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826

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Vol. X No. 8 [The Journal of the League of Nations Union.]

August, 1928

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

Price Threepence

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

IT looks as though August, holiday month though it is, would see the formal signature of the Kellogg Pact by the nations originally invited and some six or eight others. That is profoundly satisfactory, if only for the negative reason that a rejection of the United States' proposals by European Powers would have been disastrous. The positive value of the treaty is another matter. The essential truth about that is that it will be what subsequent events show it to be. If the treaty is to mean in reality what the words and phrases in it purport to mean, we have to adjust our minds definitely to the idea of a world without war. (The treaty alone might come far short of securing that, but the treaty has to be read as a reinforcement of the existing League Covenant.) A world without war means a world without "private" national wars—wars as instruments of national policy. Force exerted by the community of states for the defence of the reign of law in the broadest sense may still long be needed. But no excessive national armaments are needed for that purpose. If only the law-abiding members of the community are prepared to act together against the lawless, armies and navies can be drastically reduced by agreed uniform action throughout the world. The extent to which that takes place will be the first test of the solid worth of the solid value of the Kellogg Pact. And when its value is once proved, another part of the task before the world will be

only just beginning. It would be a tremendous thing to make peace secure. But to assure peace does not mean assuring justice. The road to that second goal has still to be surveyed and laid out. And even the first goal is far from attained yet.

Our Delegates

THE British delegation to the League of Nations Assembly in September is to consist of Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Cushendun, Sir Cecil Hurst, Dame Edith Lyttelton, Sir Edward Hilton Young, M.P., and Mr. Duff Cooper, M.P. It, therefore, differs in two respects from last year's delegation, Lord Cushendun taking the place of Lord Onslow and Mr. Duff Cooper that of Major Walter Elliot. The latter change will be received with mingled feelings, regret at Major Elliot's absence being tempered with satisfaction that so well-informed an authority on the League as Mr. Duff Cooper is to take his place. Both were, until they took office as Under-Secretaries, members of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, and both have been frequent speakers on Union platforms. Major Elliot was a conspicuous success last year, but it is difficult to challenge the principle which the Government is apparently adopting of familiarising as many as possible of the coming men on the front Bench with the actual practice and procedure of the League.

The Road-Makers

FEW more striking sermons on the League of Nations have been preached than that delivered by the Bishop of Winchester in York Minster on July 1. The occasion was interesting, for the service had been specially arranged to commemorate the ninth anniversary of the signature of the League Covenant (which took place on June 28, 1919). It is impossible to do more here than indicate the general line of the address. It opened thus:

"Is it peace? That is the question we have to face both as individuals and as a nation. As they say in the House of Commons, 'the answer is in the affirmative.' If so, we must *make* peace, for it won't come of itself, any more than the Great North Road came of itself, or the steel track along which the Great Pacific locomotives speed between London and the North. It is a question of road-making."

From that point the sermon consisted of an answer to three questions: "Why must that road be made? How can that road be made? Who are the people to make it?" Very many readers of HEADWAY, some of whom listened to the sermon either in the Minster or on the wireless, will be glad to know that it is being reprinted in pamphlet form, and will be almost immediately obtainable from the League of Nations Union.

False Thrift

THE NATION rendered a useful service in its issue of July 7 by emphasising the folly, it might almost be said criminal folly, of proposals such as the Italian delegate, Signor Scialoja, put forward at the last meeting of the League Council for a curtailment of the amount it is desired to spend in order to carry out various important pieces of work recommended by the League's Economic Consultative Committee. *The Nation* points out that the whole of the projects outlined by the Committee would cost not more than £14,000, the British share of which would be about £1,400. Sir Austen Chamberlain, at the Council Meeting, used words carefully chosen, indicating neither support of nor divergence from Signor Scialoja's view. A more definite attitude than that will be needed when it comes to the point of definite decisions and *The Nation* is entirely right in protesting against any suggestion that British support should be given to the false economy proposal put forward by the Italian delegate.

National and International

ANOTHER question that has been the subject of some comment is the alleged tendency for high positions in the League Secretariat to be given to diplomats from various important countries whose advent at Geneva, it is suggested, is arranged at least as much for the benefit of the country concerned as for the League as a whole. Without discussing this serious allegation at length it is sufficient to emphasise the vital importance of maintaining the fundamentally international character of the Secretariat. In the Assembly, in the Council and in almost every League Committee international interests have abundant opportunity for expression. It is all the more essential, therefore, that the Secretariat, which ought to know no politics except League politics, should cultivate repeatedly and unceasingly the larger international

view. One of the best ways of securing this is to see to it that promotion to the highest posts is always open to men who have grown up in the Secretariat and been moulded by its traditions. The International Federation of League of Nations Societies passed a strong resolution on the subject at its recent conference at The Hague.

A League Flag?

A LETTER in the last issue of HEADWAY regarding a League of Nations flag has produced several suggestions, which at least have this in common, that for some reason blue and white appear to be the colours generally favoured. One writer suggests either a plain blue flag or a plain white one, white because it is said to stand for peace, and blue because no country has a plain blue flag. Another writer suggests a white dove on a blue background; another, for reasons rather intricate, proposes a tricolour, black, green and gold, with various other devices a little unduly elaborate. A fourth, again, would like something closely resembling the world and stars symbol popularised in this country by the League of Nations Union. Clearly an official League committee is needed before any progress can be made, and that would have to be moved for in the Council or Assembly.

How Other People Live

DISCUSSION of what is called foreign affairs is often confined to outstanding political issues of the moment. What we know far too little of is the average daily life of the man and woman, or, for that matter, the child, in some countries other than our own. For that reason HEADWAY proposes to deal, as space permits, with this more human, and in the last analysis more vital, element in the life of foreign countries. A good deal can be learned from pictures of school life in different countries, and the article appearing in this issue, on a certain type of British school, contains a good deal of information with which most readers of HEADWAY are probably unfamiliar, so little do we know of what is apparently under our eyes. Articles from schoolmasters in other countries will follow month by month. Types of national schools, of course, differ widely, and a description, for example, of a rural school will give little idea of the schools serving large cities. That, unfortunately, cannot be helped; but, at any rate, windows—if not as large ones as might be desired—will be opened a little way into the life of countries most of us will never see.

A Duty Defined

AN interesting and rather unexpected passage occurs in one of Canon Streeter's essays in the symposium "Adventure," lately published by Messrs. Macmillan (7s. 6d. net). The particular essay is headed "A Moral Adventure," and discusses the varying values of different kinds of duties. On that point, Canon Streeter addresses himself to women in particular in the following terms: "And you, madam, also possess a tongue and are not unpractised in the using of it; you have a vote, too, now. And if you will face up to the futility of, and pluck up courage simply to leave undone, two-thirds of what heretofore you have taken it for

granted are your 'social duties,' you will find the time for some of the many kinds of that unpaid work which, because socially creative, is a *real duty*. Incidentally, this will effect a reduction in your dress bill. Give half what you so save to the League of Nations Union. The League may not be able to prevent another war; but, with proper backing, it has a sporting chance—and you will have 'done your bit.'" The advice is admirable. Even if the donation amounted to only 25 per cent. instead of 50 per cent., the Union would no doubt be well content.

Temptations Abroad

A REPLY given by Sir Austen Chamberlain in the House of Commons revealed the interesting fact that the Government has just begun to keep a separate record of applications for passports by women and girls intending to take up theatrical engagements abroad. This is clearly the result of discussions arising out of the League of Nations Report on the Traffic in Women and Children, which showed decisively how serious were the temptations to which girls following this particular profession abroad might be subjected. Satisfactory as it is, however, that the Government should thus be taking every possible measure for the protection of girls leaving the country, it should not be inferred from this that English girls abroad do frequently sink into undesirable surroundings. The evidence is quite to the contrary, partly no doubt as a result of the existence of a professional organisation (the Variety Artistes' Federation) well informed as to conditions in different foreign countries, which does all in its power to dissuade women members of the profession from taking engagements in certain centres which have figured discreditably in the League's Report.

The British Navy

OPINION among different schools of equally loyal supporters of the League of Nations will, no doubt, always continue to be to some extent divided on the question of how far this country should go in the direction of disarmament. As has been pointed out more than once in HEADWAY, there always have been, and no doubt always will be, two types of temperament—the one naturally prejudiced in favour of speed, the other naturally prejudiced in favour of caution. An article appearing on another page in this issue represents the point of view of some who feel that not sufficient prominence has been given to the extent to which Great Britain has already reduced her armaments. It is certainly important that these considerations should be given proper emphasis. At the same time there are, no doubt, other aspects of the question equally relevant, and the article must not be taken as representing necessarily the editorial views of HEADWAY.

Rotarian Allies

SIR DONALD MACLEAN has just returned from the United States after fulfilling an invitation to address the International Convention of Rotarians, held at Minneapolis, at the end of June. He found 12,000 Rotarians of different countries assembled to listen to his address, which

was devoted to the question of world peace and the means of maintaining it. When Sir Donald expressed the opinion that the point had been reached when war between Great Britain and the United States was morally outlawed and finally impossible, the whole audience rose to their feet and cheered for several minutes on end. The true soul of America is not revealed by the advocates of the Big Navy Bill but by the millions of men and women whose protests secured the Bill's defeat.

Under the Microscope

IT is rather a compliment to be studied in order to be copied. In that spirit the British League of Nations Union has recently welcomed a delegation representing various Danish League of Nations Societies, anxious to discover how organised educational work (or, as some would call it, propaganda) in the interests of the League is carried out in Great Britain. Every endeavour was made to satisfy this most laudable curiosity, and it so happened that the delegates were able to attend the half-yearly Council Meeting of the League of Nations Union at Matlock Bath and, thanks to a good deal of willing hospitality, they were entertained to lunch at the House of Commons by one M.P. and to tea by another, and various of them had the opportunity of visiting Manchester, Oxford and other industrial centres (or is it other intellectual centres?) and discovering how the work is done at the circumference as well as the centre.

An Appeal for Indulgence

IT is necessary that it should be widely known that Professor Gilbert Murray, yielding perhaps unduly to pressure from various quarters, has undertaken a very heavy programme of work in the coming winter. He is now Chairman of the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, a serious responsibility, involving considerable claims on his time. He is to deliver a series of six Halley-Stewart lectures on World Peace at the Memorial Hall in Farringdon Street, another series at Berlin and another series at Cambridge. All this, of course, is in addition to his regular work as Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford. It will, therefore, be quite out of the question for him to address ordinary meetings in addition till well into 1929, and both unnecessary correspondence and inevitable disappointment will be avoided if those localities which would have desired to secure him will refrain from asking him.

Saying It Simply

SCEPTICS sometimes ask whether the League of Nations is really doing anything worth while. All that need be said in answer to that is that the Serological Commission of its Health Organisation has just decided that the following remedies should be the subject of internationally recognised standardisation:—

1. Dioxydiamino-arsenobenzene dihydrochloride (syn. salvarsan, arspenamine, arsenobenzol, etc.);
 2. Dioxydiamino-arsenobenzene sulphonylate of sodium (syn. neosalvarsan, neoarsphenamine, novarsenobenzol, etc.); and
 3. Sulpharsphenamine (syn. sulfarsenol).
- What more could the most exacting critic demand?

KOKUSAI RENMEI

HOW THE LEAGUE IDEA IS SPREADING IN JAPAN

By Dr. INAZO NITOBE

Dr. Nitobe, who was Assistant Secretary-General of the League of Nations till the beginning of last year, is now engaged in University work in his native country

THE League of Nations Association of Japan is an active and efficient body for propagation of the principles and the spirit of the world organisation in Geneva. Thanks to its diligence, the name "Kokusai Renmei" (League of Nations) has now spread throughout the country; and if its achievements are not yet sufficiently known, every citizen of any education is familiar with its aims.



Dr. Nitobe

The Association has organs of its own—a respectable monthly called "International Knowledge," with a number of learned articles a little too stiff for the general public; and a smaller pamphlet-like periodical, also a monthly, bearing the title "The World and Ourselves." The latter is very popular, and finds its way into families and classrooms.

But a more efficacious means of League propaganda is the Press, with which the Association is in close and friendly touch. Both the Association and the Tokyo branch of the Geneva Secretariat are most diligent in supplying League items to the Press. The newspapers have almost every day something to say about the League, and it is strange—strange because it is apparently incompatible with the insularity of the race—that no columns of a daily paper are read with more avidity than those containing foreign information. From my own personal observation and experience abroad, extending for many years and in many lands, I can say, without fear of contradiction, that no people show keener interest in foreign news than do the Japanese.

Interest in Europe

By foreign news I mean not only information about our neighbour China, but about Europe and America as well. In fact, except in times of special excitement, as at present, Asia draws less of our attention than the West. I must frankly add, however, that this interest is not always deep or intelligent. Newspaper readers—and here let me note that our largest dailies, the *Asahi* and the *Mainichi*, have each a circulation of 1,500,000—are not studious in resorting to encyclopedias and reference books, but the papers themselves very often take pains to elucidate passing events with schoolbook-like explanation. The Press is certainly the most vital factor in popular education, and our Press has always shown a correct and respectful attitude as regards the League.

A fortnight ago was held the annual meeting of the League Association, where, after the usual routine business was disposed of, Viscount Ishii gave an address. It was a masterful account of his experience in seven Assemblies and forty Council meetings. We who have known him long never thought of him as a public orator, but he spoke "out of the abundance of his heart," and aroused fresh interest in, and admiration for, the League. To his further credit let it be remarked that after his return home last spring he gave up a long, distinguished diplomatic career, and declined offers of office and honour, in order to devote himself to popular education concerning the League. There is something

elevating in the conception of this world organisation. I thought at first that it was only idealistic minds that would espouse its cause, but is it not true that so-called practical men, men of affairs, get enthused over it? Hymans, Chamberlain, Briand, de Jouvenel—all men pursuing no visionary ends—have, I am convinced, become ardent supporters of the League.

Official Support

It is worthy of notice that last winter at the opening of the Japanese Diet, the Premier, who was holding the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, began his speech by referring to the League of Nations. This, of course, brought the League into prominence, making half-hearted supporters in the two Houses wonder at the growing importance of the institution. It was a great pity that the Diet was dissolved and the new budget failed to be adopted, for in that budget was included a pretty large sum as an addition to the subsidy to the League of Nations Association. This sum was budgeted on the initiative of the Government, and when one is told that most of the officials of the Association are reputed to be opponents of the Ministry in office, the fact comes into clearer relief that the League issue stands above party politics and is upheld by all parties.

The League presents so many aspects that it attracts varied types of people. In going about the country speaking on the League, I have everywhere found large audiences awaiting me. These are oftenest composed of men, but frequently both sexes are present, and our women are intelligent listeners. A month ago I addressed a college for girls, and so enthusiastic was their response that they all—some 750 in number—forthwith started a branch association. I am reminded anew of the saying of a school teacher: "You can never talk a Japanese out of nationalism, but you can easily talk him into internationalism."

All for the League

One more encouraging indication of the spread of League of Nations ideals. Only last week there met for the first time an inter-religions conference of Japan. Nearly fifteen hundred people, representing the three principal religions of the country, attended the four days' session. Divergent as are their views on many fundamental questions of life, and opposed as are their doctrines on many themes, they were unanimous in their attitude towards the League. There was no questioning of its principles or its efficacy. With united applause were the resolutions passed approving of national participation in it, and recommending the Government to work in unison with it.

It was feared that the American Outlawry of War proposal might diminish the prestige of the League in the eyes of our people. Such an opinion was expressed here and there, but on the whole it has effected a strengthening of confidence in the League's position. Throughout the discussion of this proposal the League was naturally referred to, and, as Japan accepts it with the reservation that it should not conflict with the duties which she has imposed upon herself under the Covenant of the League, individuals who had looked upon the League of Nations as an important concern now saw in what high respect it is held by the Government.

Thus, for many reasons, the League of late has been conspicuously to the fore in this part of the world.

THE WORLD'S SCHOOL LIFE

I.—HOW THE ENGLISH BOY AND GIRL GET TAUGHT

BY ROBERT JONES, D.Sc.

THE bulk of the English people receives its education in the elementary or primary schools, from the age of about three years to the age of 14 years. The earlier years are passed in an infants' school or department, boys and girls together under women teachers. Kindergarten, Montessori methods, dancing, games, many forms of handwork and artwork make up the "curriculum," but there are wide differences between school and school, district and district.

School hours are from 9 to 12, 2 to 4 (infants). There are two "play" intervals of a quarter of an hour each, morning and afternoon, but a great deal of the school day, especially for the younger children, is spent in what to the children is "play." In the infants' schools a great deal of self-expressive and simple creative work is done, in drawing, painting, paper cutting, and so forth. It is a fault in the general scheme that much of this is dropped when the child, at the age of seven to eight years, goes to the boys' or girls' school. Handicraft for the boys, for example, sometimes does not begin until about the age of 11 years, and the

The infants', "elementary" (eight to 14 years) junior, senior and central schools form together the primary or elementary system, the national system under which the greater part of the nation receives its education. For all these schools, the school-days and holidays are pretty much the same. School is open for five days in the week, closed on Saturdays and Sundays, closed usually for about a month in the summer, a fortnight at Christmas, a week at Easter, and for a day or a couple of days at various times in the year—about two months, in all, out of the twelve.

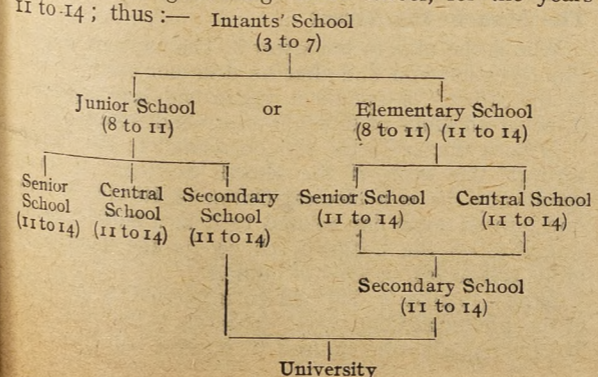
The morning school usually begins with prayers and a Bible lesson, or religious lesson, of thirty to forty minutes. But the system is a double one. Most of the primary schools are State schools, managed by the elected council of the county or town. In many cases, however, the school buildings are the property of a private organisation, usually a religious one. The expenses of these "non-provided" schools are chiefly met by the State and the local authority; but the owning organisation has to keep the school buildings in repair, and the



The Art Class, Bermondsey Central School

"creative" efforts of the infants' school are largely abandoned for what to the child is a more academic course.

The age of 11 years forms the next break. Most of the primary schools carry on the children's education from the age of seven to eight years to the age of 14 years, the legal limit for compulsory education. But at 11 years, a few children, by scholarships, go to secondary schools. Others, in many districts, pass to the central schools. By a further change now being developed, the remaining children, at the age of 11 years, may all be moved to a neighbouring senior school, for the years 11 to 14; thus:—



control of the school is for secular subjects subject to the local authority.

The curriculum invariably includes English (reading, handwriting, prose composition), arithmetic, history, geography, singing, physical exercises and games, drawing (pencil, crayon, brush, or all three), some needlework, cookery, housewifery for the girls, and usually woodwork for the boys. These last are more characteristic of the upper part of the general elementary school, and of the senior school. Foreign languages are not usually taught in the primary schools, except in the central schools, a development from the primary system of the last eighteen years.

Central schools vary in different parts of the country. Broadly, they are of two kinds, selective, as in London (which has nearly seventy central schools), or non-selective, in which case all the children of a certain area go to a central school at the age of 11 years.

The central-school curriculum usually has a vocational "bias," technical or commercial, or, in the case of a large central school, both. The ordinary primary curriculum is carried on and developed. Arithmetic becomes mathematics, and this is carried on, in some central schools, to a training of integral calculus methods (boys of 14 to 15 years). French (or, less often, German) is taken throughout the four-year course. There is

usually an art room, a science room, a handicraft room (woodwork always, metalwork often, and other handicraft). For the commercial training there is, in the third and fourth year of the course, book-keeping, shorthand, typewriting. On the technical side, practical mathematics, surveying and measuring, mechanical and architectural draughtsmanship and builders' perspective are taught. Some schools develop leatherwork, bookbinding and other crafts.

The central school is non-classical. Latin and Greek do not appear in the curriculum. The hours and holidays are practically those of the primary schools generally, for the central school ranks as a primary and not as a secondary school. Like other primary schools, it is free, and attendance is legally compulsory to the age of 14 years, voluntary to the age of 16 years.

The percentage of primary school children who pass to the secondary system is, for all England, about 8½. For all London it is 6½. There are wide variations. Thus, in Bradford (Yorkshire), over 20 per cent., and in Halifax nearly 20 per cent. of the primary school children pass (mainly through scholarships and grants) to the secondary schools. Out of every thousand in the primary schools about three (London) or three and a quarter (all England) pass through the secondary schools to a university.

Classes in the primary schools are usually 40 to 50 in number, in the central schools 40 or less. Usually boys and girls are taught separately after the age of eight years, but there are many "mixed" schools of both sexes, especially in the north of England. There is legal provision for the medical inspection, and, where

necessary, the provision of meals for the primary school children, and of late years this has improved in efficiency.

Swimming is taught in a large number of schools. School football teams are common in the boys' schools, cricket teams not so common. Swimming is taught in an increasing number of girls' schools. The usual winter game for girls is netball.

The English primary (elementary) school system dates from 1870. It has developed rapidly, and is ripe for a still greater development. This was apparently begun by the Education Act of 1918, but was checked by the reaction of 1920, which is still effective in slowing down the rate of progress.

Children of well-to-do parents, however, do not enter the primary schools. Parallel with the national system, there is a series of schools, some of them with funds and bequests of their own, through which children may pass to the secondary or public schools and the university. The double series runs in this fashion:—

I. Primary—Secondary—University.

II. Preparatory School—Secondary or Public School—University.

The public school is not "public" in the ordinary meaning of that word. It is not under the control of a public body. Its fees are too high for any but rather well-to-do parents to pay. The distinction, therefore, is as much social as educational, or more so. The public school offers a hall-mark (quite apart from educational efficiency) which is very valuable for entrance into many posts of importance in status, dignity or promise of high pay.

CENTRE AND CIRCUMFERENCE WHAT THE LEAGUE MEANS FOR YOU AND ME

By PROF. ALFRED ZIMMERN

PEOPLE who are enthusiasts for international understanding and interested in the work of the League are sometimes perplexed, and even discouraged, by the feeling that the League can never mean very much to them because Geneva is such a very long way off. This feeling was put to me the other day very eloquently by one who is connected with League of Nations work in Japan; and if the journey from Japan to Geneva is longer than that from England to Geneva, Geneva still remains equally far off from both countries, at least for those for whom even the shorter journey is too expensive.



Prof. Zimmermann

Thus the question—What does the League mean for me, for the man or woman in the street?—is a very insistent one, for Europeans quite as much as for Japanese. Or, as I would rather put it, What does the League mean to the individual at the circumference? How is a well-wisher at a distance to be related to the centre?

How to Keep in Touch

The question thus raised is not peculiar to the League. It is, in fact, the root difficulty of modern democracy. Once let the unit of government outgrow the small scale of ancient times and you are faced with the problem of how the individual citizen or voter is to be kept in

touch with the Government for which he has a responsibility.

Since the League represents the largest unit of common political activity which the world has yet evolved, it might be expected that the problem of its relations with the ordinary man and woman would be especially acute.

As a matter of fact, the reverse is the case. Just because of the very size and variety of the area and interests that it represents, the League has been compelled to face this problem, which has too often been neglected in individual States. Because it is the centre of a very big circle, it has found it necessary to draw a very large number of lines of contact between the centre and the circumference. Seen in diagram, the League is little more than a mass of *radii*. This is easily shown by an enumeration of the work of its technical organisations. But as catalogues make dull reading it is perhaps better to make the point clear by a few concrete instances.

The Man in the Street

Who is the man in the street? The moment you ask that question you find that he does not exist. "Man in the street" is simply a vague and lazy expression to cover all kinds of different men—and women also.

Is he a doctor? He will be related to the League through the work of the Health Section. If, more specifically, he is a Medical Officer of Health, he may find himself some day related to it in a more personal way through the League's scheme for the interchange of his colleagues, or even of himself.

Is he a banker? He will be interested in the work of the Financial Committee. The tale is told of a Wall Street magnate who refused to interest himself in the

A HINT TO INVESTORS

THE statement made by M. Poincaré in the French Chamber that the loan Rumania was endeavouring to raise would not be carried through except after consultation with the League of Nations lends special interest to a leading article which appeared in the *Financial Times* of July 10, in regard to a study on "The Investor and League Loans," published by the Foreign Policy Association of America. The general conclusion of this study, carried out by a well-known United States economist, Dr. Max Winkler, is that the loans raised with the assistance and advice of the League have been consistently more profitable to the investor than most of those concluded independently. The point, which has more than once been made in HEADWAY, is worth repeating, and particularly when it has such valuable independent authority behind it.

What Dr. Winkler says in brief (translating his dollar figures into pounds sterling) is that "if the investor had purchased one £100 bond of every League loan that has thus far been sold he would, in addition to receiving a very liberal return on his investment, averaging 7.79 per cent., have an appreciation in his principal amounting to £12 6s. 4d. per bond." These figures are not strictly accurate, for Dr. Winkler has included in his list the German loan, on the ground that it is modelled on League principles, though not actually issued under the auspices of the League. As the appreciation in this case is considerable, the average without the German loan would show a slightly less marked increase in values.

The *Financial Times*, commenting on Dr. Winkler's study, observes in a leading article:—

"Because of success in giving good advice and getting it implemented, thanks to freedom from prejudice of any kind, the League of Nations' sanction to a loan carries great weight in investment circles. Notification of its approval carries the conviction that the position has been investigated thoroughly, that monetary affairs have been straightened out—with independent oversight when necessary—that proper measures have been adopted for the collection of revenue and the balancing of budgets, and that the country to be benefited by borrowing is worthy in all respects of the credit it seeks. Confidence in the pronouncements of the League attracts widespread support from investors in many countries and enables easier terms to be accorded than otherwise could be obtained. All the loans issued under the auspices of the League have been successes, and others doubtless will follow as needs arise and the necessary guarantees of safety can be given."

There was printed in last month's HEADWAY a series of extracts from a long article in the *Midland Bank Review* on the solid financial value of the League's reconstruction work. This corroboration from another expert quarter is notable. The loans in question are the Austrian, Hungarian, Danzig (two), Greek (two), Estonian and Bulgarian.

COMING EVENTS

AUGUST 4-10.—Geneva Institute of International Relations. First Session (Elementary).

AUGUST 11-17.—Geneva Institute of International Relations. Second Session.

AUGUST 30.—Fifty-first Session of League of Nations Council, Geneva.

SEPTEMBER 3.—Ninth Assembly of the League, Geneva.

OCTOBER 8-14.—Forty-first Session of the Governing Body of the I.L.O., Warsaw.

League because he was "too busy with the Austrian relief scheme"! This was some years ago, and the relations between the League and the banking world are now more familiar.

Is he a trade unionist? He will be interested in the work of the International Labour Office and of the Economic Committee. It was a British trade unionist, Mr. Pugh, who moved a resolution at the World Economic Conference on the relation between Economic Policies and Peace which is going to form the subject of special study in the Economic Section of the League during the coming year.

Is he, or rather she, a woman? She is likely to be specially interested in the work of the Child Welfare Committee, and, indeed, in the work of the Social Welfare Section as a whole.

Something for Everyone

These examples illustrate what is meant when the League is described as an "organisation of international co-operation." It is an agency which promotes the co-operation of all sorts of people for all sorts of purposes, giving to each the form of co-operation for which he or she is specially fitted.

The Assembly of 1926 passed a resolution recommending that the younger generation should be taught "to regard co-operation as the normal mode of conducting the world's affairs." The day-by-day work of the League is a striking object lesson in such co-operation. And experience has shown that it is actually easier to co-operate on the all-inclusive basis of the League than on a more restricted scale. One might have expected that the more people assembled round the table the harder it would be for them to agree. In practice it has not worked out that way, and for a very sound psychological reason. At an all-inclusive international gathering, where a great variety of interests are represented, things fall naturally into a right perspective. The big things stand out as large common interests; the petty things, whether interests or personalities, are put in their right place, sometimes they fall even to raise their heads. That is why the "general sense" of an international gathering is so often more effective for getting business done than that of a more limited and more apparently homogeneous meeting.

The Wood and the Trees

People often complain that in the modern complex and over-specialised world there is a danger of our "not seeing the wood for the trees." The League has corrected this tendency. But it has done so, not by causing us to forget the trees and to fix our attention on an abstract metaphysical forest, but by sorting out the trees into their separate kinds and making us realise their multiplicity in unity.

Thus there is no one in the community, however ignorant or humble, or however specialised and abstruse in his particular work, who is not related to the League through some element in his personal life. In this, indeed, the League is only carrying forward and developing one of the finest elements in the democratic tradition—namely, that the true relationship between the individual and his political community is not simply one of passive obedience or of an occasional vote, but consists also in a regular and sustained contribution of personal service according to his or her special ability.

Looked at in this light, the League is not a distant piece of machinery situated at Geneva, but an ever-present element and stimulus in the lives of the citizens of the Member States.

The *Asiatic Review* for July begins a series of articles showing the importance of the League of Nations to Asia and of Asia to the League. Its first article is by Dr. Norman White, of the League's Health Organisation, formerly an official in the Indian Medical Service.

AMERICA AND EUROPE POLICIES OF THE TWO RIVAL PARTIES

THE declarations made by the two great American political parties at the beginning of the campaign for the November Presidential election are of great importance to this and other countries so far as they deal with America's foreign policy, for they indicate the lines the United States will follow according as to whether the Republican or Democratic Party is returned to power. It is, therefore, worth while summarising here the principal references to foreign affairs in the party manifestoes of the Republicans, whose candidate is Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, and the Democrats, who have adopted Mr. Alfred C. Smith, Governor of New York State.

The Republicans naturally support the foreign policy of their Republican President, Mr. Coolidge, and in particular endorse the proposal for a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy and the pacific settlement of international disputes. The manifesto gets as best it can round an awkward corner by declaring that "the U.S.A. has a special interest in the advancement of all Latin-American countries. The policy of the Republican Party will always be a policy of thorough friendship and co-operation. In the case of Nicaragua we are engaged in co-operating with the Government of that country in the task of assisting to restore and maintain peace and in no way infringe upon her sovereign rights."

In regard to the wider aspect of foreign policy, it is remarked that "the Republican Party maintains the traditional American policy of non-interference in the political affairs of other nations. This Government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the Covenant of the League. In accordance, however, with the long-established American practice of giving aid and assistance to other peoples, we have most usefully assisted by co-operation in the humanitarian and technical work undertaken by the League, without involving ourselves in European politics by accepting membership."

The Democrats, naturally, are more critical of recent American policy. They stand for the outlawry of war and declare their abhorrence of militarism, conquest and imperialism. They adopt the traditional American policy of "freedom from entangling political alliances with foreign nations." They advocate non-interference in Latin-America. Then follows a series of rather vague principles by which the party, if returned to power, will apparently be guided:—

(a) "Rescue of our country from its present impaired world-standing and restoration of its former position as a leader in the movement for international arbitration, conciliation, confidence and limitation of armaments by international agreement."

(b) International agreement for reduction of all armaments and the end of competitive war preparations, and in the meantime the maintenance of an army and navy adequate for national defence.

(c) Full, free and open co-operation with all other nations for the promotion of peace and justice throughout the world.

In regard to armaments the Democrats are emphatic. "We condemn the Republican administration," they declare, "for lack of efficiency and statesmanship in negotiating the 1921 treaty for the limitation of armaments, which limited only the construction of battleships and ships of over 10,000 tons. Merely a gesture toward peace, it accomplished no limitation of armaments because it simply resulted in the destruction of our battleships and the blue-prints of battleships of other nations. It placed no limitation upon construction of aircraft, submarines, cruisers, warships under 10,000 tons, poisonous gases or other weapons of destruction. . . . The attempt of the President to remedy the failure of 1921 by the Geneva Conference of 1928 was characterised by the same lack of statesmanship and efficiency and resulted in entire failure. . . ."

It is admittedly not too easy to discover from these rival declarations what the future policy of the Republican and Democratic Parties in foreign affairs would be—but possibly the last thing the party leaders desired was that that should be easy.

ACCEPTING THE PACT

THE third week in July brought a sudden crop of announcements regarding willingness to sign the proposed Kellogg Treaty for the renunciation of war. The German, French, Italian, British and Japanese Governments—that is to say, all those to whom the original invitation was addressed—declared, successively in that order, their readiness to sign the document as soon as the United States should so decide.

Two of the Notes, the French and British, contained passages which may be described as informal reservations, not having the same legal validity as the articles of the Treaty itself but explaining how the respective countries would interpret the Treaty if a case under it arose. M. Briand emphasised the inalienable right of self-defence and the principle that a nation can judge for itself whether a case for self-defence has arisen.

Sir Austen Chamberlain's communication contained two passages which should be quoted in full. They run as follows:

"As regards the passage in my Note of May 19 relating to certain regions of which the welfare and integrity constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety, I need only repeat that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accept the new treaty upon the understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect.

"I am entirely in accord with the views expressed by Mr. Kellogg in his speech of April 28 that the proposed treaty does not restrict or impair in any way the right of self-defence, as also with his opinion that each State alone is competent to decide when circumstances necessitate recourse to war for that purpose."

As regards the former of the two paragraphs, it is generally assumed that the region principally in mind is Egypt but that certain parts of Asia also fall into this category. The second passage, regarding the competence of States to decide for themselves when war in self-defence is necessary, must be read in the light of the provisions of the League Covenant which lay on the League Council the responsibility of deciding whether war claimed to be in self-defence is justifiable or not.

AN UNKNOWN MARTYR THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF CHENG LI

[Cheng Li aged twenty-six, a native of Ning-hsiang, in the province of Hunan, was a student in the Forestry School of South-Eastern University, Nanking, at the time when the Northerners were still in command of that city. He was General Secretary of the S.E. Division of the Nanking Kuomintang, and was arrested and killed just before the Southerners took the town. His friend, Chang Chu, buried him, and received from a soldier, named Ching, two copies of this will, written in prison before death. The document, as translated below, reveals something of the mind of the modern Chinese student, who, interrupted in the small affairs of college life and friendships, meets death without repining in his enthusiasm for "the Cause."]

My Last Words to My Comrades

MY honourable comrades, I die to-day for my cause and my country, deserving no merit or praise of men. To call me a hero and hold a memorial service for me would put me to shame, for "the Revolution is not yet accomplished. Let my comrades work with all their strength, let them strain every nerve." (The quotation is the concluding sentence of the will of Sun Yat Sen, chanted by all loyal members of the Party on Monday mornings as they bow three times before the portrait of "the Father of his people.")

My Last Words to My Friends

1. The hour appointed for my death has come. I beg Yuen Chieh and other friends whose names I cannot enumerate here, as they are sons and husbands, to comfort my father and my wife in their grief.

2. The trust deeds for the Nanking University Farm are in my foreign leather suitcase. Please give them to Mr. Hwang. I owe Hsai Chung five dollars, and several other small debts stand in my accounts; will my father please pay them for me?

3. Wang Chio entrusted to me the settling of his bills. I pawned his fur coat for fourteen dollars, forty cents; the tickets are in my leather case.

4. Li Yin owes the science accounts ten dollars. Six dollars of this please pay to the compradore for coal and food.

5. On our journey home last year, Li Tsao borrowed from me five dollars. This I owed to Han Tsang on last year's accounts.

6. Will Kung Yang please return the books that I borrowed from the College Library?

7. My books I leave to my sister, San Mei.

8. My microscope and slides I give to my adopted sister, Yuin Chang, that she may remember me. At the same time, I beg her to strive to comfort my beloved wife.

9. I give the fur coat I am now wearing to my wife to make a long robe to wear in memory of me.

10. Do not bury my corpse, but send it to the Po Hsi Hospital, to my friend, Dr. Li. I ask this for two reasons: First, because it will then be used to further the cause of science; and, secondly, because I am an unworthy son, and dare not hope to meet again my father and my mother or my wife.

11. If my friend Tung Seng can be betrothed to my wife's sister, that would be a comfort; on the one hand, his sons could take the place of my sons in carrying on the worship of the ancestors; and on the other, I should feel happier on behalf of my mother-in-law. But marriage should not be forced, for a thousand reasons it should be entirely free, so if you do not wish it, by no means do it to please me. I will say no more about it. Pay no attention to my words, but do as you think best.

My Last Words to Chang Chu

1. Yesterday I sent you a book. I do not know if you received it.

2. In this place, the Governor and the official in charge of the gate, and also a soldier called Ching, have treated me very well. After my death please seek out these three officials and thank them for me and reward them.

3. Please collect all my books and possessions at your house and keep them for me.

4. In my leather case are the pawn tickets for Tsong Yuin. In the outside right-hand corner of the case is a purse with ten dollars in it. Eight dollars of this is the money for pawning his things, two dollars are mine. The ten dollars were meant to pay the science society, but now please find a way to pay the money back to Tsong Yuin. As a private individual, I have a bill belonging to Chang Han, but do not pay it; only ask him after my death to comfort my father and my wife.

My Last Words to My Family

Honoured Father, I cannot speak for pain over this matter. After my death, I pray you, do not adopt a son to raise up descendants for me, lest when he is grown he bring further trouble to my wife, So Yu. Instead of this, give the family money to found a scholarship after your death, at Hunan University, or here at South-Eastern University, so that two students, one boy and one girl, can study forestry in my place, and thus complete my broken course.

So Yu, my loved one, my beloved five-years wife, we have lived together so few months, and now are parted for ever. I have no words to tell my grief. Hereafter comfort my father and your mother, and see much of Chang, my sister, for she can be instead of me. After a hundred years, it may be that we two can meet and marry in the halls of heaven.

These are the last words of Cheng Li, written in prison at Nanking on the seventeenth day of the third month of the sixteenth year of the Republic.

LEAGUE LITERATURE

THE latest batch of publications received from the League of Nations includes the Report of the Committee on Arbitration and Security (which only ended its sittings on July 4), the Report of this year's meeting of the Economic Consultative Committee (particularly valuable as constituting a survey of the economic condition of the twelve months after last year's Economic Conference), and the International Statistical Year Book. This latter may well be considered an unusually arid document. As a matter of fact, it is full of points of interest, and containing as it does figures on the production and trade of the world in a vast variety of substances (for example, tea, hops, copra, pig iron, raw cotton spinning spindles), provides the indispensable data on which any argument basing itself on facts must rest. All the documents can be obtained from Messrs. Constable, 12, Orange Street, W.C.2.

MINISTERS AND UNION

A DISCUSSION ON BRITAIN'S LEAGUE POLICY

FROM time to time the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union is given the opportunity of exchanging views with the principal members of the Government of the day. In accordance with that salutary practice the Executive spent about an hour and a half with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary one afternoon at the end of June. The Executive expressed its views and the Government spokesmen expressed theirs, and both sides parted with a quite sincere assurance to one another that the time together had been well spent from all points of view.

The conversation ran in two distinct channels. The Prime Minister discussed complaints that reached him from time to time as to the alleged adoption of a partisan attitude by the Union, and the Foreign Secretary talked frankly of various aspects of foreign policy.

Mr. Baldwin showed himself perfectly tolerant. He mentioned letters of complaint he had received and said he had met them by inducing some of the younger and more active Conservatives to throw themselves into the work of the Union. Professor Gilbert Murray said he received complaints from both sides. The Prime Minister observed that he was glad someone else than himself had got complaints too. Lord Cecil remarked that one difficulty was that Conservatives tended to take no prominent part in the work of the Union. Mr. Baldwin said he was doing his best to rectify that, and Professor Murray acknowledged the help thus given. As to occasional indiscretions they were admitted, being, as Professor Murray conceded, almost inevitable when as many as ten meetings a night were being held on an average under the Union's auspices throughout the year.

Closing the Gap

In regard to Great Britain's League policy, the Union speakers wanted the signature of the Optional Clause, the "closing of the gap in the Covenant" and a more vigorous and enterprising lead in the matter of disarmament. In response to those views, expressed primarily by Professor Murray and Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain stated his position again as he has stated it many times before. He declared himself a profound believer in the League and in the results it might achieve by concentrating public opinion on a particular question. He had, he said, done his utmost to bring Germany into the League, and at Locarno he had co-operated in stabilising peace over a particularly dangerous area. He remains as much opposed to paper agreements designed to close the gap as he ever was, pinning all his faith to the public process of arbitration and conciliation. When he argued that within the League "a certain freedom" should be left, Professor Murray interposed pertinently: "Do you say freedom to make war?" to which the Foreign Minister replied that at any rate delay would be imposed and he himself was confident that conciliation would be as valuable as any paper obligations supported by paper sanctions.

The Optional Clause

Then came a little argument about the Optional Clause. Sir Austen emphasised once more the peculiar position of the British Empire in the League, one entity within another entity. If the Optional Clause were signed by Great Britain it would have to be signed with reservations. That, put in Professor Murray, was generally accepted. Yes, replied Sir Austen, but reservations by this country might mean reservations by other countries, very likely so numerous as to destroy the whole effect of the acceptance of the Clause. At the same time the Foreign Secretary very carefully qualified

his refusal to sign. Replying to a remark by Lord Cecil he recalled a speech in which he said that he was not pretending to speak for all time and that it was only "in present conditions" that His Majesty's Government was averse to signing. He thought it was quite consistent to say that for ourselves but at the same time to encourage other nations, not faced with our difficulties, to go forward and sign if they believed it beneficial to do so.

Other lesser matters that came up were the Kellogg Treaty (less, only, of course, in the sense that less was said about it on this occasion) and the Arms Traffic Convention. Regarding the latter Sir Austen promised to consider whether something could not be done in the Assembly to stimulate other nations to ratify. He still maintained it was unreasonable for Great Britain to take that step until other countries which manufacture and export armaments were prepared to do the same, and so put all armament firms in different countries on the same footing.

SELECT AND ELECT

IN a democratic country the views of Members of Parliament on such a question as the League of Nations are manifestly of capital importance. A British Government—any kind of Government, Conservative, Labour, Liberal—whatever its own views about the League, will inevitably be more constant and persistent in its efforts at Geneva if it knows that the whole House of Commons is pushing it in that direction, than if it knows that half the House is lukewarm or indifferent.

That establishes point number one, namely, that it is extremely important that there should be elected to the House of Commons men and women known to be convinced believers in the League of Nations. How is that to be achieved? It is easy enough to call on the electors to vote only for candidates pledged to support the League. But that, unfortunately, lands us full into the controversy of party politics. Is an elector to vote against the candidate of his own party, whose policy he approves in all other matters, just because that candidate has not given satisfactory answers about the League? To say merely "Yes" to that question is to stir up unnecessary trouble, for a party organisation cannot be expected to feel kindly towards advisers who urge members of that party to vote against the party candidate on the grounds of his views on one single issue.

Fortunately that difficulty can be avoided simply enough—which brings us to point number two. To urge a Conservative to vote for a Liberal or a Liberal to vote for a Conservative may be difficult, but it is perfectly reasonable and altogether desirable to urge Conservatives in choosing Conservative candidates, Liberals in choosing Liberal candidates, Labour men in choosing Labour candidates, to select always as their nominee a man (or woman) who is sound in support of the League. That raises no party issues, and if the policy is carried out successfully it will mean inevitably that all elected members are supporters of the League, for no party will put forward a candidate who does not pass that test.

The difference is between selection and election, a matter only of one letter, but an important matter none the less. To insist on the *election* only of League supporters may often mean asking for trouble. To insist on their *selection*—within the party, at an earlier stage—threatens no trouble at all and promises even more valuable results.



HEADWAY

AUGUST

1928

AFTER THE PACT

THE definite announcement that Great Britain and all the Dominions are prepared to sign the American Treaty for the renunciation of war in its original form appears to remove any doubt as to the final adoption of that instrument by all parties.

There are, it is true, certain informal reservations in the shape of "interpretations" placed on the Pact by different countries, notably Great Britain and France. What these mean is that if either of those countries found itself involved in a war which might be held to be forbidden by the actual text of the Treaty but would be permitted by the terms of the reservation letter, participation in such a war would not be regarded as a breach of pledge.

The chief British reservation is to the effect that there are certain regions in the world where Great Britain would feel it necessary to fight to repel an attack, even if it were not an attack on her own territory. The chief French reservations aim at preserving France's freedom of action under the Locarno Treaties, the League Covenant and various Treaties of Alliance between herself and other continental states.

All these "interpretations" are tacitly acquiesced in by the United States, though they leave the door pretty wide open for war. But the spirit of this treaty means more than the letter. What the signatories agree broadly is that in all ordinary circumstances war for the settlement of disputes between States is to be ruled out decisively and finally.

The Treaty in some ways goes farther than the League Covenant, and in other ways not as far. It goes farther in that it includes the United States and in that it absolutely precludes war as an instrument of policy, whereas the Covenant admits this in certain circumstances. It goes less far in that in the first instance at any rate it affects a smaller number of States and—which is much more important—merely refers indefinitely to the pacific settlement of international disputes, whereas the Covenant creates a practical and, in the main, an effective machinery for settling them.

Certain points still remain to be cleared up. Both Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand, for example, seize with satisfaction on a speech made by Mr. Kellogg in April, in which he conceded that the right to war in self-defence is left unimpaired, and that "each State alone is competent to decide when circumstances necessitate recourse to war for that purpose." If the Kellogg Treaty is to be interpreted in that sense that is another example in which it is less satisfactory than the League Covenant, for while the League has always admitted the right of self-defence it would be fatal to regard an individual State as acting legitimately merely because it claimed that it was only defending itself. There fortunately exists an international body, to wit the League Council, capable of giving an authoritative judgment as to whether a war alleged to be in self-defence is in fact legitimate or not.

But let us leave these secondary, though by no means unimportant, issues and consider the prospect opened before the world by the signature of the Kellogg Pact, not merely by the Six Great Powers it originally concerned, but by virtually all the States of the world, including, it must be hoped, Russia. Is that general signature to have any visible effect on national and international policies? If it is not, the Treaty is obviously a mere hollow sham. If it is, the nature of the effect is worth examining.

War is to be definitely ruled out, apart from certain completely exceptional circumstances, and even those would never arise except as a result of a violation of the Pact, providing it is universally signed. There can, therefore, be no use of threats of war as a means of prevailing on small States to conform to the will of the greater Powers. That in itself will be an advance in the standards of international conduct. But equally there can be no contemplation of war as the ultimate instrument for the removal of admitted international grievances. No one will seriously regret that, for in 99 cases out of 100 the remedy is worse than the disease and may plunge in tragic disaster millions of people whom the disease never affects at all. To preserve war as a recognised instrument in order that it might be used in the remaining one case in a hundred, would be a policy as foolish as criminal, and as criminal as foolish.

But the difficulty, of course, remains. How are these admitted grievances to be dealt with? The force of public opinion, if deliberately mobilised and steadily directed on the particular grievances, may do something. Economic pressure may be recognised in some cases as a legitimate weapon where military pressure is not. This situation will need thoughtful study. All that need be said about it here is that it would be fatal to regard the "abolition of war" (to assume optimistically for the moment that its abolition is really in sight) as a guarantee that nothing that is in the world can be changed. The supersession of force must not mean a supersession of justice.

But the real test of the sincerity of the Governments that are signing the Kellogg Pact will be their willingness to reinforce words by actions and reduce drastically their armies and navies, which will manifestly no longer be needed if war as an institution is reduced to the point of virtual disappearance. There is no need to quibble about the existence in various regions of the globe of savage tribes to whom the Kellogg Treaty means nothing. No one denies the justice of proper precautions against attack from those quarters. But will the nations who have pledged themselves never to go to war with one another continue, none the less, to maintain armed forces in open preparation for war with one another? Or are we, on the other hand, to resolve decisively and once for all to pass from a competitive armaments stage into a purely police-armed stage?

The difference is not merely one of quantity, it is one of character and method. National military forces are maintained to protect national interests. Police forces exist in the interests of a world order set up by the nations in co-operation and represented broadly at the present moment by the principles embodied in the League of Nations Covenant. On the details of the organisation of anything like an international police force it would be premature to enter. The creation of such a force is not a matter of to-day or to-morrow. It can be left till one far more vital question has been settled. That is whether nations which sign the Pact are prepared to demonstrate in the most convincing of all possible ways that they place faith in the word of fellow-signatories who have undertaken never to go to war against them. If that happens in the next two years or three the Kellogg Pact will be abundantly vindicated. If it does not, all the hopes the Pact has inspired to-day will be largely illusion.

WEEKS AND MONTHS

THE fact that the House of Commons has unanimously accepted the principle of the fixation of Easter has, as indicated in the last issue of HEADWAY, given a new impetus to the activities of those who are pressing for a more extended reform in the shape of a new calendar. This proposal raises more than one question. It has to be decided first of all whether it is desirable to reform the calendar at all, and then if so, how. All the League of Nations is concerned with so far, and that rather indefinitely, is the first of the two questions.

The time has not yet come to decide what particular scheme of reform shall be adopted, but the advocates of change are arguing for the most part in favour of a particular form of change, namely, the adoption of a year of thirteen months of twenty-eight days each, plus one extra day or occasionally two, which would stand outside any full month and not interrupt the sequence of twenty-eight day periods. It would thus happen incidentally that the same day of the week would fall on the same day of the month and no month could contain more than four Sundays or four Mondays or four of any other days. One of the foremost advocates of the thirteen-month year is Mr. George Eastman, head of the Kodak Company, and one of its most active apostles is Mr. M. B. Cotsworth, who has been working in connection with the League of Nations Committee on the subject.

A good deal might, no doubt, be said both for and against the proposed change, but it cannot be dismissed as merely a fantastic suggestion without any practical value. It is pointed out in various memoranda prepared on the subject that the value of comparative statistical returns regarding, for example, rail traffic or docks or customs revenue, may be completely vitiated if, as is often the case, a month which happens to contain five Sundays in one year is compared with a corresponding month which happens to contain four in the next. Various other advantages are claimed for the proposal. Firms, for example, which render monthly accounts would get paid thirteen times in the year instead of twelve and so have lower outstanding liabilities on their books. (Whether the persons who paid the accounts would welcome the principle of enjoying that privilege thirteen times instead of twelve annually may be more open to doubt.) Anyhow, the evidence marshalled by the fixed calendar advocates is sufficiently impressive to suggest that the movement must be taken seriously.

A resolution in favour of the principle of reform was passed by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at its Conference at The Hague last month, and national committees to consider the question are being formed in most countries, including, in all probability, Great Britain. It is not a question on which violent preconceived views are to be encouraged. It is, however, worth exploring with an impartial mind and on the basis of the general principle that a change merely for the sake of change is disturbing and inadvisable.

SAMOA'S TROUBLES

AT its half-yearly meeting in March the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission had before it the difficult task of trying to discover what were the real facts about recent difficulties in Samoa, the general nature of which has been described in a recent issue of HEADWAY.

Western Samoa, it will be remembered, is a mandated territory, administered by New Zealand, and in the last few years strained relations have developed between the Administrator, Sir George Richardson,

and a section of the natives acting in co-operation with a number of white traders, headed by a Mr. O. F. Nelson, who is the son of a Swedish father and a native mother. As a result, Mr. Nelson was banished from Samoa for five years. He was present at Geneva during the sitting of the Commission, and, while he was not heard formally, he was able to establish personal contact with individual members of the Commission outside the Council room.

In this way any case Mr. Nelson considered he had was fully brought to the notice of the Commission, for some in particular of the members he interviewed are men whose fairness of judgment and capacity to weigh evidence are universally recognised. There may be certain cases when petitioners should be heard in person before the Commission, but it must not be assumed that when this does not happen (and in fact it never does happen) their case, therefore, goes by default.

Though the Commission's full report has not yet been issued, it has been made clear that the Commission in the main supports the Administrator. Instead, indeed, of criticising him for having acted with undue severity, it blames him only for not having taken strong enough action at an earlier date. It is generally claimed on behalf of the New Zealand Government that this trouble was largely stirred up by a certain number of discontented whites, who objected to the total prohibition régime established in the island, and also to certain action taken by the Administrator to protect the natives against exploitation by white dealers in copra (dried coco-nut kernel).

On the whole, therefore, New Zealand comes through it well. There is, however, to be a change of Commissioners, and in view of the relations which had grown up between Sir George Richardson and a section of the population, that is no doubt no bad thing. It may be noted that Mr. Nelson, who appealed to the Privy Council in London against the sentence of banishment passed on him, had his appeal dismissed without counsel for the New Zealand Government being called on at all.

Other mandate areas from which reports were received for discussion were Palestine, Syria, Tanganyika (all British), Togoland and Cameroons (French). From Palestine it was reported that relations between Jews and Arabs were on the whole improving, and from Syria that the situation was completely tranquil, elections for the Constituent Assembly there having been carried out in May without disturbance.

WHERE YOU ARE WELCOME

THE arrangements made last year for visitors to the International Labour Office at Geneva have been completed and extended for this summer. Under the auspices of the American Committee for the Geneva Institute of International Relations, special plans have been prepared for the reception of English-speaking visitors throughout the summer months, at any time during working hours. All visitors are invited to introduce themselves on their arrival to the representatives of the American Committee. A special room has been set aside containing not only popular descriptions of the work of the International Labour Office, with photographs, diagrams, lantern slides and other educational material, but also all the official publications of the Office. Explanations are given of the work of the Organisation, and facilities granted for seeing the building. Special permission has also been given by the Director of the Office through which students are directed to documentary sources, admitted to the library, or put into touch with the particular department of the Office dealing with any industrial or labour subject in which they are particularly interested.

NAVIES OF THE WORLD
GREAT BRITAIN AS LEADER IN REDUCTION

By Dr. F. A. SIBLY

THE greatness of the lead given by our Empire to the movement for the reduction of armaments is not fully recognised. As recently as 20 years ago, Mr. Asquith said at the Guildhall: "There is one conviction which the people of these islands hold with unshaken unanimity, that in the maintenance, unquestioned and unquestionable, of our command of the seas is to be found the best safeguard alike for our own interests as a nation and for the peaceful intercourse of mankind." These were the words not of a Conservative, but of a Liberal statesman. Up to the time that they were uttered it had been our settled policy to maintain a Navy equal in size to the combined strength of the next two strongest fleets. This we took to be the irreducible minimum of the naval strength needed to maintain our "unquestioned and unquestionable" command of the seas.

We have now not merely abandoned this position, but by the Washington Agreement, negotiated by a Conservative statesman, we have actually agreed to maintain a Navy of no greater battle strength than that of the United States alone. This complete abandonment by us of the two-power standard is a far greater lead in the direction of disarmament than is generally realised.

The U.S.A. Standard

The pacific intentions of the United States are unquestionable, and the Navy maintained by the States may be accepted as a reasonable standard by which to measure the strength which—since the disarmament of Germany and the establishment of the League of Nations—we ourselves might maintain without in the least throwing ourselves open to a charge either of bellicose intentions or of undue preponderance over other Great Powers. Meanwhile it is impossible to estimate our naval needs without being struck by the fact that they far exceed those of the United States. If we adopt as a basis for comparison either the populations of the two Empires or their areas or the extent of their coast lines, we might reasonably claim a naval strength at least three to four times that of the United States. There are, however, convincing reasons why our claim might far exceed this.

The United States are separated by thousands of miles of sea from any potential enemy, while the very heart of our Empire is in close proximity to the Empire's potential foes. The United States owns a compact territory, no part of which can be isolated from the rest by naval attack; meanwhile, our Empire is scattered all over the world. To equalise the needs of the United States with our own in this respect, we should need in imagination to separate the States into five large and many smaller sections. On one of these, in an acutely vulnerable position, we should keep both the seat of government and the commercial, military and naval headquarters. The other sections we should distribute over the surface of the globe at anything from 2,000 to 12,000 miles from the capital section itself and from one another.

Command of the Seas

Meanwhile, these important differences between the naval needs of the British Empire and of the United States are dwarfed into insignificance by one still more vital. The heart of our Empire is so dependent on seaborne supplies of food and raw material that if, in time of war, we lost command of the seas, even for a few

weeks, an enemy could dictate to us any terms he chose. Even if these involved the complete dismemberment of the Empire, loss of independence in each section, and a tribute which kept us all in perpetual servitude, we should be entirely impotent to reject them. What, meanwhile, would loss of command of the seas mean to the United States in case of war? Possessed as she is of more than all the food she needs, of vast and various mineral supplies and of abundant raw material for her factories, she could live in complete independence of the rest of the world, not merely for weeks, but if needful for years; moreover, unless the war were with the British Empire, she could import through Canada the few things which she does not herself produce.

It thus becomes evident that a claim to a Navy three to four times that of the United States might with perfect reason be doubled at least, if not indefinitely extended. That we have been willing to pledge ourselves to mere equality with the United States is proof alike of our complete trust in their pacific intentions and of our faith in the cause of peace. We have even been willing to risk in that cause the starvation and utter defeat from which, in the Great War, we were barely saved by a Navy far stronger than we now possess, combined with the Navies of the United States, France, Japan and Italy.

A Lead to the World

Without waiting for a general reduction of armaments, we have thus made a sacrifice in the cause of peace to which no other nation has of free choice even distantly approximated. We have set a great example of which we may be justly proud. Other nations have, so far, merely discussed reduction of armaments; actual reduction on a large scale, without the demand for a *quid pro quo*, has been made by the British Empire and by that alone. Our Army—in spite of our Empire's enormous population and extent and its unique contact with backward races—has for half a century been minute compared with the Armies of the Great Powers of Europe. It is, at the present time, less than one-tenth of the size which we found essential during the Great War. As regards our Navy, we have now spontaneously surrendered that "unquestioned and unquestionable command of the seas" which only twenty years ago "the people of these islands with unshaken unanimity" believed to be "the best safeguard for our interests as a nation and for the peaceful intercourse of mankind." Whether, in our own interests and those of humanity, we have been wise to abandon this safeguard may be questioned. What cannot be questioned is the fact that, in abandoning it we have given and are giving a magnificent lead to the other nations of the world.

No organisation in this country is doing such admirable work (incidentally no organisation has the financial wherewithal to do it) in the production of publications on League activities as the "World Peace Foundation" in the United States. The Foundation has just issued two books of considerable value, one a full summary of the work of the Permanent Court, 1922-28, from the well-qualified pen of Dr. Manley Hudson, and one a discussion, by Dr. Philip C. Jessup, of the problem of "American Neutrality and International Police." Both books are, or will be, obtainable from the League of Nations Union.

THE DRUG FIGHT OPIUM SMUGGLING STILL RAMPANT

THE League of Nations' fight against opium will be entering on a new phase between now and the end of this year, when a new body known as the Central Board is brought into being in accordance with the provisions of the Opium Convention of 1925. That could not be done sooner, because it was not till July that the Convention in question had been ratified by enough States to bring it into operation. When the Board does begin its work it may be hoped that a much closer and more constant check will be maintained on the international traffic in narcotic drugs. Meanwhile evidence continues to accumulate of the volume—in some respects unhappily the increasing volume—of the illicit traffic.

Our own country has a good record in this regard. The British Government's Report to the League for 1927 has just been issued. It mentions a certain number of unimportant cases of smuggling, as for example of a number of packets wrapped up like chewing-gum. But the law, so far as can be discovered, is administered in this country with sufficient stringency to keep smuggling down to a low level. At the same time it must be remembered that in most countries the amount of narcotics actually seized by the authorities is computed at about one-tenth of what escapes their notice altogether.

In Great Britain, so the Report mentions, the drugs seized are allowed to accumulate till sufficient quantities are in store to make it worth while selling them to one of the few firms licensed to trade legally in this commodity. In one or two cases, however, the drugs have been handed to local hospitals instead.

The last Report of the League Opium Committee to the Council has also just been published and a very different story of drug smuggling is told there. To begin with, clean though Great Britain's own sheet is, the same cannot be said of all British possessions, for it is mentioned that Reports from the Governments of the Straits Settlements and the Malay States show considerable increase in the smuggling of smoking opium. Part of the increase, it is suggested, may be due to a rise in the total of the Chinese population and an improvement in its economic conditions.

In China a new menace is reported. Not only is poppy-growing, and consequently opium production, continuing unchecked as a result of the political chaos prevailing, but it appears that Western nations are smuggling morphine into China in considerable quantities. It was pointed out at Geneva by a former British member of the Chinese Customs Service that great bitterness would be produced in future when Young China realised the evil effects to the country of these drugs which other interested nations are sending in.

A striking picture of the situation was given by the French member of the Opium Committee, who observed what the Committee had before it was the minimum total of the seizures effected, that this total amounted approximately to five tons and that it was generally accepted that the figures of seizures only represent one-tenth of the illicit traffic. There exists, in other words, evidence justifying the belief that some fifty tons of narcotics were smuggled illicitly into different countries during the year 1927. What that means will

be better understood when it is recalled that Lord Lytton, speaking at the League Assembly last year, mentioned that one single consignment seized the year previously was sufficient to provide material for no fewer than 3,000,000 legitimate injections of morphine.

The League has clearly a long uphill fight in prospect before it can claim to have got the illicit drug traffic in hand.

PEACE MACHINERY

IN many ways the main importance of the June-July sitting of the League's Arbitration and Security Committee was that it opened the way to a full discussion of the arbitration question at the coming Assembly.

What the Committee actually did was to prepare further model arbitration treaties, which any pair of States or group of States which would might adopt and make their own. It is worth observing in that connection that what is called Model Convention A provides for the peaceful settlement of *all* disputes without exception, either by a decision of the Permanent Court or by arbitration or by conciliation. If, therefore, the Assembly were to approve this text and declare the model treaty open for general signature, then it would mean that any States which chose could bind themselves to the absolute renunciation of war and pacific settlement of all their disputes with one another.

This, it is clear, would be practically the same thing as a general adoption under League auspices of the same principles as are embodied in the Kellogg Pact—though the treaty goes much farther than the Pact. The Assembly, therefore, will have to decide whether definitely to embody the Kellogg Pact in its own treaties or to aim at getting League treaties signed side by side with the Pact. The League treaties themselves differ widely from the Pact, in that they make full provision for a machinery of conciliation and arbitration which will, in one way or the other, lead to a definite settlement of any dispute.

Another question the Committee had before it was a German proposal giving the League Council power to require two disputants to refrain from moving ships or armies during the investigation of the quarrel between them and in some cases to insist on a demilitarised zone being observed. Lord Cushendun, for Great Britain, opposed the whole proposal, which was, however, adopted in a modified form.

A third matter was a plan, which has long been under discussion, for mobilising financial assistance for a State which has been declared by the Council to be the victim of unprovoked aggression. The Covenant itself (Article XVI) provides for the withdrawal of all financial support from the aggressor State in such a case; but this proposal goes further in providing that financial support shall actually be furnished (as a loan) to the State unjustly attacked. Here again the Assembly will have to say the final word.

Altogether, therefore, earlier indications that, so far as the Assembly is concerned, this is likely to be largely an arbitration year still look like being fulfilled.

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THE 48-HOUR WEEK

CONTROVERSY regarding the attitude of Great Britain towards ratification of the Washington Hours Convention continues unabated. A new situation will soon be created if the progress foreshadowed in Germany is actually achieved. It will be remembered that France last year ratified the Convention conditionally on Germany and Great Britain doing the same. Germany has now in fact decided to do the same, for the new Chancellor in his declaration of policy, made in the Reichstag on July 3, announced that the Government proposed to ratify the Hours Convention and proceed with a Labour Protection Bill, which would bring German legislation into line with the Hours Convention. When that has been done it will be only Great Britain's non-ratification which will prevent France's ratification from becoming effective.

A week after the German Chancellor's announcement the whole prospect was discussed with the Minister of Labour, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, by a League of Nations Union deputation, consisting of Lords Cecil, Lytton and Henley, Major J. W. Hills, Captain L. H. Green, Mr. E. L. Poulton, Lady Hall and Miss Constance Smith. Lord Lytton, who was the principal speaker, made an admirable statement on the whole question, urging the Government, since it was not ready either to reject or ratify the Convention, to state precisely in what respect it desired its revision. Mr. Poulton, the British Workers' Representative on the I.L.O., said that Continental workers were bewildered and confused by the British attitude, and Captain Green mentioned that in the particular industry with which he was connected (milling) a new agreement for a five-day week had been made within the four corners of the Washington Convention. Lord Cecil, winding up for the Union delegation, said that charges were being freely made against British good faith, for hopes of final ratification had been repeatedly held out by British Government spokesmen.

The Minister of Labour, replying, said that the London Agreement of 1926 (at which an accord was understood to have been reached between Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and Italy) produced only a statement of the interpretation the five Governments set on the Convention. He dealt with certain points on which revision was desired, but said he was not prepared to make a complete statement at present. A discussion then took place between the Minister and the Deputation as to alleged misstatements in Union publications on the subject. Members of the Deputation, notably Major Hills, took strong exception to these suggestions, pressing for specific instances, and insisting that those cited touched not questions of fact but questions of opinion, on which everyone was entitled to hold his own view.

The result of the interview appears to be that a further prolonged delay is inevitable before the Hours Convention can be generally accepted, for if the Convention is to be revised the ten States which have ratified it unconditionally, and the five which have ratified conditionally, in its present form will no doubt desire to reconsider their position.

KNOCKING DOWN TRADE BARRIERS

ONE of the most important and difficult tasks the League is working at is the reduction of tariffs the world over. The League itself, of course, can reduce no tariffs. Individual nations must reduce their own. The League's work is to persuade them to do it, and a single nation is not likely to take steps in that direction unless the others will meet them at least halfway by doing the same.

The work is proceeding along a good many different

lines. One particularly desirable reform is the abolition of restrictions (other than by tariffs) on the import or export of some particular article into particular countries. League Committees have been discussing this for some time, and a Conference on the subject was held at the beginning of last month. Countries have usually special reasons for imposing these prohibitions. Great Britain, for example, imposed only one, but it was a prohibition on the import of important substances which would compete with the growing British dye-stuff industry which has sprung up since the war. Portugal had vetoed the export of various substances, including commodities as widely different as cork and mares. The United States prohibited the export of helium gas, Sweden the export of scrap iron, Estonia the export of precious stones, platinum and pearls.

These are only isolated examples, and examples, moreover, of restrictions which the States concerned were anxious to cling to after they had abandoned a great many others out of deference to pressure brought to bear on them at Geneva. One particular commodity of which many nations forbade the export was hides and bones, which are the raw materials of leather, glue and other substances. So general was this prohibition that a special and separate Convention was drafted to provide for its abolition. Sixteen nations signed this, and it is hoped that others will join later. The more general Convention was signed by twenty-six States, Great Britain being a signatory in both cases.

Even under the new Convention certain special exceptions remain, but what used to be a list of some hundreds of prohibitions has been reduced to eighteen, and ten of those are considered to be of little importance. A special difficulty, by the way, was created by the question of the import of films. France restricts the

import of American films, ostensibly on moral grounds, but, really so the United States claims, in order to impose protection in favour of the home-manufactured article. India in the same way protested at the Conference that it could not allow the free entrance of foreign films. In the end, the Conference decided that restrictions claimed to be on moral grounds lay outside its scope. It is to be noted that Great Britain is among the countries which now abandon all prohibitions whatever on import or export (except of certain dangerous substances, which stand in a category apart).

From another point of view, the Geneva Conference has a special importance because it constitutes a general agreement on tariff questions. Hitherto such agreements have always taken the form of agreements simply between pairs of States, under which one made various concessions to the other in return for concessions received.

FRENCH SOCIALIST POLICY

THE French Socialist Party at its Congress in the middle of July adopted an interesting statement of policy in international affairs, the four chief planks in which were:

- (1) Democratisation of the League of Nations.
- (2) Concerted action by Socialists in all countries for the revision of treaties.
- (3) Disarmament without necessarily demanding security first.
- (4) Immediate and unconditional evacuation of the Rhineland. This resolution, adopted by 1,707 votes to 1,266 against the opposition of M. Paul-Boncour among others, represents the considered programme of the French delegation to the Socialist International.

WORLD OPINION

LEAGUE SOCIETIES IN CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE

By A. E. W. THOMAS

CHRISTMAS comes but once a year. So does the Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. Of the two events Christmas still remains the more famous. Whether the Congress will ever achieve an equal fame is a matter of prophecy, and is consequently outside the scope of this article, whose purpose is to give some account of the twelfth meeting of this famous—or infamous—Congress.

Shorn of official nomenclature, the Congress is a gathering of people from different lands who are interested in the League of Nations, and who are trying, through the medium of League of Nations societies, to preach the League gospel in their own several countries. Representatives of these societies come together in congress every year in order to compare notes, to exchange ideas, to give expression to what—so far as they can judge—public opinion throughout the world is thinking about international and League affairs, and to frame resolutions which shall form the basis of work for each society during the ensuing year.

Whether this ambitious programme is always carried out, or whether any better means for carrying it out could be suggested, are questions that might well form the subject of an article, but not of this one.

From Asia and Argentine

Last year the Congress met at Berlin, where 23 national societies were represented. This year it met

at The Hague, the number of societies represented being 27. One delegate came specially from Buenos Aires and another from Tokyo. (It is true they had other things in Europe to do as well, but still they *did* come.) The President was Professor Bronislaw Dembinski, of Poland, and I think it might be invidious to mention some delegates and not others. It would certainly be an error of omission not to say how glad the Congress was to greet Professor Elorrieta of Spain, Dr. Sivori of the Argentine, Dr. Everett Colby, Chairman of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association. The Union delegation was headed by Sir Willoughby Dickinson.

The Congress met at the Binnenhof (which may be described as the Whitehall of The Hague), and at the inaugural session, held in the famous Riddersaal, wherein the Second Hague Conference of 1907 had held its meetings, the delegates were formally welcomed by a representative of the Dutch Government. The ordinary sessions of the Congress were held in the Lower Chamber of the Dutch Parliament.

Brussels or Geneva?

Like the League Assembly, the Congress distributes its work among committees, which deal respectively with internal or domestic questions, education, political and juridical matters, minorities and I.L.O. and economic questions.

Of chief interest among the domestic questions was

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a proposal that the Federation Headquarters should be moved from Brussels to Geneva. Whatever might be the advantages or disadvantages of such a move, it was obvious that it could not be made without careful consideration of the question of finance, and the Congress decided that while the Headquarters should be maintained at Brussels for another three years, in the meantime the matter should be made the subject of investigation and of report in two years' time.

The work of the Education Committee—most important this; for it cannot be too often repeated that these League of Nations Societies are first and foremost *educative* bodies—resulted in a series of comprehensive resolutions, which in the first place sought to impress upon the national societies the importance of the rôle they were expected to play in the sphere of general education, and in the second place set forth specific and detailed suggestions whereby the work might be carried out. Particular attention was paid to the question of providing textbooks suitable for children and teachers in different lands, and a report on this subject will come up for consideration at the next meeting of the Federation's Standing Committee on Education.

Peace and Armaments

In the sphere of political matters, the predominating interest, naturally, centred round the Kellogg proposals, and in spite of the opposition of the Italian delegate, a resolution was passed welcoming these proposals, and expressing the hope that they would not only result in a treaty, to be signed without reservations by all States, whether members of the League or not, but would also prepare the way for a greater measure of arbitration and international disarmament. On the latter subject the Congress also expressed the desire that the Preparatory Commission should meet again as soon as possible, and should base its work on the assumption that war and the threat of war should no longer be legitimate instruments of national policy. Another resolution, of which the Italian delegate was unable to approve, related to the permanent officials of the League, and urged that no national Government should interfere with the stability or independence of the position or the right to promotion of any officer of the Secretariat.

The major part of the discussion on minorities was devoted, so far as the plenary session was concerned, to the question of improving the League's machinery for dealing with the minority problem. The Congress, taking as a basis a memorandum of Sir Willoughby Dickinson, entitled "Activities of the Federation with respect to racial minorities," made certain recommendations on procedure.

Labour and Tariffs

Among other minority matters, reference was made to the German minority in the S. Tyrol, and a hope was expressed that both the parties, majority and minority, would be able to settle their differences amicably.

In the domain of I.L.O. and economic matters a vast area of ground was covered. Of chief importance were the resolutions on the Washington Hours Convention appealing to the Societies to do everything in their power to secure ratification and to prevent immediate revision, and on the White Lead Convention urging ratification by countries which have not yet ratified.

A programme was also drawn up for the Economic Conference, which the Federation is organising in Prague on the 4th, 5th and 6th of October, with the object of giving publicity to and gaining support for the recommendations of the World Economic Conference.

Whether the Congress or its results will "reverberate down the ages" is open to question; but it will, at any rate, have a first echo when its resolutions are formally presented by the President of the League's Assembly in September.

READERS' VIEWS

BRAZIL AND GENEVA

SIR,—Your note in the June issue of HEADWAY seems to conclude that Brazil ought not to be permitted, after giving notice of her withdrawal from the League, to remain a member of the International Labour Organisation.

Do you, on further reflection, continue to feel that there is a difference between Germany entering the I.L.O. before she entered the League and Brazil remaining in the I.L.O. after giving notice of her withdrawal from the League? Is Brazil really taking a "step away from full membership of the League" or a half-step back towards full membership? Would it really be better, in your view, for Brazil to be obliged to abandon all membership for, say, a year, so that she might then win your approval by rejoining the I.L.O. as a "step towards full membership"?

Why is it more dangerous for a State to retain half her League obligations than to undertake half?

It is not a case of Brazil retaining I.L.O. membership as a step towards leaving the League. She does not need I.L.O. membership to enable her to carry out her declared intention of leaving; but by retaining it, she retains a direct association with the League.

Analogies are unsatisfactory; but a bridge is surely a bridge, whether you are advancing or retiring. Brazil has announced her intention to retire from the League; she shows a disposition to linger on one of the bridges—just at the spot where Germany carved her initials on the parapet, during her lengthy wait before she entered the meadows which Brazil has decided to leave. You want to tell her to clear off the bridge altogether, though you are ready to leave on the bridge one or two other States which have never got across at all.

It is true that the United States was never technically a member of the League, but her failure to ratify the Treaty was not dissimilar from resignation of membership—does your conscience permit you to leave her on the bridge?

Apart from theory, there are several practical points, two of which seem to me of special importance. First, what will be the effect upon other States in South America (say the Argentine) if you insist on a policy of "all or nothing" in the case of Brazil? Secondly, it would surely be a pity to refuse to allow Brazil to take part in next year's first discussion of a problem of "Native Labour" by the International Labour Conference. Forgive me for suggesting that your paragraph should not have been headed "Brazil and the League," but "The Nose and the Face."—Yours, etc.,

CRUSADER.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

SIR,—In "Matters of Moment" in the current HEADWAY, the paragraph "Saving the Minutes," followed by "Public Opinion," remind me that the scheme outlined in the former is not likely to help the latter, especially in a way the Union does much to encourage—listening to debates.

Nor does it help those organisations which cannot afford the appliances, and the tip-top interpreters. Even at the (I presume) above-the-average intelligent Congress of the Federation at The Hague this month, as an onlooker I witnessed unsatisfactory incidents, and an emphatic correction of the translator. And, even at its best, a translation is not satisfactory.

It seems extraordinary that in these days, when Esperanto is already fairly widely known and used at international meetings, there should be such failure to appreciate its benefits in certain quarters usually considered progressive.—Yours, etc.,

C. M. CATHER.

A FALSE ALARM

SIR,—It is stated in "The Vaccination Inquirer" of July 2 that Messrs. Constable & Co., the official publishers to the League of Nations, on being asked for the Report of the International Smallpox and Vaccination Commission, replied:—

"With reference to your letter of May 25, we regret to inform you that we have heard from Geneva this morning that the Reports of the Smallpox and Vaccination Commission 'are of a highly confidential nature, and are not to be printed at all.'"

"With regrets at our inability to supply these documents," etc., etc.

This seems an extraordinary state of affairs. One of the supposed virtues of the League of Nations—possibly its greatest virtue—was to be that matters hitherto dealt with in secret should be exposed to the light of public opinion, and here we have that very League apparently hiding facts from the public which is paying for those facts to be exposed.—Yours, etc.,

LORENZA GARREAU.

44, Beatrice Avenue,
Norbury, S.W.16.
July 12th, 1928.

[There seems to be some misunderstanding here. The Report of the Smallpox and Vaccination Committee is not being suppressed, but has in fact been duly printed as an annex to the Minutes of the April Session of the League's Health Committee. These Minutes have been published and are now on sale. Reports of sub-committees are frequently regarded as confidential until they have been presented to the main committee concerned.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE

SIR,—Whilst it is true that the Kellogg proposals for the absolute renunciation of war go beyond the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Covenant goes beyond the American Pact. The goal is the same and there is no incompatibility in the common desire to rid the world of the curse of war. But it is no use disguising the fact that the nations which sign the multilateral treaty must deny the right to resort to war in certain eventualities. This of necessity must involve the revision of the Covenant, which permits States within the League to resort to war after nine months if conciliatory and intermediary efforts have failed. It is also no use shutting our eyes to the fact that there is no provision in the American proposals for implementing the Pact if a nation break the treaty. The United States Government cannot expect the world at large, with many countries not so far advanced in civilisation as her own people, to live on a higher plane than the citizens of her Commonwealth. America's legal code sets up a certain standard of morality, but this code would be a dead letter without law courts and police to enforce respect for and obedience to the law. On the same lines, the League recognises that in the present state of civilisation a nation may disregard international law and resort to arms, and therefore provides financial pressure, boycott or force to coerce a recalcitrant nation. In passing, I need hardly say there is a marked difference between going to war with another nation and the use of international force to compel a nation to desist from taking the law into its own hands.

Just as the absence of America from the League has retarded the League's progress and restricted its influence, so the exclusion of the League from co-operation with America might hinder and delay the desideratum of world-wide peace. I do not for one moment believe that America will consent to join the

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If your investments yield an average 5 per cent. only, and your age is 62, you can double your private income and ensure its safety as long as life shall last. Think what this would mean to you. Think of the additional pleasures, comforts, luxuries you would be able to afford; the gifts you could make; the freedom from all financial anxiety, and—as a result—your longer life.

Write to-day to the Sun Life of Canada—the great annuity Company with Government-supervised assets exceeding £82,000,000—for particulars of their plans. Give your exact age, so that correct figures may be supplied.

The Sun Life of Canada specialises in Annuities and offers advantages not obtainable elsewhere. There are Immediate Annuities (as above example for a male), Joint Annuities, Educational and Deferred Annuities, and Annuities with guaranteed return of capital. In cases of impaired health still better terms are given.

J. F. Junkin (General Manager), Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada, 99, Sun of Canada House, Victoria Embankment, London, W.C.2 (near Temple Station).

HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, etc.

HUMANITARIAN AND HEALTH HOLIDAY CENTRE from Aug. 3rd to Sept. 8th, 1928, Southbourne-on-Sea, Hants. Large mansion, several acres beautiful grounds, *meatless diet* on New Health lines. Tennis, Croquet, Dancing, League of Nations Lectures. 10% reduction to League of Nations Union members. Illustrated Prospectus from Mr. F. de V. SUMMERS, 32, Sackville Street, London, W.1. Tel.: Regent 6551.

GUEST received in beautiful flat. English comfort, magnificent views, near League.—MISS MITCHELL, 97, Rue de Lausanne, Geneva.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

CARISBROOKE SCHOOL, Durdham Down, Bristol.—Matric. and Oxford Local Exams., inc. Domestic Science. School Hall. Boys under nine. Girls six to nineteen.—Principal: Miss Mary Stevens, LL.A. Tel. 5651 Bristol.

BADMINTON SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol. Recognised by the Board of Education. Chairman of Advisory Council: J. Obery Symes, Esq., M.D. Headmistress: Miss B. M. Baker, B.A. The school estate of 11½ acres is situated in a bracing position, on high ground, close to the country and within easy reach of Bristol. Individual timetables. Preparation for the Universities. Junior Branch. Frequent school journeys abroad and to Geneva while the Assembly is sitting, increase the interest of the girls in languages and international affairs.

If you are willing to send your copy of "HEADWAY" to an interested person abroad, please notify Headquarters.

League as at present constituted, so why should not the League frankly say to the United States: "We sincerely welcome your proposals for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, and we ask you now to associate yourselves with us in consideration of the Covenant provision, or any other improved plan you can suggest, to make your proposal effective, and as there is nothing sacrosanct in a name, we are ready to alter the title of our organisation to 'The Renunciation of War League of Nations,' or any other title you may prefer."

My fear is entertained by many that without some kind of co-operation between the League and America, difficulties will arise to check this great humanitarian movement of a world-wide peace based on security, conciliation and even-handed justice.—Yours, etc.,

Derby.

ALFRED GOODERE.

June 25, 1928.

[The League of Nations could hardly approach the United States regarding the Renunciation of War Treaty, since the United States has made no communication on the subject to the League.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

THE LEAGUE IN THE SCHOOL

SIR,—May I, as a headmaster of boys' schools for 35 years, venture to comment on Miss Clarke's suggestion that the work of a Junior Branch of the League of Nations Union in schools should not be an "extra"?

Whilst applauding Miss Clarke's enthusiasm, I cannot help doubting her judgment in this matter. We all know what "English Literature" lessons, even the study of a great play, can become in the hands of any but a very good teacher; it not infrequently follows from the lessons on Shakespeare that a pupil later in life finds it very difficult to appreciate his plays. It is the same with any but the best teaching of history.

By all means let schools teach modern geography, with the fullest and fairest possible explanation of recent changes in frontiers and a historical review of the racial questions involved. By all means teach the general principles of economics in relation to politics. But to put any such studies on to the curriculum as League of Nations' work would inevitably have two bad results. Firstly, foolish parents would resent "political propaganda"; and, secondly, the voluntary interest, often amounting to enthusiasm, of the more thoughtful pupils would be chilled. The thoughtless and indifferent would not be convinced; indeed, the infection of a voluntary devotion of time and study to League work would be lost.

I venture to express my opinion because I was among the first to organise Junior Branches in schools.—Yours, etc.,

EX-HEADMASTER.

St. Ives Hotel, Worthing.

July 7, 1928.

CHEMICAL WARFARE

SIR,—What percentage of the civilised public of the world realises the existence of an intensive competition in government-subsidised scientific research on the dominating and most potent factor in modern warfare, poison gas? This research, unfortunately, can too easily be carried on secretly with the deplorable result of public ignorance on this question.

Recognising in that factor of competition the dangerous tendency to promote war, the Inter-Branch Disarmament Study Circle (North London) drafted, in close co-operation with competent experts, the following resolutions, which are supported by a lengthy case containing numerous references to authoritative League of Nations documents and other works on the subject.

"This meeting of the members of the Inter-Branch Circle (etc.) urges the Government to press for the

abolition of all research committees and laboratories devoted to the study of chemical warfare."

This was sent to Capt. E. Wallace, M.P., Assistant Government Whip.

Abolition of research in chemical warfare obviously necessitates universal renunciation of recourse to that form of warfare. The Circle, therefore, adopted the following resolution, drafted by Major-General Sir F. Maurice, and approved by Prof. Baker:—

"This meeting urges that the Government should press for the abolition of the use of chemical warfare of all kinds by all nations."

They are urging, that is to say, wholehearted support of a treaty which, firstly, must apply *universally*, and which, secondly and more especially, must prepare the legal ground for the entire *abolition* of all Government-subsidised *competitive research*. The Washington (Poison Gas) Treaties have satisfied *neither* of these superlatively important points, and the "Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War . . . of Poison Gases, etc.," which Great Britain has not ratified even yet, satisfies only the first. The Circle believes that considerable progress in more practical details might be made if the majority of Major V. Lefebure's suggestions were taken as a basis.

The members of the Circle have felt it their duty to emphasise in the public eye this important aspect of disarmament, and hope it will be taken up by other branches.—Yours, etc.,

MARTIN J. H. GOODCHILD,
Hon. Secretary.

5, Wood Vale,
London, N.10.
July 16, 1928.

[Sir Austen Chamberlain explained, in the House of Commons, on July 18, that six Governments had ratified the League's Poison Gas Protocol, but that Great Britain would not do so unless all other signatories did the same.—ED., HEADWAY.]

IS IT SO SIMPLE?

SIR,—In a recent issue you say that the American proposal for the renunciation of war is so simple that a child can understand it.

If one tells a child about a mare's nest, the child will understand that, too. It will know what a mare is and what a nest is, and be satisfied. Similarly, a child will know what war is, and what a State is, and so will know that if States renounce war then war is renounced.

But the adult will say, "Well, what is a State?" Is Egypt a State, and is the Chinese National Government a State? Every man who sets up as a brigand cannot be entitled to be called a State, and so somebody must decide. Who is going to decide under the United States plan, and will every "State" submit to the decision? The League of Nations has a procedure for deciding what States are suitable for temporary or permanent membership, but there seems to be no reason why a number of people should not assemble in Washington and draw up a wider definition of a nation for the new purpose. It would get the Americans more interested in the whole subject. Besides that, it is one of the great weaknesses of the League of Nations that every member-State is free to recognise or not to recognise a "State" such as Russia, quite independently of the rest. The new definition would help towards overcoming this weakness in the League.

It is something gained that the United States Government will propose anything at all, but the real test will come when the proposal has been converted from a very abstract proposition into a concrete one. It is only then that the difficulties will become apparent

and will be weighable, and then we shall discover what the feelings of the United States and others will be on these difficulties as they arise.—Yours, etc.,

Heyshott.

B. A. C. H.

BOOKS WORTH READING

THE EMPIRE FAMILY

Empire Government. By Manfred Nathan. (Allen & Unwin. 10s.)

The relations of the Dominions to the United Kingdom have been much modified in recent years. To-day it is possible for the Dominions to sign peace treaties, to take part in the deliberations of the League Assembly as separate members, to administer territory won in war, and even to have their own diplomatic representatives. This change of status, while it had been in course of evolution for some time past, was only defined at the Imperial Conference of 1926. A greater degree of autonomy is enjoyed by the Dominions, yet there are certain limitations which at first sight might appear to be "gentlemen's agreements," and involve implications of great importance in League affairs. No Dominion, for instance, would enter into commitments which might in any way prejudice the interests or safety of other Dominions. All of which means that the Dominions must be in constant consultation over foreign policy. It was opportune that at a time when a Dominion has for the first time taken a seat on the League Council there should be published so clear and concise a sketch as Mr. Nathan's of the present-day government of the British Empire.

The Coming of "The Glory." By Florence E. Pinchon. (Simpkin. 2s. 6d.)

An outline story of the foundation and progress of the Bahai Movement.

A Handbook of the League of Nations. By Sir Geoffrey Butler. (Longmans. 10s. 6d.)

The chronology attached to this book has been brought down to April, 1928. The bibliography, however, apparently has not, as many important recent books are omitted.

The New Democratic Constitutions of Europe. By Agnes Headlam-Morley. (Milford. 8s. 6d.)

A very useful and necessary work. In particular the problem of federalism in composite countries like Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia is well worth discussing, and, on a broader stage, Miss Headlam-Morley suggestively raises the whole issue of the future of democratic government on the Continent of Europe.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Cities of Australia. By Kathleen Ussher. (Dent. 5s.)

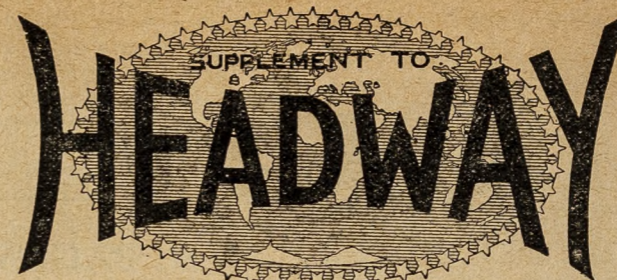
Malta and Cyprus. By Gladys Peto. (Dent. 5s.)

Poland's Westward Trend. By Ernst R. B. Hansen. (Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d.)

The Challenge of Bolshevism. (By D. F. Buxton. (Allen & Unwin. 2s. 6d.)

Lest Ye Die. By Cicely Hamilton. (Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d.)

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



AUGUST, 1928

WORLD LOYALTY

THE SPIRITUAL PILGRIMAGE TOWARDS WORLD ORDER

DR. MAXWELL GARNETT recently delivered the third Beckly lecture before the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, and it has now been published under the above title.* Its sub-title describes its scope as "a study of the spiritual pilgrimage towards a world order," and, as might be expected, Dr. Garnett has undertaken the opportunity of setting forth the implications of social Christianity with an international outlook. It is a task for which he is well qualified both by temperament and experience. The book is a closely reasoned and carefully built-up psychological argument for the education of a world opinion which will make possible the removal of the existing disorder and which "will gradually approach the ideal of the kingdom of God on earth." To say that the reasoning demands the close attention of the ordinary reader and has too many technical psychological terms for him is more to the discredit of the reader than of the writer. But if he will take the trouble to master the meaning of such phrases as "endarchies," "disintegration combined with integration" and the like, he will be rewarded by being led along a very useful line of thought.

Dr. Garnett begins where the beginning must always be made, with the individual; before any progress can be made in the world the "ideal individual must possess a single wide interest," which "must be centred in a supreme and dominant purpose that deeply stirs his emotions." But, having stated this fact, he goes on to deal with its inevitable corollary, the behaviour of the individual as a member of a community. Chapters therefore follow upon the commonwealth, the government and public opinion. In the ideal commonwealth its ideal members will tend to produce freedom, justice, comradeship and truth, together with material well-being. Thus far it might be said that Dr. Garnett is wandering in a land of visions; but, like a wise leader, he sees that if it is necessary to see visions, it is no less necessary to suggest means for their fulfilment. Discovery, education and production, three elements into which the activities of the commonwealth may be divided, will be powerless to rid the world of the disorders which originate in human antagonisms without

place being given to a fourth, organisation, which is the task of government. But government and administration will be equally powerless unless they become the expression of public opinion or the public mind. It is only in this way that the harmonious settlement of disputes can be achieved, or, to use the technical phrase, "voluntary integration" can be exercised. By this careful progress of thought Dr. Garnett has prepared the road for entrance into a wider field, that of world affairs and international relations. The ideal world is only the ideal commonwealth on a larger scale, and the argument is pursued to its logical conclusion. The greater commonwealth of mankind must bear the same marks of liberty, justice, comradeship and truth, leading to material prosperity, and it can only come into being by the process of educating world public opinion. This process is already at work, and we are beginning to see signs of change. Not only has education to-day a wider outlook, not only does the League exist and has voluntary societies pledged to support it in forty countries, but "a more significant fact than any of these is that the sentiment of world loyalty has begun to make itself felt, while a new feeling for international justice has appeared in the world."

Even from this imperfect précis of the book it will be seen that, starting from first principles, Dr. Garnett has built up a very strong plea for a new order of things, and has given the individual definite guidance for the part which he must play in its creation. It is perhaps to be regretted that in a lecture delivered on a religious foundation Dr. Garnett has not given more space to the need for mobilising the forces, not merely of the Christian Churches, but of every religion in support of the new order. It is here, we believe, that the real "gap in the Covenant" lies. Protocols and pacts may be produced to fortify any weakness in the existing Covenant, but neither political machinery nor education, as the word is commonly understood, will avail to stem world disorder until the League itself recognises that the world opinion, upon whose support it depends, will be imperfect and inadequate for its purpose without that which is still the strongest human emotion, a common religious instinct for what is best and highest, for those very qualities which Dr. Garnett states to be essential in an ideal world. In spite of this defect, the book is worthy of its author.

* "World Loyalty," by J. C. Maxwell Garnett, C.B.E., Sc.D. Epworth Press. Price 2s. 6d. cloth cover, 1s. 6d. paper cover. Copies are obtainable at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

ON SPEAKERS

QUALITY VERSUS FAME

WHAT speaker shall we invite for our next meeting? Will he 'draw'? Will he offend our friends of the Left or Right? Will he tell us anything new?"

Such are the problems which confront every branch secretary and committee throughout the year. Indeed the selection of a speaker is no easy matter, for audiences are so varied and the past history of the Union's branches so different.

One fact must be stressed first. The number of men and women holding very prominent positions in our public life who are able or willing to give their time to speak for the Union's branches, and who are also competent to do so, is far too small to make it possible for the success of the average meeting to depend on the attraction of the speaker's name. It must be on the quality of the speech rather than upon the fame of the speaker that the Union must build up its reputation, both locally and nationally, so that the public will feel it worth while to attend branch meetings and lectures.

The very large list of voluntary speakers to whom notes are supplied monthly by Headquarters has been revised; speakers have been classified according to the subjects upon which they have special knowledge and in which they are most interested.

In the first class of suggested topics for speeches are those which deal directly with one or other aspect of the League's activities; the second are those concerned with the International Labour Organisation; the third, on the organisation of public opinion in favour of the League; the fourth, special lectures on different countries; and, lastly, general lectures on historical and philosophical aspects of international life.

Here is a chance to organise a scheme on rational lines. So often organisers have to draw a bow at a venture when getting speakers for meetings. Then they find to their chagrin that, though the speaker is different, the subject is the same and the audience goes away unsatisfied, imagining that the League never does anything new. This engenders a feeling that the League is stagnant—and that is profoundly untrue. With this new information at their disposal, organisers can devise a programme in which the whole range of the League can be gone over in detail and variations introduced by addresses on a more general international theme. The lot of the Secretary has been lightened. It is hoped, therefore, that branches will, so far as is possible, give these competent lecturers a trial, even though their names may not be very well known.

"How then are the meetings to be filled?" is a question that may very well be asked.

Instead of the speaker's name being the draw, let there be a well-known local chairman. Have, too, an attractive title for the public advertisements. There is much to be said for gilding the pill. Nobody goes to what they fondly imagine is going to be a dry-as-dust lecture unless they are keenly interested in the subject. Neither old members nor possible new ones must be allowed to think an address is going to be dull. Certainly the latter will not come unless they think they will be interested.

Another thing. Don't forget the Press. It has been a valuable ally in the past by reporting meetings most fully. Very often an advertisement inserted in the local paper is the means of getting a paragraph put in elsewhere. Headquarters can supply a news item concerning the speaker and his or her subject. They will either send it direct to the paper or else to the organiser, so that it can be sent along with the advertisement. Take care of the Press, and the audience will look after itself!

Lastly, persuade members to bring along their friends. If they know that the speech will be worth hearing they will not mind playing the importunate widow. There is nothing quite so difficult to refuse as the personal appeal. Circulars and letters can go into the waste-paper basket, posters need not be noticed, Press advertisements can be overlooked, but a spoken appeal has to be answered.

A PAGEANT PLAY

LETCWORTH SUMMER FESTIVAL

IF summer cannot be relied on as an annual event, the Summer Festival of the Letchworth Branch is always forthcoming. This year it had all the probabilities and some of the prophecies against it, yet it worked bravely on at the preparation of the central feature of its Festival, a pageant play entitled "The Shadow on the Map," which performance required open ground for its performance.

"The field is the world," says the parable; and so it was here. "The map" was the world, laid out in three-ply wood on Mercator's projection, after the manner of the instructional "puzzles" of our youth. Each member-state marched in the pageant, carrying on a shield its own name and its country, fretted out and suitably coloured. At the summons of the League the nations marched to the map, and there delivered their own territories into the hands of four expert little geographers, making at the same time appropriate speeches.

Said Swift, alluding to the less-known world of former times:—

Geographers, in Afric maps
With savage pictures fill their gaps,
And o'er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns.

But here the nations brought *terra firma* to fill their gaps, not savages or elephants, and goodwill to boot. Argentine, for example, addressed to Chili the reminder that "between our frontiers stands the great image of the Christ of the Andes, as a sign that there shall never more be war between the people of Argentine and the people of Chili." Fifty-six nations of all continents, in authentic national or symbolical guise, contributed their portions, until the map was completed.

M for the Map, lying out in the sun;
Its parts in their places, the many-in-one.

says a local rhymester, interpreting the spectacle to the understandings of the people.

But there was a "shadow on the map" after all. Not all the nations had peace-pacts with their neighbours; some of them had sore points—Vilnas, corridors, Danzigs, grievances of minorities, schools, churches and languages—and indulged in pot-and-kettling on account of them. America and Russia, Western and Eastern outsiders, hearing all this, doubtless thought, if they did not say: "See how these Europeans love one another." Grim-visaged war saw his opportunity in this world discontent, and posed as the friend in need, his sword the panacea. He and a group of little abstractions—Famine, Rapine, Typhus and Drugs—said all that could be said for their own League. These were answered in debate by Good Faith, Will-to Peace and Wisdom, who, by the aid of a song and a hymn, got the best of the argument; and a fanfare of trumpets announced the shadow had passed over.

The pageant was voted a very original and impressive spectacle; it was finely staged in the Cloisters grounds, and was favoured at two performances with brilliant sunshine.

H. E. H.

From a Welsh Valley

Miss B. Richards, of the Aberdare and Cwmaman Girls' Council School, has informed us that the pupils of the school have been corresponding with several countries, notably Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, France, Belgium, South Africa and New Zealand. Many interesting responses have been received. The following is a summary of an interesting letter written by Esme Stait, aged 8½ years, and addressed to the children in the Churches of the Aberdare Valley:—

"Dear Friends,—We, the girls of Cwmaman School, ask your help in a great campaign to enlist the efforts of every child throughout the world in the peace movement. We are young and can do but little, but if we persevere and do that little constantly we may do some good. Will you hasten to help us? We can do so much more if we work together. . . . We earnestly ask you to make this valley of ours a centre of work for peace by sending out messages asking for the co-operation of others. . . ."

For Bible Classes and Sunday Schools

Two pamphlets of lessons on the League of Nations by Mr. E. Hayes and Miss D. Dent can be obtained from Headquarters, price 2d. each. Leaders of Bible Classes and junior Study Circles, as well as Sunday School teachers, will find these lessons most useful for Armistice Day and other occasions.

Sixth Boeke International Conference

Some particulars of this conference were given in the May issue of the Supplement. All the vacancies for delegates have now been filled. We have recently received a more detailed programme of the conference. The meetings will be held from August 18 to 25 at Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham. The first object of the conference will be "to try and discover what the ordinary man must know in order to answer the crucial questions of the international problem." Meetings will be held in the evenings in the George Cadbury Memorial Hall at which the attendance of the general public will be welcomed.

Al Fresco

The season of Garden Parties and Fêtes is in full swing. From Scotland comes news of fêtes at Perth and Cupar. Viscount Astor and Major Hills were given an enthusiastic reception at a Fête organised by the Cumberland District Councils at Keswick. Burnham-on-Sea, Callington and Stockton have also organised successful functions.

Australia

Resolutions passed at the Annual General Meeting of the Western Australia League of Nations Union in March, in favour of the adherence to the "Optional Clause," and suggesting that if the Australian Government should be unwilling to accede to the Optional Clause with such reservations as may be agreed upon in consultation with other Empire Governments, a public declaration of the reason would be welcomed, were forwarded to the Prime Minister. A formal reply was sent, stating that the Commonwealth Government was giving its earnest consideration to the matter.

"The Enemy" at the Strand Theatre

This powerful war play began what ought to be a long run on July 23. It should be seen by every well-wisher of the League of Nations. Far more important is it for those to visit the Strand Theatre who, perhaps because they never knew the horror of 1914-18, have not yet seen the need to rid the world of war. The acting throughout was admirable. It provided a moving plea for no more war. But the play contains no hint of how the desire for no more war is to be realised. If there is to be no more war, the goal will be reached by way of the League of Nations.

Notes from Wales

The Welsh National Council will take part again this year in the activities of the Royal Welsh National Eisteddfod Week at Treorchy, August 5-11. Mr. David Davies, M.P., and Mrs. Davies have generously arranged to give a Reception to Overseas Visitors to the Eisteddfod on behalf of the Welsh League of Nations Union, on Friday, August 10. A prominent position on the Eisteddfod grounds has been selected for the Welsh Council stall. A stall will also be in evidence on the grounds of the Royal Welsh Agricultural Show at Wrexham, August 8-10.

The President of the Welsh Council will address meetings at the chief centres in North and South Wales during the coming session.

The winners of the Welsh Council's "Geneva Scholarships" will leave for Geneva on August 24, returning on September 7.

From July 14-21 a successful "International Relations Course" was held at Coleg Harlech, under the tutorship of Mr. Sydney Herbert, of Aberystwyth University College. The Welsh Council granted two scholarships to branch secretaries for this course. The North Wales organiser, Miss S. Pugh Jones, addressed the Summer School of the North Wales Women's Temperance Associations at Coleg Harlech on the work of the League.

The Monmouth Branch held its annual garden party on July 5. The Carmarthen and Pembroke Dock Branches arranged for audiences to be addressed at exhibitions of the film "Dawn." Large meetings have been held at Colwyn Bay, Llandudno, Llangollen, Southsea, Penmaenmawr and Capel Garmon. Successful Daffodil Days have been held in many centres. Mr. T. W. Gillinder recently addressed a well-attended series of meetings on the I.L.O.

Co-operators Champion the League

The growing interest of the Co-operative Movement in League matters is well known. All those whose interests are in the field of world co-operation cannot but be impressed with the enthusiasm shown by members of this year's Congress of Co-operative Societies, which represented a body of five-and-a-half millions of people.

Resolutions urging co-operators to do all in their power to enlist others in the cause of world peace and calling upon them to make "an overwhelming demand for the complete outlawry of war" were unanimously adopted.

"Where My Caravan . . ."

The hills and dales of Oxfordshire have recently been traversed to some purpose by Miss Glasgow, Miss Keay, a caravan and a horse. The trip was divided into two parts, four days and three days, and in the interval the caravan was used by the Oxford City Branch for an intensive campaign. In the county some 16 villages, hitherto practically untouched by the Union, were visited. Almost everywhere the reception was very friendly; and, what was more, the most serious and intelligent interest in the League was evinced.

A Correspondent Wanted

Mr. K. Yamaguchi, a student of Tokyo University and a member of the Student Branch of the League of Nations Association of Japan, is anxious to come into contact with some correspondents of his own age (22) in this country in order to exchange opinions on any interesting aspect of international affairs. Will any member of the Union who is willing to correspond with Mr. K. Yamaguchi kindly communicate with the Overseas Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

An Open-air Service at Worthing

An audience of over 2,000 people attended a recent open-air service organised by the Worthing Branch. The Mayor, Alderman W. T. Frost, presided and was supported by local clergy of various denominations. The preacher was the Rev. Reginald Sorensen; a feature of the service was the fine singing of a choir of 250 voices, made up from the choristers of the various churches in the town.

Speakers Please Note!

The resolutions passed by the XIIth Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at the Hague will be printed in a special Federation Bulletin, which will be obtainable at Headquarters by the time this is in print. These resolutions should be of particular value to Union speakers.

Vacancies for Geneva

There are still a few vacancies for the party leaving London on August 11 for the "Geneva Institute of International Relations." The cost for the week is £11. An extension can be arranged. This fee includes second-class return rail fare to Geneva and board and accommodation in Geneva. The Institute has now come to be an accepted "rendezvous" for those who are interested in international affairs.

New Union Publication

The undermentioned pamphlet has recently been published, and is available at Headquarters:

"Minorities" (by the Rt. Hon. Sir W. Dickinson). 2d.

A Nottinghamshire Achievement

During the first two weeks in July, Mr. T. C. Archer addressed a series of thirteen open-air meetings in Nottinghamshire under the auspices of the Notts Federal Council. Two hundred new members were enrolled, and three Branches were revived.

At Fulham Palace

By the courtesy of the Bishop of London some 4,000 people attended a garden party on July 7 in the grounds of Fulham Palace. The function was successfully organised by the Fulham Borough Branch. The speakers were the Bishop of London, Brigadier-General Crozier, and "White Horse Eagle"—a red Indian Chief, aged 107 years—who brought a message of peace from America.

Raising the Wind—A Reminder

Branches are reminded that the General Council, at its recent meeting, passed an unanimous resolution urging all branches to complete the payment of half their Council's Vote quotas by June 30. It is hoped that all Branches which have not already done so will make every effort to comply with this request, in order to ease pressure on Headquarters' funds. In this connection it should be pointed out that Headquarters has not this year sought the authority of the Council to issue a general appeal, as in past years, and it is for this reason that the Council has made this request to Branches. The Council also urged Branches to lend to Headquarters, free of interest, until October, any balances they may have and are not likely to require in the meanwhile. In response to this latter request, Headquarters has already received some substantial sums on loan, for which cordial thanks are due.

A Great League Service in York Minster

There was a very large attendance at the service in York Minster, on July 1, organised by the York Branch, when the Bishop of Winchester gave a forceful address on the League of Nations.

Referring to the Kellogg Proposals, the Bishop said, "This magnificent co-operative enterprise is well started. It is no mere visionary hope, no vague idealism, but a

plan conceived on such a scale as the world has never yet known." He said that the only safeguard for peace was the growth of public opinion, so steady, complete and sure as to defy all enemies. Every church in the land ought to be a hot-bed of enthusiasm for making the road. "The Christ whom you all worship," he concluded, "I daresay cannot do much, but is content in His infinite vision to depend upon the members of His great society for His work to be done, and for His Gospel to be preached and His Kingdom to be advanced."

Warsaw Peace Congress

One hundred and seventy delegates, representing twenty countries and international associations, attended the 26th Annual Congress of the International Peace Bureau at Warsaw. The main interest centred round an unanimously adopted Kellogg resolution, advocating immediate and unreserved acceptance by all Powers; a Disarmament resolution, calling for the reassembly of the Disarmament Conference before the forthcoming Assembly; and a resolution dealing with economic organisation. The Polish Committee showed great energy in caring for the welfare of the delegates.

New Zealand

The Annual Conference of the Dominion Union was held at Wellington on May 29, and took the form of a public meeting, which was considerably larger and more representative than any previous conference. Resolutions were passed thanking the United States Government for its initiative in "what promises to be a successful movement for the outlawry of war"; expressing appreciation of the work of the League, and a belief that the success of the League is largely conditioned by the backing it receives from the peoples, and that the best means of expressing that backing is through the medium of League of Nations Societies.

The Council's Vote

The following is a list of Branches which have completed their Quotas to the Council's vote:—

1927: Amptill, Todmorden.

1928: Ambleside, Addlestone, Almondsbury, Burford, Burnham-on-Crouch, Chard, Chinnor, Dawlish, Earls Colne, Hawkshead, Heversham, Huntingdon, Letchworth, Longworth, Marlow, Mirfield, Oxted, Pickering, Pudsey, Queens and District, Staveley, St. Ives, Hunts, Stapleton Road C. C., Bristol, Salem Cong. C., Leeds, Skipton, Wardington, Wychwood, Week St. Mary.

L.N.U. MEMBERS

Total number of enrolments as recorded at Headquarters (less deaths and resignations):—

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,224
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	...	665,022
July 19, 1928	...	...	...	...	711,748

On July 19th, 1928, there were 2,701 Branches, 605 Junior Branches, 136 Districts, 2,667 Corporate Members and 441 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

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

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

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