity, should give greater consideration to the irrational and emotional factors of human personality. It should endeavour to synthesise the different disciplines, but without confusing them; its impartiality should not, however, conceal its duty of rendering service to the community. He recognised that the university was under obligation to prepare men for social and political life, but asked that this activity should not be allowed to hinder scientific training. Lastly, he defined the rôle of the student associations and of "confidential tutors" (*Vertrauensdozenten*) in the establishment of this university community that was called upon to counterbalance the excesses of individualism.

Mr. Dennis Routh (International Student Service) explained the attitude adopted in England regarding the problems that had been raised. In his opinion, it was the shaping of the scientific

¹ Below is the list of the organisations affiliated to the Committee which designated students to participate in the "Conversation" from May 22nd to 25th, 1938 : International Confederation of Students, International Student Service, International Federation of University Women, World's Student Christian Federation, International University League of Nations Federation, *Pax Romana*, World Union of Jewish Students.

mind rather than the conveying of knowledge that constituted the real task of the university. The student should be able to judge of the relative importance of the different specialised disciplines in respect of the essential unity of knowledge.

M. Alfonso Garcia-Robles (*Pax Romana*) described the attitude adopted by Mexican university circles to the problems dealt with in the "Conversation", as it appeared in the recent reforms of the National University of Mexico. These reforms emphasised, in particular, the duty devolving on the university in public and social life.

Mr. George Nelson (International University League of Nations Federation) gave a brief historical survey of the functions of the university at various periods and proclaimed his faith in democracy, which, in his opinion, alone assures liberty in the field of scientific research.

M. Robert Pfund (International Student Service) arrived in his report at the conclusion that the cultural mission of the modern university was to render the rising generations fit to assume their responsibilities, to show them the limits of logic and science, and to make them realise that even beyond what the human mind could perceive there was still something that we should not, and could not, evade.

M. Jean Bosc (World's Student Christian Federation) discussed the aims of the university in the sphere of scientific research. According to the Christian conception—and it was from that standpoint that he viewed the problem—this research could have no purpose other than that of seeking "truths", whereas the establishment of the truth was a matter of revelation.

M. Georg Borgström (International Student Service) called attention to the dangers of specialisation carried to excess, and suggested a few methods whereby this evil could be remedied.

Mlle. Helga Wooremaa (International Federation of University Women) also criticised over-specialisation, which imperilled the vital impulse of the human mind and set up barriers between intellectuals.

Mme. Maria Egg-Beneš (International Federation of University Women) presented a searching analysis of university autonomy such as exists in the various university systems.

Mr. Ewan P. Wallis-Jones (International University League of Nations Federation) reviewed in detail the trends of opinion and action to be noted among the students of various countries. He concluded that students to-day were in a position to play an important part in the life of their country and that they were

most zealously assuming what they regarded as their responsibility towards the national and international community.

Miss Elisabeth Broch (International Federation of University Women) showed how the university can become the symbol of national liberty, and cited Norway as an example.

Miss K. Bhagvat (International Federation of University Women) spoke of the system of education in Vedic times, which was conceived as a close community of master and pupil.

Lastly, M. Jacques Merleau-Ponty (International Student Service) compared the idea of community between professors and students with the idea of dialogue between master and disciple, the true form of thought according to Plato. He readily pictured the university as a place where young people could converse with men of ripe age, a place conducive to personal contacts.

THE DISCUSSION

It devolved upon M. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, the General Rapporteur, to analyse and synthesise the ideas expressed in the different reports, so as to permit of a close and well-conducted discussion.¹

The discussion began by a diagnosis of the present situation. Many references were made to the Middle Ages; some speakers saw in the mediæval university, in which the different subjects were closely related with one another and tended towards a single unified culture, the outline of a model to follow; while others, on the contrary, considered that that stage was definitely past.

The modern university was criticised from various angles. Some delegates thought that it is at present following a wrong road, that it is suffering from a scattering and a dissociation of efforts, that university training lacks cohesion and general ideas, and is incapable of giving students a clear and comprehensive view of life. For other delegates, specialisation is not a bad thing in itself; by laying more stress on the synthesis of knowledge, the university could restore the balance of its teaching.

Everyone agreed that this teaching must fulfil three distinct functions: professional preparation, scientific training, transmission of culture.

On the last point, however, differences of opinion once more appeared. Some of the speakers, attached to the individualistic

¹ The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation will shortly publish, in English and French, a detailed report of the debates.

idea of culture, were disposed to conceive of it primarily as a method, a training of the mind, an aptitude to perceive reality. Others, imbued with collectivist ideas, rejected this conception and sought to define the actual contents of a culture which would become, as it were, the common measure for all the members of the community. The university could, and should, according to them, help to re-establish human culture, this common standard of civilisation, and thus to restore also the unity which was the strength of mediæval civilisation.

There was another way of stating the problem: should the university undertake to teach the truth conceived as a whole, or, in order not to betray its mission of disinterested research, should it confine itself to the study of truths, without attempting to bring them into a general system governed by a central idea?

The discussion was particularly keen on this point, and it was not only the representatives of religious ideas who contested the possibility of setting up a close and organic connection between the realities and facts which the university studies and the metaphysical truth to which the human mind aspires.

The question of the autonomy of the university was considered from two points of view. On the one hand, who possesses this autonomy, and with reference to whom is it manifested? On the other hand, what are the functions of autonomy? The problem was dealt with in close connection with the problem of the responsibilities of the university towards the community. Everyone agreed that the separation between the university and society, if it ever existed, can no longer be maintained. The students who met at Luxemburg proclaimed their solidarity with society as a whole and manifested their will to serve it. They condemned, however, the tendency to enrol university young people in groups for direct political action, when their rôle ought to be, on the contrary, to seek with complete objectivity the elements capable of uniting the various groups which make up modern society.

In discussing the problem of the university as a community between teachers and students, delegates were faced with the difficulty of finding a satisfactory solution, which would preserve the youthful personality of the student in its individual liberty. References were made in the course of discussion to certain methods employed in the Anglo-Saxon universities (tutorial system, study groups, etc.), and in various traditional schools in India.

CONCLUSIONS

It is natural that, in the majority of cases, the original views held by the participants should have been modified only in matters of detail. The report which the Institute is shortly to publish will present these views as clearly as possible. Considering the representative composition of this meeting, they will at least give an approximate idea of the currents of opinion among university youth of to-day.

It might, perhaps, be pointed out that the youth of the totalitarian States did not have an opportunity of speaking at this Conversation. If, in spite of the invitations which they received, they were absent, it must not be forgotten that the ideas which they would have supported were well known to everybody and were taken into account during the discussions.

On certain points, indeed, relative agreement was^o reached. In particular, the members were unanimous in their desire to see the necessarily specialised teaching of the university supplemented by courses of general culture. Though not specifying the details of this additional training, the meeting recommended that steps should be taken to enable students to acquire a comprehensive view of human knowledge, either before, or simultaneously with, their specialised studies.

It expressed the hope that the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation might gather a body of information on the attempts made by the universities of the different countries in this direction.

Another practical conclusion was that the student associations should increase their efforts to promote the social and intellectual training of students. It is undeniable, to mention only one instance, that the exchange of ideas among students of different special branches cannot but broaden their views and attenuate the one-sided development caused by the exclusive practice of a single subject.

MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING INFORMATION UTILISED IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

I.

During its eighteenth session, last year, the Assembly of the League of Nations, after considering the proposals drawn up by broadcasting experts, decided that they were deserving of more thorough study by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.¹ As a result of this study, a general plan was to be drawn up for technical collaboration by the League of Nations with the national broadcasting companies with a view to enabling better use to be made of broadcasting.

The Assembly also suggested that meetings of representatives of intellectual circles, of educationists, and of the various branches of the cinematograph industry should be held under the auspices of the Rome International Educational Cinematographic Institute and the Paris International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

The plan of work suggested by the Assembly thus consisted of two distinct parts, relating respectively to broadcasting and the cinematograph.

II. BROADCASTING

Following its usual procedure, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation summoned a meeting of experts, for it felt that useful results could be achieved only with the collaboration of those actually engaged in broadcasting—that is to say, the programme directors of the great national broadcasting companies. These great companies already endeavour, by means of international relays, programme exchanges, and talks, to familiarise their listeners with the culture and civilisation of other countries. Their efforts are co-ordinated by the International Broadcasting Union, to which practically all the national

¹ See *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, No. 4, December 1937, pages 25 *et seq.*, pages 183 *et seq.*, and pages 199 *et seq.*

organisations belong. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation accordingly approached the Union also, in order to benefit by its great experience in these matters.

In addition, the Organisation got into touch with a number of distinguished persons—teachers, writers and artists—interested in the intellectual aspects of broadcasting. It succeeded in forming a Committee which was broadly representative of all the various forms of culture.

The International Broadcasting Union was represented by its Secretary-General, Mr. A. R. Burrows. The European companies were represented by Dr. Sourek, Director of the Radio-Journal, Prague; M. Kuypers, Vice-President of the Belgian Broadcasting Institute; M. de Hlatky, Programmes Director of the Hungarian Broadcasting Organisation; General Kalafatovitch, Director-General of the Radio A.D., Belgrade; M. Sven Wilson, Foreign Director of the Radiotjänst, Stockholm; and Mr. Marriott had been appointed by the British Broadcasting Corporation to put forward suggestions on its behalf.

American broadcasting was represented by Mr. Murrow, European Director of the Columbia Broadcasting Company, and by Mr. Jordan, Director of the European Office of the National Broadcasting Company; M. Carlos Alberto Pardo, Secretary-General of the Argentine Delegation accredited to the League of Nations, and Dr. Osorio Doutra, Consul of the United States of Brazil at Le Havre, voiced the wishes of the Latin-American continent. In addition, M. Julien Cain, Administrator-General of the National Library, Paris, Mme. Dreyfus-Barney, Liaison Officer of the International Council of Women with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, M. Frisch, Member of the Danish Parliament, Dr. Paul Lang, Chairman of the Broadcasting Committee of the Society of Swiss Authors, Dr. Schoute, former Deputy Director of the Netherlands Meteorological Institute, and Sir Alfred Zimmern, Professor of International Relations in the University of Oxford, had been chosen as representative figures in the field of educational and cultural broadcasting.

The Committee sat for two days, June 17th and 18th. Before summarising the conclusions at which it arrived, special mention should be made of the spirit of cordiality which prevailed throughout its work and of the keen desire for collaboration which was manifest. In this way, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was able to fulfil one of its essential duties—namely, that of establishing contact.

The Committee first considered whether it would be possible, by means of broadcasting, to disseminate more widely information on the work of the League of Nations and the main international institutions connected with it—the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

At a time when the League of Nations is being so bitterly attacked and is, in particular, being reproached for its ineffectiveness, it is indeed important that the results it has achieved in the fields of humanitarian and health work, in the economic sphere and in that of intellectual co-operation should be clearly shown. Broadcasting may be a valuable agency in this work of spreading information, the necessity for which is being increasingly realised.

There was a thorough discussion. The representatives of the broadcasting companies showed themselves willing to co-operate more closely and more regularly with the Information Section of the Secretariat of the League and with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. They strongly emphasised the desirability of sending all the great broadcasting companies a periodical bulletin containing information on the work of the League, from which they could obtain material for talks and lectures. The national broadcasting organisations would endeavour to arrange for such broadcasts at regular intervals.

It was also agreed that the Information Section should place at the disposal of the national organisations gramophone records of talks and speeches, and that it should in advance inform the national companies of the day and hour of its broadcasts from Radio-Nations, the League wireless station. With a view to meeting the requirements of oversea countries, the development of international relays was recommended.

The question of spreading information about the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was considered at length. In this connection, it was recognised that valuable service might be rendered by the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, which exist in forty-five countries, as liaison agents between the Organisation and the broadcasting companies. With this object, the National Committees will be invited to obtain the collaboration of representatives of the broadcasting organisations in their respective countries. This is an interesting innovation which may become extremely fruitful. Hitherto, the National Committees, which it was sought to make as fully as possible representative of every aspect of national life, did not include any representatives of broadcasting organisations. It is

evident that if, as must be hoped, the National Committees include programme directors in their membership, they will be able greatly to extend their field of action.

Another question considered was that of information on contemporary international problems and on the present position of science, letters and art. The public is taking an increasing interest in international relations. At the same time, it is compelled by the circumstances of life to-day to rely on the Press, the wireless and the cinematograph for information on those great artistic, literary and scientific questions with which it is not directly concerned in its daily occupations. The consequence is, as pointed out by M. Ingve Hugo in the present issue of the *Bulletin*, that a heavy responsibility rests on the broadcasting companies.

It was only natural that this question should be brought before the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, since it is continuously in touch both with the professors of international relations brought together in its Permanent Conference on Higher International Studies and also with artists, authors and thinkers. The first requirement is the compilation of impartial and precise documentary material on these extremely complex problems; the next is to render the substance of such documentary material attractive to a public whose capacity for intellectual assimilation is limited. The observations presented in the Committee, both by teachers with specialised knowledge of the subject and by programme directors with their public foremost in their minds, revealed clearly the great complexity of this problem. For this reason, the Committee did not think it expedient to express an opinion before the completion of the enquiry undertaken by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation among representative artists, authors and teachers of international relations. The conclusions of this study will also take into account the statements made in the Committee in regard to the experience already acquired. In this connection, the Committee recommended that the Institute should at once ask the National Committees to contribute to the documentary material periodically or occasionally issued by the national broadcasting companies on questions of art, science and letters.

Another aspect of the broadcasting problem touched on by the Committee, and one of considerable importance to national broadcasting organisations, was the following: Suppose the director of a Scandinavian or American company wishes to introduce to his audience the music, folklore or literature of another

country—say, Hungary. It is a harder matter than one would think to find speakers. There is doubtless no shortage of qualified speakers, but very often they are unable to speak any of the more widely known languages. When the programme directors were asked by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation how the latter could assist them in this matter, they all replied: “You could be of great assistance to us if you would supply us with lists of persons capable of giving broadcast talks in foreign languages about their own countries. It is an easy matter for you to draw up such lists, because of your relations with cultural circles in the various countries, more particularly through the intermediary of your National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation.” This suggestion was taken up by the Committee, which decided to ask the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to invite National Committees to undertake this work. If they accept this new duty, it may be hoped that that exchange of lists will begin next year.

The Committee also studied a number of other questions with which the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is not directly concerned. They arise out of the following problem, which was considered by the Assembly of the League: How can the League of Nations, which is an association of Governments, assist national broadcasting companies in the effort they are putting forth to make better known to their listeners the culture of other countries? Suggestions put forward by the companies themselves were examined by the Committee.

The first possibility is to arrange between national broadcasting organisations an international exchange service for collections of gramophone records of a cultural or educative character. Such records may be valuable allies of broadcasting in its endeavours to promote better mutual understanding among the nations. Since such exchanges have sometimes been hampered by Customs difficulties, the Committee was of opinion that the League of Nations might assist broadcasting companies by endeavouring to obtain exemption from Customs duties in the case of such exchanges.

The Committee also dealt with the question of broadcasting reporters. These specialists can play a useful part in familiarising their audiences, in a manner that is both vivid and adapted to their taste, not only with the culture, but also with the customs and life of other countries. Governments have not yet, however, granted them an international status. The Committee therefore recommended that the same facilities for travel, visas, etc.,

should be accorded to these reporters as are granted to journalists. A number of experts mentioned the need for introducing international cards for broadcasting reporters, similar to those provided for journalists. A liberal regime as regards transport and Customs formalities was also advocated for the professional material used by broadcasting reporters.

Finally, the Committee's attention was drawn to the desirability of training public taste in matters of broadcasting. Reference was made to the experience already gained in certain countries where special courses and associations of listeners already exist. Certainly, if broadcasting is to be a successful medium of education, the first step must be to train the taste of listeners and make the same efforts to this end as are made in certain countries, particularly the United States of America, in connection with the cinema.

The Committee once more emphasised the importance of the Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace. This Convention is an instrument the efficiency of which has been recognised by the numerous Governments which have either signed or ratified it. Thirty-three Governments have signed it and thirteen have already ratified it.

The Committee was of opinion that action should be taken through the Press and through the great international institutions with a view to securing further ratifications or accessions.

The conclusions reached by the Committee of Experts were transmitted to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, approved by it and laid before the Assembly. The latter found that they fulfilled the purpose it had in mind in asking the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to consult a special Committee.

After two years of preparatory work, devoted to a general survey and a precise determination of those points on which organs of the League of Nations might collaborate with the national broadcasting companies, the way is now open for a beginning to be made with practical work. Readers of the *Bulletin* will learn from the next issue what results are achieved in the forthcoming period.

III. CINEMATOGRAPH

In the field of the cinematograph, the execution of the programme of work referred to in the last issue of the *Bulletin* has been seriously impeded by Italy's withdrawal from the League of

Nations, which entailed the closing, on December 31st, 1937, of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. The Paris Institute has taken over part of the programme of work arranged for the Rome Institute, and proposes to summon next year a meeting of representatives of intellectual circles, educationists, and the various branches of the cinematograph industry to deal with the question of improving the public taste. Another important event which should be mentioned was the meeting, at the beginning of September 1938, of nearly all the States signatories to the Convention concluded at Geneva on October 11th, 1933, for facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character, at which it was decided to entrust to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation the duty hitherto fulfilled by the Rome Institute of certifying films.

This is a new duty, which the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will discharge henceforth, and its importance should be emphasised because it is intimately connected with the utilisation of modern means of spreading information in the cause of peace.

SOCIAL, MORAL AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY OF BROADCASTING

Radiotjänst, the Swedish Broadcasting organisation, presented a play last winter by the Swedish author Pär Lagerkvist, entitled "The Man who lived his Life again". In a hallucination, the principal character of the play lives again the crime he committed years before—the murder of his fiancée.

Two days after the play had been broadcast, a similar crime occurred in Sweden, in a little provincial town.

Although it was proved, upon investigation, that the young man in the real drama had not heard the play by Pär Lagerkvist, it was difficult not to ask oneself the question: Can a broadcast of this kind have such a reflex action?

It seems to me that the incident I have just related brings out in a remarkable way the moral and social responsibility that we, as broadcasters, must assume. It is our task to organise programmes every day that are transmitted later, and heard by individuals or groups of listeners in almost every home in our own country, and sometimes in other countries also. It is inevitable that the transmissions which reach the ears of such persons should exert an influence on their intellectual and sentimental life and on their actions.

Take works of art. When a work merely usurps the name of art, the choice is easy enough: the work should not be broadcast. But it is sometimes harder to decide whether a real work of art should be presented to the public. Here certain moral and social considerations enter. If we decide not to broadcast an artistic dramatic production, for example, our decision by no means implies—and I must insist upon this point—that we disapprove of this particular work of art as such. Our task has been merely to solve a social, not an artistic, problem.

Our broadcast programme, however, is not composed solely of artistic matter, nor is our responsibility confined to listeners who are easily influenced intellectually and morally. Broadcasting is also a people's university and a news agency, and must provide edification and entertainment that cannot always be artistic.

The majority of our listeners are healthy and morally strong. It is towards these that we have the greatest responsibility.

With regard to talks and news bulletins, the main thing is to follow the maxim : " What is said on the wireless must be accurate." Broadcast listeners have a right to demand that the wireless shall be a reliable authority on which they can depend entirely.

It is clear that the broadcasting staff cannot check all the facts themselves. They must have frequent recourse to experts from outside the broadcasting organisation. Thus Radiotjänst has, in its Talks Section, several more or less permanent committees which advise on such questions as the organisation of agricultural, medical, hygienic, and technical talks, for example, or on religious broadcasts. Sometimes, too, we invite representatives of educational organisations or women's associations to special conferences, in order to discuss with them questions in which they are interested. We have even several experts outside our organisation who help us to check manuscripts, and give advice to lecturers on how to speak before the microphone.

While I am on this subject, I should like to mention the close collaboration between the Swedish broadcasting organisation and the four universities of Sweden—a collaboration which is simply a modern form of university extension. The universities inform us, for example, which of their professors are qualified to speak on the wireless. We also organise occasional direct transmissions of university lectures, as well as commentaries from scientific institutions belonging to the universities.

I consider it extremely important that the responsibility inseparable from broadcasting should not be transferred to such outside experts. The committees of experts are there to advise; they must not decide. After all, the broadcasters are the only persons responsible for broadcasts. Furthermore, it is my opinion that a question is always judged more objectively and critically by a single person than by a committee, where responsibility is shared with others and nobody feels entirely responsible.

How those responsible are controlled by the Governing Body, by Committees of Control, or by public opinion, is another question. Such control is not the same in all countries. It makes a great difference if the country has a democratic Government or a dictator, if the revenue is derived from compulsory licences or from advertising. But, however great the difference, it seems to me that the service should be so organised that one individual is directly responsible for each broadcast programme.

Everyone knows that we are sometimes tempted in our work to thrust aside positive and objective considerations in favour of other considerations. I do not refer to broadcasting in war-time or in times of crisis, though it would be naïve to imagine that broadcasting could tell the absolute truth every day in such circumstances.

But even in peace-time, it is human not to be always guided by our desire to present scientific truth. We may occasionally be tempted in a special situation to calm or influence public opinion in some way or other. We may, for example, have to choose between two lecturers or clergymen. We are convinced that the better speaker will be found in the capital, but on the other hand we consider it expedient to give those living in the country an opportunity of speaking a little oftener on the wireless—therefore we do not choose the one who is incontestably the better of the two.

When we wish to treat a political question on the wireless in Sweden, our principle is always to endeavour to follow the same scientific method as in dealing with other questions. We try to obtain universality, objectivity and reality. If there is a difference of opinion in the country, no opinion must be suppressed in the report we give to the listeners.

Such objectivity may be obtained in different ways.

When Parliament is sitting, we broadcast an account of the debates every week, and I can affirm that the commentator has always contrived to maintain an objective attitude in his reports, for no Swedish political party has ever had to complain as regards his impartiality.

On other occasions, we have invited representatives of the different political parties, or persons with divergent opinions on some political question, to come before the microphone and discuss their views. Those taking part in such discussions have naturally had the right to be subjective; objectivity has been obtained by the fact that the speakers have been chosen in such a way as to complete each other. On such occasions, our principle has been to include every political party of sufficient size and power to exert an important influence in Parliament. All the parties have had the right to present their views on the wireless. The party or parties actually in power are therefore not privileged, and the principle of the same right for all is not impaired if, from time to time, individual members of the Government are invited to give reports to listeners on some of the questions which are within their particular competence.

But broadcasting must not only give listeners an account of home affairs. One of its most important tasks is to inform them of what is happening abroad. Its manner of performing this task is not without effect upon the public good and international co-operation.

Let me give an instance in this connection. In 1936, I forwarded to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations a plan for courses on international peace, which were to be organised under the auspices of the League of Nations by the national adult education organisations and the broadcasting organisations. At the suggestion of the head of the Information Section, the four Nordic countries—Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden—decided to put the idea I had outlined to the test, and arranged last year in each country a series of talks dealing especially with inter-Nordic economic co-operation. The series in the four countries began with a common transmission of the conference of the Nordic Foreign Ministers, and ended with an inter-Nordic discussion.

The President of the latter discussion was the Swedish Minister in Norway, who stressed the privilege enjoyed by the Nordic peoples in being able to discuss freely and openly in this way questions on which there was great divergence of opinion.

Yngve HUGO,
*Director of the Talks Section of
Radiotjänst, Stockholm.*

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK

FRESH ACTIVITIES OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

INTRODUCTION

On September 26th, 1936, the French Government, in full agreement with the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America, submitted to Parliament—which adopted it—a currency Bill, the main purpose of which was to adjust the value of the franc to the existing economic situation.

On the same date, a declaration, drawn up jointly by the three Governments, was published in London, Paris and Washington.

By this declaration, the three Governments undertook to establish collaboration between their monetary institutes, with the object of avoiding disturbances which might affect the new exchange bases. They also expressed their determination to relax progressively the system of quotas with a view to their abolition, to facilitate the removal of exchange controls and generally to contribute to the restoration of order in international economic relations, to promote prosperity in the world and to improve the standard of living of the peoples. The declaration ended with an appeal for the co-operation of other nations in carrying out this policy.

The Netherlands and Switzerland immediately took steps to bring their currency into line, and before a week had elapsed six other countries—Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Italy, Latvia and Turkey—had made their first contributions, in various forms, to the policy thus inaugurated. Those eight countries also declared their readiness to collaborate in carrying out the programme embodied in the declaration of the three Governments.

There was reason then to hope that a vast movement of international collaboration might gradually take shape, with the object of bringing about a general improvement in material living conditions and a mutual comprehension of social aims. This hope appeared to be further justified by the fact that the currency alignment operation, which was to serve as a starting-

point for economic recovery, was a direct response to the recommendations and warnings of the Economic and Financial Committees and by the further fact that the Assembly of the League of Nations was about to meet.

The economic discussions in the Second Committee¹ did, in point of fact, centre round the tripartite declaration. After the representatives of the French and United Kingdom Governments had explained the significance and object of that joint action, the delegates of the other countries expressed their personal congratulations and their sympathy with the movement so happily instituted, and conveyed a promise that their Governments would reply in the affirmative to the appeal for co-operation thus eloquently voiced by the Governments of the three great financial Powers.

The following resolutions, which the Committee submitted to the Assembly at the conclusion of its reports² and which the Assembly approved without further discussion, reveal the general and keen desire which existed that economic collaboration on world lines might be established without delay.

“ I

“ The Assembly,

“ Noting with satisfaction the joint declaration issued by the Governments of France, the United States of America, and the United Kingdom on September 26th, 1936, and the adhesions thereto immediately given by several States;

“ Recognising that this declaration harmonises with the recommendations made by the Economic Committee of the League of Nations in its recent report on the Present Phase of International Economic Relations;

“ Considering that a concordant policy designed to re-establish a durable equilibrium between the economies of the various countries, to lay more solid foundations for the stability of economic relations and to promote international trade would effectively contribute to the consolidation of peace, the restoration of international order, the growth of world prosperity and the improvement of the standard of living of peoples :

¹ The Second Committee is the Committee to which the Assembly refers economic and financial questions, among others.

² Report submitted by the Second Committee to the Assembly, document A.79.1936.II.B.

“ Affirms the general desire of the States Members of the League to pursue the realisation of these objects and invites all States, whether Members of the League or not, to co-operate fully to that end;

“ Urgently recommends all States, as an essential condition of final success, to organise without any delay determined and continuous action to ensure the application of the policy indicated above, to reduce excessive obstacles to international trade and communications, and in particular to relax and, as soon as possible, to abolish the present systems of quotas and exchange controls.

“ II

“ The Assembly,

“ Considering that the time has now arrived when discussion of and enquiry into the question of equal commercial access for all nations to certain raw materials might usefully be undertaken with the collaboration of the principal States, whether Members or non-members of the League, having a special interest in the matter :

“ Decides to request the Council, when it thinks fit, to appoint a Committee composed, in suitable proportions, of members of the Economic and Financial Committees of the League of Nations together with other qualified persons, irrespective of nationality, to undertake the study of this question and report thereupon;

“ Recognises that the choice of the raw materials to be considered should be at the discretion of the body thus appointed;

“ Believes that the participation in the work of the Committee of nationals of the non-member as well as Member States specially interested would be desirable;

“ Suggests that the Council should give attention to this consideration in reaching its decision;

“ And instructs the Secretary-General to communicate the present resolution to the Governments of non-member States.

“ III

“

“ IV

“ Whereas the development of international intercourse must necessarily be hampered, unless it takes place simultaneously in every sphere—that is to say, not merely in the

international trade in goods, but also in the circulation of capital and the movement of men;

“And whereas migration is at present at a standstill;

“The Assembly :

“Notes with satisfaction that a Migration Commission, set up in the International Labour Organisation, has been convened for November to consider certain aspects of this serious question;

“Expresses its confidence that this Commission and the International Labour Office will frame practical suggestions capable of being immediately put into effect and thus contributing to the settlement of the economic and social difficulties already mentioned;

“Requests the Council to follow the work of the said Conference and to remain in touch in this connection with the International Labour Organisation, so that the appropriate organs of the League of Nations may, should occasion arise, contribute to that work;

“And decides to place the question of emigration on the agenda of its next ordinary session.”

It is clear from this text that the Assembly had prudently decided to leave the three Governments of London, Paris and Washington to take such action as they thought fit, and to entrust to the League of Nations only two specific questions : commercial access to raw materials and migration. It went so far as to give instructions how to set about that work. The technical Committees' freedom of initiative was thus restricted at a moment which the Assembly itself regarded as decisive in the post-war economic evolution.

MISSION OF M. VAN ZEELAND

During the months which followed the declaration of September 26th, no profound change occurred in the conduct of national economic policies. True, a number of countries—including Belgium, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland—abolished part of their quotas, thus restoring freedom of import for products hitherto subject to more or less severe restrictions, but generally speaking the strong impression made by the declaration gradually faded, without producing the general reaction hoped for.

Political preoccupations loomed large at the close of 1936, and soon Governments, whose attention had for a moment been

diverted towards international economic problems, were obliged to return to a consideration of the many and eminently complex political questions calling for a solution. The Spanish conflict, the unrest in Central Europe, the question of Alexandretta, the problem of Palestine, the consequences of the war in Ethiopia, the tension in the Far East—such were the questions which necessarily monopolised their attention, in so far as they were not already preoccupied by questions of domestic concern.

Nevertheless, the Governments of London, Paris and Washington refused to relinquish their purpose, and on April 3rd, 1937, the Governments of France and of the United Kingdom entrusted M. van Zeeland with a mission consisting of “an enquiry into the possibility of obtaining a general reduction of quotas and of other obstacles to international trade”.

M. van Zeeland's personal and economic standing would, it was felt, enable him to determine the obstacles which stood in the way of the action contemplated in the tripartite declaration, and it was hoped that some sufficiently elastic and effective means might be found of paving the way for a general and simultaneous resumption of international economic collaboration.

HAGUE AGREEMENT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

The following month, that spirit of international collaboration assumed tangible form in circumstances which may be recalled briefly here. On May 28th, 1937, the Governments of Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, desirous of pursuing and extending the co-operation instituted by the signature of the Oslo Agreement, on December 22nd, 1930, initialled a further Agreement at The Hague.

In this instrument, they declared their conviction that any real international collaboration in the economic sphere must be preceded by the reduction of obstacles to trade, the abolition of the exceptional measures of defence which the individual countries had been obliged to take to protect themselves from the effects of the economic depression, and the adoption of measures of stability of as extensive and specific a character as possible. With this object in view, the Governments in question undertook in future not to increase their import duties or dues for a series of products specified in the lists annexed to the Agreement, and, in addition, the Governments of Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands agreed, for those same products, to abolish import

restrictions, but only in their commercial relations with the other States parties to the agreement.

Furthermore, the signatory States decided to consult one another before introducing tariff changes or fresh import restrictions, which circumstances might necessitate, relating to goods not mentioned in the Agreement and to proceed in concert, as regards both the examination of measures to cope with unfair competition in foreign trade of concern to them and the consideration of the regime for contracts and orders placed by the States, municipalities or any other public bodies.

This Agreement, instituting a preferential regime between the contracting States, was open for the signature of other States prepared in their turn to support such a policy. The Hague Agreement thus represented a further attempt to extend and apply the principles of collaboration set forth in the Declaration of September 26th, 1936.

●

CONTRACTUAL COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

The United States Government proceeded with its programme of commercial agreements based on reciprocity, under the Law of June 12th, 1934, which was extended by a resolution of Congress dated March 1st, 1937.

Since the assumption of office by Mr. Roosevelt, the Government had resolutely pursued a more liberal commercial policy than in the past. The above-mentioned law enabled it to institute bilateral negotiations and to conclude with other countries who were so disposed tariff agreements based on the reciprocal and unconditional granting of most-favoured-nation treatment. The contractual policy of the United States Government, which was opposed to quantitative import restrictions and to the limitation of imports by the control of means of payment, was not confined to the reduction and consolidation of import duties, but aimed also at the relaxation of the quota system and greater elasticity in methods of payment.

In its opinion, as proclaimed in a number of declarations by Mr. Cordell Hull, a contractual policy based on the principle of equality of treatment and comprehensive tariff consolidation is not designed merely to swell the volume of commercial exchanges; by virtue of the stability which it introduces into the conditions of international trade, it constitutes also a factor of appeasement, and this economic appeasement is in its turn a necessary factor

of political appeasement and one of the essential conditions for the maintenance of peace.

In adhering strictly to this policy, the American Government was following the line of conduct enunciated in the Declaration of September 26th, 1936.

QUESTION OF COMMERCIAL ACCESS TO RAW MATERIALS

While outside effort was thus being directed towards the furtherance of the policy of social and economic co-operation initiated by the tripartite declaration—in an atmosphere of political tension mingled with the hope of an economic recovery of which the foregoing paragraphs give some idea—the Council and technical organs of the League were investigating the fresh questions entrusted to them by the Assembly.

Early in 1937, the Council, after the necessary preliminary enquiries, constituted for the study of the problem of raw materials a Special Committee corresponding as far as possible with the wishes of the Assembly. In addition to the States Members of the League, the Council had obtained the collaboration of Brazil, Japan and the United States, who agreed to send experts. Germany, on the other hand, had declined the invitation. Italy, who was still a Member of the League, had also decided not to send a representative.

Notwithstanding the abstention of these two big importers of raw materials, the various points of view were adequately voiced in the Committee, which represented producers' and consumers' interests, as the Assembly desired. Interests shifted according to the particular raw materials under discussion, and the Committee was large enough to ensure impartiality whenever a compromise became necessary.

The Committee held three sessions at which it devoted the necessary attention to the various aspects of the question; its detailed report, with the arguments on which its conclusions were based, is thus of great interest.¹ To understand it, however, it is important to stress the fact that the Committee interpreted the text of the Assembly resolution from the outset as restricting its field of study to the economic aspects of the problem, thus precluding any examination of the political aspects.

¹ It is published by the League of Nations in a document entitled "Report of the Committee for the Study of the Problem of Raw Materials" (document A.27.1937.II.B).

It is readily comprehensible that the Committee should have decided to examine the question under two heads, concerning first the conditions governing the supply of raw materials, which involved a consideration of the commercial obstacles encountered by purchasers, and secondly payment for raw materials, which brought the Committee face to face with a problem already studied at length by the technical organs of the League—the problem of exchange control—and gave it an opportunity of expressing its opinion on the conditions requisite for restoring the free international movement of capital.

The Committee had also to decide which raw materials were to form the subject of its deliberations.

After debating whether the term “raw materials” should be interpreted comprehensively, so as to include foodstuffs, the Committee decided to confine its investigations to industrial raw materials and subsidiary products, these being the subject of the most violent controversy.

The scope of the study having thus been specifically defined, the Committee proceeded to deal with the principal causes of inequality in the matter of commercial access and suggested possible remedies.

Examining in succession the difficulties that purchasers of raw materials actually encounter or may encounter, the Committee discussed the measures of commercial policy taken by producing States in the case of exports of raw products. It came to the conclusion that prohibitions and restrictions were, generally speaking, enforced only in cases which were justified by exceptional circumstances, and it recommended that all nations should undertake not to employ such measures for anti-economic ends and not to bring pressure to bear on other countries. Similarly, it came to the conclusion that the report of raw materials practically never involved the levying of excessive or discriminatory duties and recommended, in this case also, that such practices should not be adopted.

As regards not merely access to, but the exploitation of, natural resources, the Committee discussed complaints regarding limitations placed on the participation of foreign capital in enterprises for the development of natural resources or prohibitions in respect of exploitation applicable to foreign enterprises, particularly in colonial or mandated territories. While realising the delicate nature of this question, the Committee suggested that the Governments concerned should be invited to make declarations to the effect that they are prepared to facilitate the

development of the natural resources of the territories as far as is possible consistently with the duties which they owe to the local inhabitants.

The Committee next devoted special attention to the principles underlying the management and administration of certain cartels and international concerns which specialise in the production and sale of raw materials. It expressed the opinion that such organisations, which it dealt with under the heading of "regulation schemes", should provide for the effective representation of consumers, adequate publicity and effective Government control, and that they should be so constituted that the board of administration might be in a position, by the constitution of bigger stocks, to ensure the stability of prices fixed at a reasonable level and to protect consumers from injurious effects of any other description.

The Committee also considered the working of monopolies—few in number—and expressed the considered opinion that the few natural monopolies in existence did not constitute a real obstacle to the circulation of raw materials.

It examined the difficulties encountered by certain countries in obtaining raw materials owing to inability to pay for them, and then proceeded to extend the scope of its investigations. After stressing the factors which contributed towards this shortage of means of payment—the economic depression and more particularly the drop in agricultural prices, the breaking-up of the gold-standard system, the decline of international trade, the arrest of migration, the expenditure on armaments—and their relative importance, which varies according to the countries concerned, it came to the conclusion that a solution of the difficulties relating to payment for raw materials demanded concerted action with a view to restoring the freer circulation of capital goods and labour; it decided, however, that it could not properly submit concrete suggestions in a matter which went far beyond its terms of reference.

The Committee simply noted that it was expedient—and indeed essential—to recommend any measures calculated to facilitate the movement of goods and credits, without waiting for action on more general lines, and it suggested that practical remedies should be sought by encouraging the abolition of clearing agreements, by establishing closer collaboration between the central banks, by giving financial assistance to countries desirous of abandoning their policy of exchange control, and, lastly, by reducing trade barriers.

The Committee felt unable to reply in the affirmative to a suggestion of one of its members that an international conference should be convened with the object of embodying in a convention the suggestions thus formulated by the Committee.

At the close of its report, the Committee again stressed the difficulties attaching to the solution of so complex a problem as the one which had been submitted to it, and, in the hope of reaching concrete results, asked that the report might be transmitted to the Financial and Economic Committees of the League, with a request that they should examine the suggestions put forward and ensure effective action being taken.

The report was published on September 8th, 1937, in time to be communicated to Governments before the annual Assembly of the League of Nations.

● MIGRATION PROBLEMS

The task entrusted by the Assembly of 1936 to the competent organs of the League regarding this important question was more limited in character. They were simply asked, according to the terms of the resolution, to follow the work of the Migration Commission set up in the International Labour Organisation, to remain in touch with that Organisation and, should occasion arise, to contribute to its work.

This task was duly carried out by the Secretariat, without the work of the Commission being such as to necessitate any special contribution coming within the framework of the Economic Committee's activities.

What happened was that, in conformity with a decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, the latter prepared a memorandum containing a general study of the migration problem, and in compliance with the Assembly's desire forwarded it to the Secretary-General, who, in his turn, communicated it to the Member States on September 9th, 1937,¹ in time for them to examine it before the Assembly. This constituted the action asked for by the resolution of the Assembly in 1936 with reference to the migration question, and, as had been intended, enabled the Assembly of 1937 to make a more exhaustive study of the question.

¹ "Migration Problems", document A.22.1937.II.B.

ACTION TAKEN BY THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

The Economic Committee for its part, in virtue of its general terms of reference, was carefully following the development of the social and economic situation. At its session in June 1937, it had noted that, while progress had been achieved as a result of the tripartite declaration, there was still a decline in momentum in a world suffering from a general lack of confidence, attributable partly to political tension and partly to economic instability—both of which react closely on one another—widespread unemployment, which was assuming a permanent character, and under-consumption as regards a large number of foodstuffs.

The Economic Committee expressed the opinion that there was a vicious circle which it was the task of statesmanship to break, and it added in its report to the Council :

“ If this is to be accomplished, it is necessary that the Governments should receive the firm support of public opinion for the measures they may find it necessary to take. This, in turn, demands that the intimate connection between commercial policy and the standard of living should be fully realised by the general public. Courage and vision will be required to take advantage of the possibilities offered by the present situation; but, with mutual goodwill, the Committee believes that it should not be impossible to dispel some, at least, of the clouds referred to above, and to take a new step in the direction of better international understanding.”¹

The Economic Committee did not propose, however, to confine itself to offering general advice. Directly action appeared to it possible, it sought to indicate the concrete forms which it might take. This it did at its next session, at the beginning of September, shortly before the opening of the annual Assembly of the League of Nations. Almost a year had elapsed since the monetary devaluations consequent upon the tripartite declaration. It was permissible then to consider in perspective—insufficient, it is true, but none the less valuable—the first consequences of that alignment of the principal currencies. The Economic Committee proceeded to do so. In the detailed report which it submitted to the Council, it discussed whether the existing

¹ Economic Committee : Report to the Council on the Work of its Forty-fifth Session (document C.280.M.181.1937.II.B), Section I : State of International Economic Relations, page 3.

economic conditions were such as to permit of giving effect to the recommendation passed by the Assembly in 1936 regarding the tripartite declaration, and the direction in which efforts should tend.

It first proceeded to recapitulate the favourable and unfavourable factors in the situation, and then indicated the lines on which international action should be taken. Having stated its opinion that such action should be directed towards the abolition of quotas and exchange control, it added that it was not enough to condemn those practices, but that the causes underlying them should be investigated and measures taken for their removal. On that basis then, it re-examined the questions of quotas and exchange control which it had so often debated, and submitted concrete suggestions for international action. The following are the more significant passages in the Committee's conclusions :¹

“ The best form of such action would no doubt be a formal agreement binding the States concerned. But the difficulties in the way of concluding such an agreement must not be underestimated. Whether in regard to provisions for removing quotas or exchange controls, the mitigation of Customs protection or mutual assistance in monetary matters, most Governments would undoubtedly hesitate to assume obligations of too rigid a character. There would inevitably be reservations and safeguards in any undertakings assumed.

“ Nor is this international action likely to succeed, except in a favourable political atmosphere. It would presuppose, if not a detailed settlement of the principal questions pending, at any rate an understanding in principle, and an easing of tension so as to restore confidence, a halt in the armaments race, at least to the extent required to allay the apprehensions which cause it.

“ On the other hand, international economic collaboration certainly does not mean that any country should forgo its own opinions for the benefit of others; but it implies, nevertheless, the adoption of some kind of *modus vivendi* which will to some extent mitigate or conciliate opposing views and lead to the adaptation of theories and policies to meet the needs of international co-operation.

“

¹ Economic Committee : Report to the Council on the work of its Forty-sixth Session (document C.358.M.242.1937.II.B), Remarks on the Present Phase of International Relations, pages 16 to 18.

“ Thus, while the idea of a formal agreement is not excluded, it is at present better to envisage, at least as a preliminary measure, some sort of joint declaration by Governments, on the lines of the Tripartite Declaration of September 1936, by which the Governments should affirm the general objectives which they propose and should define, as far as possible, the methods which they are prepared to adopt.

“ These objectives include, on the one hand, the preservation of peace and, on the other hand, the development of prosperity throughout the world and the improvement in the standard of living of the peoples. These aims are, in fact, interconnected and common to all nations; each of them tends to promote the others; and any successful effort by one country will result in benefit to all.”

Then, after having indicated :

That the surest means of attaining these objects is the maintenance of economic equilibrium and the gradual elimination of obstacles to trade;

That Governments should mobilise public opinion in favour of the action undertaken, by demonstrating that the raising of the standard of living depends on such action;

That Governments prepared to join in such action should define the manner in which they propose to eliminate progressively hindrances to trade;

Lastly, that it would appear to be necessary for the States parties to the declaration to arrive at some agreement as to the principles of economic and financial management which they would maintain in future;

the Economic Committee concluded as follows :

“ Each Government would have to be free to decide its course of action, but if any State decided to follow a policy contrary to international co-operation, it would be necessary to restore to the other parties their full liberty of action in regard to that State.

“ To accomplish such a programme, it is essential for progress to be made concurrently in the three different directions—economic, financial and political. An effort restricted to one of the three might be held up by the difficulties arising in the other two. If, on the other hand, the attempt is made to reach a general settlement in all three directions at once and without adequate preparation, there would be a risk that

the effort would break down under the accumulation of difficulties.

“The best method would seem to be to carry through all the necessary preliminary work in each sphere separately, and to co-ordinate the results obtained as integral parts of a general programme, while avoiding too close an interdependence between the objectives aimed at in the different fields. Action on other lines would involve the risk of the whole advance being held up as an obstacle appears at a single point. Doubtless, as has been stated above, political appeasement is the necessary condition for any general settlement of the economic problem. Nevertheless, prudence requires that, the general objectives once determined, the methods pursued should be flexible, so that the progress made in each field may be as great as current conditions permit.”

This report also was communicated to Governments in time to enable them to examine it before the session of the Assembly of the League.

DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AT THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN 1937

When the Assembly met in September 1937, the representatives of Governments thus had before them, in addition to copious documentation illustrating the evolution of world economic affairs, three memoranda which, though dealing with different questions, all emphasised the close relationship between the various social and economic problems and the necessity of devoting attention to fundamental problems as a first step in the work of reconstruction which had now become imperative.

Other preoccupations, however, were forcing themselves on the attention of the representatives when they assembled at Geneva. In the closing months of 1937, the political horizon was still overcast. None of the difficult problems which a year before had been calling insistently for a solution had as yet been satisfactorily solved. Furthermore, war had broken out between China and Japan, and the situation in Central Europe was increasingly menacing. The conflict of ideologies was reaching a climax, and the existing political tension was not conducive to a calm and impartial consideration of the vast social and economic problem now awaiting the Second Committee.

Nevertheless, these various matters were seriously and carefully debated, and it soon became apparent that the Assembly,

far from wishing to circumscribe the activities of the international organs, was anxious that they should examine them. A perusal of the resolutions adopted by the Second Committee¹ and approved by the Assembly will show this more clearly than any commentary can do. The essential passages of the resolutions are reproduced, to enable the reader to judge for himself :

“ The Assembly,

“ Believing that all States ought to regard the settlement of the present economic difficulties as the essential objective of their policy and that, in the economic as in the political sphere, the whole world ought to make a decisive choice in favour of peace;

“ Recognising that the political atmosphere of the present time is unfavourable, that international mistrust is widespread, that war is threatening and that actual hostilities have broken out in certain parts of the world;

“ Being of opinion that, in these circumstances, the closest co-operation is essential, both in the economic and political field, for States which are anxious to maintain peace;

“ Considering that such co-operation must be based on the renunciation of recourse to violence and war as instruments of policy and on the strict observation of international obligations;

“ Invites all States to follow the guidance of these essential principles of international co-operation, failing which real progress in the economic and financial sphere will prove impossible.

“

“ I

“ The Assembly,

“ Reaffirming the general desire of Member States of the League of Nations to pursue the realisation of the objects defined in the Joint Declaration of the Governments of France, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, dated September 26th, 1936, and convinced that the achievement of these objects is an essential condition for any effective and lasting improvement of general well-being ;

“ (1) Takes note of the report of the Economic Committee on the work of its forty-sixth session and approves its

¹ League of Nations : Economic and Financial Questions. Report submitted by the Second Committee to the Assembly (document A.72.1937.II.B).

suggestion that the existing systems of quotas and exchange control should be relaxed, with a view to their abolition at the earliest possible moment;

“(2) Endorses generally the conclusions contained in the report of the Committee for the study of the Problem of Raw Materials;

“(3) Requests the Economic and Financial Committees to pursue, each in its own sphere, and in consultation with the parties concerned, the study of the methods that could suitably be applied in order to carry into effect the principles referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) above; and particularly to recommend, with due regard to the special economic needs of each country, practical measures designed to increase international exchanges and, in particular, to facilitate the removal of exchange controls;

“(4) Makes an earnest appeal to all countries concerned to lend every possible support to the efforts of these Committees, in order to arrive at practical results;

“

“ II

“ The Assembly,

“ Recognising that technical progress in industry, agriculture and transport has made possible further advances in human welfare and recognising also that such advances depend upon economic co-operation between the nations;

“(1) Invites the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League, in collaboration, when appropriate, with the International Labour Office, to take whatever steps it may deem appropriate for the examination of the following problems :

“(a) Measures of a national or international character for raising the standard of living, the first stage of this enquiry being limited to a preliminary investigation, if necessary with the help of experts, in order that the next Assembly may be enabled to devote further attention to this question;

“(b) Measures which might be employed with a view to the prevention or mitigation of economic depressions;

“

“(2) Requests the Council to take the necessary steps to draw up a scheme of work for the study of demographic

problems by the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League, in close collaboration with the International Labour Office.

“ (3) Decides to place upon the agenda of its next ordinary session the question of international migration, including the question of repatriation, in order to allow the competent organs of the League, on the basis of a report by the International Labour Office, to follow up the work of that Organisation in this field and to make any necessary contribution to the results achieved;

“ ”

The technical Committees of the League of Nations were thus given, as it were, a free hand—a position refused to them the year before. It now became possible for them, within the limits, it is true, of the instructions they had received, to undertake a study of the important problems underlying any lasting work in the matter of economic recovery.

QUESTION OF RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING

Early in December 1937, the Economic Committee proceeded to consider what action it should take with a view to giving the fullest possible effect to the Assembly's decision, on lines which would admit of further development later. From the outset, it attached special importance to the study of the question of raising the standard of living, which it hoped would enable it to determine more satisfactorily than in the past the effects of obstacles to international trade on consumption. In order that the preliminary investigation might be carried out quite impartially, it invited Professor N. F. Hall, Director of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, London, to collaborate, and after hearing his views as to how the investigation should be conducted, allowed him complete liberty of action. Professor Hall discussed his first draft report with a small committee, consisting of some members of the Economic Committee, experts from the International Labour Office, and Professor W. E. Rappard, Director of the Institute for Higher International Studies, Geneva. His final report was submitted to the Economic Committee early in June 1938.¹

¹ It was published under the title of “Preliminary Investigation into Measures of a National or International Character for raising the Standard of Living”, by N. F. HALL (document A.18.1938.II.B).

This memorandum, which was intended to serve as a technical introduction to the question in the Assembly and to prepare the ground for future work, does not discuss detailed measures of policy but examines the general directions in which they should be sought and the relationship between those measures and the possibility of increased international economic collaboration. Professor Hall, in his introduction, gives a summary of the memorandum, as follows :

“ The present memorandum :

“ *(i)* Outlines the particular value of the method of approach which the Assembly has adopted;

“ *(ii)* Discusses :

“ *(a)* The general character of the economic adjustments which are necessary if technical progress is to result in further advances in human welfare;

“ *(b)* The relationship between low standards of living and low productivity in several different regions of the world and the general character of measures likely to encourage improvements in production and consumption;

“ *(iii)* Indicates the part that policies, both national and international, designed to raise standards of living can play in easing frictions between nations, thus paving the way for the adjustment of a number of outstanding economic difficulties.

“ It concludes by calling attention to three problems, the further investigation of which will be likely to yield fruitful results.”

These three problems are nutrition, the education of consumers and marketing facilities.

So far as nutrition is concerned, the technical organs of the League have studied every aspect of the question and have drawn up a series of recommendations which have, on the whole, met with an excellent reception.¹ Professor Hall is of opinion that studies including the further examination of the physiological

¹ “ The Relationship of Nutrition to Health, Agriculture and Economic Policy.” Final report of the Mixed Committee of the League of Nations (document A.13.1937.II.A).

needs of the population, under different climatic conditions, should be undertaken and closely interrelated with further studies of relative prices in different countries. While he does not anticipate the immediate success of these "micro-economic" studies, he thinks that they can throw much light upon the problem of standards of living, particularly if they are carried out with similar methods in several countries simultaneously.

In the matter of education, Professor Hall is of the opinion that serious efforts should be made to put before the populations the opportunities for improved consumption which modern knowledge makes possible to them, and that efforts should be made to rally public opinion everywhere in support of measures to raise standards of living.

Lastly, Professor Hall is convinced that great progress could be made in the matter of marketing by the organisation of cheap means of transportation, co-operatives, etc., and the collaboration of technical services.

The Economic Committee took note of Professor Hall's memorandum at its session in July 1938. In its report to the Council, it stresses the value of the memorandum and the fact that it is of a preliminary character. This memorandum, it says, deliberately excludes consideration of monetary questions and the relationship between employment, wages and standards of life, which may be limiting factors in the development of the positive measures recommended. The Committee endorses Professor Hall's opinion that, notwithstanding the extensive vista already opened up, there are other factors which will have to be borne in mind in the further examination of the subject.

Recognising the wide scope of the problems under review, the Economic Committee accordingly suggests in its report that it might be well to recommend to the Assembly for further study the adoption of a procedure analogous to that followed in the case of the problem of nutrition, and that the conclusions reached by Professor Hall should be subjected to expert examination with a view to making specific recommendations to Governments on the basis of ascertained facts.

The Economic Committee, in conclusion, stresses the close relationship between the problem of standards of living and the other work carried out by the technical organs of the League, and the importance of bearing this relationship in mind in connection with subsequent studies.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS

It will be recalled that the Assembly had requested the Council to take the necessary steps to draw up a scheme of work for the study of demographic problems.

In pursuance of this request, the Economic Committee, after getting into touch with the International Labour Organisation, carried out a preliminary investigation, in the course of which it became apparent that, although a keen interest was taken in population problems, a divergence of outlook and preconceived ideas, particularly in regard to over-population, might still lead to a regrettable lack of understanding in international relations which was not calculated to assist the cause of collaboration.

At its session in July 1938, the Economic Committee decided, in view of the complexity of the question, which was closely linked with economic problems, to propose to the Council that a special demographic committee should be set up to study the demographic problem and its relation to the economic, financial and social situation, and to recommend practical remedies.

It added that the Committee should be asked to pay special attention to the following points :

- (a) The various criteria for estimating over-population;
- (b) The measures adopted in different countries to deal with the increase in population, and possible methods of facilitating the absorption of this increase.

The proposal was accepted by the Council. In response to the Assembly's request, the technical organisation of the League thus proposed, not a scheme of work, but the constitution of a committee of experts to whom the study should be entrusted.

ACTION TAKEN ON THE PROPOSALS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF THE PROBLEM OF RAW MATERIALS

It will be remembered that the Committee for the Study of the Problem of Raw Materials had proposed that its suggestions should be reviewed by the technical Committees of the League, in order that they might be applied on as wide a scale as possible, and that the Assembly had endorsed the proposal.

At its session in December 1937, the Economic Committee made a critical examination of the conclusions embodied in the part of the Committee's report relating to the supply of raw

materials. After endorsing those suggestions, the Committee formulated three principles, which it proposed the Council should recommend to Governments with the object of facilitating commercial access to raw materials to the greatest possible extent. The Committee added in its report that it realised that, by confining itself for the moment exclusively to the study of questions relating to the supply of raw materials, it was dealing with only one aspect of an extremely complex problem, and that accordingly its suggestions could have only a limited value. Nevertheless, the Committee considered that it would be wrong to underestimate their importance, and that, in so far as impediments in regard to the supply of raw materials did in fact exist, efforts should be made to secure their progressive abrogation.

The Council decided to communicate these recommendations to Governments, and, with the object of obtaining a positive undertaking, requested them to submit their observations on the principles formulated by the Economic Committee, and to say whether they thought that the situation was favourable to international action in which those principles might find a place. The replies were on the whole in favour of the recommendations, but were in the negative as regards the possibility of such action being taken at present.

The Committee had considered that the difficulties encountered in connection with payment for raw materials were closely linked up with the fundamental problem of relaxing the system of quotas and exchange control.

The Economic and Financial Committees, acting in collaboration, had proceeded with the work which the Assembly had recommended, with a view to determining the methods whereby it might be possible to abolish such systems, or at all events to relax them. After carrying out an exhaustive investigation, they re-examined the question in the light of further information. A mixed Sub-Committee was set up for the purpose. It submitted a report containing a technical survey of the origin, functioning and effects of various systems of exchange control, and a number of suggestions with a view to their relaxation, based on the practice successfully adopted by a number of countries in certain clearly defined conditions.¹

But the report emphasises the fact that systems of exchange control are symptoms of deeper troubles, often accentuated by

¹ Report on Exchange Control (document C.232.M.131.1938.II.A), pages 45 *et seq.*

political difficulties. It is only by remedying these wider troubles that the system as a whole can be swept away.

The two technical Committees, sitting separately, approved the Sub-Committee's report; they expressed the hope that the suggestions contained in it would be carefully examined by Governments. They added, however, that recent developments in world economic and political conditions were not calculated to facilitate an attempt to achieve any far-reaching solution of the problem at the present time.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 1938 ASSEMBLY

When, in September 1938, the delegates of Governments met at Geneva, Europe was menaced by imminent war. Political tension which had been steadily increasing since the Assembly of 1937, was nearing its climax.

It was hardly to be expected in the circumstances that the Assembly would place economic problems in the forefront of its preoccupations. The second Committee, nevertheless, made a careful scrutiny of the reports submitted to it and, although it abstained, in view of the gravity of the political situation and the uncertainty of the future, from drawing up a programme of further activities, it considered it its duty to urge Governments to take immediate steps to stimulate economic activity and promote international trade by the relaxation of restrictive measures, the generalisation of most-favoured-nation treatment and the granting of financial assistance to countries employing exchange control which were prepared to abolish or relax it. As regards demographic problems and the problem of the standard of living, it summed up the results of its discussions in the following resolutions, which were duly adopted by the Assembly :

“ II. The Assembly,

“ Considering that demographic problems play an important part both in the national economies of the various countries and in the general economy of the world;

“ Recognising that the economic aspects of demographic problems have hitherto been insufficiently studied;

“ Requests the Council to constitute a special committee of experts to study demographic problems and especially their connection with the economic, financial and social situation, and to submit a report on the subject, which may be of practical value to Governments in the determination of their policies;

“ Expresses the hope that a place, or places, will be preserved on the said committee for the experts of countries interested in the problem which are not members of the League of Nations.

“ III. The Assembly,

“ Recognising that the collection, analysis and dissemination of information relating to economic and social politics and experience can contribute materially to raising the general level of human well-being :

“ (1) Requests the Co-ordination Committee to keep constantly in mind the bearing of the whole economic and financial work of the League on the fundamental problem of the standard of living;

“ (2) Requests the Economic Committee to consider the advisability of maintaining for another year its Sub-Committee on this subject, in order that definite proposals for the further prosecution of this work may be laid before the Assembly of 1939;

“ ”

These resolutions leave the technical organs of the League free to take such measures as may be necessary in regard to preliminary work in these spheres and to extend them should circumstances prove more favourable. They are extremely valuable on that account.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing *exposé*, in which the chronological order of events has been adhered to as far as possible in order to bring out their full significance, is designed to show how, during the last two years, the Economic Committee, whose attention had previously been devoted almost exclusively to problems of commercial policy, has been entrusted by the Assembly with the consideration of vaster and more complex questions.

This development was particularly noticeable from 1936 to 1937. In September 1936, the Assembly had expressed its confidence that the action of the Governments of the three great countries signatories to the joint declaration would bring about the realisation in the near future of the programme of international economic recovery which they had just outlined.

A year later, the Assembly entrusted to the Economic Committee the examination of the question of standards of living, and

requested it, with this object, to ensure the necessary collaboration, more particularly with the International Labour Organisation.

The difference between these two attitudes is of particular interest, not only because it emphasises the rôle of the technical organs of the League at a moment when they are the object of unfriendly criticism, but because it is essentially symptomatic of a change in the conception of economic problems.

It has become clear to everyone that social problems and economic problems cannot be kept in watertight compartments, and that there is little hope of solving the second category of problems unless some sort of international collaboration has first been instituted whereby the first-named category can gradually be settled on equitable lines.

But for the Economic Committee itself, this evolution also implies important consequences. In the past, recourse had been had to the Committee in the framing of draft conventions. It seems probable that, in future, it will be asked to make an exhaustive examination of a given subject and to give its opinion in the more elastic form of recommendations or directions. It is now being entrusted with more comprehensive studies, and is at the same time being allowed greater freedom of action.

Seeing, moreover, that the Assembly has also entrusted new tasks to the Financial Committee, it seems likely that, in future, the technical Committees of the League, whose collaboration has just been administratively strengthened by the creation of a Committee of Co-ordination, will be able, with greater ease than in the past, to extend their investigations, so as to cover the whole field of social and economic problems, and thus contribute effectively towards the resumption of international collaboration.

EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON RURAL LIFE

A European Conference on Rural Life is to take place in Geneva in July 1939.

ORIGINS OF THE CONFERENCE

The origins of the Conference date back to the work of the Health Committee, which, after organising a European Conference on Rural Hygiene in 1931, proposed a second Conference of the same character for the study of rational and practical solutions of the problems raised by the conditions of labour of

the rural populations. It was realised that the studies of the health specialists could not be treated separately; and it was desired to take into account the natural and inevitable interdependence of the health, social and economic factors involved.

Improvement of the hygiene and health of the rural populations presupposes an improvement in the living conditions of the peasant class as a whole. It is not merely a question of providing the agricultural populations with ordinary medical advice; the way in which they live and are fed and organise their labour has to be taken into account.

The Economic Organisation of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office are engaged on a study of the fundamental conception of standards of living. The Financial Organisation has already discussed the question of agricultural credit. The studies which have also been made by the technical organisations of the League of Nations, the International Labour Office and the International Institute of Agriculture on the subject of nutrition and housing have shown that there are many parts of Europe where the rural population is badly housed and underfed. Everything, in short, goes to show that general economic recovery is largely dependent on the purchasing power of the agriculturist, and consequently on his conditions of existence.

Accordingly, although one of the main objects of the Conference must be the study and improvement of rural hygiene, the Conference, in its expanded and developed form, will be concerned with rural life as a whole, and will constitute in that connection an effort of combination and collaboration on a grand scale.

FEATURES OF THE CONFERENCE

A special Committee, which met at Geneva from April 4th to 7th, 1938, with M. Wauters, then Belgian Minister of Public Health, in the chair, fixed the agenda of the Conference and set on foot certain essential preparatory studies.

In view of the extent of this complicated problem, the agenda thus fixed necessarily covered a wide field, but the explanatory comments of the Committee serve to define its scope.

The proposed Conference must not be regarded as a kind of international economic conference. It will be concerned merely with the different directions in which the authorities—using the expression in its widest sense—can promote the material and moral improvement of the conditions of existence of the rural

population. That is the specific object of the Conference—namely, the study of what the authorities are doing, or should do, in connection with attempts of whatever kind to raise the standard of living in the country and to promote progress in any branch of rural life.

The primary importance of the standard of living of the peasant populations as a factor of economic and social progress is the *raison d'être* of the Conference. It is not so much technical work which the Conference will set itself to do; it will seek to interest itself directly in the peasant from the human standpoint.

The essence of the problem is how to raise the general standard of living in agricultural districts, in the matter both of wages and of the material conditions of everyday life, with the object of bringing them up to the level in the towns, where life seems more comfortable and work more remunerative and less laborious. Conditions in regard to nutrition and housing in rural districts also call for improvement.

Much has already been done. It is now a question of forging ahead and speeding up the rate of progress in the villages.

The Conference will be in a position to do useful work by collecting documentary material on the various forms of rural life in Europe and by devoting attention to the human aspect. By spreading information as to methods employed, results obtained, progress accomplished and difficulties encountered, it will mobilise the experience of each for the benefit of all, and will make it possible to evolve governing conceptions applicable, subject to necessary variations, to all the rural populations of Europe.

• DOCUMENTATION OF THE CONFERENCE

- The different European Governments will submit national monographs on the rural life of their respective countries, and these national monographs will constitute the essential part of the documentation of the Conference.

They will not deal with all the points on the agenda in the same way. Each country has its own experience, which is determined by its historical and social evolution, the movements of its population, the racial framework and the different factors in its economic and social life. Each Government will be free to determine the lines of its monograph in accordance with its own circumstances.

It may be presumed, for example, that Sweden will dwell on the sanitary, hygienic, practical and æsthetic features of the Swedish village, which are the admiration of the tourist. Denmark will deal with the question of co-operatives, the development of which has been so marked in that country.

In addition to the national monographs, a series of technical monographs are in preparation dealing with various problems affecting the peasants of all European countries. The preparation of these technical monographs has been entrusted to persons with suitable qualifications, or has been allowed to the various international organisations which have been good enough to collaborate with the Conference.

The Conference will thus benefit by the work done by the Health Organisation, the Economic and Financial Organisation, the Communications and Transit Organisation, the International Labour Office, the International Institute of Agriculture and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Each Government will see how the most competent experts propose to solve the problems with which it is confronted.

TENDENCIES OF THE CONFERENCE

Everywhere, even in the most advanced and most highly industrialised countries, there are districts where the rural equipment leaves something to be desired. But it is the essentially agricultural countries which have a special and direct interest in the Conference. It affords an admirable opportunity of informing Europe as to the conditions peculiar to those countries. It will serve to spread knowledge of the progress already achieved, and at the same time bring out the difficulties with which the achievement of such progress is elsewhere faced. This comparison on a wide scale of methods, experiences, results and ideas will make it possible to decide whether suitable international collaboration can contribute to the improvement of the well-being of the peasant classes and help to create more favourable conditions, particularly in areas where conditions leave most to be desired.

In this connection, it has been observed that the Conference may revive the interest that was displayed, when the world crisis first broke out, in the position of the countries of Eastern Europe, whose agricultural exports were hampered by protectionist barriers and for which the raising of the standard of living of the peasants creates very urgent problems. Harmonious collaboration of countries rich in capital with countries rich in

population was then regarded as a likely means of promoting the peaceful reconstruction of Europe. Had it not been for the world economic crisis and the international complications which followed it, the movement in the agricultural countries of Eastern Europe might have given valuable results. The Conference of 1939 may once more make it clear that the stability and development of Europe depend very largely on the more rapid economic recovery of those agricultural countries.

The discussions of the last Assembly have shown the lively interest with which the European Conference on Rural Life is awaited. The preparatory work is well under way in the majority of countries, and in some of them it has already reached an advanced stage.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND EPIDEMICS

In December 1937, there was published in this *Bulletin* a survey of the duties and activities of the League of Nations in health matters.¹ As this was necessarily of a very general character, it may now be appropriate to give a somewhat fuller account of one of the various activities described, which, after all, is of fundamental importance—namely, *international protection against the spread of infectious disease*.

* * *

“Peace”, Raymond Poincaré said, “is a matter of unremitting constructive endeavour”. This true statement also applies to international co-operation. It is often supposed that before the advent of the League of Nations the various countries resembled so many watertight compartments, and that their Governments, comfortably ensconced behind a barrier of quarantine regulations and bills of health, had nothing to do but wait until epidemics broke out. This was not the case. Between 1851 and the outbreak of the war, no less than twelve international Health Conferences were held. Even before Pasteur’s discoveries regarding the part played by pathogenic agents in the transmission of disease, efforts were being made to detect and arrest the great maladies, if possible at their very source, by concerted

¹ See “The League of Nations and International Hygiene”. *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, December 1937.

international action. In return, the contracting States were required to accept certain restrictions upon their quarantine rights.¹

The task was found to be much more complex than had at first been anticipated, and, as experience showed, beset by difficulties. Administrative organisation and practice were often different; susceptibilities had to be spared and conflicting views reconciled. Yet none of these Conferences failed to achieve something. Each made some addition to the new structure. The 1851 Conference already contemplated the establishment in the Far East of European medical officers to warn the Governments of any outbreak of cholera or plague; but the scheme could not be carried into effect. In 1907, a permanent body was set up in Paris; this was the *Office international d'Hygiène publique*, whose primary duty was to keep Governments regularly informed of all matters bearing upon public health. This Office is still in existence and is successfully performing its work as an international liaison and information centre.

* * *

The foundation of the League of Nations after the war marked a notable step forward. Its powers in this field were comprehensively defined, and its means of action considerable. It is to the soundness of its technical foundation and machinery that the value of its subsequent achievements is largely to be attributed.

* * *

The need, in 1920, was for swift action to meet a dangerous emergency. The organisation of the League health services was still under consideration when typhus and cholera broke out in Eastern Europe. The Council at once despatched a Commission to the spot, with instructions to second the national authorities in their efforts to prevent the spread of epidemics. The Commission provided them with specialists, equipment, drugs, vaccines, and even, in certain cases, with clothing and food.

At the end of the Russo-Polish war, however, the situation became even more threatening. While the epidemics were taking appalling toll of the famine-stricken populations, hundreds

¹ " Ces conventions n'ont pas pour but d'attribuer de nouvelles compétences aux parties contractantes, mais, au contraire, de limiter leur liberté d'action " (VAN BLANKENSTEIN, " L'Organisation d'Hygiène de la Société des Nations ", J. Muusses, Purmerend, Netherlands, 1934).

of thousands of refugees were streaming into Poland and the Baltic States from Central Russia and Siberia.

The Epidemics Commission co-operated in the establishment of a veritable sanitary cordon. On the chief routes along which the refugees were arriving in an alarming state of destitution, the newly formed Polish medical service set up posts for the inspection and sifting of immigrants, the provision of shelter and work, and the isolation and treatment of contagious cases. Meanwhile, the Commission provided the national authorities with the supplies which they had difficulty in obtaining, such as clothing, soap, drugs, vaccines, hospital stores and supplies, ambulances, motor-cars, food and fuel. It equipped fifty hospitals, each containing fifty beds, and set up large numbers of bathing establishments, equipped with shower-baths, at intervals along the routes by which the immigrants were coming in. Through its advice, it succeeded in co-ordinating anti-epidemic work, not only in Poland and the Baltic countries, but also in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The work went on until the beginning of 1923, by which time the danger of mass infection was regarded as over.

The Commission found a further field for its activities in Greece in 1922, at the time of the return to that country of over 750,000 refugees from Asia Minor, many of them suffering from smallpox and typhoid fever. A vaccination campaign was organised, with the assistance of eighty Greek medical officers, and hundreds of thousands of people were vaccinated.

* * *

As the years passed and conditions reverted to normal, the focus of attention changed, as did the problems requiring consideration. Though Europe had recovered its stability, the danger of epidemics remained. Southern Asia continued to be the reservoir of all the great infectious diseases and remained, therefore, a permanent source of danger to the entire world.

Now, however, the problem was no longer that of protection from a specific danger on a limited frontier, but rather that of organising an unremitting watch, a system of outposts, as it were, to permit of immediate defence against a sudden emergency. This was what the 1851 Conference had attempted to do, with its scheme for the establishment of observers in the East. It has now been accomplished by the League of Nations on an altogether different scale.

It is common knowledge that, in the past, the epidemics of plague and cholera were certainly imported from the Far East. It has, for example, been proved that, after the plague epidemic in Kwangtung in 1894, Canton and Hong-Kong became endemic centres from which the disease travelled far and wide. From Hong-Kong it was carried by a ship to Bombay, whence it spread throughout the length and breadth of India, causing the great pandemic of 1896 (in 1897, there were twelve million deaths). To this day, India is greatly feared as a centre of contagion, not only for plague but also for cholera and smallpox. By ship, too, plague germs were carried to the ports of South Africa, where the disease still prevails in the endemic state, and to the coasts of Latin America, the Hawaiian Islands, and the coast of California (1900). In the same way, cholera has repeatedly been imported into Japan, with disastrous results, the victims on one occasion numbering as many as 300,000.

It is therefore sea transport which is responsible for this state of things, and quarantine regulations and bills of health have not removed the danger. It has, indeed, grown more and more formidable with the growth in the speed and volume of sea-borne traffic. At the same time, a new and even greater danger has been created by the development of air transport. The great rapidity with which an aeroplane can transport germ-carriers or passengers sickening for a serious epidemic disease from place to place is indeed obvious.

It was for these reasons that, in 1925, the League Health Committee decided to set up an Information Bureau at Singapore. This Bureau, which is in constant touch with the health authorities in Eastern ports, now stands like a watch-tower in the very heart of the danger-zone.

So far, 180 ports on the southern and eastern coasts of Asia, in Australasia, in the Pacific Islands and in East Africa have agreed to supply the Bureau at regular intervals with detailed particulars of their health conditions.¹ When an outbreak of any epidemic disease is detected, the news is at once cabled to the Bureau, so that the latter is always in possession of accurate information as to the places in which there is any danger of infection. This information it uses in two ways:

(1) Once a week it issues a *communiqué*, which is immediately broadcast from a network of ten broadcasting stations,

¹ Of these ports, 26 are in Africa, 103 in Asia, 49 in Australasia and 2 in America.

and can be picked up throughout the Indian Ocean and Western Pacific, as well as in the Mediterranean Basin, and even on the coasts of the Atlantic.

(2) The Bureau also issues a daily bulletin, which is broadcast from the powerful station at Malabar (Java).

The value of this information service will best be realised if we put ourselves for a moment in the place of the Director of the Health Service in, shall we say, the port of Melbourne. Thanks to the daily messages from the Singapore Bureau, he has precise knowledge of any ports in which plague, cholera or smallpox have broken out, and he is thus able to take all necessary precautions in regard to vessels arriving from such ports. On the other hand, he can decide in regard to what ships precautionary measures are unnecessary, so that the system has the twofold advantage of increasing security and at the same time of doing away, whenever possible, with the quarantine restrictions which cause such inconvenience to international traffic. The resultant saving in time and money, both for individual travellers and for business interests, is by no means inconsiderable.

The Singapore Bureau's daily bulletin can also be picked up by ships at sea, and on the vessels of most shipping companies this has now become a matter of routine, at least in certain areas, for in this way the officers are kept accurately informed of the health conditions in their next port of call.

And the system works both ways. The Singapore Bureau is regularly notified of any cases of infectious disease on board ships and warns the ports for which they are making, so that the health authorities may take all necessary precautions. Similar rules apply in respect of air communications.

The Bureau's work in regard to epidemics also includes the co-ordination of research activities of Far Eastern laboratories in such fields as anti-cholera vaccination. In addition, it promotes and assists practical co-operation between health services and institutes of hygiene (in regard to malaria, tuberculosis, rural hygiene, etc.), so that its liaison and co-ordinating activities go far beyond the limits of anti-epidemic work.

Such is the indispensable work which the League is carrying on in the danger zone of the eastern seas, where the look-out post it has set up has greatly eased the responsibility of Governments in their efforts to prevent the introduction of epidemics into their territories. It may, indeed, be claimed that it is no longer possible for ships (as it was in the last century) to carry plague

to a number of different, and sometimes very distant, parts of the world. That Far-Eastern administrations have recognised the utility of the Singapore Bureau is evidenced by the fact that most of them are making it an annual grant.

* * *

But what, it may be asked, is the value of this system to the other continents?

It goes without saying that the information collected by the Singapore Bureau is also communicated to Europe and America. The Bureau's weekly bulletin is at once cabled to Geneva. Before, however, describing the use to which it is put, it is necessary to consider in brief the conditions and problems of anti-epidemic protection in the western world.

In the first place, there is the danger from sea communications with the East. This is far from negligible. There have repeatedly been small outbreaks of plague in certain Mediterranean ports. In his recollections of childhood, Anatole France refers to a cholera epidemic which broke out in Paris about the middle of the last century.¹ The danger is not, however, as immediate as it is in the area served by the Singapore Bureau. European ports and, *a fortiori*, American ports do not require such immediate warning—that is, within a period of twenty-four hours—of eastern epidemic centres from which it may be feared that infection might be carried to the western world.

Even the western countries themselves, moreover, may be the theatre of epidemic outbreaks, the gravity of which must not be underestimated. Everybody is familiar with the ravages of epidemic influenza, and from time to time there are sudden dangerous outbreaks—*e.g.*, of infantile paralysis and of certain particularly malignant forms of diphtheria. Many European countries also fear the introduction of smallpox into their territory, from neighbouring countries in which it is prevalent. In Europe and Northern Africa there are still highly dangerous typhus outbreaks. The development of fast air transport has also given rise to a new danger—that of the introduction of yellow fever into the Mediterranean countries, where conditions would be particularly favourable to its propagation, and where it would no doubt take terrible toll.

¹ "La vie en fleur."

These are but a few examples to show that there is probably not a single Government in the world to which protection from infectious disease is not a matter of serious concern. All Governments, therefore, require a regular service of up-to-date information regarding the development and prevalence of infectious disease throughout the world, and it is for that reason that the League Epidemiological Intelligence Service at Geneva would have been incomplete had it confined itself to reporting epidemic outbreaks in the East.

The Service has been gradually built up despite the serious technical difficulties with which it has on occasion been confronted. Its range of action now extends to 148 countries and territories, with a total population of 1,436 million—that is, 72% of the entire population of the world.

The information it receives deals, not only with cases of infectious diseases and deaths, but also with vital statistics and general mortality. Its sources include the Singapore bulletins and the *communiqués* of the Office international d'Hygiène publique.

It must be realised, however, that great efforts have been necessary to turn the material thus collected to full account. The organisation of the national departments of medical and vital statistics is entirely different in different countries. Specialists had therefore to be called in to study the best means of rendering the statistics of the various countries comparable. A series of publications was issued, on the organisation of the principal national medical statistical services, and study tours were organised to enable the officers in charge of such services to acquire first-hand knowledge of the practice of those countries whose methods were most up to date and efficient. Much has, indeed, been done to assist national authorities, to bring them into closer touch with each other, and to enable them to reach agreement on certain matters of essential importance for the improvement of international statistics.

* * *

Let us now consider how the information collected at Geneva is turned to account.

Information regarding the most dangerous epidemic foci is sent out on the very day it is received.

Particulars of a more or less urgent character are published every Thursday in the *Weekly Epidemiological Record*, with accompanying comments, graphs and maps.

The remaining information is embodied in a monthly statistical supplement, and each year an *Annual Epidemiological Report* is issued.

To give an idea of the rapid working of the regular service at Geneva, it may be said that all epidemic foci discovered in eastern ports before midnight on Saturday are reported in the *Record* of the following Thursday. European ports are thus warned of the existence of such outbreaks before the following Sunday—that is, long before the arrival of vessels capable of spreading the infection.

When needful, information is at once sent out by cable as, for example, in the case of a sudden flare-up of epidemic influenza. Nor does the Service confine itself to cabling information to countries threatened by the infection. It also requests the countries already infected to supply accurate cabled information at the earliest possible moment.

The mass of material thus collected at Geneva is obviously quite unique. Health services, medical schools and institutes of hygiene can draw from it the essential data to enable them to form an accurate judgment of health conditions throughout the world, and to follow developments in the matter of mortality and morbidity. Furthermore, the Service itself “mobilises” such information by publishing from time to time comprehensive epidemiological surveys of particular diseases—*e.g.*, poliomyelitis and typhus (geographical distribution, development, progress of scientific knowledge, means of treatment and prevention).

* * *

Such is the present organisation of the Epidemiological Intelligence Service.

It necessarily relies on the voluntary co-operation of the national health authorities, which spontaneously supply it with the required information, and the vital importance of its work is so generally recognised that all the more important States, whether Members of the League or not, take advantage of it, and give it their practical support.

* * *

Whenever they so desire, moreover, Governments can always obtain more direct assistance from the League in dealing with epidemics. The account given at the beginning of this article of what was done to check typhus and cholera in Eastern Europe

is only one example of this. But for lack of space, still others could be described. Mention must, however, be made of what the Health Organisation has been doing in the vast territory of China, at the request of the Chinese Government, for over ten years. The work began with technical advice and active assistance in organising the control of disease—the creation of a central nucleus of medical and public health institutions, the reorganisation and strengthening of the quarantine service, and vaccination campaigns against cholera and smallpox. A number of experts were also sent out to the country to study certain special problems, such as endemic malaria in the Yangtse Valley, and one of them made a systematic survey of health conditions in more than eighteen Chinese provinces.

To-day, in the tragic circumstances which confront the Chinese Government, this technical assistance has taken on a somewhat different form. In 1937, the Chinese Government asked the League of Nations for help in its anti-epidemic work. In response, the Assembly voted a credit of two million Swiss francs and, bearing in mind the possibility of the spread of epidemics, not merely within Chinese territory, but also beyond its land and sea frontiers, to other countries, it requested the Health Organisation to draw up a practical programme for reinforcing the action of the Chinese authorities. As a result, three anti-epidemic units were sent out to China, under the leadership of prominent specialists, with Chinese and foreign assistants, and a considerable stock of medical and sanitary equipment and stores. In 1938, they were called upon to stamp out attacks of plague, typhus, smallpox, cholera and dysentery in the teeth of difficulties which may be well imagined. Last July, in response to an appeal from the Chinese authorities, the League was able to supply them, in less than four weeks, with more than eight million doses of anti-cholera vaccine, which had been spontaneously offered and prepared free of charge by institutes and laboratories in thirteen different countries.

This work, which the Assembly judged to be indispensable and accordingly agreed to finance for another year, will be carried on in 1939.

* * *

Such, in outline, are the achievements that can be placed on record in the organisation of international anti-epidemic control.

Last year's article on "The League of Nations and International Health" showed that, where technical questions are

concerned, Governments are in the nature of things bound to maintain relations with each other in the most varied fields of human activity. That is why the League of Nations was conceived as a centre of investigation and international co-operation to assist Governments, and thus to meet a need which previous international agreements had left unsatisfied. The foregoing account, it may fairly be claimed, deals with a branch of work in which the League is actually playing the practical part contemplated at the outset. Epidemics, if unchecked, will go on spreading: frontiers are no barrier, and no system of national protection can be really effective if unrelated to development in other countries. No more appropriate field for international co-operation could therefore be found.

EXHIBITIONS AS MEANS OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

I

Sixty million people are expected to attend the New York World's Fair in 1939. Of this number, perhaps six or seven million will visit the League's pavilion at the Fair, most of whom will, for the first time, see something of the scope and variety of the League's activities on behalf of international peace and co-operation.

It was this fact which led the Assembly of the League of Nations to accept the invitation of the American authorities and to appropriate a sum of 1,200,000 Swiss francs for this purpose. Few people will fail to appreciate the great educational potentialities of such an exhibit.

As this is the first time that the League of Nations has participated on such a scale in an international exhibition,¹ it may be of value to examine such exhibitions as means of popular education.

International exhibitions have now a fairly long history behind them. They have developed to the point where they are regulated by an international Convention which lays down the conditions under which they may be conducted, their duration and the regulations which the various countries participating are expected to observe. The great exhibitions of recent years, such as the one in Paris in 1937, have shown what is possible in

¹ The first exhibit in which the League participated was at Cologne in 1927, in connection with the Press Exhibition. It also had an exhibit at Paris (1937) and Glasgow (1938), but no pavilion of its own.

portraying the development of arts and sciences, industry and commerce, on a grand and striking scale.

A century ago, it was possible for people to see life clearly and to see it as a whole, because they lived in a predominantly agricultural society where life was relatively simple and uncomplicated. But that has all been changed by the tremendous growth which our modern scientific and industrial civilisation has undergone.

When the first McCormick reaper was exhibited in 1851 at London's Crystal Palace, the first international exhibition, it could hardly be realised what a tremendous effect this invention would have upon the lives, fortunes and destinies of millions of people all over the world. The same was true of the strides that were then being made, for example, in steam power and in high explosive weapons of war.

To-day, people are accustomed to the machine, or super-machine age, even though they hardly know how to control it. Yet modern exhibitions continue to furnish the most striking examples of marvels in the technical field.

What is desired, however—and the New York World's Fair authorities promise to deal with this question—is, not only to show the meaning and significance of the brilliant achievements of modern art, science and industry for the average man, but also to enable him to see their social consequences and implications. It is not only materials, but ideas and forces which affect life and well-being. That is why the New York World's Fair authorities have undertaken to demonstrate the necessity for enlightened co-operation in a world in which scientific progress has made obsolete the old mosaic of isolated communities and interests.

The theme chosen for the New York World's Fair is "The World of To-morrow". It will attempt to give an interpretation of our own age, to show the achievements of the last century in the fields of art and literature, of science and industry, of government and the social services.

Twentieth-century society is more interdependent than was any previous society. The problem therefore is how to evolve local, national and international government in ways compatible with mass interdependence. This requires an understanding of modern means of production, of transportation, of communication and of distribution, and their management in each case so as to afford the widest possible well-being. It means also that the past experience of Governments and international

organisations in the fields of health, public welfare, education, recreation, arts and sciences should periodically be assembled at one place and made available to every man.

One important result of the New York World's Fair, as of all exhibitions in the past, will be commercial. Friendly competitors from many nations will exhibit their wares, learn from each other and perhaps receive orders for their particular lines of goods. In fact, fairs or exhibitions originated to solve the early problems of the distribution of goods—to concentrate supply and demand at a certain place and time. There are many who feel that such an exchange of goods is itself a contributing factor to a better, and even a more peaceful, society. The League of Nations will have no goods to exhibit, but it will have a very striking and important contribution to offer to the cause of international understanding and world peace. Though dealing largely in the realm of ideas and exhibiting them at a time when many people imagine that the League itself is in an advanced stage of decay, it will doubtless be a great revelation to millions of people to learn that the League is more than a political agency and that the wide variety of its technical activities touch, as Mr. de Valera in closing the nineteenth Assembly said, practically every field of human interest.

The existence of the League Pavilion in the midst of the various Government buildings will itself be concrete proof that something new has entered the world of the twentieth century. The pentagonal design of the building will be the artist's way of showing that the five great continents or races of the world comprise a humanity whose fortune and fate are indissolubly bound together.

When the visitor enters the first of six chambers, he will see, in the historical room, that the League of Nations was not a sudden afterthought of the world war but rather a stage in the historical process which made its appearance at the beginning of this century as inevitable and indispensable as the march of time itself. As he goes on through the rooms exhibiting something of the League's work in the wide fields of health, social welfare and economic interdependence, he will see almost at a glance how far the repercussions of an epidemic, or an invention, in any part of the world may extend.

If the visitor has five minutes more to see the desperate, though not always successful, efforts that have been made under League auspices to settle disputes by peaceful means—judgment, arbitration or diplomatic compromise—he will probably realise

that the League's successes or failures meant happiness or disaster to him and to millions of his fellows. If he stops in the last large central chamber, and perhaps sits down for a moment to relieve his fatigue, he may cast his eye on the contrast between chaos, disorder and bloodshed on the one hand and the benefits of law, order and humanity on the other. Perhaps, by an effort of will following his contemplation of the two roads which society may take, he will resolve to act on what he has learned, which is always the test of true education.

II

An exhibition, of course, is confined largely to the method of "visual education" through the widely varied use of plastic, graphic and pictorial means. It must epitomise or concentrate much learning and experience into accurate yet pleasing forms. If the visitor's interest is aroused or his imagination stirred, he may also be supplied with additional data in the form of printed documents which he may take home and read at his leisure.

Modern exhibitions invariably introduce a third element—the artistic. This aspect originated in the exhibitions of Fine Art at Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and later crossed into France where, in 1699, in the gallery of the Louvre, a mixed exhibition—industrial and artistic—was held. This combination has been a feature of French exhibitions ever since, and, indeed, of the modern international exhibition as well. Thus man's progressive achievements in industry, science and art have come to be regarded as the subject matter of any exhibition, an understanding of which is intended to give him fresh pride and courage and faith in himself.

International exhibitions are of comparatively recent origin. Up to the middle of the last century, industrialists of the high protectionist countries feared the competition of foreign exhibitors. Several efforts in France and England failed until, in 1851, Prince Albert, stressing "the realisation of the unity of mankind", invited the nations of the world to participate in the exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London; the majority accepted, although there were several refusals based on the danger of infection from "British radicalism".

This first international exhibition was a great success. Queen Victoria described the opening as "the greatest day in our history, the most beautiful and imposing and touching spectacle ever seen . . .". The net profit of the exhibition exceeded

£200,000, a part of which was used to found the famous South Kensington Museum. The Crystal Palace itself was the first important revelation of the use of iron, glass and steel in buildings and had a marked influence on architectural design. The exhibit as a whole was representative of the stage reached at that time in the fields of science, industry and art.

The series of great international exhibitions held in France, beginning in 1855, is admitted to have exerted great influence both on the beautification and development of Paris and on the industrial development of France and other countries. The Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876 marked the advent of a new factor in modern life—electricity. The Paris Exhibition of 1878 marked the beginning of congresses and conferences on educational, literary and artistic subjects, which have characterised French exhibitions ever since. Similarly, most of the hundred or more exhibitions which have been held in various world capitals since 1851 have left a particular influence or mark. Of recent exhibitions, that at Liège in 1930 and that at Brussels in 1935 were associated with “city planning”, while the “Century of Progress” Exhibition at Chicago in 1934 was predominantly scientific, the Hall of Science being one of the most remarkable scientific collections ever assembled in one place.

In choosing its audacious theme—“Building the World of To-morrow”—the 1939 New York World’s Fair authorities have emphasised “the vital necessity of enlightened co-operation among all nations, peoples and classes”. In issuing their call to the nations, and to the League of Nations, through the American Government, they boldly assert that the world of to-day represents a race between education and catastrophe, and that a “new education is needed for a new age”. They have deliberately planned that the physical layout and the arrangement of the exhibits shall be dominated by this theme. They believe that an understanding of the dominant factors of contemporary civilisation will show the inter-relation and interdependence of these factors.

In such an exposition, the League of Nations will be in a congenial atmosphere. For whatever the difficulties and discouragements of to-day, the League conception from the beginning was based on the irrepressible hope of a better to-morrow. If the implications of interdependence are more generally learned at the New York World’s Fair in 1939, a great step in international education will have been taken.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION AT WORK

THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

For each annual session of the International Labour Conference, the Director of the International Labour Office prepares a *General Report*.

In about ninety pages, the report tersely summarises the conclusions to be drawn from the principal events in the sphere of social welfare and the protection of labour; it describes their development and trend, and examines them in the light of economic and political conditions. A more personal touch is given by the expression of the author's opinions and criticisms.

This annual report is supplemented by another publication of the International Labour Office—the *I.L.O. Year-Book* of social policy. The purpose of the year-book, the eighth edition of which has now been published, is to set forth the most important events, from the industrial and labour point of view, which have occurred throughout the world during the period under review.

It is not confined to dry enumeration of legislative measures and to summaries of their main provisions, but endeavours, as far as possible, to relate them to the circumstances which led to their adoption. It follows, for example, the ups and downs of a proposed reform from the moment when the workers' claims were first put forward up to the passing and enforcement of the new legislation, describing on the way the parliamentary debates and the movements of public opinion, with special reference, of course, to the attitudes adopted by Governments, employers and workers. Thus the *I.L.O. Year-Book* for 1937/38 is, above all, a repertory of contemporary social policy.

The Director's report, however, attracts more attention, owing to its expression of general views based on essential facts and its appreciation of experiments in the light of their results. All who are eager to understand the course of social progress, and therefore all educationists, will find the report, not only a well-balanced commentary, but also a highly stimulating expert analysis.

* * *

In his 1938 report, which will be his last, since he is retiring at the end of the year, Mr. Harold Butler considers the situation from five different points of view which supplement each other. Here are the essential points of the survey.

THE END OF RECOVERY ?

3

The gradual economic recovery that has taken place since the last depression reached its highest point in the summer of 1937. World industrial production was then clearly above the 1929 level. The decrease in world unemployment, the increase in the volume of world trade, and all other indices showed a similar trend. Nevertheless, the extent of the recovery varied widely in different countries. Some benefited considerably, while others hardly emerged from the slump. Except in the United States, the subsequent business recession has proved comparatively slight, and there do not seem to be any serious grounds for alarm. Yet, although some of the lost prosperity has been regained, it would be foolish to regard the present situation with undue optimism.

Armaments are clearly a factor in the economic situation, though it is difficult to say how large a factor. "What is certain, however, is that genuine prosperity might have been more abundant and its prospects of endurance greater, had not an excessive portion of the national wealth of almost every country been diverted to war-equipment."

THE SOCIAL BALANCE

On the whole, the balance seems favourable. It may be said that, "taking the world in its entirety, employment has certainly

expanded, real wages have tended to rise, and the benefits of social insurance are more generally distributed and more soundly financed than for many years past. Constant progress has been made in the direction of better housing and better feeding. It is being increasingly realised that expenditure, even public expenditure, on these objects is of great economic value, both direct and indirect.

“If it were possible to isolate social phenomena and to consider them in complete abstraction from the economic and political conditions by which they are largely determined, it would be possible to say that, on the whole, considerable strides have been made in the last few years. Unfortunately, under existing economic and political circumstances, the advances made cannot be regarded as secure or permanent. Only when suitable political and economic conditions are restored can they be properly consolidated. For it cannot be too often repeated that, without real economic prosperity, no lasting social progress is possible and that, without real peace between nations, economic prosperity is largely illusory and precarious.”

For each item in the social balance-sheet, the report considers the most significant national developments (for instance, in Germany) and the essential features of the problem: factors making for a decrease in unemployment, means of preventing the return of depression, public works, shortage of skilled labour, the reform of apprenticeship and vocational training, the social security of agricultural and independent workers, etc.

HOURS OF WORK

While the reduction of working-hours has lost none of its appeal as a programme, no general progress was noticeable anywhere in 1937. On the contrary, there has been a tendency to increase, if not normal hours of work per day or week, at any rate the number of hours actually worked.

This development is naturally interpreted in some quarters as evidence that the economic objections to a reduction of working-hours are sound and that a working-week of less than forty-eight hours is neither physically necessary, economically possible nor really desired. What are the facts? Any objective analysis of the essential factors in the situation must point to the following conclusions:

(a) In spite of the exceptional conditions created by the intensive production of armaments in a number of countries, the tendency towards shorter hours continues. It has been checked through circumstances which are transitory, but the problem remains, a problem whose solution, when attention can be given to it, will have become more urgent;

(b) Experience shows that elasticity, differentiation and discrimination, providing for adjustment to particular circumstances, are essential. No absolute standardisation can be achieved;

(c) From an international point of view, until there is substantial uniformity in the labour legislation of the various countries chiefly concerned, it will be very difficult to draw up an international convention and secure its universal application. It is necessary to proceed with method and caution and to prepare a careful plan for the progressive reduction of working-hours, taking full account of existing circumstances and of the difficulties to be overcome.

This chapter contains in support of these contentions :

An analysis of the factors which have made for an extension of working-hours in some countries (Japan and Spain, which are engaged in hostilities; Germany, Italy, and Great Britain, where armaments play a leading part);

An enquiry into French experience in its true perspective, enabling the Director of the Office to write that "it would be inaccurate and unscientific to assert that the forty-hour week as such had failed in France or that it was the fundamental cause of the difficulties which the national economy of the country has encountered";

Finally, a description of "other applications of the shorter working-week" and particularly of the situation in the United States, where, despite the absence of legal enactment, the forty-hour week still obtains over a very large part of industry.

THE PROGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

Although the developments of the past few years have caused disaffection among "those of short sight and little faith", and although "a reversion to purely nationalistic modes of thinking might have been expected to produce a similar decline of international co-operation in the social and economic spheres",

the authority of the International Labour Organisation is unimpaired. That is because the Organisation has stuck to its own business and has tried to preserve an objective attitude towards the ideological controversies raging around it. Another reason is that "the great majority of people realise . . . that the international consideration of economic and social questions can hardly be avoided as the world is now organised".

But the continued vitality of any institution "must largely depend on its capacity to adapt itself to changing circumstances", and "a time may well come when far-reaching changes in the Constitution may be required".

In support of these contentions, the Director of the International Labour Office gives several examples showing that, in 1937, since hard times call for supreme efforts, the Organisation was more active and fuller of initiative than at any other time in its history, yet without adding to its financial burden. Reference is made in this connection to the discussions and decisions bearing on the following questions: economic and social problems of the textile industry, agricultural problems, migration for land settlement, labour inspection, relations with South America and the East, ratification of international labour Conventions, etc.

THE FUTURE OF THE ORGANISATION

Although the European membership of the Organisation has been seriously reduced, its world membership has been enormously strengthened. Furthermore, except in the Far East, the social consequences of rearmament have been little felt outside Europe, and in most countries there has been no such set-back to social progress as has, owing to transitory circumstances, occurred elsewhere.

The Organisation's horizon is widening, owing to the fact that the world's economic centre of gravity is shifting away from Europe. This process is being hastened by the division of Europe into groups pursuing different social objectives and working upon different economic principles. A much larger share in the defence of social progress is being assumed by the extra-European countries, and the change of balance which is affecting the life of the Organisation is therefore calculated to quicken rather than to slacken its rhythm.

Allowance must also be made for the immense possibilities of the East, where more than half the world's population lives

and works, and where the International Labour Organisation has a special task to perform.

Even the change that has taken place in the post-war economists' ideas of social progress has helped to widen the scope of the Organisation's activities. Such progress "is no longer looked upon as incidental to the economic system, but as its primary objective . . . The fact that every Government is now actively operating in the economic sphere has raised vast possibilities, both of economic achievement and of international discord." There never was more need for international co-ordination, and it is essential that countries, in taking economic action, should consider what the effect is likely to be upon the rest of the world. If social justice is to form a basis for universal peace, there must be some approach to greater economic equality between nations. Consequently, the duty of the Organisation is "to hold up the social mirror to every type of economic action and experiment; to discern the types of State intervention which are socially valuable from those which are socially pernicious".

This chapter discusses changes in the distribution by continents of certain branches of production, the problem of the industrialisation of the East as it strikes producing and consuming countries and the methods of conciliating divergent interests, and, lastly, the evolution of social progress.

* * *

As usual, the Director's report was discussed at length last June at the International Labour Conference. Several plenary meetings of the Conference were devoted to the debate, in which sixty-eight delegates took part. Of these, forty were Government representatives (including six Ministers of Labour), nine employers' representatives, and nineteen workers' representatives. The speeches fell into two broad categories: those which added to the information given in the Director's report by supplying more detailed accounts of social progress in particular countries; and those which selected specific points in the report for comment and criticism.

It would be impossible to attempt here even the concisest account of the speeches. Suffice it to say that several of them dealt with the armaments race and its influence on social progress; others dwelt on the need for reconsidering the question of working-hours in the light of present circumstances. Special attention was given to the business cycle and to relations between industry and agriculture, with reference either to the situation in the East,

which was described in a separate report prepared by the Director after a recent trip, or to agriculture.

The outstanding feature of the debate was, however, the general confidence expressed in the International Labour Organisation and its work. Mr. Harold Butler, in his reply to the delegates who had discussed the report, had this point more especially in mind when summing up the experience of the last nineteen years :

“If the International Labour Organisation,” he said, “has rendered one outstanding service, it has been to bring people together and to help them to understand each other.

“Some people have chafed at the slowness with which progress has been made. They would like to change the whole of mankind at one bound from national loyalty to world loyalty, and are often inclined to look upon international institutions as useless. I should rather believe that world loyalty can only be created by and through international institutions. One has seen so many instances of beautiful abstract notions of universality which collapsed on contact with reality, because their authors had no experience of international life and were still unwittingly governed by national concepts. Loyalty to any world ideal can only be bred out of real experience. Until it can be given a concrete setting, the notion of a society of nations or of a world society will never be anything but a vague and pious aspiration. This Organisation is translating the international idea into positive terms, and by so doing is making an international allegiance possible—not as a substitute for national loyalties, but as a goal to which national effort should be directed. . . . To convert the world from purely nationalistic thinking to a comprehension of the international factors upon which so much of its well-being depends is as revolutionary a change as the change from the mediæval to the modern outlook. It will require not years but generations for its accomplishment. If I am right in discerning the first signs of that transformation as already apparent in this Organisation, its progress in the two decades since its inception has indeed been significant.”

THE PROTECTION OF YOUNG WORKERS

It will be better to continue dealing with these problems here, both by supplying further information on the points

mentioned last year¹ and by considering other aspects of the protection of young workers. This will give readers a general survey of the work being done in this field under the auspices of the International Labour Office.

* * *

Although the protection of labour begins with that of young persons, any measures taken for the protection of adult workers are also beneficial to the younger generations. In this respect, social justice is indivisible.

A striking illustration of this interdependence is to be found in the preamble of the recommendation concerning unemployment among young persons, where the Conference recalls, in 1935, "that it has on several occasions drawn the attention of Governments to the economic measures that should be adopted as a remedy for the general depression, as a result of which large numbers of workers are unemployed".

In the opinion of the International Labour Organisation, this revival of economic activity then implied and still implies: the stabilisation of national and international monetary conditions; the institution of international co-operation to prevent disastrous fluctuations in the level of prices; the suppression of economic friction due to exchange restrictions; increased purchasing power for the community and the maintenance of adequate standards of living for the workers; the organisation of national and international public works with the financial assistance of all countries, so as to bring hoarded capital into circulation once more.

In recent years, the connection between social, economic and even political problems has become clearly apparent. Formerly, they were considered separately, but present circumstances go to prove that there is no longer any clear line of demarcation between the three.

Thus, in one way or another, young workers are affected by all the general activities of the Organisation with respect to hours of work, social insurance, industrial health and safety, placing, conciliation, arbitration, etc.

Among the Organisation's many activities and interests, there are several that are directly concerned with young persons. The Constitution of the Organisation contains a paragraph dealing

¹ Cf. *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, No. 4, December 1937, page 132: "The International Labour Organisation and the Raising of the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment".

with the protection of young workers. The methods and principles it mentions as being of special and urgent importance include :

“ Sixth.—*The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.*”

In this connection, the efforts of the International Labour Organisation have repeatedly been brought to bear on the *minimum age for admission to employment*, so as to carry out the first part of the programme : the abolition of child labour. This is being done in two stages. At first, a minimum age of 14 was adopted. Now the objective is to raise that limit, so as to afford young persons better opportunities for education and physical development.

The question of the age of admission was discussed in the December 1937 *Bulletin*; the international situation is now as follows :

The 1919 Convention concerning the minimum age for admission to industrial employment has so far been ratified by twenty-eight States.

The revised Convention of 1937 concerning the minimum age for admission to industrial employment was recently ratified by *Norway* and has been submitted to the competent authorities, without proposal, in *Albania, Australia, Denmark, Egypt, the United Kingdom, Ireland, New Zealand, Portugal, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*

It has been submitted to the services or organisations concerned for their opinion in *Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Italy, Poland, Roumania, Spain and Turkey.* Ratification based on the special article is under consideration in *India.*

In the *Union of South Africa*, the Union Government decided against ratification. The *Swedish Riksdag* has adjourned ratification until the national legislation on this subject has been consolidated, while the *Egyptian* Government has stated that it is unable to ratify the Convention, since several provisions are in contradiction with the legislation in force and unsuited to national conditions.

The Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention, 1932, has now been ratified by six States, and ratification has been recommended in *Argentine.*

The revised Convention of 1937 concerning the same matter has been submitted to the competent authorities, without proposal, in *Albania, Australia, Denmark, Egypt, Great Britain, Ireland, New Zealand, Portugal* and the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*.

It has been submitted to the services or organisations concerned for their opinion in *Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Italy, Latvia, Poland, Roumania, Spain* and *Turkey*.

Here, again, the *Union of South Africa, Sweden* and *Egypt* have taken up the same position as with regard to the revised Convention concerning industrial employment.

The revised Convention of 1936 concerning the minimum age for admission to employment at sea has already been ratified by three States (*Belgium, Norway* and *Brazil*) and ratification has been recommended by the Governments of the *Netherlands* and *Sweden*. All these are maritime countries.

As regards national legislation, considerable progress has been made in some countries. Some States that had never so far regulated the minimum age for admission to employment have enacted, or decided to enact, legislation in this respect, while other countries have raised the minimum age previously fixed (*Switzerland*: Act of 1938 raising the age from 14 to 15, except in special cases) or are considering the possibility of doing so.

Another measure that indirectly prevents children from becoming wage-earners prematurely is the raising of the school-leaving age. In *Great Britain*, an Act which comes into force in 1939 raises the school-leaving age to 15. Several States of the *United States of America* have set the age even higher, some of them as high as 17 or 18. In a few countries, a longer period of attendance at school has been made compulsory (*Belgium*) or been contemplated only in the case of unemployed young persons. In some cases, the age of admission to employment as an out-worker has also been fixed, etc.

It may be added that a new method of abolishing child labour has been tried in the *United States of America*, where in 1937 some of the States (*Vermont, Missouri* and *New York*) passed legislation prohibiting the sale of goods produced in other States with the aid of such labour. In 1938, a Federal Act was passed prohibiting inter-State commerce in goods produced by child labour, children being defined as persons under 16 years of age and even, in the case of dangerous or unhealthy employments, 18 years of age. Another method of regulation is that practised in *Connecticut*, where an employer who employs a child under

16 years of age is required to notify the State Board of Education of the beginning and termination of the employment, all persons under 18 years of age having to obtain a work permit before they can be employed.

In view of these legislative trends, there is no exaggeration in the statement that the raising of the minimum age for admission to employment and the concurrent raising of the school-leaving age are no longer mere proposals for a programme of social reform, but may already be considered as practical achievements.

* * *

The Organisation has not, however, neglected the second part of the programme laid down by the Constitution—that is, the protection of young persons after they have entered an occupation. It has, in the first place, sought to prevent their being employed under conditions likely to interfere with their health or their full development. The risks involved include that of night work, which is exhausting. At its very first session, the International Labour Conference secured international recognition for the principle of the *prohibition of the employment of young persons at night*, a principle which, as a matter of fact, had already been accepted in the legislation of several industrial States.

The international Convention adopted in 1919 prohibits the employment at night of young persons under 18 years of age “in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed”. The rule is subject to a very few exceptions in favour of industrial undertakings where work is carried on continuously day and night; moreover, in such undertakings the prohibition still applies to persons under 16 years of age.

The Convention defines “night” as “a period of at least eleven consecutive hours, including the interval between ten o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning”.

As in certain of the Conventions concerning the minimum age for admission to employment, there are special clauses relating to *India and Japan*.

A recommendation concerning night work in agriculture was adopted in 1921, to the effect that Member States should “take steps to regulate the employment of children under the age of 14 years in agricultural undertakings during the night in such a way as to ensure them a period of rest compatible with their

physical necessities and consisting of not less than ten consecutive hours ”.

Lastly, the Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention of 1932 provides that the light work which is, under certain conditions, permissible for children over 12 years of age shall at least be prohibited at night—“ that is to say, during a period of at least twelve consecutive hours comprising the interval between 8 p.m. and 8 a.m.”

So far, the Convention concerning the night work of young persons in industry has been ratified by thirty-one States, and ratification is being considered in other States. A number of Federal States, whose constituent States or provinces have passed similar legislation, have been unable to ratify for purely constitutional reasons. Other industrial States have enacted provisions which differ somewhat in points of detail from those of the Convention, so that ratification has not yet been possible. On the other hand, ratification proceeds apace among the newly formed States that are organising their social legislation, while regulations prohibiting night work for young persons have in recent years been extended appreciably faster to colonial territories. It may therefore confidently be said that to-day the principle of the Convention is universally accepted.

* * *

The International Labour Organisation has initiated a number of other special measures for *protecting the health of young persons* against various risks.

Two of its decisions aim at protecting young persons from one of the most serious kinds of industrial poisoning—namely, lead-poisoning. As early as 1919, the Conference recommended that Member States should prohibit the employment of young persons under the age of 18 in a number of occupations where there was a risk of lead-poisoning. It was further recommended that the employment of young persons under the age of 18 in processes involving the use of lead compounds should only be permitted subject to certain precautions being taken. These included periodic medical examination of the persons so employed, supervision, and compensation in the event of poisoning.

In 1921, a Convention was adopted to prohibit, in the interests of young and adult workers alike, the use of white lead in the internal painting of buildings. This Convention also contains special provisions prohibiting the employment of young persons

under 18 years of age in any external painting for which the use of white lead is exceptionally allowed. On other occasions, the Conference has been concerned with the safety of young persons at work, and, with a view to avoiding accidents, recommended in 1937 that persons under 18 years of age should not be in control of any hoisting machine.

The Conference has repeatedly sought to prevent the employment of young persons on particularly trying work. For instance, a Convention, adopted in 1921 and ratified by thirty-two States, set a minimum age-limit of 18 for admission to employment as trimmer or stoker on board ship. Again, a Convention adopted in 1930 and ratified by nineteen States prohibited the employment of persons under the same age on forced labour, where such labour is allowed.

More general clauses in the revised Minimum Age Conventions are designed to afford young persons a wider measure of protection against employment under conditions which would injure their health. It is provided that a higher age-limit than the normal one shall be prescribed for admission to "employments which, by their nature or the circumstances in which they are carried on, are dangerous to the life, health or morals of the persons employed therein".

Lastly, at its maritime session in 1921, the Conference favoured a preventive measure for the protection of young seamen when it adopted a Convention concerning the compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea. Under this Convention, which does not apply to vessels upon which only members of the same family are employed, young persons whose employment is permissible, but who are under 18 years of age, must, before being signed on, produce a medical certificate attesting fitness for the employment and signed by a doctor who is approved by the competent authority. As a rule, holders of such certificates must be re-examined medically once a year. So far, the Convention has been ratified by thirty-three States.

Clearly, the work of the Organisation is far from being at an end as regards the protection of young workers. In more than one respect, it will have to be supplemented: the existence of further risks will call for recognition and, owing to the development of industrial conditions, the Organisation will, from time to time, be faced with new needs.

On several occasions, questions connected with *technical and vocational education* have also been considered. In 1921, the Conference recommended "that each Member of the International Labour Organisation endeavour to develop vocational agricultural education and, in particular, to make such education available to agricultural wage-earners on the same conditions as other persons engaged in agriculture".

Since then, technical and vocational education and apprenticeship have frequently been discussed.

In 1935, when the Conference considered unemployment among young people, the need for a thorough investigation of the vocational training of young workers was clearly seen.

Although modern industry uses machinery for much work that was formerly done by skilled craftsmen, it has at the same time provided vast opportunities for the employment of skilled workers with a high degree of technical training. Although machinery has to a large extent displaced skilled factory hands, it has, on the other hand, created a demand for technical training of a new kind that is mental rather than manual. Training has therefore become more essential than ever to industrial efficiency. Frequent change in technical processes has also made it necessary to develop quick adaptability in workers. In fact, the whole problem of vocational training has, as it were, been revolutionised.

Accordingly, the International Labour Office has been giving more and more attention to this matter, in close collaboration with the International Bureau of Technical Education.

Such are the circumstances in which the International Labour Conference began to study the problem last June and decided to consider the adoption of international recommendations in 1939. At present, Governments are being consulted on the points that should be specially mentioned in the recommendations: the general organisation of vocational training, vocational and technical education, apprenticeship, certificates, exchanges, teaching staff. Thus, in a few months' time, it will be possible to describe, for the benefit of educationists, the nature and scope of the new recommendations.

Further, the Conference passed two resolutions urging that vocational guidance and the vocational retraining and readjustment of adult workers should be placed on the agenda of a very early session.

As has been pointed out, these problems of vocational training have received attention chiefly owing to the consequences of the economic depression. They are being investigated because of the difficulties with which unemployed young persons, more especially, were faced and which have already been described in this *Bulletin*¹ with reference to the raising of the minimum age for admission to employment.

In this connection, interesting results have attended an important recommendation which the Conference passed in 1935 and which specified the measures best calculated to prevent *unemployment among young persons*. So far, nearly forty States have taken steps to apply the recommendation. Apart from the points which call for a higher age of admission to employment and a higher school-leaving age—matters that have already been dealt with—or, again, a more methodical and more highly developed technical education and retraining—matters that are on the agenda of the next session of the Conference—there are others which, like the spirit of the recommendation itself, have been carefully observed in the preparation of national measures for the following purposes: opening of labour camps or employment centres for unemployed young persons; institution of public works schemes to afford employment more especially for young persons, and supply of the necessary funds to finance such schemes; adaptation of public employment exchanges to meet the special needs of young persons, and attempts to open new careers; vocational guidance for young persons with a view to employment in branches of economic activity which are not too overcrowded or where there is still a lively demand for labour; organisation of supplementary courses for the general education of unemployed persons or to improve their technical training; grant of scholarships for continued study; opening of centres or clubs where unemployed young persons can find opportunities for healthy recreation and receive relief in kind, such as free meals and any assistance they need, etc.

Furthermore, apart from the long periods of inactivity due to unemployment, other general problems, such as the reduction of working-hours and the reasonable arrangement of rest periods, have led the Organisation to consider workers' recreation, more

¹ Cf. *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, December 1937, pages 132 et seq.

especially with reference to young persons; the general recommendation adopted in 1924¹ and the 1936 Convention concerning holidays with pay, which has so far been ratified by two States and will come into force in September 1939, have lost none of their interest.

In 1937, more than ever before, national efforts have been brought to bear on specific problems and, above all, on that of workers' holidays. Workers, through their trade organisations, often look for guidance as to how they should use their annual leave. In consequence, workers' tourist associations or offices have been set up or planned. Some schemes have been very carefully worked out: in almost every country, "youth hostels" have been opened on a remarkably wide scale; in others, holiday camps are favoured; in others again, the practice of camping has developed. Lastly, there is a movement for international exchanges of holiday-makers; at any rate, almost all the countries exchange young students.

Other forms of recreation—namely, physical culture and athletics—are receiving considerable attention from private organisations and even more from the authorities. Steps are being taken and national committees set up in several countries.

An ever-increasing number of workers are receiving education. Owing to the diversity of its forms, workers' education is also becoming more and more thorough. There has been a remarkable spread of education among the workers, not only in the United States, but also in several Latin-American countries; while in Europe, workers' educational organisations are redoubling their efforts and comparing their experience more and more regularly.

During 1937, in view of all these developments, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office set up a Committee on Recreation, the membership of which includes experts chosen from among the representatives of youth organisations. The first session of the Committee was held in London in October 1938. Two questions were on the agenda: "Facilities for Workers' Holidays during their Holidays with Pay", and "Holiday Camps for Young Workers".

Lastly, with a view to a more general education, the Conference, in 1930, passed a resolution calling for the investigation of "the other means of ensuring the proper protection of the

¹ Cf. *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching*, December 1936, "Holidays with Pay and the Workers' Spare Time", page 106.

health of children and young persons, of enabling their aptitudes to attain their full development, and of preparing them for a really human life by physical and mental education and by a suitable general and technical training " and of " the means of making the whole field of science, letters and art fully accessible to the workers ".

* * *

Such have been the measures taken by the International Labour Organisation for the protection of young persons. While special measures of protection are, and always will be, necessary, it is becoming more and more clear that social and economic order really depend on general, and more especially international, reforms.

BROADCASTS FROM RADIO-NATIONS

The broadcasts from Radio-Nations take place each week between the hours of 4.45 p.m. (C.E.T.) on Sunday and 9.15 a.m. (C.E.T.) on Monday. Altogether, there are seven transmissions, five in English and one each in French and Spanish. The programmes consist mainly of talks on subjects dealt with by the League. The talks are preceded by recorded music, which also follows after the talks to conclude the programme. This has been the rule for the English and Spanish transmissions, but as the transmission in French is limited to fifteen minutes duration, the talk alone is given.

The first transmission in English (to India and Oriental countries) starts at 4.45 p.m. on Sunday and continues until 5.30 p.m. (C.E.T.). The next transmission, also in English, is for European and African listeners and begins at 7.45 p.m. (C.E.T.); it continues until 8.30 and is followed at once by a transmission in French until 8.45. North-American and Canadian listeners are catered for by a transmission at 1 a.m. (Monday), which continues until 1.45 a.m. There is then a short interval until 2 a.m., when a talk in Spanish is broadcast for the benefit of listeners in South America. This programme likewise is of three-quarters of an hour's duration. Again at 8.20 a.m. and 9 a.m. (Monday), two short programmes are transmitted for listeners in Australia and New Zealand.

STATUS OF WOMEN

A small group of seven experts has recently been meeting at Geneva to organise a study of the legal position of women in different walks of life throughout the world. The meeting of this little group of legal experts marks an important stage in the movement which has been going on in every country of the world during the past fifty years for the entry of women into the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

The claim of women to take their part in the duties and responsibilities of national life began to be heard in countries of the West during the closing years of the last century. In

some of these countries, notably in Great Britain and in the Scandinavian countries, the right to vote and to stand for public office was obtained shortly before, or immediately after, the great war. Women there gained the first recognition of their place as citizens with the ordinary rights and responsibilities of citizens.

But many disabilities remained to be adjusted. Last September, when the Assembly of the League met, the delegates were presented with a list of the chief injustices from which women in the Western countries of the world are suffering. This list was based upon a quite incomplete survey made from material voluntarily offered by thirty-eight countries. Mlle. Hesselgren, the veteran woman delegate of Sweden, who was the first person to be appointed an inspector in that country to see that the modern factory laws were put into effect, gave the Assembly the following summary :

“(1) Equality of right to their own nationality is allowed to women by ten countries and refused by twenty; eight have not given any information.

“(2) The right to vote in parliamentary elections and eligibility for election to Parliament on equal footing is enjoyed by women in twenty-four countries and refused in fourteen (nine in Europe).

“(3) An equal right to vote and eligibility in local government on an equal footing is accorded to women in twenty-nine countries; refused in seven countries (four in Europe); two have given no information.

“(4) An equal right for married women to choose their domicile is given only in four countries; twenty-four refuse it; ten give no information.

“(5) In seven countries, married women have an equal right to the guardianship of their children; in twenty, they are refused it; eleven countries give no information.

“(6) The question of women's right to work was very difficult to answer from the data supplied. However, it seems that fourteen countries give a woman, married or unmarried, practically the right to engage in every kind of work, while restrictions of different kinds are imposed in sixteen countries; no information is given from eight countries.

“(7) Equality of rights as regards property, income and earnings is given women in twenty-four countries and refused in ten; no information from four countries.”

Even these points, striking as they are, serve to give only a very incomplete picture, since up to September 1937 no effort had been made either by Government authority or by any scientific institution to conduct a really detailed enquiry into the position of women. But even this little information made it clear to the delegates at the Assembly that something must be done to help women achieve full rights of citizenship in keeping with their contribution to modern life.

There are a number of international organisations of women which have made it their chief concern to keep this problem before public opinion in the different countries. All these organisations had been asked by the League to furnish information regarding the position of women under the law and in practice in the different countries. Some of them also offered conclusions as to what action should be taken. There were, in general, two main views about what should be done to improve the position of women. One was that the Assembly of the League should recommend Governments to adopt a general international treaty stipulating that men and women should be placed in a position of complete equality before the law. This solution had the advantage of simplicity; but it had the disadvantages of that quality as well. Many people feared that it would be difficult to ensure that the treaty would be put into effect in every country, and some felt that in some circumstances the existence of such a treaty might actually be used to conceal real injustices. A number of women's organisations were disposed to think, on the other hand, that it would be better if the League could make a really authoritative study of the position of women under the law in different countries. When the Assembly had discussed the seven points brought up by Mlle. Hesselgren, they, too, came to the conclusion that a comprehensive and scientific enquiry should be made into the legal status enjoyed by women in the various countries of the world.

And so the Committee of Experts was set up. It consists of six distinguished lawyers: Professor Gutteridge, who is its Chairman; Mme. Bastid, a distinguished Frenchwoman and Professor of Law at the University of Lyons; Mme. Godjevac, a Yugoslav woman lawyer; Miss Dorothy Kenyon, a distinguished American woman lawyer, who has served on a number of important national committees in the United States; M. Sebestyen and M. de Ruelle, legal advisers to the Hungarian and Belgian Governments respectively. In addition, Mlle. Hesselgren, who so ably presented the subject before the

Assembly in September last year and who has such a wide practical experience of the work of women in many countries, is a member of this Committee.

The first thing the Committee has had to do is to draw up a list of the subjects which must be dealt with in making a comprehensive survey of the status of women. These subjects are listed under matters of public law, private law and criminal law. Under public law, it will try to find out what is the position in different countries with regard to the franchise, either for national or local matters; eligibility for public office; the right of women to participate in the civil services. The enquiry must find out what educational facilities are provided for women and whether they are discriminated against in the right to enter a profession or any other independent occupation. Under private law, the whole question of the position of women in regard to marriage and divorce will be discussed. This will include a description of the arrangements in force in different countries for the guardianship of children, the right of married women to acquire, manage or dispose of their own property, the right of married women to carry on business or industry, financial arrangements between a woman and her husband, and laws of succession. Under the heading "criminal law" will be described the different codes dealing with the criminal responsibility of women. An important section of this part of the enquiry will be a description of the participation of women in police activities. For some years, women have served as police officers, as officers in the administration of prisons or detention homes and as magistrates in the administration of justice in the criminal courts.

The Committee drew up this long list of subjects and then asked the different international women's organisations to send representatives to discuss this arrangement of their study. This public hearing of the organisations, which attracted some attention, showed that a number of the women's organisations were particularly concerned with the position of women in economic life. The Committee has accordingly promised to pay special attention to laws in the different countries regarding the right of women to earn, to be trained for professions and to enter professional life.

ASSISTANCE TO INDIGENT FOREIGNERS.—THE MIGRATION OF SETTLERS

The activities are concentrated on the movement of people between countries. What are called demographic problems—that is to say, problems to do with population and the movements of population—are as important as those of the movement of goods and of money. Incidentally, the movement of the three is closely connected. We are always hearing about the need for getting a freer exchange of wealth, whether it be in the form of gold or currencies, or goods; and now the International Labour Office is just starting a conference about migration—the movement of people.

At the same time, a committee of the League of Nations has just finished a long discussion about the protection of needy foreigners living in other countries than their own. This Committee, with the title of “Committee of Experts on Assistance to Indigent Foreigners”, has drawn up a model Convention designed to improve the precarious position of foreigners who may find themselves in need. It is a “model Convention”, because the Committee thought it best to put it in this form, so that Governments could use it as a basis for an agreement with other countries if they saw fit. The model is based on the idea that protective legislation in a country ought to be extended to foreigners as well as to nationals. “The principles of humanity and good social order”, it is stated, “must lead States to grant effective and satisfactory public assistance to any foreigner devoid of means of subsistence”. The number of people affected may not be very large, but the official estimate is that about twenty-nine million people living in foreign countries might benefit from the Convention—that is to say, might at some time or another need the kind of help it suggests.

That is one problem—the security of foreigners already living abroad. The problem the International Labour Office is working on is different, and might be called the possibility of settling more foreigners in conditions of security in under-developed countries.

For the last ten years, there has been very little migration in the world. The countries of immigration—those of North and South America, etc.—have not wanted to add to their population at a time when they very often find it difficult to provide employment for the people they have already got and to sell the goods they are producing. Even now, not many countries are ready to take immigrants who, they say, will only flood the labour market, which is already over-stocked. But there is one class of immigration that is not open to this objection; that is, immigration for settlement. Provided the immigrants settled on undeveloped land and stayed there, making themselves self-supporting and helping in the general development of the country, then they might be welcome.

That explains why, eighteen months ago, when the International Labour Organisation held its first conference in South America, a resolution was proposed by the Argentine Government, and accepted by the other South-American States, asking the International Labour Office to study the problem of the migration of settlers. That resolution has led by a number of steps to the conference of experts. The experts come from fifteen countries and are divided evenly between the countries which might have emigrants to send away and those who might be prepared to receive immigrants. Six South-American countries, covering most of the South-American continent, are there as countries of immigration. As countries of emigration are Poland, Japan, and many other European countries.

The conference is purely technical. It obviously cannot discuss whether a particular country wants to send or receive migrants. That is always an important matter of national policy, depending both on economic and social conditions, and on racial and political preoccupations. The International Labour Office can only indicate the problems that will have to be solved if Governments have already decided to encourage emigration or immigration, as the case may be, and in this case they are concerned only with the migration of people who mean to settle on the land and not to try to earn wages in the towns.

The report which the Labour Office has put before the conference is an interesting document. It insists, first of all, that the settlement of foreigners on undeveloped land must be a matter of careful organisation. The immigrant who merely wants to get a job in industry is more or less settled once he has got

out to the new country and found a job. The settler, on the other hand, has not only to get out there, buy his land, and establish himself and his family on it, he has also got to wait, possibly for several years, before he gets any return from it. If you let people do that on their own, the chances are they will drift into the towns, either becoming destitute or adding to an already over-stocked labour market. So the whole movement has got to be organised.

Then again, the organisation will be different according to whether the would-be settler is going out as an individual with some capital of his own, or whether he is going out as one of a group, with little or no capital. If he is going as an individual, the country of immigration will want to make sure that he is a suitable person, that he knows what he will be up against, and that he will not sink all his capital in some rash adventure. In Canada, there is a section in the Department of Immigration, which helps new settlers to find the most suitable land and to make sure that they can buy it on reasonable terms. The South-American countries do not seem to have any such organisation. Another thing that is desirable, if not necessary, is a thoroughly efficient information service which will be able to tell the prospective settler all about conditions in the new country before he packs up all his traps and goes.

In the case of poor peasants going out in groups, the organisation required is different and, certainly on the financial side, more difficult. In every case, some sum of money will need to be advanced. It must be enough to give the settler a good start; on the other hand, it must not be so much that he is saddled with a large burden of debt that he will not be able to pay off for a long time. Take the case of a small peasant proprietor in Poland who wants to go and settle in Brazil. Nowadays, he would be lucky if he got as much as 2,000 zlotys by selling all his property in Poland. If he had got a family of five, it would cost him 4,200 zlotys to get to Brazil. With the agricultural slump, the value of agricultural property has fallen, and at the same time the cost of sea transport has increased enormously. It cost 40 dollars in 1914 to get from Warsaw to South America, and now it costs about 125. Similarly, you could cross from Liverpool to Canada for £5 15s. in 1913, and in 1927 it cost £18 13s. That indicates some of the financial difficulties in a scheme of migration for settlement. It goes much further

than that, because when the settler has reached the port of destination, he has still got to get to his bit of land, and he has got to have funds to live on and to develop it when he gets there.

For these settlers who come in groups without any resources of their own, finance is really the crux of the problem. The financial arrangements have got to be fair both to the organisation in charge of the settlement and to the settlers themselves. The question is how can Governments, by co-operating with each other, solve the financial difficulties. Some of the difficulties are a matter only for the Governments directly concerned—that is, those of the country from which the settler comes and the country to which he is going. They can take such steps as the reduction of consular fees and so on, and often with the costs of transport they can help. But that still leaves the bigger question of the capital necessary for settlement. It is pointed out in this report of the International Labour Office that the countries of immigration are the least developed, and for that very reason have the smallest capital reserves. Similarly, the countries of emigration are often those which have a low standard of living, and which have least capital reserves. So it is suggested that other countries with plenty of capital might come to the rescue with loans for the purpose of launching these settlement schemes.

This question of migration is yet another of those problems of distribution that seem to play so vast a part in the modern world. There is plenty of food in the world and there are plenty of people who need it, but it does not get to them. There is plenty of capital in the world and plenty of work needing to be done with it. But the capital does not seem to get where it is needed. There are plenty of people without enough work and plenty of land for them to develop. How to get them to it in conditions which will give them security and will not dislocate any other part of the economic machine is the problem that the experts of the International Labour Office are tackling.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

Eight hundred and sixty-five million people in the world are what is called “gainfully employed”—that is to say, they earn their living. There are 865 million people who make money out

of their work. And more than half of them—more than 60% in fact—make their money out of agriculture. The land still provides work for some 550 million people : and in every country these agricultural workers are worse off than most other kinds of workers. The Secretary of the Dutch Union of Agricultural, Horticultural and Dairy Workers said that there has always been this inferiority, but it was more obvious now because of the better conditions the industrial workers were getting.

He was speaking at the first meeting of the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labour Office : it has thirty members, all experts on some phase of agriculture and coming from all over the world—Europe, Japan, Australia, India, China, Brazil, United States of America, Canada and so on. The Chairman came from Mexico. They were trying to see if the International Labour Organisation cannot get for these workers on the land some more of the benefits it has already got for workers in industry.

Of course, that is a loose way of putting it. The International Labour Office has these annual conferences of workers, employers and Governments which work out conventions for improving workers' conditions. It must be up to Governments in the last resort to put the reforms into effect, but the International Labour Conventions do set up an international standard. And the list of these Conventions covers a very wide field, but the field is much wider for industrial workers than for agricultural workers.

If you leave on one side the Conventions which cover both, such as protection of women, rights of association, unemployment, old-age and sickness insurance, there still remains a vast field where the agricultural workers get left out of the picture. There does not exist at present any international standard for hours of work in agriculture, for holidays with pay, nor for a weekly rest period—not even for any machinery to fix a minimum wage. So the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labour Office was faced with a big problem. Its first meeting was a real pioneer job. The question was, Could the International Labour Office tackle these problems of agricultural workers and, if it could, which of them ought to come first?

Just how hard the job is, hard to realise without reading the discussions in the Committee. The representatives of the agricultural wage-earners—the trade unionists—pleaded that they

were having a very raw deal. Their colleagues who worked in industry, they said, had a fixed minimum wage, regulated hours, a weekly rest period, and very often holidays with pay. Very often, the agricultural labourer had none of these. But then, industrial work does not, as a rule, depend on the weather. At hay-time in England, you have got to seize every moment of fine weather when it is light. You will go on working until ten o'clock at night, and later if there is a moon, to get the hay in before there is another fall of rain. Similarly, in other countries. Yet there is another difficulty : conditions often are not similar in other countries.

So everyone agreed that any international standard they set up governing hours of work in agriculture must be elastic; the Spanish Government proposed the principle of an *average* working-day of eight hours, that would admit that some days the agricultural labourer would need to work more, other days perhaps he could work less. There was something of the same sort in Czechoslovakia. In Sweden, the maximum length of agricultural work was fixed at 2,500 hours a year. Indeed, fifteen countries already regulate hours of work in agriculture.

The Japanese member of the Committee said that 3% of Japan's agricultural workers were wage-earners : the rest are farmers and their families. In Switzerland, there are 185,000 independent farmers, 116,000 members of their families, and only 67,000 paid workers and servants. In Roumania, nearly nine-tenths of the agricultural land is in small-holdings. There is no question in these cases, of the wage-earners being exploited. It is the owner of the farm himself who may work fourteen hours a day with no day off. The small farmer, the peasant, and the "share-cropper" (in America), these are the people who do most of the world's agriculture. You cannot fix wages or hours or holidays for them. They and their families have just got to keep at it, to get even a bare subsistence out of their land. The conditions of the small farmer are very different—there is little in common between the Chinese and the Swiss peasant. But there is this—they are both working as a family unit, on their own, to make their own living out of the soil.

The vast majority of these peasant-farmers obviously do not employ any labour at all except their families : but there are some who do, and it was pointed out that you cannot make them pay a high wage to a labourer for short hours, when the farmer

himself can only just make ends meet however hard he works.

So throughout the Committee's discussions, speakers kept coming back to the fundamental problem of the whole economic state of agriculture. The Economic Adviser to the Australian Government emphasised that that was the basis of the whole thing. Agriculture had made such technical progress that it was in danger of producing more than the world would manage to consume. In 1930-1932, that super-production had been disastrous in the case of wheat, and the same situation was likely to arise again. The League and the International Labour Office had already done something by their study of nutrition. It is not real over-production. Millions of people need these food-stuffs, but they cannot get them.

The introduction of more and more technical improvements is a very serious thing, we gathered, in the United States and Canada. A professor from Minnesota said that, in the near future, the mechanical cotton-picker would displace hundreds of thousands of workers. A Canadian Government official also spoke of serious unemployment in agriculture as a new thing, due in part at least to new mechanical methods. Forty to sixty thousand people, he said, used to go west for the harvest at the end of each summer, and that movement had entirely stopped.

Everyone was agreed, then, that the state of the whole of agricultural production needs to be improved. But, in the meantime, two facts still have to be faced. The agricultural labourer—the wage-earner—still claims that he ought to have more of the benefits the industrial worker gets; and, secondly, the bulk of the agricultural population—the peasant and small farmer—needs, and badly needs, a better standard of life. He needs, not only a bigger return for his work, but very often he lacks decent housing and all social services.

These are the facts, anyway, as the Agricultural Committee saw them. It pointed out that the rural population in most countries has no social insurance against accidents, sickness or old age: that it often has far fewer medical services than the towns have, and so on. So the International Labour Office had been asked—with the help of any other international organisations—to make a study of the standard of living of the different classes of small farmers, and to suggest ways of raising it.

The agricultural wage-earners' position is also to be tackled. Hours of work and holidays with pay will be considered, if the

Committee's recommendations are carried out, at one of the very next sessions of the International Labour Conference. The same thing with regard to a system of wage-fixing. All these complicated subjects are to be examined, together with that of the protection of children in agriculture.

It is the first time any serious step has been taken towards getting an international standard of hours and wages for labourers on the land. At the same time, you do not have to look very far to see that it is a problem that will not be solved in a day.

PEACE-TEACHING AT THE INTERNATIONAL TEACHERS' CONFERENCE IN LONDON

Under the auspices of the League of Nations Union, an international conference of teachers was held in London in April 1938. Twenty-three countries were represented, as well as the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office. The object of this meeting was the teaching of international relations in schools. The reader will find below extracts of the resolutions of this meeting. [*Editor's note.*]

THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN SCHOOLS

1. As regards the work in schools, the phrase "the study of international relations" must be interpreted very broadly. It will include, first, a knowledge of other nations and peoples, their work, their ways of living and thinking, their traditions and aspirations; secondly, some realisation of the world-wide interdependence of men and nations; and, thirdly, knowledge of the relations between States and the organisation of international intercourse.

2. There is no subject in the curriculum in which the teacher cannot increase the children's knowledge and understanding of other countries without disturbing the course of study. Such broadening of the teaching should naturally begin in the youngest classes.

3. The attitude of the teacher is often revealed more by incidental and casual remarks than by his more formal teaching. It is essential therefore that his general attitude should be humanistic. In addition, his knowledge of his own subject should not be confined to what the workers and thinkers in his own country have done and thought.

4. The permanent attitude of the child that should result from a knowledge of the aims and achievements of other nations and from a realisation of the fact of man's world-wide interdependence is more important than any stock of facts that can be rapidly acquired and may be rapidly forgotten.

5. It is essential that every teacher should endeavour to place before his class the truth, without prejudice or bias, racial or national. A teacher is bound by the terms of his employment, implicit or explicit, to refrain from certain types of propaganda. It is therefore the individual responsibility of the teacher to decide whether and how far he should allow his pupils to know his personal opinions on any controversial point or endeavour to influence their attitude.

6. At least in the last year of every child's school life, special provision should be made for the study of contemporary relations between States, including the organisation and work of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, whether this study be subjected to external examination or not.

PRACTICAL TRAINING FOR WORLD CITIZENSHIP

The following general principles were agreed upon :

1. That the formal class-room teaching should be supplemented by practical and intellectual out-of-school activities, such as are at present undertaken by League of Nations Union junior branches.

2. That such activities should be commended to the notice of other countries for adaptation to the peculiar needs and opportunities of their educational systems.

3. That these activities should include : critical and comparative study of newspapers, foreign correspondence, exchange visits (which should be preceded by training in the discernment of propaganda), international camps and schools and study groups.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

1. Pressure should be brought to bear by League of Nations Societies in all countries where such exist upon their respective Ministries of Education to provide instruction in international relations for existing teachers.

2. Definite courses in international relations should be provided in the training curriculum of every teacher, and completion of such courses by the teacher in training should be endorsed upon the professional certificate or diploma awarded at the end of the period of training.

3. Teachers' journals and educational papers should be asked to publish articles to win the more active support of existing teachers for the ideas of international collaboration.

4. League of Nations Societies in the various countries should promote for existing teachers prize competitions in international relations, considered both technically and broadly.

5. League of Nations Societies should also organise among lecturers and teachers competitions, on the results of which they would award scholarships for the successful candidates to visit Geneva and follow a course of instruction on the work of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, as well as all questions concerned with education for peace (*e.g.*, the International Summer School of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies).

SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

The organisation and procedure of the International Conferences on Public Education have already been described in past numbers of the *Bulletin on League of Nations Teaching* (Teaching of the Principles and Facts of Intellectual Co-operation). This year, therefore, we shall, in the main, confine ourselves to the questions dealt with at the seventh Conference.

In spite of the difficult times through which the world is passing, forty-three Governments demonstrated their attachment to international co-operation in educational matters by sending one or more delegates to the Conference. Ten meetings were held under the presidency of the representative of the French Government—Inspector-General Paul Barrier. The Bureau of the Conference further comprised three vice-presidents—H.E. Archbishop Francois de Aquino Correa (delegate of the Brazilian Government), Mlle. Afet (delegate of the Turkish Government) and Professor Kerekjarto (delegate of the Hungarian Government). The rapporteurs appointed to introduce the special questions on the agenda were M. Balbino Giuliano (Italy), M. Paul Barrier (France) and M. Constantin Kiritzesco (Roumania).

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN 1937/38

The 1938 Conference showed the growing interest of the reports submitted by the Ministries of Public Education on the chief educational developments in their respective countries during the past school year.

The Governments have apparently grasped the value of a general discussion each year of the educational problems with which they are severally concerned and of the opportunities offered by the Conference of learning what is being done in other countries.¹

¹ As usual, these official reports will be reproduced in the *Annuaire international de l'Education et de l'Enseignement*, published by the Bureau.

The reports submitted brought out the following main tendencies :

(1) The progress of educational reform seems to have been less rapid in 1937/38 than in 1936/37. The authorities were more concerned to apply and develop recent reforms than to introduce new legislation.

(2) The State's influence on educational administration is still increasing. It takes the form of new measures of centralisation (restrictions on the autonomy of certain bodies) and unification (tendency to standardise and to increase the uniformity of educational systems and institutions) and closer control of teaching (particularly in private schools).

(3) This year, the reforms introduced in the sphere of primary education were almost all concerned with the teaching syllabus.

(4) The same may be said of most of the reforms in secondary education. But changes in organisation (length of the course, types and internal organisation of secondary schools, etc.) were less frequent than the previous year.

(5) Economic recovery, the increasingly active campaign against excessive intellectualism and the need for the more rational organisation of post-primary education have brought problems of vocational training into particular prominence.

(6) Though there were few developments in regard to the training of the teaching profession, steps were taken in many countries to improve its financial and corporate position.

(7) Only a few of the national reports failed to mention improvements in the organisation of physical education. In this connection, many reports also mentioned official action to safeguard the health of school-children (both in school and at home) and to ensure that they are properly fed; such measures must, indeed, form the necessary basis or complement of any attempt to develop physical culture.

(8) There is a plain revival of interest in civic education and, above all, in education of a pronounced national character.

(9) The movement in favour of education on national lines, like the efforts to improve physical education, is, in many countries, to some extent the outcome of national defence measures.

THE REMUNERATION OF PRIMARY-SCHOOL TEACHERS

The Conference was, no doubt, the first occasion on which Government representatives had been called on to make recommendations on such a matter. Though professional organisa-

tions of school-teachers had frequently voiced their members' claims, the employer-State had not previously given public expression to its views at any international gathering. Hence, the importance attached to the recommendation adopted, in educational quarters.

The Conference started from the principle that, as far as the financial position of each country permits, teachers of all grades should receive a salary corresponding to the importance of their work and sufficient to avoid any risk of their being placed in a position of inferiority to clerical or manual workers of similar social standing.

In States with a decentralised system of Government, the Conference suggests, there should be no marked difference in the basic salaries of teachers of the same grade in different parts of the country. After very thorough discussion, moreover, the majority of delegations declared themselves in favour of equal pay for men and women teachers. It was recognised, however, that a special allowance, commensurate with their responsibilities, should be paid to men teachers with families to support.

The Conference also expressed its views on the difficult matter of promotion. It recognised that, apart from promotion to a higher grade, which may be obtained either by the acquisition of further university qualifications, or by appointment, salaries, within each grade, should increase on the basis of seniority, irrespective of the possibilities of promotion by appointment.

The Conference recognised that teachers may legitimately combine paid work of a related character with their ordinary professional duties, but they should not engage in occupations completely foreign to those duties which might well compromise the respect properly attaching to their position.

The Conference also recommended the Ministries of Public Education to ensure recognition of the right of teachers in primary schools to paid sick leave and maternity leave and to an adequate pension at a reasonably early age with, in case of death, a pension to widows and children under age.

THE TEACHING OF CLASSICAL LANGUAGES

At its previous meeting in 1937, the International Conference on Public Education studied the problem of modern-language teaching. It was only logical, therefore, that the agenda of the 1938 Conference should include the teaching of classical languages. The difficulty of drawing up a unanimous recommendation on

the most controversial of all educational questions will be obvious to all. The Conference nevertheless reached agreement on a number of principles.

In so far as the requirements of modern and scientific studies permit, the school curriculum in all countries should allow sufficient time for the study of the civilisations which have had most influence on national culture (in the case of all countries of Western civilisation, Greece and Rome). Such studies imply the understanding of the sensibility and thought which find expression in literary works. In countries of Western civilisation, the teaching of Greek and Latin cannot therefore be neglected.

In view of the great educational value of classical studies as a means of developing orderly, clear, logical and critical habits of mind, it would seem to be essential, not only that they should play a large part in the training of future members of the teaching profession, but also that they should be given as prominent a place as possible in the studies of secondary-school pupils—girls as well as boys.

As regards method, this should be modelled on the vivid methods successfully employed in modern-language teaching. Excessively formal and abstract teaching should be avoided, and the child's "interests" should be taken into account. In conclusion, the Conference expressed the hope that the pronunciation of Latin should, as far as possible, be standardised in accordance with recent linguistic discoveries.

THE DRAFTING, UTILISATION AND CHOICE OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

The problem of school textbooks is, no doubt, that which has hitherto attracted most attention in international quarters, as must be obvious to anyone who reflects on all that has been done in this matter since the war by the League of Nations and, more particularly, the International Intellectual Co-operation Organisation.

The question would never have been taken up by the International Bureau of Education had it not felt the need for approaching it from an entirely different angle. Its object, indeed, was not to consider the importance of school textbooks as a factor in international co-operation, but to study the various problems raised by the compilation, utilisation and choice of textbooks.

In spite of the great variety of views expressed in the course of the discussion, the recommendation adopted by the Conference

is in favour of increasing the control of the State and the educational authorities over school textbooks. Section 2 of the recommendation states that, in countries where education is directed or controlled by the State, it is for the State to take appropriate measures to ensure the improvement of textbooks and to supervise their use. Elsewhere, this duty should fall on whatever other authorities are responsible for schools.

The Conference also emphasised the desirability of official action to secure the publication, for use in primary schools, of well-printed and inexpensive textbooks prepared in accordance with sound pedagogical principles.

Official influence should be brought to bear before textbooks are actually printed by selection committees including both inspectors and officials of the Ministry of Education and school-masters of outstanding experience and capacity. Such committees should, in the first place, satisfy themselves as to the value of the contents of the books and the manner in which the material is presented; textbooks should naturally comply with the official programme of studies, contain nothing contrary to national institutions and endeavour to bring the principles on which the nation's life is based into harmony with those of mankind at large.

Without desiring to detract in any way from their importance, the Conference considered that the chief purpose of textbooks was to act as a guide and an auxiliary; teachers should therefore be allowed a certain latitude as to the manner in which they should be used, subject always to the requirements of the curriculum. Furthermore, to assist teachers in adapting their methods to those of the textbooks used, the Conference recommended that special reference books should be published for their guidance or that certain explanations and annotations should be interpolated in the textbooks themselves.

The recommendation also urges school authorities to develop the free distribution of textbooks, particularly to the poorer classes of children.

* * *

In the course of its annual meetings, the International Conference on Public Education has expressed its views and made recommendations on some fifteen questions, among which may be mentioned compulsory school attendance and the raising of the school-leaving age, admission to secondary schools, the professional training of primary and secondary teaching staff, school

buildings, the organisation of rural education and special instruction, inspection of schools, modern-language teaching, etc.

Though in no way binding upon Ministries of Public Education, these recommendations nevertheless constitute a kind of code of the educational principles recognised by the school authorities in the majority of countries.

Such are the heartening achievements of these annual inter-governmental meetings at which, in spite of the ever-growing difficulties of the times, pedagogical problems have always been raised above the political contingencies of the moment.

P. ROSSELLÓ,

*Deputy Director of the International
Bureau of Education.*

Official Documents

WORK OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION DURING THE PAST YEAR

In order to enable readers of the *Bulletin* to acquaint themselves with the work of the Organisation in the field of education, it has been felt advisable to give in the following pages a brief survey of the various questions on its programme.

More complete information on the work of the twentieth plenary session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will be found in the Committee's report¹ and in the *Bulletin de la Coopération intellectuelle*, published by the Paris Institute. Furthermore, the text of the resolutions referring to questions of education is reproduced in this number on pages 223 *et seq.*

As regards the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in the field of teaching of the facts and principles of international co-operation, the reader may consult the special articles under this heading.² [*Editor's note.*]

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES

In the last number of the *Bulletin*, an account was given of the work of the International Conference of Higher Education held at the Institute in the course of 1937. The proceedings and the findings of this meeting have been published in a volume edited by the Institute.³ The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has decided to give effect to a recommendation of the Conference concerning the creation, under the auspices of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, of a Standing Committee on Higher Education which would be requested to follow up and to develop the various studies undertaken by the Conference. This Committee would be made up of a limited number of directors and representatives of universities and other institutions of higher education. The purpose

¹ Document C.253.M.150.1938.XII.

² See pages 18 *et seq.*

³ "Problèmes d'Université", International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 1938.

of this Standing Committee would be to encourage direct and permanent contacts between the bureaux of higher education and the universities of the different countries, to keep itself informed of the development of higher education and of research and to study the problems of general interest—and especially of organisation—which arise in this field. Thus the work inaugurated at the Conference would lead to permanent international collaboration among universities, which would undoubtedly provide a useful stimulus for their future development.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation also suggested that the action of the new body should preferably be based upon national organisations pursuing in their respective countries the same ends which the Standing Committee proposes to attain in the international field. It is obvious that international co-operation of university organisations would gain effectiveness if it were pursued by co-ordination of the same type within the different countries. This solution appears all the more prudent because it makes it possible, in forming the Committee, to avoid a choice among university men which would necessarily be arbitrary. Moreover, such a procedure would help in obtaining the indirect participation in the work of the future Standing Committee, through the National Co-ordinating Committees, of the largest number of professors in different countries. The members of the Standing Committee would thus be the authorised spokesmen for university circles in their respective countries and would furnish the Committee, on the questions placed on the agenda, with the results of the studies jointly carried out in those countries. Such organisations already exist in a certain number of countries. Other countries have stated that they are ready to create them.

As to its immediate working programme, the International Conference on Higher Education has already assigned it certain subjects, such as a study of the reorganisation of faculties, taking into consideration the new groupings which might be required by the extraordinary development of certain branches, by the appearance of new subjects, and by the needs of professional training.

It will be recalled that a first volume dealing with the organisation of universities in Germany, Spain, the United States of America, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy and Sweden has already been published by the Institute in the course of the past year. A second volume of a similar type has just been published. It contains studies, by officials in charge of university administration, on the organisation of higher education in the following countries: Argentine Republic, Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Roumania, Switzerland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. These two volumes constitute a valuable and dependable work of reference for all who are interested in matters of higher education.

UNIVERSITY TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The problem of the teaching of international relations was examined at the eleventh session of the Permanent International Studies Conference which was held in Prague from May 23rd to 27th, 1938.

A preliminary memorandum had been prepared last year by Sir Alfred Zimmern, the General Rapporteur for this question, and circulated to all the Conference members; it drew their attention to the points which they were to examine in their memoranda and, with a view to the final discussions, formulated the five following questions :

1. What are the academic subjects included within the orbit of international relations?
2. What are the methods adopted for teaching these subjects as part of the study of international relations?
3. What is the influence exerted by the existing academic organisation upon the teaching of international relations?
4. What are the main obstacles to the organisation of this teaching (political, financial and other obstacles)?
5. What means are there for utilising the publications of the Conference for the study of the academic teaching of international relations?

The written documentation received before the Conference consisted of twenty-three special memoranda and presented the twofold advantage of being both of high quality and sufficiently concise for it to be easily assimilated by all the participants. Sir Alfred Zimmern had, moreover, already brought out the fundamental ideas and, to facilitate the discussions, had prepared an agenda dividing the study meetings reserved for this question into two main parts—first, the nature and subject matter of international relations as an academic discipline; secondly, the methods of teaching international relations and the problems of university administration.

This part of the Conference proceedings was presided over by Professor Dietrich Schindler, of Zurich University. A notable feature of these meetings was the precision of the exchanges of views between professors representing different nationalities and disciplines, but all of whom are closely concerned with the study and teaching of contemporary international relations in one or other of their aspects.

The introductory note drafted by Sir Alfred Zimmern suggested, with regard to the first part of the discussion, which was to be devoted to the definition of the subject matter of international relations, that the participants should answer a series of fundamental questions : Is international relations a normative study? Is it concerned with values? Is international relations a purely descriptive study or does it aim at framing generalisations? Is it a study of world affairs, or is it the study of the relations between States? How can its scope be delimited? What is the relationship between the study of international relations and the study of international law? Each of these points gave rise to a lively and very searching discussion and, though there was no question of attempting to reach unanimity of opinion, the progress realised in the definition of this subject of teaching was clearly evident. The educational problem and the question of university administration furnished an opportunity for comparing a number of experiments that had been made in various countries and the results obtained, both from the standpoint of the teacher and that of the student. The main conclusions arrived at during the four days

of discussion were summed up at the closing meeting in a masterly report by Sir Alfred Zimmern; this report appeared in the June number of the bulletin *Coopération intellectuelle*.

Added to the material which was assembled for the previous sessions of the Conference, the work accomplished at Prague constitutes a valuable contribution to the study of a contemporary university problem, the satisfactory solution of which may have a far-reaching influence on the guidance of university youth. The administrative meeting which brought the session to a close therefore decided that a comprehensive publication systematically setting forth the results of these studies would be issued by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, under the supervision of an editorial committee composed of the General Rapporteur, Sir Alfred Zimmern, assisted by M. Ehrlich, Professor of International Law at Lvov University, M. C. Bouglé, Principal of the Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris, and Mr. Malcolm W. Davis, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

UNIVERSITY EXCHANGES

Holiday Courses in Europe.

The annual list of holiday courses in Europe, which the Institute has published since 1928, appeared, as in previous years, in January. The number of courses announced is 160, distributed among the following countries: Austria 14, Belgium 3, Bulgaria 1, Czechoslovakia 5, Denmark 3, France 26, Germany 20, Great Britain 41, Greece 1, Hungary 4, Italy 14, Latvia 1, Netherlands 3, Poland 4, Roumania 2, Sweden 4, Switzerland 13, Yugoslavia 1. The subjects taught are practically the same as in previous years. The study of the languages, literature, civilisation and history of the countries in which the courses are given generally predominates; but the arts (music, drama, dancing, painting, etc.) and the political, technical and medical sciences also appear in the programme.

"Students Abroad."

The bulletin of the organisations which concern themselves with students in foreign countries, published under the title of *Students Abroad* (French edition: *L'Étudiant à l'étranger*), has continued to appear twice a year. The aim of the Institute, in making known the arrangements made in the different countries for receiving foreign students or for sending their own students abroad, is to provide the university exchange organisations at regular intervals with the indispensable documentation as to facts and methods.

International University Documentation.

The University Service devotes a large part of its time to meeting the increasingly numerous requests for information which it receives from all quarters on international university exchanges, systems and institutions of higher education, and conditions of study abroad.

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG INTELLECTUALS

International Bureau of University Statistics.

The problem of a rational system for the placing of university graduates, in harmony with the economic and cultural needs of the different countries, was considered by the International Committee last year. The problem had to be faced in its most acute form—that of unemployment among young graduates. The Committee of Directors of Higher Education, as soon as it was formed, took up the study of overcrowding in the universities. It examined the possibility of obtaining adequate university statistics, giving, for each country, at least certain minimum data which would make international comparisons possible. The Institute, for its part, began to gather and to publish in its monthly bulletin information concerning the measures taken in the different countries to combat unemployment among university graduates. A special number, published in 1935, gave the most complete documentation on the struggle against intellectual unemployment that has yet been brought together.

But, however necessary it may be to combat unemployment by appropriate means—the most effective of which is the creation of jobs—we must not lose sight of the real problem, which is general for all countries and for all periods—that of the organisation of the employment market for graduates of institutions of higher education. Unemployment is only an indirect and negative aspect of this problem; and some countries are still free from it. It is dangerous chiefly because of the individual sufferings, the waste of human resources and the social perils which it engenders.

The great question which each country has to answer—whether or not it suffers from unemployment—is: What intellectual equipment does the modern State need for the direction and development of its economic and cultural life? This problem is of vital importance from the national point of view, and no less serious from the international standpoint. A comparison of the present situations in the different countries and of the solutions proposed reveals quite definitely that in certain countries the intellectual equipment is inadequate, while in other countries it is over-developed.

The reply to the question stated above should indicate the classes of intellectual profession which are needed for a country's equipment, their numerical size, their probable evolution, and, finally, the means of ensuring their formation. All this requires the existence of statistics of students and graduates of institutions of higher education and, of course, a thorough knowledge of school and university organisation.

The future graduate begins a period of study of four to ten years, sometimes at the moment when the rest of his generation are completing their vocational training. These studies are costly and highly specialised. They open to each graduate only a relatively restricted field of professional activities, and their quality may affect the cultural future of the nation. These various considerations show the immense importance, in the examination of problems of intellectual equipment, of a profound knowledge of school and university organisation. The question of unemployment among intellectuals is essentially a university problem.

It is therefore not surprising that this question has hitherto been studied chiefly by university people. The Bureaux of University Statistics in France and in Belgium, the committees which have examined the question of the overcrowding of the liberal professions in the Netherlands, in Poland, in Sweden and elsewhere, are, or have been, composed, for the most part, of university professors and officials of higher education. Unemployment among workmen and unemployment among intellectuals has almost everywhere been dealt with by different authorities. Even the International Labour Office, which is so attentive to the grave problem of unemployment, has not been able to do more than touch upon the problem of unemployment among intellectual workers. This has not, however, prevented it from placing its vast experience at the service of the various international meetings which have taken up the problem of unemployment among intellectuals, notably that which was held in 1935 by the Committee of International Student Organisations. It was this meeting which asked the Institute to create a permanent service for the study of the intellectual employment market.

This service has actually been at work since last year, in close connection with the university service of the Institute, and in collaboration likewise with its school service. Certain activities of the university service, indeed, bring it into close touch with the work of the International Bureau of University Statistics. It will be sufficient to mention the work of the Committee of Directors of Higher Education, devoted in part to the problem of overcrowding in the universities, to university statistics, and to the organisation of higher education; that of the International Conference of Higher Education; and that which will be entrusted to the Standing Committee on Higher Education, which is to continue the work of the Conference. The school service of the Institute, for its part, has undertaken and completed an international enquiry on the reorganisation of secondary education systems, which is one of the remedies proposed for overcrowding in higher education.

The activity of the International Bureau of University Statistics has thus far taken two chief forms. It has organised enquiries, the results of which have been published at regular intervals in the monthly bulletin of the Institute; and it has sought, by negotiations with the authorities of different countries, to promote the creation of national bureaux to study the intellectual employment market, and in particular to develop statistics regarding students and graduates, which are indispensable in dealing with this problem. The recent numbers of the bulletin of the Institute contain numerous communications from the International Bureau of University Statistics.

The negotiations undertaken with the different countries have not thus far produced the desired results. Committees have been formed, it is true, in various countries, but their work is not progressing at the pace required by the urgency of the questions with which they have to deal. The very novelty of these studies is the greatest obstacle to getting the work started. Thus the International Bureau of University Statistics has the following tasks to perform: (a) to specify the work to be undertaken by the different national organisations; (b) to supply them with information regarding proposals particularly worthy

of interest; (c) to suggest to them methods of study and to supply them with instruments of work. This international action can produce satisfactory results; but at the same time due consideration must be given, as far as possible, to the special circumstances of each country. To draw up a programme of work, the Institute has called a meeting, to be held at the beginning of November 1938, of a Committee of Experts composed of all the persons who have so far dealt systematically with the questions which concern the International Bureau of University Statistics. This Committee, to which the International Labour Office has kindly consented to send representatives, will form the nucleus of a permanent advisory committee, which will be called upon to guide the activities of the International Bureau of University Statistics.

The programme of this meeting is as follows :

1. Statistics regarding students.
2. Statistics on graduates of institutions of higher education.
3. Special study of the employment market for graduates of institutions of higher education.
4. International liaison among university statistical bureaux.

Preliminary reports have already been promised by the members attending this meeting. Without wishing to anticipate the results of the Committee's work, it may be expected that it will make it possible to establish a guide for the use of the national organs responsible for the study of the intellectual employment market. This guide will contain a clear summary of the functions of a national bureau of university statistics; it will describe the various methods employed for the study of the university employment market, and the minimum programme of statistics indispensable for these studies. The Institute will contribute an international bibliography of these questions, and a detailed documentation on the state of university statistics in some twenty countries.

CO-ORDINATION OF SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

The International Committee, wishing to facilitate the struggle against unemployment among intellectuals, had asked the Institute to study, in the light of experience already acquired, the co-ordination of systems of secondary education: this enquiry had been proposed by the Advisory Committee of Intellectual Workers of the International Labour Office, and by the Committee of International Student Organisations. The reform of intermediate education seems, in fact, to be one of the most effective means of preventing the entry of too great a number of students into the universities; it further commands the attention of educators and of the school authorities, because of the continual changes in the conditions of life of modern societies.

The work which has been done on this subject, with the help of a committee of experts, has ended in the publication of a book in which are examined the principles of school and professional selection and guidance, the relative value of the methods employed, and the various

possibilities of co-ordination between the systems of secondary education.¹

After the detailed examination of the general problem, the experts consulted by the Institute expressed the opinion that it would be desirable to take up the study of certain special difficulties involved in the reorganisation of intermediate education. One of the most important of these difficulties lies in the necessity of giving the pupils, at least in the first years of their secondary education, a sufficient degree of general culture to enable them, if it should prove desirable, to transfer from one type of education to another, at the same time providing all pupils with the necessary minimum of disinterested knowledge. Again, since not all children can study the classical humanities, it would be desirable to work out an educational method capable of obtaining from modern and technical studies their full cultural value. Thus a study should be made of the place and rôle of the national languages and literatures in the general culture which secondary education seeks to provide; and, consequently, of the relations between those subjects and ancient and modern languages, and of the place to be assigned to sciences and human sciences. To what extent, and under what conditions, is it possible, apart from the classical humanities, to give a cultural education which will prepare pupils for the "communicating passage" between the different types

¹ "La Coordination des Enseignements du Second Degré, Enquête internationale, Paris, 1938" (International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation). (In French only.) The titles of the different chapters of the work are as follows:

Part I.

- I. General Study on the Work of the Committee of Experts, by M. Jules Hiernaux, former Minister of Public Instruction of Belgium.
- II. Special Studies:
 1. Cycles in Secondary Education, by E. Abry.
 2. Education of Less Gifted Children, by A. Alessandrini.
 3. Influence of the Social Milieu on the Selection and Guidance of Pupils, by M. Falski.
 4. Training of Teachers for General Scientific and Technical Courses in Full-time Secondary Technical Schools, by G. Hostede.
 5. Rôle of the Doctor in Vocational Guidance, by Dr. P. Martiny.
 6. Methods of Selection for Admission to Secondary Schools, by Richard Meili.
 7. Specific Character of Various Types of Secondary Education, by P. Henri Simon.
 8. Organisation of Adaptation Classes, by E. Springer.
 9. The Training of Teachers in England, by Brian Stanley.

Part II.

- I. Vocational Guidance as discussed in the International Congresses of Technical Education (Report submitted by M. Julien Fontègne, Section Head at the International Bureau of Technical Education).
- II. Recent Movements in the United States relative to Secondary Education (Report submitted by Dr. George F. Zook, President of the American Council on Education).
- III. Co-ordination of Secondary Education. Projects and Achievements.

of education which should be established half way through the secondary course? This enquiry would include, in addition to discussion among experts, a comparative study, for a certain number of countries, of the various subjects of general education which are taught in the secondary schools of those countries.

REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS AND THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

A special number of the bulletin *Coopération Intellectuelle*¹ was recently devoted to these questions. It gave, in the first place, the results of the enquiry which the Institute had addressed, as an experiment, to a few national committees, asking them to choose, in the textbooks used in countries, passages dealing, in what they considered an objective way, with contested events. The substance of the replies was too abundant to permit the publication in full of the texts and commentaries sent in by the national committees which took part in this work. But it was possible to give a selection of passages devoted, in different countries, to the same periods of history. The American report, which constitutes a remarkable study of the question, further provides very interesting texts on the international relations of the United States of America. The selections printed were supplemented by a bibliography of the textbooks which the National Committees had examined, with an indication of the passages which they recommended.

Incomplete though it is, this enquiry nevertheless constitutes an instructive preliminary exploration for educators and for all who are interested in the question of textbooks. It reveals, side by side with shortcomings, the considerable progress which has been made; and it proves that the slow work pursued in this field, in spite of political circumstances which are hardly favourable, is producing sure results.

The Institute intends to ask a certain number of national committees to choose, in foreign textbooks, passages relating to their own countries which had struck them by their objectivity.

The special number of the bulletin of the Institute contained, in addition, new information on the agreement reached between German and French professors of history, of which the Institute had previously published the text. This information is soon to be supplemented by a report of the remarks made by the French professors who took part in the meeting, with reference to the German textbooks.

The same special number gave a summary of the work accomplished by the sections of the Norden Association, and a large amount of information on the teaching of history in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Institute is also preparing a new book on the revision of school textbooks and the teaching of history. The French edition of its first enquiry, published in 1932, is long since out of print; and the Institute has collected a large amount of new material. The book

¹ *Bulletin de la Coopération intellectuelle*, No. 84, International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

will be divided into several chapters, each devoted to one country, and making known the results obtained in regard to the revision of textbooks, the most important dispositions relative to the teaching of history and, where appropriate, those concerning civic instruction.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has published annually for the past four years an international educational bibliography, based on selections made by the national educational information centres.

The bibliography published this year covers the books and important articles which appeared in 1937.¹ Compiled from the index-cards furnished by thirty-three national centres (as against twenty-three in 1935, when the first edition was published), it deals with the following subjects :

- A. General works : year-books, bibliographies, biographies, encyclopædias, dictionaries.
- B. Books on education : general educational problems, methodology and didactics, psychology (tests, etc.).
- C. National systems of education.
- D. International relations in the field of education.

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL CORRESPONDENCE

The Standing Committee for International School Correspondence, which has been functioning at the Institute since 1929, has had as its chief task this year to give practical application to the recommendations voted by the meeting of the Directors of the National Bureaux for International School Correspondence, which was held at the Institute on July 15th, 1937. The reports on the activity of the Bureaux for International School Correspondence, published in the January 1938 number of the *Bulletin de la Correspondance scolaire internationale*, reveal the intention of the various bureaux to take account of these suggestions, with a view, notably, to developing the educational and international aspects of this movement and to elaborating its methods. The same number of the *Bulletin* contains an article on "documentary correspondence", which was started some time ago to encourage collective activity in the field of international school correspondence. This idea consists in promoting the formation of school correspondence clubs which exchange documentary material, on subjects previously agreed upon, with similar clubs in other countries.

LIAISON WITH THE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

It is not surprising that the major international associations and the Joint Committee which serves as the connecting link among them should have devoted their attention this year, directly or indirectly,

¹ *Bibliographie pédagogique internationale*. International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, 1938.

primarily to the problem of peace. All their meetings dealt with that problem, in one or another of its aspects. The International Council of Women, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Federation of Teachers, the Federation of Secondary-school Teachers, the University Federation for the League of Nations, *Pax Romana*, the Catholic Union for International Studies, in their respective congresses, and the Joint Committee itself defined their attitude and their plans of action in the face of the perils which threaten the international community. The resolutions which they adopted, it must not be forgotten, form the bases of the action of all their national branches and of millions of members.

Among these active forces, the Joint Committee, whose new chairman-elect is M. Gossart, Secretary-General of the Federation of Secondary-school Teachers, has continued, in its three annual meetings at the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation or at the Secretariat of the League of Nations, to perform its function of union and of distribution of tasks; it remains a decisive factor of cohesion among the associations. Its collaboration with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, moreover, grows increasingly closer; the list of questions which it has placed on its agenda, on which it has instituted enquiries and adopted recommendations destined to the great associations, proves the importance which it attaches to this work and makes it possible to judge the value of the support which it provides. The Committee has taken part in the work now being done on the cinema, radio broadcasting, the teaching of modern languages, international travel and exchanges, adult education and the fight against unemployment among intellectuals. Some of the member associations have devoted special attention to educational problems, notably to the problems of elementary education; others have organised important group voyages for young people and students, exchanges of probationers, and exchanges of professors, thus helping to attenuate the bad consequences of the decline in prolonged visits of students to foreign countries. They have also contributed financially to the assistance of young people and students who have been victims of political events; several among them, finally, have organised meetings devoted to the international problems which are of paramount importance in foreign policy, and to contacts between different civilisations, notably between the Occident and the Far East.

**TWENTIETH PLENARY SESSION
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION**

**MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING INFORMATION
UTILISED IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE**

ACTION TAKEN IN PURSUANCE OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED
BY THE ASSEMBLY ON OCTOBER 2ND, 1937

At its eighteenth session (September-October 1937), the Assembly was invited by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to consider suggestions that had been put forward by the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation concerning the use of modern means of disseminating information to promote a better mutual understanding among the nations of their respective institutions and cultures.¹

The Assembly considered that some of these suggestions were deserving of thorough study and, with that object, adopted a programme of studies and consultations relating to the use of the cinematograph and to the use of broadcasting.²

A. CINEMATOGRAPH

The Assembly entrusted to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the International Educational Cinematographic Institute the execution of a programme of consultations and enquiries relating more particularly to the work of national organisations and the training of the taste of the public and, of young people in regard to the cinematograph.

As the work of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute came to an end at the beginning of 1938, it was impossible to carry out the programme contemplated by the Assembly. Nevertheless, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation undertook some of the studies suggested by the Assembly, and the International Committee has been able to examine the results of these first efforts. After hearing the statement concerning the work undertaken which was made by the Director of the Institute, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation adopted the following resolution :

“ The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, while noting the delay in carrying out the programme approved

¹ See document C.327.M.220.1937.XII, Part II.

² See document A.68.1937.XII.

by the League Assembly in 1937, has considered what steps should be taken in order not to leave the main items of the programme in abeyance and, after examining the results of the work now proceeding, recommends the adoption of the following programme:

“(1) *International Liaison*.—The Committee attaches the utmost importance to the efforts made to resume direct contact with existing film institutions, and with corporative organisations in the different countries, and institutions, groups or committees interested on various grounds in the intellectual and artistic progress of the cinema. It considers that the liaison and documentary work undertaken to this end by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation should be actively pursued and accompanied by continuous efforts to promote the establishment of new institutions in countries where they do not as yet exist. The principal recommendations in the report of the Sixth Committee of the Assembly¹ to the effect that, in this sphere also, efforts should be made to ‘support national action in the different countries, and, if necessary, to co-ordinate these several activities, with the idea, not of exercising supervision, but rather of increasing their efficacy and suggesting fresh possibilities’, will be borne in mind.

“(2) *List of Educational Films*.—The Committee considers that the documentary work which is being carried out in regard to educational films meets a real need expressed by a large number of teachers’ organisations. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the national centres of educational information should continue to be associated with this work, with a view to the formation in the near future of an *international catalogue of educational films*, in accordance with the desire frequently expressed by users. The Committee is of opinion, however, that a publication of this kind calls for judicious and sound preparation, with careful selection on the responsibility of the competent national organisations concerned.

“(3) *List of Scientific Films and Film Archives*.—The Committee considers that, with the collaboration of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, the Educational Information Centres, the scientific unions and certain organisations making a special study of scientific cinematography, enquiries in regard to scientific films should be undertaken without delay, starting with those made for some particular purpose, which are usually known only to the small circle by which they have been used (universities, laboratories, research institutes), with a view to the compilation of a list of such films.

“In a similar connection, attention should be paid to the problem of film libraries or, more accurately speaking, *film archives* dealing with any subject of scientific, documentary or historical interest, including cinematography itself from the point of view of its technical, artistic and intellectual development. The

¹ See document A.68.1937.XII.

Committee considers that the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation should endeavour to promote :

“ (a) The multiplication of film archives in the different countries, and the extension to these archives of the advantages of the ‘ Convention to facilitate the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character ’ ;

“ (b) The carrying-out of a census of the film archives existing in the different countries (official archives and private archives, general and specialised);

“ (c) The publishing of lists of the films preserved in these archives.

“ (4) Lastly, the Committee is gratified to note the progress in the documentary work that is being carried out by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation concerning the *intellectual rôle of the recreational cinema* and the *improvement of public taste in regard to the cinema*. It considers that the resultant reports might usefully serve as a basis for the discussions of a *meeting of representatives of intellectual circles, teachers and the various branches of the cinematograph industry*. It is therefore of opinion that, while actively pursuing and extending its documentary work, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation should forthwith take steps with a view to convening such a meeting, if possible in the autumn of 1939.”

A. BROADCASTING

In regard to broadcasting, the Assembly requested the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to set up an *ad hoc* Committee of Experts. It was to be the duty of this Committee to establish the bases of a programme of technical collaboration between the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, the Information Section in respect of documentary material on the work of the League of Nations and the main institutions connected with it, and the national broadcasting organisations.

The Executive Committee secured the participation in the work of the Committee of Experts of representatives of national and international broadcasting organisations and intellectual workers who had devoted special attention to the educative and cultural aspects of broadcasting.

The composition of the Committee and the proposals it framed will be found in the annexed report.

The International Committee, having examined these proposals, is of opinion that they embody a programme of work which is in keeping with the Assembly's intentions and will permit of the achievement of the object aimed at by the latter.

The International Committee accordingly submits to the Council the following resolution :

“ The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

“ Having taken note of the proposals drawn up by the Committee of Experts, which it was instructed by the Assembly of the League of Nations to appoint :

“ Approves these proposals and transmits them to the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations;

“ Requests the Council to authorise the transmission to National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation of such of these proposals as provide for action by those Committees;

“ In regard to the views expressed by the experts on special facilities for broadcasting reporters and Customs exemption of material for the exchange of sound records, the Committee requests the Council to refer the views expressed for study to the Communications and Transit Organisation and to the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League of Nations;

“ Authorises the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to continue its enquiry into documentary material on international relations, science, letters and art, and to convoke small committees of experts in the course of the year to consider the results of its studies and to draw conclusions therefrom.”

ANNEX

COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS APPOINTED TO DRAW UP SUGGESTIONS ON THE USE OF BROADCASTING IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

REPORT ON THE COMMITTEE'S WORK BY M. CARLOS ALBERTO PARDO

I. The Committee of Experts appointed to draw up for the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation suggestions on the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace met at the Secretariat of the League of Nations, Geneva, on June 17th and 18th, 1938. It consisted of the following :

- (1) Mr. R. A. BURROWS, Secretary-General of the International Broadcasting Union, Geneva;
- (2) M. Julien CAIN, Administrator-General of the National Library, Paris;
- (3) Dr. OSORIO DOUTRA, Consul of the United States of Brazil, Le Havre;
- (4) Mme. L. C. DREYFUS-BARNEY, Liaison Officer of the International Council of Women with the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation; Permanent Member of the Liaison Committee of the Major International Associations;
- (5) M. H. FRISCH, Member of the Danish Folketing;
- (6) M. André DE HLATKY, Programmes Director of the Hungarian Broadcasting Organisation, Budapest;
- (7) Mr. Max JORDAN, Director of the European Office of the National Broadcasting Company (United States of America);
- (8) General KALAFATOVITCH, Director-General of the Radio A.D., Belgrade;

- (9) M. J. KUYPERS, Vice-President of the Board of Management of the Belgian National Broadcasting Institute;
 - (10) Dr. Paul LANG, Professor at the Cantonal School, Zurich; President of the Broadcasting Commission of the Society of Swiss Authors;
 - (11) Mr. R. D. MARRIOTT, Foreign Liaison Officer, British Broadcasting Corporation, London;
 - (12) Mr. Edward MURROW, European Director, Columbia Broadcasting Company, London;
 - (13) M. Carlos Alberto PARDO, Secretary-General of the Argentine Delegation accredited to the League of Nations, Geneva;
 - (14) Dr. C. SCHOUTE, former Deputy Director of the Netherlands Meteorological Institute;
 - (15) Dr. L. SOUREK, President of the Managing Board of the *Radio Journal*, Prague;
 - (16) Dr. John B. WHITTON, Director of the Geneva Research Centre;
 - (17) M. Sven WILSON, Foreign Director of the "Radiotjänst", Stockholm;
 - (18) Sir Alfred ZIMMERN, Professor of International Relations in the University of Oxford;
- Observer* : Mr. Tracy B. KITTREDGE, of the Rockefeller Foundation.

The Committee elected M. Julien CAIN, representative of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, as its Chairman, and M. Carlos Alberto PARDO as its Rapporteur to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

II. Before describing the results of the Committee's proceedings, it may be appropriate briefly to recall the decisions of the Assembly of the League of Nations of which it is the outcome.

At its eighteenth ordinary session (September 1937), the Assembly examined the proposals for the use of modern means of disseminating information in the cause of peace which were prepared by the Advisory Committee for the teaching of the principles and facts of international co-operation and were transmitted to it by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

The Assembly considered that these suggestions were in keeping with the aim of the resolution adopted at the seventeenth session of the Assembly, providing for the study by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the problem of the use of technical means of disseminating knowledge with a view to promoting the exchange between the nations of information regarding their respective institutions and culture. The Assembly was of opinion that, to enable the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation to give real practical effect to these suggestions, it would be necessary to have them examined in detail. For that purpose, it provided for the summoning of a Committee of Experts to advise on ways and means of establishing technical co-operation between the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and national broadcasting organisations. On the basis of the advice thus tendered, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation might be

able to draw up, for the nineteenth session of the Assembly, a programme of work for the future.

III. The Committee's agenda, which was drawn up by the Executive Committee of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, was in accordance with the guiding principles laid down at the eighteenth session of the Assembly, as set out in document A.68.1937.XII. It was as follows :

1. International Convention concerning the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace.
2. Information and documentary material on the work of the League, and the main institutions connected with it, for the use of programme directors in broadcasting stations.
3. Information on contemporary international problems, and on the present position of science, letters and art.
4. Compilation by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, with the assistance of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, of lists of persons in the various countries qualified to give radio talks, in the languages and for the information of other countries, on political, economic, social and cultural questions.
5. Establishment of gramophone-record repositories to permit of the organisation of an international service for the loan and exchange of records of a documentary and educational character (folk-music). Exchange methods.
6. Possibility of framing either bilateral agreements or an international convention to provide for the granting of special facilities to enable accredited broadcasting correspondents and reporters to enter foreign countries for professional purposes.

The Committee was largely guided by the numerous replies received by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to the enquiries addressed by it to the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation and individual experts (Institute's document B.63.1938).

It also took into account its members' replies to the Secretariat's questionnaire (document C.I.C.I./Com.Ex./95).

The Committee considered these opinions with great care, and found them a useful basis for discussion.

Special mention must be made of the valuable contribution by the Secretary-General of the International Broadcasting Union, both to the preparatory work and to the Committee's proceedings. The International Union, which embodies the majority of the national broadcasting corporations, has already acquired extensive experience of these matters in the course of its own efforts to promote mutual understanding between the nations by means of broadcasting.

The opinion of the Committee of Experts on the several points on its agenda is set out in the following paragraphs :

1. *International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace.*

The Committee of Experts considers that the most effective action for securing new accessions or ratifications is that of the official bodies of the League of Nations in respect of the Governments themselves.

It wishes, however, to lay stress on the importance of action by the Press, the major international associations jointly represented on the Joint Committee, and the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, for the purpose of interesting large sections of public opinion in the various countries in the Convention, with a view to its ratification by Governments or their accession to it.

In countries where the Convention is in force, broadcasting stations could, when suitable opportunities offered, indicate to the public the outstanding facts connected with its application.

In this connection, the Committee wishes to draw attention to the South-American Regional Agreement on Broadcasting—signed at Buenos Aires in 1935, and revised at Rio de Janeiro in 1937—which is based on the principles embodied in the Convention.

2. Information on the Work of the League and the Main International Institutions connected with it.

The Committee of Experts, after hearing a statement on the above subject by the Director of the Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, held a discussion, in the course of which representatives of national broadcasting organisations made interesting suggestions as to how the information service might be developed. The experts were glad to learn that the Assembly of the League of Nations has included in the budget of the Information Section a credit for a broadcasting specialist: such a step is calculated to promote the spread of information on the work of the League.

In the light of the discussion, the Committee arrived at the following conclusion:

(a) The Information Section should get into direct touch with national broadcasting organisations in order to ascertain their requirements, while at the same time informing them of the regular assistance and the facilities with which it could itself provide them;

(b) It would be useful to send to the major broadcasting organisations a periodical bulletin containing information on the work of the League.

The Committee also considered that it would be useful for the broadcasting organisations to receive regular information from the Paris Institute regarding the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. Such information could be communicated to the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, which would be invited to obtain the collaboration of representatives of the broadcasting organisations in their respective countries.

(c) National broadcasting organisations should endeavour to arrange for short periodical broadcasts on the work of the League of Nations and the main institutions connected with the League;

(d) The Information Section should place at the disposal of the national organisations gramophone records of talks and speeches, and a list of such records should be sent regularly to those organisations, together with information as to how the records could be obtained;

(e) The Committee for Communications and Transit should study the facilities to be granted to broadcasting reporters wishing to use the broadcasting equipment of the League of Nations;

(f) The Information Section should indicate in advance the day and hour of its broadcasts and also, as far as possible, the text of talks from Radio-Nations, so as to enable broadcasting authorities to take them into account when preparing their programmes and to enable listeners' groups to make their arrangements accordingly.

(g) Collaboration between the Information Section and the national broadcasting organisations of oversea countries should be continued and developed through the use of international relays.

3. Information on Contemporary International Problems and on the Present Position of Science, Letters and Art.

An exhaustive discussion took place on the problem of the documentary material which, in the matter of international relations, science, letters and art, could be prepared by the qualified representatives of these various branches and brought before the public by means of broadcasting.

A series of detailed suggestions were made, in addition to those already contained in the report prepared by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation on the first results of its current enquiry.¹ Further information was added on the experiments already made in various countries and the proposals to promote further attempts, particularly in the matter of science.

The practical difficulties of broadcasting were explained by the experts of the national broadcasting organisations and the Secretary-General of the International Broadcasting Union, who also stated what experiments and studies were being carried out in that field.

The Committee recommends that the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation should take the following action :

(1) Ask the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation to undertake to contribute in their respective countries to the documentary material periodically or occasionally issued by the broadcasting organisations on questions of art, science and letters;

(2) Point out to the institutions specialising in the study of international relations how desirable it would be for them to endeavour to obtain for the broadcasting organisations of their respective countries, on request, information regarding problems of historical and of current interest;

(3) Continue the enquiry it has undertaken¹ and utilise for this purpose the remarks and suggestions embodied in the Minutes of the Committee's discussion;

(4) Give wide publicity to the results of the enquiry, communicate them in particular to the organisations concerned and obtain, if necessary, the latter's observations with a view to a subsequent programme.

¹ See the Institute's document B.63.1938.

4. *Compilation by the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, with the Assistance of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, of Lists of Persons in the Various Countries qualified to give Radio Talks, in the Languages and for the Information of Other Countries, on Economic, Social and Cultural Questions.*

The Committee hopes that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will invite the National Committees to draw up, if they think it expedient to do so, in co-operation with the national broadcasting organisations, lists of persons qualified and able to give radio talks in foreign languages on economic, social and cultural problems.

Such lists might be either exchanged by the national broadcasting organisations direct or circulated through the International Broadcasting Union.

5. *Establishment of Gramophone Record Repositories to permit of the Organisation of an International Service for the Loan and Exchange of Records of a Documentary and Educational Character.*

(a) The Committee considers as of great importance, from the point of view of exchanges between the national broadcasting organisations, the collections of gramophone and other sound records which those organisations are forming for their own use, particularly collections consisting of records of a cultural and educational character (folklore, etc.).

It hopes that, if possible, the national organisations will exchange information on a more extensive scale regarding the catalogues or card-indexes of such collections:

(b) The Committee also noted the importance of general collections of records compiled by official or private initiative.

It hopes that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will recommend the development of such collections, particularly with a view to international loans and exchanges, which may prove to be invaluable auxiliaries to broadcasting.

(c) The Committee is of opinion that the question of granting exemption from Customs duty on gramophone and other sound records exchanged by national broadcasting organisations and calculated to promote mutual understanding among the nations should be investigated by the competent technical bodies of the League of Nations.

6. *Possibility of framing either Bilateral Agreements or an International Convention to provide for the Granting of Special Facilities to enable Accredited Broadcasting Reporters to enter Foreign Countries for Professional Purposes.*

The Committee, having proceeded to an exchange of views on the considerations adduced on this subject in 1937 by the Advisory Committee for the teaching of the principles and facts of international co-operation :

Recognises how important it is that facilities should be granted to reporters in the exercise of their profession abroad, particularly when

the object of their journeys is to promote mutual understanding among the nations;

Recommends :

That in the granting of personal travelling facilities to such reporters (journeys, visas, etc.), the privileges of this kind granted to journalists should be taken as a basis;

That as regards the professional material of such reporters (lorries, microphones, amplifiers, recording apparatus), a liberal regime as regards transport and Customs formalities should be established, preferably on a basis of reciprocity.

.....

Formation of Public Taste in Matters of Broadcasting.

The Committee's attention was drawn to the question of the formation of public taste in matters of broadcasting. The importance of broadcasting considered as a medium of teaching, and particularly that of special courses and associations of listeners, was given particular prominence. The education of listeners seems to be one of the most important factors in the development of the cultural rôle played by wireless with a view to the promotion of better mutual understanding among the nations.

This problem is brought to the notice of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation with a view to a study to be carried out in consultation with the major international associations, and with the assistance both of such national broadcasting organisations as may be prepared to co-operate and of the International Broadcasting Union.

RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING QUESTIONS OF EDUCATION

REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS AND HISTORY TEACHING

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,
Having taken note of the efforts made in different countries with
a view to the revision of school textbooks;

Requests all National Committees to send to the International
Institute of Intellectual Co-operation the documentary material
necessary for a new edition of the work on the revision of educational
textbooks and on history teaching.

It approves the proposal to request the National Committees who
took part in the first enquiry regarding school textbooks to bring to
the notice of the Institute such passages taken from textbooks in
use in other countries as they would like to point out as models of
objectivity; these passages should as far as possible relate to contro-
versial subjects.

It requests the Council once again to draw the attention of the
Governments of States which have not yet expressed their views on
the subject to the Declaration on the revision of school textbooks.

PERMANENT COMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,
Having taken cognisance of the volume *University Problems*,
dealing with the work of the International Conference on Higher
Education:

Congratulates the organisers on the success of this international
demonstration, which was of the greatest importance from the point
of view both of the qualifications and of the number of the participants
and of the topical nature of the problems studied;

Approves the Conference's proposal to set up a Permanent Com-
mittee on Higher Education, which would be attached to the Institute,
for the purpose of continuing and extending the studies begun by
the Conference;

Authorises the Institute to constitute this Committee, as far as
possible with the collaboration of the national organisations that are
pursuing in their own countries aims similar to those which the Per-
manent Committee proposes to achieve in the international sphere.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,
Having taken note of the results of the international enquiry
undertaken by the Institute, and also of the studies of the Committee of

Experts on the problem of the co-ordination of secondary education systems :

Authorises the Institute and its Committee of educational experts to study, as the outcome of that enquiry, the place and the rôle of national languages and literatures in the general culture which it is the aim of secondary education to provide, and hence their relationship with classical and modern languages; and also the part to be allotted in such education to the exact and experimental and also the humane sciences.

UNEMPLOYMENT OF UNIVERSITY GRADUATES

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

After taking note of the report submitted by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation on its work in connection with the campaign against unemployment of university graduates;

Observing that this situation is still further aggravated by involuntary emigrations of intellectual workers, a problem which deserves special consideration;

Desires once more to bring to the notice of the competent authorities of the countries concerned the urgent necessity of taking energetic measures to put an end to an evil which constitutes an injustice from the standpoint of those who are suffering from its effects and is in itself a danger by reason of its repercussions on economic and cultural life and on social peace in general.

It recognises that the provision of sound vocational guidance for young people in schools and universities is one of the most effective means of promoting the re-establishment of a lasting equilibrium in the distribution of intellectual workers; such guidance should be based on systematic studies of the supply of and demand for intellectual work and its evolution.

It approves the Institute's efforts to encourage studies of this kind by every means within its power and to ensure that the results of such efforts shall be made more widely known.

STUDENTS' INTERNATIONAL " CONVERSATION "

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation :

Has noted with keen satisfaction the results of the Students' International " Conversation " held at Luxemburg in May last, with the participation of the representatives of the seven Federations affiliated to the Committee of International Student Organisations;

Notes that the subject chosen for the " Conversation "—" University Education, its Aims and Methods "—enabled the participants freely to exchange their views on a question of the utmost concern to university students, since it affects their intellectual and moral training;

The Committee associates itself with the tribute paid to the Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg for the generous hospitality afforded by it for the " Conversation ";

Approves of the recommendation adopted by the Students' Committee to the effect that the results of the " Conversation " should

be published in the form of a volume by the Institute and circulated as widely as possible, particularly in university circles;

Notes the desire of the Students' Organisations that preparations should be made for further "Conversations" on subjects to be selected in the light of the experience gained through the Luxemburg discussions;

Urges the Students' Committee to define its aims and proposals on the matter more clearly, and requests the Executive Committee to submit these suggestions with its opinion to the International Committee at its next session.

CONFERENCE ON THE APPLICATION OF THE CONVENTION OF OCTOBER 11TH, 1933, FOR FACILITATING THE INTERNATIONAL CIRCULATION OF FILMS OF AN EDUCATIONAL CHARACTER (GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 10TH-12TH, 1938)

PROCES-VERBAL ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE CONCERNING THE APPLICATION OF ARTICLES IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XII AND XIII OF THE SAID CONVENTION

Whereas the Convention for facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character concluded at Geneva on October 11th, 1933, provides for certain functions to be exercised by the International Educational Cinematographic Institute;

Whereas the International Educational Cinematographic Institute has been closed; and

Whereas it is desirable to facilitate the operation of the said Convention by making other arrangements for the exercise of the aforesaid functions :

The undersigned, acting on behalf of their respective Governments, have agreed as follows :

I

- Each of the Members of the League and non-member States on behalf of which the Convention of October 11th, 1933, for facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character has been ratified or acceded to and which are signatories of the present Procès-verbal agrees in its relations with each of the other signatories that the functions given to the International Educational Cinematographic Institute by Articles IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XII and XIII of the above-mentioned Convention shall be performed by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

II

The present Procès-verbal, of which both the French and English texts shall be authentic, may be signed on behalf of any Member of the League or non-member State on behalf of which the Convention has been signed or acceded to.

III

1. So soon as the present Procès-verbal has been signed by ten Members of the League or non-member States which are bound by the Convention and the Assembly of the League of Nations has authorised

the performance by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the functions entrusted to it by the present Procès-verbal, the Secretary-General shall so notify the Members of the League and the non-member States on behalf of which the Convention has been signed or acceded to.

2. On the sixtieth day following the date of such notification, the present Procès-verbal shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and shall enter into force.

3. Signatures given after the date of the above-mentioned notification shall take effect sixty days after they have been given.

IV

1. Any signatory of the present Procès-verbal may declare at the time of signature that, in accepting the present Procès-verbal, it is not assuming any obligation in respect of all or any of its colonies, protectorates, overseas territories or the territories under its suzerainty or territories in respect of which a mandate has been confided to it; the present Procès-verbal shall in that case not be applicable to the territories named in such declaration.

2. Any signatory may subsequently notify the Secretary-General of the League of Nations that it desires the present Procès-verbal to apply to all or any of the territories in respect of which the declaration provided for in the preceding paragraph has been made. The Procès-verbal shall in that case apply to all the territories named in such notification sixty days after the receipt thereof by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

3. The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall communicate to all the Members of the League of Nations and to the non-member States which have signed or acceded to the Convention the declarations and notifications received in virtue of the present article together with the dates of receipt thereof.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the undersigned have signed the present Procès-verbal.

DONE at Geneva the twelfth day of September one thousand nine hundred and thirty-eight, in a single copy, which shall be deposited in the archives of the Secretariat of the League of Nations and of which certified true copies shall be transmitted to all the Members of the League and to the non-member States which have signed or acceded to the Convention of October 11th, 1933, for facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character.

INDIA

In appending my signature on behalf of the Government of India, I declare that it does not assume any obligations in respect of the territories in India of any Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty.

N. N. SIRCAR

NINETEENTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ACTION TAKEN ON THE PROPOSALS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION CONCERNING MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING INFORMATION UTILISED IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

REPORT BY THE SEVENTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY

Rapporteur : M. Hartvig FRISCH (Denmark).

At its meeting on September 20th, 1938, the Seventh Committee set up a Sub-Committee consisting of the representatives of the Argentine, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Egypt, France, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Poland.

Among the questions submitted to it for consideration, the following, relating to the activities of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, are dealt with in the present report :

- (1) Proposals of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation concerning its programme of work in connection with modern means of spreading information utilised in the cause of peace (report by M. de Reynold, document A.19.1938.XII);
- (2) Request made by the Diplomatic Conference held at Geneva from September 10th to 12th, 1938, with a view to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation being authorised to assume certain duties for the purpose of ensuring the operation of the Convention of October 11th, 1933, for facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character (documents C.302.M.177.1938.XII and C.303.M.178.1938.XII).

1. MODERN MEANS OF SPREADING INFORMATION UTILISED IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

The Sub-Committee examined in succession the two parts of the programme submitted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation concerning its future activities.

As regards *cinematography*, the Sub-Committee noted that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had been able to devise effective means of mitigating to a great extent the consequences of the closing of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute.

After hearing M. de Reynold, Rapporteur of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the Sub-Committee noted that the programme submitted was to be of a provisional nature, so as to ensure the continuity of the work without prejudicing future possibilities. It seemed to the Sub-Committee that the principal headings of the proposals put forward by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation were in all respects in agreement with the views previously expressed by the Assembly.

It noted in particular the decision of principle arrived at by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, in accordance with the views of the Assembly, to support national action and to help to co-ordinate such action in a manner corresponding to the recommendations and requirements of the national organisations themselves.

The Sub-Committee also noted with satisfaction the proposal to convene in 1939 (after the necessary consultations and thorough preparation) a meeting of the representatives of the groups concerned, to study the various aspects of the problem of improving the public taste in regard to the cinema.

As regards *broadcasting*, the Sub-Committee gave special attention to the report of the Committee of Experts convened by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in accordance with the opinion expressed by the Assembly last year.

The report of the Committee of Experts which accompanies the report of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation showed the care with which the latter chose the persons whose assistance was desired and the value of that assistance.

The Sub-Committee included among its members one of the experts who had sat on the Committee—M. Carlos Alberto Pardo, its Rapporteur.

In view of the information given, the Sub-Committee unanimously recommended the Seventh Committee to adopt the proposals of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, including those of the experts. It noted in particular the intention of the International Committee to make full use of the *national* organisations, including both the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation and the national broadcasting organisations which are prepared to collaborate with it, as well as the competent international organisations.

The Sub-Committee also noted M. de Reynold's statement that the execution of the proposed programme must be gradual.

In the Sub-Committee's opinion, it would be for the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to give an account from year to year of the progress made with the work, the outlines of which are thus generally approved. The Sub-Committee had reason to hope that the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation would be able next year to begin drawing conclusions from its investigation into the means of providing impartial documentary material for the use of broadcasting companies on contemporary international problems and on the present position of science, letters and art.

Two of the proposals submitted by the experts provide for the reference of special questions to the technical organisations of the League of Nations for their examination—namely, special facilities to enable accredited broadcasting reporters to enter foreign countries and

Customs facilities for the international exchange of gramophone and other sound records intended for broadcasting.

In this connection, the Sub-Committee recommends the Seventh Committee to propose to the Assembly that it refer these two questions to the Committee for Communications and Transit and the Economic Committee for their consideration.

2. REQUEST BY THE DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE ON THE APPLICATION OF THE CONVENTION FOR FACILITATING THE INTERNATIONAL CIRCULATION OF FILMS OF AN EDUCATIONAL CHARACTER

The Sub-Committee was called upon to examine, for the Seventh Committee, the following question on the basis of the documents submitted to it.

An International Conference convened by the Council of the League and held at Geneva from September 10th to 12th, 1938, adopted a Procès-verbal, under the terms of which the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was substituted for the International Educational Cinematographic Institute for the purpose of ensuring the operation of the Convention of October 11th, 1933, for facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character.

In pursuance of the Final Act adopted by the Conference, its President, M. Bourquin, delegate of Belgium, requested that the Assembly would, at its present session, authorise the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to assume these new functions.

After an exchange of views, the Sub-Committee unanimously recommends the Seventh Committee to propose to the Assembly that it grant the authorisation asked for and thus enable the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to give the assistance provided for in the above-mentioned Procès-verbal.

3. RESOLUTIONS

The Seventh Committee agreed to the proposals made by the Sub-Committee and consequently submits the following draft resolutions for the approval of the Assembly :

“ 1. The Assembly,

“ Appreciating the efforts made by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation with a view to the preparation and application of the programme laid down by the eighteenth session of the Assembly in regard to the use of modern means of spreading information in the cause of peace :

“ Desires to take this opportunity of stressing the value of the help given by broadcasting experts ;

“ Approves this programme and relies on the Committee to ensure its application and to report from time to time on the results achieved ;

“ Instructs the Committee for Communications and Transit and the Economic Committee to undertake the examination recommended by the International Committee on Intellectual

Co-operation regarding the granting of special facilities to broadcasting reporters and Customs exemption for the exchange of gramophone and other sound records.”

“ 2. The Assembly,

“ Endorsing the proposals of its Seventh Committee;

“ Acceding to the request of the Diplomatic Conference held at Geneva from September 10th to 12th, 1938, concerning the application of the Convention of October 11th, 1933, for facilitating the International Circulation of Films of an Educational Character :

“ Authorises the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to perform the duties devolving upon it under the terms of the Procès-verbal adopted by the said Conference concerning the application of Articles IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XII and XIII of the Convention of October 11th, 1933.”

* * *

The report was adopted by the Assembly at its nineteenth plenary meeting.

**DECLARATION REGARDING THE TEACHING
OF HISTORY¹
(REVISION OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS)
(Geneva, October 2nd, 1937.)**

LIST OF SIGNATURES AS ON NOVEMBER 15TH, 1938

In Force.

Definitive Signatures.

AFGHANISTÁN (February 24th,
1938)
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (January
24th, 1938)
ARGENTINE REPUBLIC (July 20th,
1938)
BELGIUM (November 24th, 1937)
CHILE (January 6th, 1938)
COLOMBIA (June 2nd, 1938)
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC (November
5th, 1937)
EGYPT (March 1st, 1938)
ESTONIA (March 8th, 1938)
FINLAND (September 16th, 1938)
GREECE ² (April 6th, 1938)
IRAN (April 27th, 1938)
THE NETHERLANDS (including the
Netherlands Indies, Surinam
and Curaçao) (January 25th,
1938)

*The Declaration is open
to signature by :*

ALBANIA
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AUSTRALIA
BOLIVIA
GREAT BRITAIN AND
NORTHERN IRELAND
BULGARIA
CANADA
CHINA
COSTA RICA
CUBA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
FREE CITY OF DANZIG
DENMARK
ECUADOR
ETHIOPIA
FRANCE
GUATEMALA
HAITI
HONDURAS

¹ The Declaration came into force on November 24th, 1937. See *Treaty Series of the League of Nations*, Vol. CLXXXII, page 263.

² When signing this Declaration, the Permanent Delegate of Greece handed to the Secretary-General a communication informing him, on behalf of his Government, that instead of setting up a new Committee such as that referred to in Paragraph 3 of the Declaration, the Royal Government intends to entrust the duties of the above-mentioned Committee to the Supreme Council of Education, a permanent body which meets at the Ministry of Public Worship and National Education. The Royal Government is of opinion that disadvantages would be entailed by the creation of a new Committee which, as it would duplicate this Council, would be detrimental to the unity that is desirable in the matter of education.

Definitive Signatures.

NORWAY (February 5th, 1938)
SWEDEN (February 25th, 1938)

*The Declaration is open
to signature by :*

HUNGARY
ICELAND
INDIA
IRAQ
IRELAND
ITALY
LATVIA
LIBERIA
LIECHTENSTEIN
LITHUANIA
LUXEMBURG
MEXICO
MONACO
NEW ZEALAND
NICARAGUA
PANAMA
PERU
POLAND
PORTUGAL
ROUMANIA
SALVADOR
SIAM
SPAIN
SWITZERLAND
TURKEY
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST
REPUBLICS
URUGUAY
VENEZUELA
YUGOSLAVIA

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION CONCERNING THE USE OF BROADCASTING IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE¹

(*Geneva, September 23rd, 1936.*)

LIST OF RATIFICATIONS AS ON NOVEMBER 15TH, 1938

In Force.

<i>Ratifications or definitive Accessions.</i>	<i>Signatures or Accessions not yet perfected by Ratification.</i>	<i>The Convention is open to Accession by :</i>
BRAZIL (February 11th, 1938)	ALBANIA	AFGHANISTAN
GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND (August 18th, 1937)	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BURMA (October 13th, 1937)	BELGIUM	BOLIVIA
SOUTHERN RHODESIA (November 1st, 1937)	Under reservation of the declarations mentioned in the <i>procès-verbal</i> of the final meeting of the Conference.	BULGARIA
AUSTRALIA (June 25th, 1937)	CHILE	CANADA
Including the Territo- ries of Papua and Norfolk Island and the Mandated Terri- tories of New Guinea and Nauru.	COLOMBIA	CHINA
NEW ZEALAND (Janu- ary 27th, 1938)	CZECHOSLOVAKIA	COSTA RICA
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (including the Man- dated Territory of South West Africa) (February 1st, 1938)	DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	CUBA
IRELAND (May 25th, 1938)	GREECE	FREE CITY OF DANZIG
INDIA (August 11th, 1937)	GUATEMALA	ECUADOR
	LITHUANIA	ETHIOPIA
	MEXICO	FINLAND
	THE NETHERLANDS	GERMANY
	ROUMANIA	HAITI
	SPAIN	HONDURAS
	Under reservation of the declaration men- tioned in the <i>procès- verbal</i> of the final meeting of the Con- ference.	HUNGARY
	SWITZERLAND	ICELAND
	TURKEY	IRAN
		IRAQ
		ITALY
		JAPAN
		LATVIA
		LIBERIA
		NICARAGUA
		PANAMA
		PARAGUAY
		PERU
		POLAND

¹ The Convention came into force on April 2nd, 1938, in accordance with its Article 11.

*Ratifications
or definitive Accessions.*

DENMARK (October
11th, 1937)
EGYPT (July 29th, 1938)
ESTONIA (August 18th,
1938)
FRANCE (March 8th,
1938)
LUXEMBURG (February
8th, 1938)
NORWAY (May 5th,
1938)
SALVADOR (August
18th, 1938)
SWEDEN (June 22nd,
1938)

*Signatures or Accessions
not yet perfected
by Ratification.*

UNION OF SOVIET SO-
CIALIST REPUBLICS
Under reservation of
the declarations men-
tioned in the *procès-
verbal* of the final
meeting of the Con-
ference.

URUGUAY

*The Convention is open
to Accession by:*

PORTUGAL
SIAM
VENEZUELA
YUGOSLAVIA