

THE LONDON SCHOOL
OF ECONOMICS
STUDENTS COMMON ROOM
NOT TO BE TAKEN AWAY

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Vol. IX. No. 4

The Journal of the
League of Nations Union.

April, 1927

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

Price Threepence

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT	61	THE LEAGUE'S AUTHORITY	71
A GREAT DEBATE	64	LEAGUE ACTIVITIES TO-DAY	72
LIMELIGHT ON A SEWER	65	THE MARCH COUNCIL	73
INSTRUCTIONS FOR LORD CECIL	66	DOPE-MERCHANTS' TRICKS	74
WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE WORLD. By Sir Arthur Salter, K.C.B.	67	COMING EVENTS	76
THE "RIGHT" AND THE LEAGUE. By Captain R. S. Hudson, M.P.	68	A LEAD FROM THE SAAR	76
FIGHTING THE GUN-RUNNERS. By Major J. W. Hills, M.P.	69	NAVAL CUTS. By Admiral J. D. Allen	76
IN THE HOUSE	70	THE CECIL PRIZE... ..	76
GENEVA PERSONALITIES.—III. VISCOUNT ISHII	70	A GENEVA SCHOOL FOR BEGINNERS	76
		BOOKS WORTH READING	77
		READERS' VIEWS	78
		FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE	80

MATTERS OF MOMENT

DISARMAMENT discussions which began on March 21st can, for obvious reasons, receive no more than a preliminary mention in the April HEADWAY. By the time the May issue appears, the Preparatory Commission should have completed or come near completing its labours, and a full statement of the situation created by its decisions will be laid before readers. Meanwhile, it can only be noted that at the first meeting of the Commission on March 21, Lord Cecil, as was expected by some people at any rate though apparently not by the French, produced a draft of a full Disarmament Convention prepared by the British Government. The draft was circulated by the Foreign Office for publication in Great Britain the same day. It is impossible to analyse it here, but it will be found to resemble in its main outlines the draft Convention which appeared in the March HEADWAY. M. Paul Boncour, for France, laid a French draft before the Committee two days later. It is clear, therefore, that a great deal of adjustment and co-ordination will be required.

British and French

CERTAIN obvious differences between the French and British plans leap to the eye. One concerns the control of air forces. The British draft rather surprisingly confines its attention exclusively to aeroplanes (and airships) "maintained in commission in first-line combatant units." The French, in view of the fact that civil aeroplanes

can be converted in a few hours into effective bombing-machines, insist that one way or another limitation should extend to both types. It is not clear how this is to be done, but there will be a considerable gap in the scheme if it is not done. The other main difference is in regard to supervision of the execution of any Disarmament agreement reached. The French have always urged that the agreement will lose much of its value unless proper provision is made for investigation in cases where a State is suspected of surreptitiously exceeding the limits set. The British scheme makes provision for any alleged violation of the agreement to be brought to the notice of the League Council and for the Council to take any measures thought desirable, with, however, the stipulation that "no investigation within the limits of the territory of any of the High Contracting Parties shall be made without its consent." The French aim is that a general consent should be given by every State when it signs the agreement, and France declares herself perfectly ready to submit at any time to any inspection that may be thought desirable. In face of that, it would seem a little difficult for Great Britain to refuse to lay her cards on the table to the same extent.

Mobilising a Nation

NEVER have any such comprehensive measures for mobilising a whole nation for war purposes been undertaken in peace-time as are embodied in the "Bill for the Organization of the Nation in Time of War" which has just been passed by the

French Chamber by an overwhelming majority and sent on for consideration by the Senate. What the Bill enacts, in a word, is that in time of national emergency the State, meaning the Government of the moment, can lay its hands on every man or woman in the land, give them their duties and compel them to carry them out. Not only men and women, indeed, as individuals, but organized bodies, such as trade unions, can be taken over equally, if their mechanism seems to have a useful rôle to play in the scheme of national mobilization. Hasty judgments on such a measure must be avoided. The scheme is certainly not merely a vast militaristic coup. For one thing an essential part of it is the reduction of the period of compulsory service from eighteen months to twelve, accompanied, it is true, by an increase of the small professional standing army from 70,000 to 106,000. In the same way the apparently provocative fortification of the new frontier between Alsace-Lorraine and Germany is the alternative to a barrack and garrison system along that frontier involving the employment of a much larger number of men. The whole project, moreover, is fundamentally a scheme for defence of the national territory and is not adopted for any aggressive enterprise. It has been supported with cordiality by the Socialists, largely on account of the principle of equality of sacrifice enshrined in it—a principle, it may be added, which is, on the whole, better calculated to engender a pacific than a militarist temper in the nation. The plan may, of course, yet undergo modification as a result of agreements at Geneva. The whole project will be discussed at greater length by a French writer in the next issue of HEADWAY.

Brazil and the League

REPORTS from South America appear to indicate that Brazil has by no means made up her mind to withdraw definitely from the League of Nations. There is manifest, indeed, a marked popular movement in favour of a return to Geneva. Senor Mello Franco, who was the Brazilian representative on the Council and conveyed to the Council and Assembly in decisive language the intention of his country to leave the League, has made a public speech in the presence of Dr. Bernhades, who was at that time President of Brazil, expressing the view that the Brazilian action was unfortunate and ill-judged. At the same time, the Brazilian Minister to Uruguay has spoken and written emphatically to similar effect. The fact that the official representatives of the Brazilian Foreign Office can openly take this line without reproof is pretty clear indication that the views they express are substantially those of the Government they represent. It is hoped that Brazil will send a delegation as usual to the Annual Conference of the International Labour Organisation in June, and it appears to be by no means impossible that the Brazilian seats at the Assembly in September will not be vacant after all.

The Albanian Trouble

THE tension between Italy and Yugoslavia over Albania has a good many mysterious aspects. The situation may have changed considerably one way or the other by the time this issue of

HEADWAY appears, but there does not at the moment seem to be reason for fearing any serious developments. That being so, it is just as well that the League Council was not summoned, for, while it is extremely important that the Council should act whenever there is a reason for acting, it is also desirable that it should not waste its time in settling disputes which are capable of settling themselves of their own accord. One aspect of the controversy, however, is of interest. Yugoslavia, being accused by Italy of fomenting military preparations on the Albanian frontier, very wisely suggested that the Powers or someone else should send a Commission there to verify the facts for itself. Obviously, if anybody took that course, it ought to be the League, and it is to be noted that among the measures recommended to facilitate rapid action by the League Council under Article II of the Covenant in face of a threat of war, is the compilation by the Secretary-General of lists of experts, military, political, economic, etc., who can be sent at any moment to a danger zone to make an unbiassed report on the situation. The Yugoslav controversy lends much force to that recommendation.

The Premier and the League and the Union

ADDRESSING Viscount Cobham, Chairman of the newly-formed Worcestershire Federal Council of the League of Nations' Union, the Prime Minister, under date March 16, wrote as follows:—

"I am most interested to hear of the meeting which you have summoned to form a Worcestershire Federal Council of the League of Nations Union. Everyone is in cordial sympathy with the aims which the League of Nations Union seeks to foster, and I should like to see a Federal Council of the Union in every county. I feel sure that Worcestershire will not be behindhand in a cause like this, and I wish you every success in the efforts which you are making."

In addition, the Foreign Secretary wrote at length expressing satisfaction at the formation of the Council, expressing his deep conviction of the practical utility and success of the League and the growth of authority and increased confidence in itself. Sir Austen Chamberlain continued:—

"Our own League of Nations Union has done much to spread a knowledge of its work here at home, and may have an equally useful future; but it, too, needs cautious and prudent guidance. It must avoid all partisanship and all attempt to impose particular solutions of individual questions upon the authorities of the League, and devote its efforts not to dictating a policy, but to spreading an appreciation of the League's work and sustaining and extending its influence."

Paring the Cheese

NEARLY every financial operation the League of Nations undertakes goes to disprove the foolish legend of its alleged extravagance. It is about to erect a new Assembly Hall and Secretariat buildings at a cost of 13,000,000 Swiss francs. Meanwhile it is announced in the Press that Manchester, merely on an extension of its existing town hall, is to spend over £1,000,000, or 25,000,000 Swiss francs. It was stated, by the way, in the last issue of HEADWAY that the competitive plans for the new buildings would be exhibited if enough wall space could be found to accommodate them. It cannot, and the Batiment Electoral, one of the

largest buildings in Geneva, has been taken for the purpose. There the plans will be displayed in such form as to enable the judges to carry out their arduous task of selecting the best. They are meeting this month to do it.

A Headmaster's Credo

IN response to a communication addressed to him by Lord Cecil, as president of the League of Nations Union, the Headmaster of the Perse School, Cambridge, has sent to the Union the following instructive confession of faith:—

"SIR,—I regret to say that I think the League of Nations is a very mischievous delusion, and I believe only in England and its dependents.—Yours faithfully,
"W. H. D. ROUSE."

A belief with such limitations can no doubt be the more intense, and such a creed may perhaps be possible in the year 1927. It would be interesting to know whether Mr. Rouse held the same conviction, in, say, the year 1917. No belief in France, no belief in Belgium, no belief in Italy, no belief in Japan, no belief in the United States, no belief in any of the other twenty or so nations who won the war with us. If that is so, it is hardly a matter for surprise that Mr. Rouse should fail to believe in the League of Nations either.

When Alsations Bite

ALSATIANS are not the only dogs that bite, and dogs are not the only animals that bite. Horses do and cows do and cats do and pigs do—to mention only a few of those with which mankind most commonly has traffic. And in some cases the bite leads to rabies, otherwise known as hydrophobia. Something is known about hydrophobia already, thanks to the activity of the Pasteur Institute in Paris, but not very much. The League of Nations Health Organisation is in consequence calling a conference on the subject next month. It will be held actually at the Pasteur Institute, as a recognition of the work already done there, and it will deal with the various methods of treatment of hydrophobia already in vogue, discuss whether it is possible to prevent the paralysis that sometimes accompanies treatment, and go fully into the question of the vaccination of dogs, which is already practised as a safeguard.

The Swiss and the Soviets

IT is to be hoped that there is truth in the rumour that Switzerland and Soviet Russia are really trying to arrange to resume diplomatic relations. In 1923, Vorovsky, a Soviet delegate to the Lausanne Conference, was murdered in his hotel at Lausanne, and a local jury astonishingly acquitted his assailant. One result of the verdict was the sacking of the Swiss Legation at Leningrad. This produced a rupture of diplomatic relations, which has lasted ever since. In consequence, the Soviet Government has steadily refused to send delegates to attend any Conference held at Geneva or anywhere else on Swiss soil. Whether it would have refused to have anything to do with the League in any case it is impossible to say, but, at any rate, the air will be cleared if this particular ground for non-co-operation can no longer be put forward.

Other People's Business

AN interesting point regarding the relation of the League to the affairs of a particular country arose during the recent Council meeting at Geneva, when M. Vandervelde, the Belgian Foreign Minister, took advantage of a discussion on the Bulgarian Refugee Settlement Scheme to urge that Bulgaria should amnesty various political offenders who are at present under sentence or awaiting trial. Sir Austen Chamberlain immediately intervened to point out that this was a domestic affair which was quite beyond the scope of the Council's activities. M. Vandervelde then explained that he was speaking rather in an individual capacity than as a member of the Council. The incident will, no doubt, be marked with interest by students of the League's constitution and limitations.

Justice for Prisoners

AN attempt is to be made to secure the adoption by the League of Nations of a Convention designed to set certain minimum standards of prison treatment for prisoners in all countries. The Executive of the League of Nations Union has undertaken to bring the matter before the forthcoming Conference of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, which is to be held in Berlin at the end of May, urging that an endeavour be made to have the question raised by one or more Government delegates at the Eighth Assembly of the League next September. The Howard League in Great Britain has drawn up a schedule representing the conditions which it considers should be observed as a minimum standard in the treatment of prisoners, particularly political prisoners, in all countries. It is desired, if possible, to get these standards embodied in an international convention.

Empire Collaboration

AN interesting example of the co-operation of League of Nations Unions in different countries is provided by the following telegram sent to our own Union by the Cape Town League of Nations Society:—

"Cape Town endorses your memorandum, and deplors any action impairing prestige and authority of Mandates Commission. (Signed) STORR."

The Union memorandum in question was devoted to a discussion of the questions raised before the League Council as to whether the Questionnaire which the Mandates Commission proposed to circulate was too elaborate, and whether petitioners from Mandate Areas should ever be heard in person by the Commission.

A Year's Mail

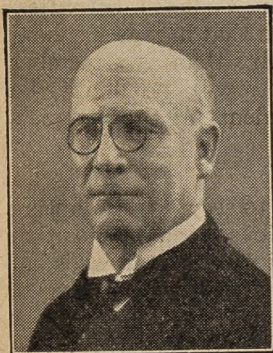
TWENTY-THREE languages were used last year in the correspondence of the "I.L.O.," while that Office is at present in communication with 97 States, protectorates, colonies and mandated territories. The number of letters received rose from 32,300 in 1925 to 33,250 in 1926, while those despatched totalled nearly 40,000, as against 27,000 in 1925. A large number of the letters received are requests for information, the unique facilities of the "I.L.O." for obtaining information on world labour conditions being increasingly realised, not only from Governments and employers' and workers' organisations, but also from private bodies who ask the help of the "I.L.O.'s" technical services.

A GREAT DEBATE

STRESEMANN, BRIAND AND THE SAAR

THE most difficult, the most important and in some ways one of the most contentious of the problems before the League Council at its March session was the situation in the Saar.

Two aspects of that situation fell to be considered. In March of each year the five members of the Governing Commission are appointed for the ensuing twelve months. In 1927, for the first time, there was a German delegate seated at the Council table to take part in the discussion of that question. Incidentally, he was actually in the chair, presiding over the discussion. Germany, moreover, was known quite reasonably to desire at least one personal change in the composition of the Commission. It has consisted for the last two years of a Canadian chairman, together with a French,



Major G. W. Stephens

a Belgian, a Czechoslovakian and a Saarois member. That, it will be observed, meant that four out of the five members represented States opposed to Germany in the war—though no one has ever accused the Canadian of the smallest anti-German bias. Frequently, however, if a question had come to a vote on the Commission, the Frenchman, the Belgian and the Czech had been found on one side and the Canadian and the Saarois on the other.

A New Chairman

Germany, therefore, in common with a great many people in this country, desired to see the Belgian, who had already served seven years, replaced by a citizen of some completely neutral State. This year, moreover, the situation was complicated by the fact that Major Stephens, the Canadian member and President of the Commission, had found it necessary to tender his resignation, for purely personal reasons, quite unconnected with politics in the Saar. All such personal appointments are dealt with, as they must necessarily be, at a private sitting of the Council, and at that sitting it was decided to reappoint all five members, though with the understanding that Major Stephens would be replaced long before the expiration of that period by a successor, who will almost certainly be, like himself, a Canadian. M. Lambert, the Belgian member, will thus hold office for at least another year, it being argued that he could not with decency be deprived of his position at a moment's notice after having served with satisfaction since 1920. There appears, however, to be a general understanding that he will retire in March, 1928.

The second Saar question on the Agenda produced, as things turned out, perhaps the most important debate ever heard in a Council Meeting since the League was founded. That was due, not entirely to the intrinsic merits of the question at issue, which were not indeed of the first moment, but to the fact that it involved an absolutely frank discussion between the Foreign Ministers of France and Germany, each contending, with the strongest arguments he was able to adduce, for the solution his own country expected him to carry off. Two other Foreign Ministers, those of Great Britain and Belgium, intervened effectively in the debate, and the

whole question was introduced in the first instance by a former Foreign Minister of Italy, Signor Scialoja.

Gendarmerie and Troops

The actual question itself concerned the presence of French troops in the Saar. They have been kept there from the Armistice right on till now, on the ground that the Governing Commission was responsible for the maintenance of order, and that the gendarmerie of 1,000 men, which was as much as the Government could afford to pay for, would be inadequate in the event of serious disturbance. The Germans have always contended that the retention of these troops was a breach of the Treaty, which provides that there shall be no military service in the Saar, and that order should be maintained by a local gendarmerie only. This time, after repeated attempts, the Governing Commission had brought in proposals, adopted unanimously by four of them, with their Saarois colleague abstaining, providing for the removal of such French troops as still remained (about 3,000) and the creation of a Railway Defence Force of 800 men, which might be international in character, though it was suggested that the Powers best able to provide such a force were those already occupying the Rhineland.

The real reason for the demand for a Railway Defence Force is the fact that communications between France and her Army of Occupation in the Rhineland run clean through the middle of the Saar. It was, therefore, for reasons extraneous to the Saar itself that this special protection for the railways was required. The Germans, who feared that the new body would simply be a French force under another name, viewed the proposals with considerable misgiving, and although the discussion of them was postponed till the last day of the Council Meeting in the hope of a private agreement being reached, no agreement had, in fact, been reached at all. The outlook was sombre, the general expectation being that the Council would have to divide on the question and the Germans find themselves in a minority when the vote was taken. That would have been an unfortunate closing to the first Council Meeting presided over by a German chairman.

A Speech in German

The debate began. Signor Scialoja, as rapporteur, presented the Governing Commission's proposals, making no recommendation regarding them one way or the other. Major Stephens, who was known himself to have signed the Commission's Report with some reluctance, briefly supported it. Herr Stresemann then began a lengthy speech in German, which was subsequently translated, portion by portion, into both French and English. He put a number of reasonable objections to the proposals, suggested that they were contrary to the Treaty, pointed out that there were at least three other lines of communication for the French occupying force, and then, to everyone's surprise, declared that, though he had no instructions from his Government, he would take the risk of accepting the proposals, subject to five conditions, which he proceeded to outline.

The morning session then ended, and the Council adjourned for lunch, the general expectation being that M. Briand would find it impossible not to respond to the German lead. The French Foreign Minister, however, who spoke immediately the afternoon session opened, did not find that impossible. If he had followed his personal inclinations, he would, no doubt, have closed

at once with the compromise Herr Stresemann had offered. As it was, he had to address himself to the Paris Press much more than to the members of the Council, and his speech was a virtual refusal of the conditions his German colleague proposed and a virtual insistence on the acceptance of the Commission's Report as it stood. Herr Stresemann made a sound debating reply, which, however, did nothing to bridge the gap. He had gone as far as seemed possible for him, and could, therefore, add nothing to his offer of the morning.

Sir Austen Intervenes

Then, with Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Vandervelde pleading for an accord and appealing for concessions rather than their German colleague than from their French, Signor Scialoja, as rapporteur, suggested a way round one of the difficulties, and Major Stephens, as Chairman of the Commission, followed it up. Finally Stresemann spoke again. He had to take a decision that might have grave effects on his political career. He took it, and thereby turned a probable League failure into a signal League success. He would,

he said, accept the report, subject this time, not to five, but to three conditions: (1) An early date must forthwith be fixed for the complete withdrawal of all French troops from the Saar; (2) the number of 800 must be considered not as a final figure, but as a maximum which the Governing Commission should reduce if it could; (3) the force must not be used for disciplining the population, except in quite abnormal circumstances.

Those conditions M. Briand readily accepted. The two which Herr Stresemann had to forgo were that the force should be international rather than inter-Allied in character—it is, in fact, to consist of British, French and Belgian contingents—and that it should be non-military in character. The period within which the French troops must be withdrawn was fixed at three months.

The Council closed its meeting at seven in the evening instead of, as was originally expected, at 12 in the morning. But those intervening hours, in which its members loyally and with goodwill fought point by point for agreement, and finally achieved it, may prove to have done as much for the League's prestige as any other similar period in its history.

LIMELIGHT ON A SEWER

THE LEAGUE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC REPORT

FEW documents published by the League of Nations have ever received greater press publicity than the Report on the Traffic in Women and Children, issued during last month's Council Meeting. That is not surprising, for no document more arresting or more poignant has ever emanated from the Secretariat.

Space forbids anything like a summary of the conclusions reached by the body of investigators which has been investigating those haunts of vice known broadly as "the underworld" for a period of something like three years.

The work was undertaken under the general auspices of the League's Advisory Committee on Women and Children, and the special sub-committee charged with directing the investigation consisted of eight members—



Dr. W. F. Snow

one Italian, one French, one German, one British, one Japanese and one Uruguayan. The chairman was Dr. W. F. Snow, chairman of the Bureau of Hygiene in the United States, and the British member of the committee was Mr. S. W. Harris, of the Home Office.

Something of the scope and state of the White Slave Traffic is indicated by two quotations from the Committee's Report:—

(1) "International traffic has been taken to mean primarily the direct or indirect procurement and transportation for gain to a foreign country of women and girls for the sexual gratification of one or more other persons."

(2) "The traffickers include 'madames,' who manage houses of prostitution; 'souteneurs,' who are mainly responsible for securing the girls and controlling their movements; principals, who are financially interested in vice districts or brothels, and lend money to madames and souteneurs; and intermediaries, who sometimes secure and transport girls for the souteneurs and madames."

It is added that there is no regular organisation of traffickers, but that these persons play into one another's hands when it suits them to do so, and conspire to defraud their victims. There are recognised resorts in big cities where souteneurs and their friends meet and exchange information and advice as to their prospects.

An Exhaustive Probe

Into the whole of the situation thus disclosed the League's body of investigators has probed assiduously and relentlessly. Detailed reports have been made on twenty-eight countries, in which 112 cities and districts were visited. No fewer than 6,500 persons were interviewed, including about 5,000 persons connected with commercialised prostitution, a large number of whom were either prostitutes or souteneurs. The information thus acquired has been presented in two parts. Part I, consisting of a general review of the whole field, no particular distinction being drawn between conditions in different countries. In Part II the situation in each of the twenty-eight countries is described individually. Part I was published by a decision of the League of Nations Council taken on March 16. The fate of Part II has not yet been finally determined. It was felt by all concerned to be reasonable that reports about a particular country should be forwarded to the Government of that country before they were given to the public, and Sir Austen Chamberlain, who acted as rapporteur to the Council, suggested that any observations which Governments might make should be printed as an annexe to Part II. The decision, however, to publish Part II at all has not yet been definitely taken. The matter will probably come before the Council again in June.

As to the actual extent of the White Slave Traffic, the report is necessarily a little vague. It is hardly to be expected that detailed figures could be given. As to its character, there are clear conclusions. Most of the girls lured overseas by souteneurs or others come from Europe, principally from such countries as France, Poland and Roumania, and go in the main to different South American countries and to Egypt. The rather

lurid stories sometimes current of entirely innocent and unsuspecting girls being thus decoyed away to another country are not borne out by the findings of the investigators. The majority of the girls concerned are those who have taken to a life of vice already, though that is hardly true of one considerable class, that of girls who take an engagement in some travelling theatrical company or in a foreign restaurant or cabaret, and discover all too soon that there is one obvious way in which they are expected to supplement their meagre earnings.

Passport Forgers

Alcohol and drugs both appear to play some part in lowering the moral standards of girls and prompting them to take a course they would otherwise refuse, and the same is true in a probably less degree of obscene publications, a fact which shows how valuably the League's campaign against one particular vice reinforces the League's campaign against another. It might be supposed that the passport system and other restrictions on travel, sometimes regarded as vexatious, would impede the transport of girls from one country to another for immoral purposes. That is true to some extent, but one of the discoveries of the investigators is that a thriving business exists not merely in the forging of passports, but of other documents, notably of birth certificates, which are made to show that a girl is over 21, whereas in many cases she is unhappily far below that age. Bogus or disreputable employment-agencies are created to facilitate the traffic, and marriages, either bogus or genuine, are a favourite method of the souteneur. When the marriage is actually genuine, the husband usually disappears as soon as he has succeeded in getting the girl into the country of destination as his wife.

Whether this iniquitous traffic can ever be stamped out completely is still a matter of doubt, but the progress achieved in certain countries, notably in Great Britain, shows how much could be done if Governments were ready to do it. The investigators believe that the growth of a better public opinion is already having its effect, and they quote what may be regarded as one of the most valuable testimonials ever made to the efficacy of the League. It consists of a remark made by a souteneur met in Latvia: "It costs a lot to travel, and a boy can get tripped up easier now. The League of Nations is looking after the thing. We all know what is going on."

Great Britain's Lead

Apart from such obvious precautions as stricter control of passports and of supervision of the ports and railway stations and a more rigorous scrutiny of all contracts of employment abroad involving girls between twenty and thirty, there are at least two developments on which the Committee lays marked emphasis. The first is the elimination of the third party, who foment the traffic for the profit it gains him. To quote the actual words of the Report: "If the third party could be eliminated, the battle would be largely won. Some countries realise this principle and punish severely souteneurs, madames and others who live on the proceeds of prostitution." It may be added in parenthesis that Great Britain, fortunately, is one of these countries, for the law here against men who live on women's immoral earnings is so strong and is so rigorously administered that, as one souteneur encountered in London frankly admitted, "the game in England is not worth the candle."

The second reform is the abolition of licensed houses of prostitution in countries where they still exist. The League's Advisory Committee has more than once discussed this subject, but objection has been taken to their doing so on the ground that this is a question

of domestic and not of international concern. The present Committee, however, points out again and again that it is only the fact that there exist in various countries licensed houses, in which the girls imported from elsewhere can at once be placed, that makes the traffic possible. The declaration in the Report that "in view of the connection which the Commission has found to exist between licensed houses and traffic in women, the question of the retention or abolition of these houses has acquired an international as well as a national character," should be of the highest value to the Advisory Committee in its further work.

The Appeal to the Best

But beyond all these legislative or administrative reforms, something is needed on which the Committee lays wise and necessary stress. After pointing out how largely economic conditions, bad housing and low class theatres and other resorts have ministered to the stimulation of vice, the investigators add words which might well be taken as a guide to every social reformer in this and many other fields. "In general," they write, "influences which lift the mind to higher planes, providing ideals of truth and beauty, have been urged as important factors in combating the traffic, because they engender a moral force which helps both men and women to develop control of desires which cannot be gratified by the practices of prostitution without danger both to the individuals and to society. Recreation is also of the highest value."

Both parts of the Committee's Report have been referred formally by the League Council to the Advisory Committee on Women and Children, which meets in April, and it will be for that body to frame plans for international action along the lines the investigators have suggested. Whether the special Committee itself will be asked to extend to Asia, and perhaps Australasia, the investigations it has conducted in Europe and the two Americas, is not yet decided. In any case, the Committee has already rendered a service the value of which can hardly be exaggerated, in carrying through a monumental investigation on entirely scientific and objective lines in a field where effective action has been impeded more by lack of information than by any other obstacle.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR LORD CECIL

SPEAKING in the Debate on the Air Estimates in the House of Commons on March 17th, Sir Samuel Hoare, Minister for Air, said:

"I have always thought that in the matter of air disarmament the important thing was to concentrate your attention upon what is really the centre of the problem—namely, the danger of a sudden air attack upon the great centres of population in Europe, to concentrate your attention on those air forces that are capable of making these sudden attacks upon the great centres of population.

"That is the line upon which Lord Cecil will work in Geneva. I do not suggest by that that he is exclusively tied down to one line of advance. It would be a great mistake if it were so. A delegate at Geneva must be guided and influenced by the arguments which are put to him by the representatives of the other countries; but I can tell the hon. member, in general terms, that our desire in the matter of Air Force disarmament is to concentrate on those metropolitan areas—the forces, that is, that make these sudden attacks on the great centres of Europe—and to see whether we cannot agree to some form of limitation and restriction. If we can do that, we shall have taken a very real step in advance, and a step in advance in the direction where air attack is most dangerous."

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE WORLD? THE LEAGUE TACKLES TARIFFS AND CARTELS

By SIR ARTHUR SALTER, K.C.B.

THE World Economic Conference will meet at Geneva on May 4th. It is one of the most ambitious projects on which the League has ever embarked; and it is in some way the most ambitious economic conference the world has ever seen. The League has waited several years in order to choose the best moment



Sir Arthur Salter

for it, and has spent over a year in preparing for it. What are its objects, how will it work, and what is it likely to achieve? I will try to answer these questions within the limits set by space and official discretion.

The Conference has two main objects: It is concerned both with the peace and the prosperity of the world. Let me start by emphasising the first of these, for it is too often overlooked in the middle of technical studies and immediate practical anxieties. Differences

of economic interest, quarrels about economic conflicts, are probably the greatest and the most permanent of the dangers which threaten the peace of the world. The League has an occasional task of settling disputes; it has a permanent task of removing the causes from which disputes arise, or eliminating beforehand the factors which make them most dangerous.

Richer than in 1913

But let us turn at once to the more concrete and immediate economic problems which will be discussed. What is wrong with the world? What is the character, and what is the extent of the trouble? Well, in the first place we must not exaggerate the evil. The world as a whole is richer, and the average person is richer, now than before the war. Between 1913 and 1925 the world's population increased by about 5 per cent., but its production of foodstuffs and of raw materials increased by between 16 and 18 per cent. This means that *in the world as a whole* people produce and consume more than they did before the war. In Europe, of course, the picture is not so pleasant; but even there it is not so black as it is usually painted. The uncertainty about Russian figures makes it difficult to be precise; but it seems likely that production per head in 1925 was scarcely less than in 1913. But foreign trade had decreased by about 10 per cent., and that necessarily involves a considerable loss.

This brief statement may seem surprisingly optimistic. But it is very far from meaning that we are as well off as we ought to be or as we could be. The year 1913, after all, was not the millennium; and whatever the general figures may be, it is obvious that some countries and some classes are worse off than they used to be, worse off through causes resulting directly or indirectly from the war, and worse off from causes that we can remove if we have the necessary energy, intelligence and good will.

In one form or another our present troubles (as compared with 1913) are mainly those of *maladjustment*, of the inability of supply to adjust itself to demand. When the war broke out the world had suddenly to readjust its machinery to the special needs of war. Then in 1918 the world's demand changed no less suddenly to the needs of peace. And it was very difficult for the groping finger of changing prices to discover just what

these needs were. Still more difficult was it for the whole mechanism of supply, rooted as it was in fixed capital and plant and the habits and acquired skill of the workers engaged in the different industries, to change as quickly as the rapidly changing demand of the consuming population of the world. And two special causes made this adjustment specially difficult. First currency systems went to pieces as a result of war finance, and, with most of the moneys of Europe changing from day to day, the vital link between the production of one country and consumption in another was broken.

Currencies Stable

This first and greatest impediment to recovery has now, fortunately, been almost overcome. The Brussels Financial Conference led the way; the work was continued by the League's reconstruction of Austria and Hungary; the example was followed in other countries; and now fluctuations in currencies, the chief impediment to international trade, have ceased to be a factor of the first importance. This has brought into prominence the second great impediment. If currencies have ceased to fluctuate and fall, tariffs continue to fluctuate and rise. For when the war-time system of production was suddenly faced with the very different demands of peace, there was naturally great dislocation. One country after another tried to reduce the dislocation among its own industries by protective barriers. In time many of these barriers have begun to cause more evil than they were designed to avert. These "trade barriers" are the central cause of the more immediately remediable of our troubles; and they will be the central topic of the Conference.

What can the conference hope to do in dealing with this problem? It cannot conclude conventions. For its members, though chosen by governments, are not accredited representatives with power to bind their countries. But if it can develop and express a general opinion that tariffs are too high, too unequal and too unstable; that some systems of tariffs (for example the "tarifs de combat"—that is tariffs which are higher than the country wants and which it imposes in order to have a weapon in bargaining—(a system which has much the same results as competitive armaments), and some other forms of trade barriers are specially useless and injurious, the subsequent effect on commercial policy may be great and beneficial.

Governments and Trusts

Then there is the whole problem of "international cartels." These have obvious advantages. Economies may be made by large scale manufacture, by diminution of sudden dislocation, by arranging "areas of free trade," and these economies may be used so as to benefit all three parties—the employer in higher profits, the worker in high wages and more assured employment, and the consumer in lower prices. It is no less obvious that the development presents certain dangers, in particular, of the exploitation of the public. The conference may do a work of great value in guiding this movement, as it develops, by stating the conditions on which it can be recommended as in the public interest, and perhaps by preparing the public, the consumers of the world to watch whether these conditions are fulfilled.

These two groups of questions—tariffs and commercial policy, and among industrial problems in cartels and international agreements—are perhaps the most important that face the conference. But agricultural questions will also be discussed, and many detailed problems of commerce and industry which there is no room here to describe.

THE "RIGHT" AND THE LEAGUE WHAT CONSERVATIVES FEEL ABOUT GENEVA

By CAPT. R. S. HUDSON, M.P.

[There was published in the March HEADWAY an article by Mr. W. Arnold-Forster on the attitude of "the Left" towards the League of Nations. This month Capt. Hudson, one of the more prominent of the younger Conservative members of the House of Commons, discusses the attitude of "the Right."]

IT is, I think, quite true to say that in the past many members of the Conservative Party in the country have tended to regard the League of Nations as being somewhat impracticable and rather too idealistic to cope with the actual needs of the moment.

I think this was largely due to our historic policy of isolation and avoidance of entanglement in European alliances, to an ingrained doubt whether one could be a good internationalist and a good patriot, to a reaction against the excessive idealism with which we were all dosed at the end of the war, and to a feeling that the United States, having backed out of the League, had, by its action, knocked away one of the corner-stones of that edifice. I am sure that no one who had any personal experience of the late war could be anything but a pacifist for the rest of his life, and this, surely, is



Capt. Hudson

true of all men, to whatever party they may belong. But when, as a result of the break-up of the Central Empires, and under the intoxicating influence of the doctrine of "Self-Determination of Nations," the number of small and independent States in Europe was largely increased, many people—of whom I am free to confess that I was then one—were doubtful of the power of so young a body as the League of Nations to control and assuage the rival claims of nationalism run mad.

League Police

Many of us thought at the time that peace was more likely to be assured if the "gap in the Covenant" had been closed by the League having some international police force of its own with which to enforce its decisions on recalcitrant members, instead of relying on mere pressure or, in extreme cases, on a threat of an economic or financial blockade. As time went on we came to realise that our bantling was stronger than we had expected in a Europe still filled with suspicion and bitterness. The League was more than once turned to with relief by Governments who felt that they had exhausted the normal methods of negotiation, and that only the Council could devise some solution that would be generally accepted, even if not acceptable.

As time went on, it became more and more generally realised that the method set up by the Covenant, in spite of its gaps, appealed to our practical English instinct. As a nation, we are inclined to distrust well-thought-out policies based on logical premisses. Before the war we were known on the Continent as "*perfidie Albion*," not through our following a Machiavellian policy, as foreigners believed, but owing to our national capacity for treating each problem as it arose and finding some reasonable solution.

Persuasion or Decree

This, moreover, affords the key to our objection to the "Gap in the Covenant" being filled by anything in the nature of the Protocol or by a form of compulsory arbitration. We have observed with increasing approbation, and our belief in the efficacy of the League has been

enhanced thereby, that the Council has tried to work diplomatically to reach friendly understandings, and has tried to reconcile differences rather than issue judicial awards. Many of us believe that in the realm of foreign relations it is very often much more important how you do a thing than what you do, and the atmosphere in which difficult negotiations are carried on is more than half the battle. The League, in the opinion of many of us, would have been worth while if it achieved nothing else than the opportunity which the regular meetings of the Council and Assembly afford to the Foreign Ministers of most of the States of Europe to meet if they so desire in friendly and informal intercourse.

There is no doubt, however, and it is no use blinking the fact, that many members of the Conservative Party are disturbed by two things. In the first place, there is a widespread feeling that the League of Nations Union itself is being used by the other political parties for their own purposes. As a member of the Union executive, as well as of the Conservative Party, I am sure that so far as the Union is concerned, this fear is groundless; but strength is undoubtedly lent to it by the fact—which I know from personal experience—that members of the other parties, when they do speak on L.N.U. platforms, in numberless cases cannot refrain from dragging party politics into the matter.

The second cause of distrust may be summed up in the phrase, "Save me from my friends." Many strong and sincere advocates of peace by negotiation fear that friends and advocates of the League are sometimes inclined to let their enthusiasm outrun their discretion, and there is some apprehension lest by tinkering with, or adding to the Covenant, the British Empire may find itself one day in honour engaged in some course of action which is not to-day apparent.

Slow and Steady

The League, after all, is still young. It has not yet been functioning for 10 years. Two of the Great Powers—the United States and Russia—are not yet members. As a result of long and patient negotiations, it has recently obtained a great accession of influence by the admission of Germany and the grant to her of a permanent seat on the Council. None need be ashamed of its record so far. The methods of those responsible for its direction have been eminently successful. The apprehensions and mutual suspicions of Western Europe are gradually being allayed. The pacts supplementary to the Covenant are tending to give that sense of security without which we believe no real disarmament can ever take place. It is becoming more and more to be recognised that no quarrel is worth another war, and the longer we can keep the peace and give time for the remaining passions and fears to die down, the greater will be the sense of general security, and the sooner shall we be able to lay aside the burden of armaments.

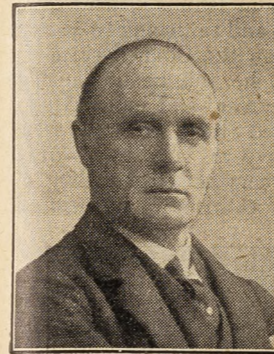
We think that the League is a great human institution which must be allowed to grow slowly, to develop gradually and to find its own feet, and we believe, in the words of Lord Hugh Cecil, that under the Covenant the "League was essentially set up as the home of friendly good will, as the honest broker, to use Bismarck's words, who brings everyone together." As such the number of its warm supporters among members of the Right is, I am convinced, steadily—indeed rapidly—increasing.

FIGHTING THE GUN-RUNNERS HOW CIVIL WARS ARE STILL FOMENTED

By MAJOR J. W. HILLS, M.P.

[The fighting in China and the fact that both sides are being notoriously supplied with arms and munitions by various European Powers has rightly given rise to many questions as to what the League of Nations is doing about it all. In this article Major Hills, who was himself a member of the Temporary Mixed Commission, explains what the League has tried to do and where its efforts have been thwarted.]

ON June 17, 1925, a Convention governing the International Traffic in Arms was signed at Geneva by 29 States and subsequently sent by the Assembly of the League to the various Governments. Among the signatories were: Great Britain, Germany, U.S.A., France, Italy and Japan. It had a long previous history, of which it is only necessary to say that the movement for regulation of this traffic started with the Convention of St. Germain in 1919. At that date, the various Allies, seeing that Europe was a mass of dumps of war stores, took certain steps to prevent their getting into the wrong hands. However, this Convention, in itself not of a very effective character, came to naught, owing to the failure of other countries, particularly the United States, to ratify.



Major Hills

When, therefore, the discussions of the body known as the Temporary Mixed Commission had resulted in the production of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the direct ancestor of Locarno, it turned its attention to Arms Traffic. Thereupon, the present Convention was drafted, until finally it passed in the form approved by the various Powers in 1925. It proceeds on simple lines; it applies to all arms and munitions and implements of war, including ships of war, aircraft, cannon of all sizes, rifles, and in fact to any material which forms part of the armament of any Power. Now it is obvious that in material of this kind you have an overlap, for some of it, such as rifles, has a perfectly legitimate use for sport. The Convention, therefore, divides implements into five categories. The first contains such as are exclusively intended for land, sea or air warfare; the second, a middle class of material available both for military and civil purposes; the third, vessels of war and their armament; the fourth, aircraft; and the fifth, implements of no military value.

The Publicity Weapon

Leaving ships and aircraft aside for a moment, and also leaving aside certain special parts of the earth's surface such as uncivilized Africa and the Persian Gulf, the traditional hunting ground of the gun-runner, the Convention proceeds on the two broad lines, first, of complete publicity, and second, of allowing sales only to a Government. Each State undertakes to keep a list of all the implements of war which leaves its boundaries, a list, moreover, made out in great detail, and to publish full particulars within two months of the close of each quarter. Thus the world will always know who are the sellers and who are the buyers of arms and the amount of military material in movement, and this information will be collated and published by the League of Nations. This is an advance of the very greatest moment, for it drags into the light of day a trade which up to now has been furtive, underground and often dishonest. The obligation of publicity is laid directly on the Governments and cannot be evaded.

Next, as to supervision. No country will allow arms to leave its frontier by air, water or land, except for direct supply to another Government. This, at a stroke, puts down illicit gun-running. Stringent regulations, again impossible to evade, have been drawn up to secure this, the second cardinal point of the Convention. The traffic in arms, when the Convention is passed, will become an open and ordered one, and will replace the secret smuggling which is rampant at the present time. In regard to ships of war and aircraft, a slightly different method is laid down, but in these also the State from which they are sent has to publish complete particulars, including the country of destination. Parts of implements are included in these regulations; and when they are enforced the two pillars on which the Convention rests, publicity and supervision, will have been erected on a sure foundation.

A Licence for Sales

There are various details inserted to strengthen the Convention. The State that buys the arms agrees not to resell them surreptitiously, and there is a simple but effective procedure for tracing their course from the moment they leave the country of supply until they reach the country of destination. This will avoid what happens now, transshipment at sea. Further, in the case of arms of the mixed character in category 2, either military or sporting, these cannot be sold without a licence and, of course, without publicity, though in this case the buyer need not be a State. But there is an invaluable provision to prevent arms being speciously exported as harmless or sporting weapons, while really they are for warlike uses. By this provision, the State of the exporter, if it considers "on account of the size, destination or other circumstances of a consignment, that the arms and ammunition consigned are intended for war purposes," undertakes to apply the more stringent provisions of the Convention and to subject them to full publicity and to allow their export only to a State.

These regulations will apply to all the civilized world as soon as the necessary signatures have been obtained. But there is a part of the globe, semi-civilized, where much stricter rules are necessary. This includes the whole of Africa, except the European possessions, Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. In this case the nations who are concerned with the control of the territories in question are given the right of the strictest supervision and veto over arms of any sort, and, in fact, in these special zones as they are called, very special rules are laid down. This is as it should be. For centuries the Persian Gulf, for example, has been the door of gun-running for the Middle and Far East, and if arms get there, they will get anywhere, as far, for example, as India and Afghanistan and further.

Such is the Convention. Unluckily it is not yet in force. Before this takes place it must be ratified as well as signed, and fourteen ratifications are necessary before it comes into effect. These have not yet been obtained, and it must be admitted that the prospect of getting them is not bright. The blame does not rest with this country. Some Conventions we have not ratified, and we have been properly blamed therefor; but, in the present instance, three reasons absolve us. In the first

place, it is no good our closing a door whilst other doors remain open. As long as there is a market for the gun-runner, some country will fill the demand. Prohibition must be general, or else it acts only to the detriment of the honest power. That is the first reason, and the second is even stronger. We do, in effect, carry out a policy as strict as those of the Convention. Very close supervision is exercised over arms leaving our shores. If other States are pouring warlike material into China, we are not of that number. Thirdly, the British Government has approached other important Governments with a view to their all ratifying simultaneously, but has failed in its endeavours. But it is to be hoped that the Convention will soon be ratified by the necessary fourteen and come into full force. It will make an immense change in the practice of centuries, and will be a pathway to peace.

IN THE HOUSE

March 7.—Sir A. STEEL-MAITLAND (to Sir Archibald Sinclair): "In France legislation has recently been adopted enabling the Government to ratify the Washington Hours Convention. I am also informed that the German Government has prepared a Bill dealing *inter alia* with the intention of ratification if other Western Powers take similar action."

March 9.—Mr. BRIDGEMAN (to Lieut. Commander Kenworthy): "It is not proposed to lay down any of the vessels of the 1927 quota (of the Royal Navy) of the new construction until later in the year, when it is hoped that the result of the proposed Conference on Naval Armaments will be known."

March 9.—Mr. LOCKER-LAMPSON (to Mr. R. S. Hudson): "The United States Government has come to no decision on the question of signing the Second Opium Convention (Geneva 1925), but has recently been invited to define its position in the matter."

March 14.—Sir A. CHAMBERLAIN (to Sir Archibald Sinclair): The Treaty signed by the British Empire, France, Italy, Roumania, and Japan, recognising the annexation of Bessarabia by Roumania, has not been ratified by all the signatories, and is not yet in force. As far as I am aware, instruments of ratification have not yet been deposited in Paris by Italy and Japan, in accordance with the final article of the Treaty. With regard to the obligations it imposes on this country, I would refer the hon. Baronet to Command Paper 1,747 (Treaty Series No. 15, 1922), which contains the text of the Treaty.

March 16.—Sir A. CHAMBERLAIN (to Col. Wedgwood): "I expressed no opinion at the League Council for or against further amnesty of prisoners by the Bulgarian Government. I took exception to any discussion of the purely domestic affairs of a State at the Council table. H.M. Minister at Sofia did, under instructions from me, offer advice to the previous Bulgarian Government on this subject. The present Bulgarian Government, on assuming office in December, 1925, passed a wide amnesty measure embracing 7,000 persons."

March 21.—Earl WINTERTON (to Mr. R. Morrison): The representatives of India at the forthcoming International Economic Conference will be Dr. L. K. Hyder, Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E., and Sir N. N. Wadia, K.B.E., C.I.E.

March 21.—Mr. G. LOCKER-LAMPSON (to Sir Harry Brittain): In the case of all applications for passports from women and girls who are taking up employment in a foreign country, special precautions are taken, and in the case of theatrical artistes passports are not issued unless the contracts and conditions of employment are

recommended as satisfactory by a recognised body, such as the Stage Guild or the Variety Artistes' Federation. His Majesty's Consuls abroad have instructions to take similar precautions.

[These answers are summarised and do not necessarily represent the Ministers' actual words.]

GENEVA PERSONALITIES

III.—VISCOUNT ISHII

IT is, fortunately, just not quite too late to include Viscount Ishii in this series, though it is to be feared that last month's Council was the last occasion on which the chair of Japan will be filled by the delegate who has so ably represented that distant country for the last seven years.

At the age of sixty-one, Viscount Ishii is retiring from his post as Ambassador in Paris and returning to Japan. At Geneva, where he has sat on the Council since its first meeting in January, 1920, he will be universally missed. His long diplomatic career, and in particular his special mission to the United States on emigration questions in 1907 and again ten years later to conclude the famous Lansing-Ishii Agreement on equality of opportunity in China, as well as his appointment as

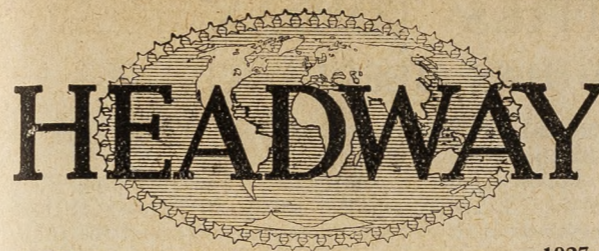


Viscount Ishii

Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1915, have qualified him in a unique degree for the representation of his country on the Assembly and Council of the League.

By a singular chance, which no one can count other than fortunate, it has fallen to Viscount Ishii to be President of the Council at three critical moments in its career. He was in the chair when the Council gave its decision on the Upper Silesian partition in 1921; when it had to handle the Corfu dispute in 1923; and again last year when it dealt with the increase in the Council and the controversy regarding permanent seats.

Perhaps the best tribute to the Japanese representative was a remark made in private conversation by Lord Balfour: "He is always such a gentleman," an appreciation which, coming from such a quarter, means much. The retiring delegate himself would not be hurt at mention of the story of how when he was once addressing the Council, both the French and English stenographers laid down their pens, each convinced that he was speaking the language of the other.



APRIL

1927

THE LEAGUE'S AUTHORITY

EVERYONE who followed the proceedings of the March session of the League of Nations Council with any diligence is agreed that the general prestige and authority of the League has been materially enhanced by the spirit that pervaded the Council Chamber and the success of the Council itself in so handling more than one difficult controversy as to produce a unanimous accord.

The fundamental fact about the Council as a whole was that for the first time questions intimately affecting Germany had to be handled, with the German Foreign Minister seated at the Council table, seated indeed actually, as it so happened, in the Presidential Chair. That might have led not to success, but to disaster. As recently as six months ago, when Germany was being admitted to the Assembly and Council of the League, we were assured by prophets whose dogmatism knew no check and no restraint, that the main purpose of German delegates would be to work in the interests of Germany alone, to undermine the Treaty of Versailles, and to prejudice in every way the harmony and authority of the League itself.

Now for the first time in March these gloomy forecasts were to be put to a decisive test. Among the questions on which it was declared Germany would inevitably maintain a purely obstructive attitude were Upper Silesia and the Saar. Both of these questions were on the agenda of the March meeting. In either case delicate questions arose in which the strict juridical rights, on which Germany might be expected to insist, conflicted in a greater or lesser degree with the needs of practical life in the regions in question and with the fundamental fact that that agreement between France and Germany on which European peace depends might be difficult to attain if France was expected to make all the concessions and Germany none at all.

In the event, Germany, so far from shewing herself obdurate, went so far along the path of concession as to make the position of her Foreign Minister by no means easy when he returned to Berlin to give an account of himself before his Party and his Parliament. Those who stand for an ideally perfect solution, and will be satisfied with nothing less, are entitled to argue that on those points where Dr. Stresemann gave way to M. Briand abstract right was on the German Foreign Minister's side, not the French. That may be true, but it was contended with a considerable show of probability that if M. Briand had yielded more ground than he did, he would have gone home to meet defeat in the Chamber, and give place to a successor much more fully imbued with the spirit of M. Poincaré than he is himself. Dr. Stresemann evidently realised that, and the result was a compromise which did great credit to the German delegation, without, in fact, seriously prejudicing German interests.

The same is true of the Upper Silesia dispute, where Herr Stresemann wisely gave way on one point, gaining in return practically everything else he was claiming.

His broadmindedness, no doubt, had a definite relation to the much wider conversations he was conducting outside the Council Room with M. Zaleski, the Foreign Minister of Poland, about the whole economic relationship of the two countries. Fortunately, M. Zaleski was no less anxious than his German colleague to reach a *modus vivendi*, and as a result the resumption of negotiations definitely broken off has been decided on.

In regard to the particular problem of Germany and Poland, it cannot be denied that events have so far fully justified Sir Austen Chamberlain's contention that nothing would more minister to the stability and pacification of Eastern Europe than to have the Foreign Ministers of Germany and Poland sitting side by side at the Council Table of the League, not merely to discuss their own particular controversies, but to co-operate constructively in the general activities of the League. That theory has so far had no great opportunity of being tested, but so far as it has been, it has certainly justified itself to the full.

Speaking more broadly, the declaration more than once made in these columns that if once Britain, France and Germany could be found co-operating loyally at Geneva, the peace of Europe would be secure, is steadily finding its justification. In spite of difficulties between Germany and France over the Saar and between Germany and France's ally, Poland, over Upper Silesia, the co-operation between the three Western European Powers has been unshadowed. What is more, Italy and Belgium, through their representatives at the Council table, both contributed what in them lay to the solution of the difficulties of the Saar. Those difficulties, of course, were trifling in comparison with the problems which may confront the League at any moment. The nature of those problems is best, on the whole, left undiscussed. There is no need to anticipate trouble before it comes, particularly since it may never come at all. The main thing is to be prepared for it if it does. The only way to do that is to make the personal co-operation between Foreign Ministers who sit on the League Council, and the political co-operation between the States on the basis of the League Covenant, more and more secure and unassailable. Events are, fortunately, moving in that direction. At the moment of writing, it appears uncertain whether the Albanian unrest will be brought before the Council of the League, but it is satisfactory to find that in a country like Greece, on which the disciplinary hand of the League has recently fallen, considerable confidence should be publicly expressed that nothing serious is likely to happen in the Balkans since the League of Nations can be trusted to deal with the matter. Unfortunately, the Albanian question concerns a Great Power outside the Balkans, and it is in that direction that any possible source of friction lies. But here again, if Italy felt any temptation—and there is no reason to suppose she does—to take action calculated to cause disturbance, the close association of Britain, France and Germany at Geneva ought to be sufficient bulwark of the peace.

Finally—to point a moral, which, though almost flagrantly obvious, cannot be emphasised too often—that co-operation can only be effectively achieved if it represents not merely a co-operation of Foreign Ministers or of Governments or of Parliaments, but a co-operation of peoples in the three countries, resolved that the foreign policy of Europe, so far as they can control it, shall follow the lines laid down in the Covenant of the League. The keeping of the peace at Geneva, in other words, is in the last resort, not merely Sir Austen Chamberlain's business and M. Briand's and Herr Stresemann's, but yours and mine and that of our fellow-citizens in France and Germany.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES TO-DAY III—WHAT THE I.L.O. HAS BEFORE IT

THE International Labour Office is working at full pressure at present. The Spring is always a very busy time in the office on the lakeside, for there are all the preparations to be made for the annual International Labour Conference which meets in May, this year on the twenty-fifth. But matters are more complicated this Spring because there are a number of special reports to be prepared for the International Economic Conference as well.

There have been occasional complaints regarding the fact that the "I.L.O." brings out its reports for the Conference so near the time that the Conference itself is going to take place. But the blame does not always rest with the Office. A questionnaire is sent out and Governments asked to reply within a certain time. If this time limit is not observed it is impossible for the "I.L.O." to settle down to the production of a report comparing the replies received and it must be admitted that Governments are occasionally slow in sending their answers.

Take the report on "sickness insurance" for the coming Conference. Replies to the questionnaire were requested by January 1. To begin with, several countries were late. Then the Government of a country whose legislation on sickness insurance was particularly important, having sent a provisional reply, has now sent a final one which was different in many important respects and involved the revision of various parts of the draft report.

Why Reports are Late

Similarly the report on minimum wage fixing machinery was finished in English at the end of January. Since that time, however, several Governments have sent additional information and the report has had to be considerably altered to allow this information to be inserted. The report on freedom of association is progressing, but, as special difficulties arise in connection with this question, a certain amount of time has to be allowed for revision.

A large number of subjects have been studied and reported upon by the "I.L.O." for the International Economic Conference. Four reports have already been issued on the following subjects: Comparison of retail prices in private trade and distributive co-operative societies; legislation on movement of labour and migration in general; co-operative organisations in international wheat and dairy produce trading; and scientific management in Europe. Reports are also being printed on international industrial agreements and their social consequences; migration in its various forms; standard of living of the workers in various countries; and the relation of labour costs to total costs of production in agriculture.

Native Labour

Apart from activities of this kind for the special Conference work of the Office and similar efforts, progress is being made in many other directions. Preparations are going forward for a meeting of the newly constituted committee of experts on Native Labour. This is a portion of the work of the Office which is steadily growing in its appeal to the public imagination—it is not difficult to realise the interest in this country in any hint of slavery, however carefully disguised the form may be, for the name and work of Wilberforce are still far from forgotten. The members of this committee are men of international reputation in colonial administration and include Sir Frederick Lugard, who has done magnificent work on the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League, and Mr. Taberner, Head of

the Labour Recruiting Department of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines.

Following the appointment by the Governing Body of the "I.L.O." at its last Session in January of three members to sit on its council of management the International Institute for Scientific Management officially began its work. Thus there has been brought to a successful conclusion the negotiations which have been going on between the "I.L.O." and the XXth Century Fund of Boston, U.S.A., and the International Committee on Scientific Management to set up a central body which would make available throughout the world the different experiences in the various countries in the sphere of improved methods of business management. M. Devinat, of the permanent staff of the Geneva Office, has been appointed head of the Institute, with Mr. Percy S. Brown (U.S.A.) as deputy director.

The Health of the Worker

The Health Section of the Office is busy on studies regarding the disinfection of hides and skins, the limitation of loads to be carried, the tests in use in various countries for the colour sense of pilots and various other questions. It also has the important task of preparing a report on accident prevention for the use of the 1928 Session of the Conference, the Governing Body having placed this question definitely on the agenda. For some time also, the Office has been collaborating with the Health Organisation of the League in connection with the study of the best means of co-ordinating the work of public health departments and of the medical departments of sickness insurance institutions. The Health Committee of the League is proposing the constitution of a committee of experts representing such bodies to study the question in detail.

Finally the question of application of ratified Conventions has gone a step forward with the election by correspondence of seven out of eight experts to form the Committee on Article 408 of the Treaty under which Governments agree to send yearly reports to the "I.L.O." of the steps they have taken to enforce the Conventions they have ratified. This committee will meet before the next Conference and present a report to it after considering the measures of the various Governments. It is rather curious that the parrot cry that Conventions are not applied by other countries is very much to the fore in Great Britain at the very moment when the "I.L.O." is tightening up the machinery by which the efforts of all Governments can be closely examined.

It will thus be seen that there is no diminution in the activities of the "I.L.O." The work described above is being carried out in addition to the routine tasks of preparing weekly and monthly publications and answering questions on labour conditions throughout the world asked by Governments, employers' and workers' organisations and private bodies in increasing numbers.

The "Save the Children" Fund is always extremely efficient in its publicity. Its latest folder is well worth the study of any organisation with a message to convey. Opened out, it discloses a map of Europe neatly labelled in each appropriate spot with a summary of the activities carried on by the Fund there. On the back of the map is a fuller summary, excellently arranged, of details of the Fund's work the world over. The whole folds with admirable neatness into a shape convenient for the pocket. The "Save the Children" Fund ought to be widely flattered by being widely imitated.

THE MARCH COUNCIL GOOD SPIRITS AND SOLID WORK AT GENEVA

EVERYONE left the March meeting of the League of Nations Council in extremely cheerful spirits. It was a thoroughly satisfactory Council, and the prestige of the League stood higher at the end of it than at the beginning. That was largely due to the admirable spirit which prevailed throughout, and for that, in



Dr. Stresemann

turn, the chairman, Dr. Stresemann, was largely responsible. Naturally, the first appearance of a German delegate in the presidential chair was something of an event. All the professional pessimists had told us exactly what would happen when Germany found herself at Geneva really in a position to obstruct. What did happen was that the chairmanship was exercised with a combination of efficiency and geniality which gives the German Foreign Minister an exalted place among those who have presided over Council Meetings from 1920 onwards.

Nothing conducted more to the happy solution of many difficult questions than the atmosphere of goodwill, extending indeed to a certain blitheness, which prevailed throughout. The small question of the hours of meeting gave all kinds of members an opportunity to display their lighter side. Signor Scialoja wanted meetings in the morning, with the afternoons left free for personal conversations. On that Herr Stresemann commented that one was fresher in the morning, but better-tempered in the afternoon. M.

Titulesco, the Rumanian delegate, who prefers working late to rising early, observed that "there was no sacrifice too great for him to make for the League of Nations, but—" A little later it was mentioned that the following day's meeting would probably only last an hour, whereupon Sir Austen Chamberlain gravely moved that "out of deference to the honourable representative of Rumania," the hour should be 11 instead of 10.15, to which M. Titulesco as solemnly returned thanks "in the name of his country."

Stresemann as Debater

All this sounds trivial (most of the interchanges took place at private meetings), but it is indicative of a spirit that really helps. In similar vein, on the day of the Saar debate, Herr Stresemann, who was, of course, President, had expressed at length the German objections to the Governing Commission's proposals, at the end of which he announced: "The President regrets that, owing to the length of the German delegate's remarks, the time has come to adjourn for lunch." That afternoon the Chairman found himself engaged in some pleasantly spectacular debating in the course of an amicable discussion of the question of whether parents in Polish Upper Silesia should be allowed to send their children to German schools, even though they spoke no German. Dr. Stresemann had quoted the contention of the Poles in Danzig that parents had an absolute right to send their children where they chose, whereon the Polish Foreign Minister, M. Zaleski, rejoined by quoting protests in the Prussian Diet against the outrage of sending German children to Danish schools in Schleswig-Holstein. That sent the ball back to Dr. Stresemann, who replied genially that if the Poles had come to taking Prussia as their model, the entente between the two countries must have grown even closer than he hoped.



THE MARCH COUNCIL MEETING.

In order round table from left to right, representatives of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Poland, Colombia, Chile, Italy, France, Germany, Sir Eric Drummond (Secretary-General), Great Britain, Japan, Belgium, China, Holland, Salvador.

Dialectic on the Saar

Half-an-hour later M. Briand had taken M. Zaleski's place as the German Foreign Minister's antagonist. This time they were arguing about the Saar, and the Railway Defence Force it was proposed to establish there. A mere gendarmerie, said M. Briand, was notoriously inadequate for the preservation of order without regular troops behind it. Why then, asked Dr. Stresemann, did the Treaty of Versailles lay it down that in the demilitarised zone Germany might have gendarmerie only and not a single soldier? There had, declared the French Foreign Minister, been nothing but expressions of appreciation in the Saar of the behaviour of the French soldiers there. Did not that prove, asked his German colleague, how admirably contented and well-behaved the population was? And so on. Even when M. Briand was delivering the most uncompromising and destructive attack on the German position, Herr Stresemann and his advisers behind the table joined with the rest of the Council in unaffected laughter at the French speaker's witticisms. In the end, as an article which deals more fully with the subject on another page shews, the Saar controversy ended, contrary to all expectation, in a settlement unanimously accepted by all concerned, and to that fortunate result, it must be repeated, the spirit prevailing throughout the Council contributed largely.

Opium Prospects

The two most important questions before the Council, the Saar situation and the White Slave Traffic, being dealt with elsewhere in this issue of HEADWAY, the remaining business of the Council can be passed in fairly rapid review. Many questions of considerable importance were disposed of without discussion, for the sufficient reason that the work regarding them had been done so effectively by some special committee that the Council had no need to spend its time in working over the ground again. Satisfactory developments were reported regarding Opium. The working of the Conventions of 1925 has been hung up because of the delay on the part of many States in ratifying them. Council Members, seven of whom must ratify before the more important of the two Conventions can enter into force, have, with the exception of Great Britain, been particularly bad offenders. It was, therefore, satisfactory to hear member after member stating that his Government had either ratified within the last few days, or was on the point of doing so. In the same field, the Report of the League Commission to Persia produced

the welcome news that the Persian Government was prepared to reduce its production of opium by 10 per cent. a year for three years, and at the same time to offer various encouragements to cultivators to substitute other crops for poppy. At the end of three years, it was indicated, Persia would be willing to continue the reduction if other producing nations were doing the same, but not otherwise.

Various Oddments

The Health Committee's Report mentioned various coming conferences, notably one on hydrophobia, and another of great importance, arranged jointly with the I.L.O., on the relation between the Public Health Service and Health Insurance in different countries. In regard to Mandates, South Africa was told politely that it ought not to speak of South-West Africa as being under its sovereignty, and the vexed question of whether petitioners from Mandate territories should sometimes be heard in person was decided in the negative. Sir Austen Chamberlain asked that, in accordance with the decisions of the Imperial Conference, League treaties might in the future be so framed as to be ratified by the heads of States, a slightly obscure request designed to make it easier for Great Britain to ratify a Convention without of necessity waiting for Canada, Australia and the rest of the Dominions to do the same.

A few more arrangements were made for the Economic Conference which is to open on May 4, a Transit Conference was fixed for August and a Press Conference under Lord Burnham, proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*, for the same month. The various reconstruction schemes were reported on favourably, one particularly satisfactory development being the repayment, on a quite substantial scale, by the Greek refugees already settled of the sums advanced to set them up in agriculture or some other trade. This, of course, is far from being an exhaustive list of the decisions of the Council. It will at least suffice to show how varied and extensive was its work. But quite apart from the intrinsic importance of the discussions, the Council of March 1927 will always be remembered, not merely for the fact that for the first time a German delegate took the Chair, but for the marked contribution that delegate made to the success of these particular discussions and to the general authority and prosperity of the League. It is worth mentioning, moreover, that practically every question of any importance was thrashed out in public, private sittings of the Council being both rare and brief.

DOPE-MERCHANTS' TRICKS OPIUM IN DEAD CATS AND SHOE HEELS

ONE effect of the creation of the League of Nations Committee on Opium and Dangerous Drugs has been to throw a flood of light on the amazing shifts to which the traffickers in opium and other narcotics have recourse to defy the restrictions laid on their machinations in every civilized country. From time to time the Opium Committee, to which seizures by the Governments of States belonging to the League are regularly reported, publishes a selection from the statements so obtained. The last report was laid before the League Council last month, and contains entries which show how bafflingly difficult the task of preventing smuggling is.

The report, which covers a period of only seven months, is over sixty pages in length, and it turns a searchlight on almost every country in the world. A large syndicate in Hong Kong (a British colony), for example, has been under close observation, and it has been discovered that their activities are confined almost

entirely to the smuggling of opium to an almost unbelievable extent. These discoveries will undoubtedly lead further. A summary of the first few pages of this report alone shows that consignments of opium of over 65 tons, 320 lbs. of heroin, 633 lbs. of morphine, 40 lbs. of cocaine have been seized. The profits in smuggling are so enormous that many are dragged into the illicit opium trade. Amounts remitted in connection with the Hong Kong syndicate already referred to exceeded 200,000 dollars per month. In many places large stocks of opium are kept and sold by syndicates to the highest bidder for smuggling to other parts. The "stock" of opium lying at Tungking was computed at about 1,300,000 taels (a tael being about 1½ ozs.). The figures from Egypt shew also that drugs are leaking into that country in great quantities, and that addicts are becoming more and more numerous, 5,600 individuals were prosecuted during the year, an average arrest of 60 traffickers per week being made in Cairo alone. No

The awkwardness of having to depend upon a phrase-book on your visits abroad disappears when you have learnt to speak Foreign Languages fluently by the new Pelman Method. Write for free particulars to-day



WONDERFUL NEW WAY OF LEARNING LANGUAGES.

RUSH TO LEARN BY NEW PELMAN METHOD.

Could you pick up a book written in a Foreign Language—a language of which you do not know a syllable—without a single English word in it, and read it through correctly, without referring to a dictionary?

Most people will say that such a feat would be impossible.

Yet this is just what the new direct method of learning French, Spanish, Italian and German taught by the well-known Pelman Institute now enables you to do.

The present writer can speak with enthusiasm regarding this new method. Calling at the Institute, he was asked whether he knew any Spanish. His reply was that, with the exception of a few words like "primavera," he was entirely unacquainted with the language. He was then handed a little book of 48 pages, printed entirely in Spanish, and asked to read it through. There was not an English word in the book, yet, to his great amazement, he was able to read it through from cover to cover without a mistake. He was particularly astonished at this, in view of the fact that he had no ability as a linguist. He was convinced then that the Pelman method was the best method of learning a Foreign Language that had ever been devised, and he only wished that he had been taught in this way when he was at school.

This is typical of the experiences of the thousands of people who are learning French, Spanish, Italian or German by this new method. Here are a few examples:—

"I have learnt more French during the last three months from your Course than I learnt during some four or five years' teaching on old-fashioned lines at school." (S.382.)

"I have obtained a remunerative post in the City, solely on the merits of my Italian. I was absolutely ignorant of the language before I began your Course eight months ago." (I.F. 121.)

"I have spent some 100 hours on German studying by your methods: the results obtained in so short a time are amazing." (G.P. 136.)

"I can read and speak Spanish with ease, though it is less than six months since I began." (S.M. 181.)

General Sir Aylmer Haldane, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.S.O., writes: "The Pelman method is the best way of learning French without a teacher."

This new method enables you to learn French in French, Spanish in Spanish, German in German, and Italian in Italian. It enables you to think in the language in question.

It enables you to speak with increased fluency, as there is no translation (mental or otherwise) from English into the language you are speaking.

It enables you to learn a language as a Spaniard, Italian, Frenchman or German learns it.

There are no vocabularies to be memorised. You learn the words you need by using them and so that they stay in your mind without effort.

Grammatical complexities are eliminated. You pick up the grammar unconsciously as you go along.

There are no classes to attend. The whole of the instruction is given through the post.

WRITE FOR FREE BOOK TO-DAY.

This wonderful new method of learning languages is explained in four little books entitled respectively: "How to Learn French," "How to Learn Italian," "How to Learn Spanish," and "How to Learn German."

You can have a free copy of any one of these books by writing for it to-day to the Pelman Institute (Languages Dept.), 114, Pelman House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.

State which book you want, and a copy will be sent you by return, gratis and post free. Write or call to-day.

Overseas Branches: PARIS, 35, Rue Boissy d'Anglas. NEW YORK: 19, West 44th Street. MELBOURNE: 396, Flinders Lane. DURBAN: Natal Bank Chambers. DELHI: 10, Alipore Road.

drugs are produced in Egypt. The whole supplies, therefore, must be contraband.

Morphine as Soap

The report received by the Committee from the Chinese Maritime Customs is of an alarming character, 620 lbs. of heroin and morphine having been seized in the short space of four weeks. If this amount is seized, what must be the amount really leaking into and out of the country? In one single day 4,730 lbs. of morphia in 22 lb. packages were seized. Many packages are sent unlabelled through the post. In other cases drugs are marked down as soft goods, fruit, soaps or fancy ware, etc., coming falsely labelled as from reputable firms in Europe.

Other ingenious devices adopted by smugglers are illustrated in the report. Packages of drugs are concealed in the structure of ships, in water tanks, in mackintosh bags, under planking and in piping, and in false bottomed saucepans, oil lamps and other metal ware.

Powdered opium and morphine is mixed with the stuffing of mattresses, in pillows, and even in the hollow tubes of iron bedsteads. It is also concealed in cakes of soap, cut open and re-sealed, in fruit, and it has even been known to have been discovered in the inside of a dead cat, apparently asleep in a basket. False crowns to hats and bottoms to trunks, hollow shoe heels and stuffed clothing are well known places of concealment. Opium has been found inside firewood, underneath railway carriages tied to the framework, and in all sorts of the most inconceivable places. The problem before the Customs Authorities is monumental in its difficulties. The position of the Free ports in Europe and elsewhere is causing the League grave concern, as figures have been produced proving conclusively that these ports are used extensively for the despatch of illicit drug consignments.

Excessive Production

It is, unfortunately, to be recognised that the Committee and the League have not as yet been as successful as might have been hoped in fighting the illicit traffic. The League, however, is more or less in the hands of the many Governments concerned, and in any case no efforts for the suppression of the illicit traffic can be very successful so long as drugs are produced and manufactured far in excess of legitimate requirements. Sir Malcolm Delevingne, the British representative on the Advisory Committee, stated that drugs leaked into illicit channels at two main points. They might be exported to countries where no adequate control was exercised, or they might be exported to a country which had not accepted the import and export certificate system, and be diverted before they reached the country of destination. In either case there was the risk that they might come under the control of the contrabandist. The second method concerned the manufacturing and distributing countries. At some point the drugs pass in large quantities into the hands of illicit traffickers. Drugs were sometimes bought and sold in these countries by persons who had obtained an authorisation to deal in drugs, but as to whose "bona fides" no satisfactory assurances existed. There were many instances of this kind within the knowledge of the Committee.

Surveying the problem as a whole it would appear, then, that there are three main obstacles in the way of suppressing the traffic: (a) The existence of an unlimited supply of opium in China, consequent upon the disturbed state of that country to-day; (b) the vast profits that are being made by unscrupulous smugglers and the ease with which smuggling can be carried out; and (c) the absence of an effective public opinion against drug consumption and addiction both in countries directly or indirectly concerned. The last obstacle is perhaps the greatest.

COMING EVENTS

THE spring and summer of this year will be unusually crowded with events at Geneva. Among the more important may be mentioned:—

Now Sitting.—Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

April 25.—Advisory Committee on Women and Children (to discuss White Slave Traffic report).

May 4.—Economic Conference.

May 25.—International Labour Conference.

June 13.—Forty-fifth session of Council (Sir Austen Chamberlain presiding).

June 15.—Permanent Court of International Justice opens its regular session (at The Hague).

June 20.—Permanent Mandates Commission.

August 23.—Transit Conference.

August 24.—Press Conference.

September 5.—Eighth Assembly.

May 23 and 24.—Conference on Disarmament arranged by the League of Nations Union at the London School of Economics. Some of the subjects to be discussed are the Political Aspects of Disarmament, Land and Air Armaments, Naval Armaments and the Economic Aspect, and the speakers who have so far accepted include Lord Cecil of Chelwood, Lord Thomson, Lord Parmoor, Sir William Beveridge, Sir Josiah Stamp, Mr. W. L. Hitchens, General Sir Frederick Sykes.

May 25 and following days.—Eleventh Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Berlin. The importance of this first meeting of the Federation in Germany needs no emphasis, particularly since a Frenchman, M. Aulard, nappens this year to be President of the Federation.

A LEAD FROM THE SAAR

IT would be hard to improve on the terms of a circular lately addressed to the teachers of all schools in the Saar territory by Dr. Vezenski, a member of the Governing Commission charged with responsibility for Education and Religion. The following extracts indicate the general nature of the document:—

"Germany has entered the League of Nations. This important historical event not only means that German diplomatists and statesmen will take part in the work of the Council and of the Assembly, but that the German people adopts the ideals of the League of Nations, co-operates in its work, and desires to bring its own policy into line therewith. This desire, indeed, is already expressed in Article 148 of the Constitution of the Reich, which lays down that in all schools teaching should be given in a spirit of international reconciliation. The population of the Saar Territory cannot remain indifferent to this movement, which should be supported by bringing to the knowledge of every citizen, and especially of the younger generation, the statutes and organisation and the ideals and aims of the League of Nations."

"Freely, according to the dictates of your patriotism and of your ardour in the cause of good, and in the interests of a happier future for the German people and for the entire human race, you will make known of your own accord the ideals of the League of Nations to that younger generation for which you are responsible before God, your conscience and society; you will bring it up in these ideals and will rouse its enthusiasm in their favour."

"This work is not in contradiction with the love you bear your country. For humanity is but the sum of individual peoples, and to work for humanity is only possible by serving your own country. But the universal rules of morality apply not only to private life, but also to relations between States and peoples."

"The ideals of the League of Nations cannot be realised without a moral transformation of humanity. This is in the hands, above all, of teachers and tutors, of the Press and of the clergy, and if these do not support the work of diplomatists and statesmen, all efforts to organise peace must be vain."

NAVAL CUTS

WITH reference to the model Disarmament Treaty published in the March issue of HEADWAY, Rear-Admiral J. D. Allen writes as follows:—

"I think it is quite futile at the present time to talk about abolishing submarines altogether. France and Italy would never agree to this. It will be much easier to abolish (1) minelayers, (2) capital ships of more than 10,000 tons. Submarines come third. We should get much greater economies in cost by abolishing battle-ships of over 10,000 tons than by abolishing submarines."

"In connection with the proposed limitation of torpedoes to 10 inches, I suggest that 21 inches should be substituted, because 21 inches is almost the standard size now, and we must get limitation before reduction. With all the plant, plans, drawings, etc., for making 21-inch torpedoes in existence, there would be tremendous opposition to making an entirely new size."

Admiral Allen accordingly proposes the following changes in the Naval Clauses of the HEADWAY treaty:—

(1) The footnote "if not abolished altogether" to be affixed to the word "minelayers" instead of the word "submarines."

(5) Capital ships to be restricted to 10,000 tons instead of 15,000, aircraft carriers to 6,000 instead of 12,000, minelayers to be abolished altogether.

(6) Substitute 8-inch guns for 10-inch in the case of capital ships, 21-inch torpedoes for 16-inch throughout; minelayers to be abolished altogether.

THE CECIL PRIZE

FOR some obscure reason the Peace Prize instituted by Lord Cecil, out of part of the proceeds of the Woodrow Wilson award which he received at the end of 1925, has not produced as fierce a competition as might have been expected. The prize is worth £100 and is awarded each year to undergraduate students of any University or University College in Great Britain or Northern Ireland for an essay on some subject connected with International Peace and the principles of the League. The subject for this year's essay is "The Causes for the Failure of Attempts at International Disarmament between 1815 and 1914." Full particulars can be obtained from the League of Nations Union, and it is, therefore, sufficient to add that this year's essays must reach the Secretary of the Universities Bureau of the British Empire, 50, Russell Square, London, W.C.1, on or before November 1, that they must be typewritten, and that, while there is no length limit, some 10,000 to 12,000 words is suggested as reasonable.

A GENEVA SCHOOL FOR BEGINNERS

This year, in addition to the Geneva Institute of International Relations, there will be a Geneva Summer School with a simplified programme for those who, knowing as yet but little of the League, are not prepared for the more advanced study provided in the programme of the Geneva Institute. Armaments, the World Economic Problem and the League's Humanitarian Activities are some of the subjects which will form the subject of addresses. Visits to places of interest in and around Geneva provide the "lighter touch" in the programme.

A number of distinguished authorities have promised to speak at the Geneva Institute this year. Amongst these are Professor William Rappard, Rector of the University of Geneva; Senor S. de Madariaga, Director of the Disarmament Section of the Secretariat; Sir Arthur Salter, Director of the Economic Section; and Dr. L. Rajchman, Director of the Health Section.

Full particulars of both Institute and Summer School from the Union.

BOOKS WORTH READING

JUSTICE FOR THE BLACK

The Anatomy of African Misery, by Lord Olivier. (The Hogarth Press. 6s.) Lord Olivier has a strong case. Throughout the greater part of his book he deals with the question of white versus black in South Africa and what he has to say, on the authority of South Africans themselves, shows the seriousness of the present situation in the Union. Land and Labour, Kaffir and Poor White, the low wages paid to natives in order that the highest wages in the world may be paid to white overseers, are factors which are at once reciprocal causes and effects of the slave-theory. The harvest is being reaped to-day of the tares sown yesterday, and on Lord Olivier's showing tares are still being scattered broadcast by the Government of that country. Yet the evil is not yet past remedy; the native, shrewd and quick-witted, only asks for justice, and "justice could be done to the native community in regard to their equitable rights to land without injustice to the European community, if any South African Government were strong enough to undertake and carry through the task."

The purpose of the book, however, is not to preach to South Africa, but to point the moral to the policy which must direct our handling of the native problem in Kenya. Many of the white settlers there, he admits, have been placed through no fault of their own in an unfortunate position, but that position will not be mended by an attempt to impose upon the Colony a slave-theory which is discredited alike on economic and humanitarian grounds. There is yet time to avoid there the evil which already menaces white and black in South Africa.

In conclusion, a word to the publishers: there is no index.

ROCK BOTTOM WAGES

A Study on the Minimum Wage, by J. H. Richardson. (Allen and Unwin, 7s. 6d.) A conscientious and well-arranged study of all the facts regarding a dullish question. The Living Wage, the system of the Family Allowance, Trade Boards and Equal Pay for Equal Work are all discussed in the light of the experience gained in Great Britain, Australasia, the United States and some continental countries. All this has an international as well as a national aspect; and the Minimum Wage problem appears on the agenda of this year's Labour Conference. Mr. Richardson does not make light of the difficulties in the way of effective international action. But while the establishment of a uniform minimum wage is improbable, "it may be possible for agreements to be reached by groups of nations in which economic conditions are similar for the adoption of a common standard or standards." In some regions this has already been done. Even so, there remains the further difficulty of enforcement. The conscience of the world is as yet only half aroused to its responsibility for the mass of underpaid workers. It must be roughly shaken out of its apathy. While this somewhat passionless study will hardly effect that of itself, it provides admirable material for the prophets.

THE LEAGUE: A GERMAN VIEW

Die Völkerbundsatzung, by Dr. Hans Wehberg. (Berlin, 1927.) This little hand-book to the Covenant and activities of the League of Nations appears to have been the first publication of its kind in Germany. Up till August, 1926, the date of its first edition, there was little demand there for a simple statement of what the League is and what it does. The fact that the book ran into a second edition by February, 1927, is an encouraging sign of the growth of interest since Germany became a Member of the League.

The volume is something like a combination of "The

NOW You can't possibly get wet in the

21'-**Mattamac** REG'D.

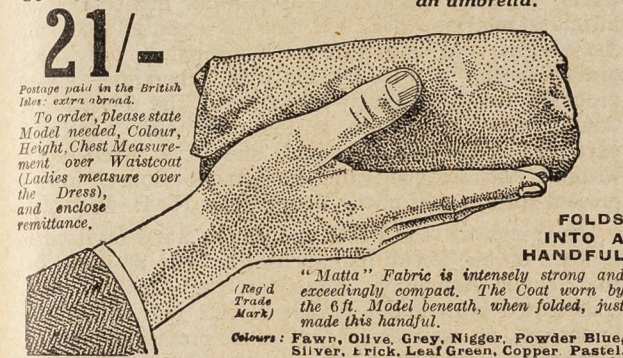
19-OUNCE Featherweight Stormproof

From 1927 onwards, WE SELL DIRECT TO THE PUBLIC ONLY, and pass on to every customer a saving equal to the previous Retail Profit. Every "Mattamac" sold by us has been reduced in price by roughly 6/- in the £. "Mattamac" Stormproofs, themselves, are unchanged. . . . They are exactly the same in style, material, trimmings, and workmanship; the best Coats of their kind and very easily the best Coat-value procurable.

A "Mattamac" is identical in appearance with the usual five-guinea Weather-proof. It wears as long, weighs one-third, and is absolutely Water proof. Light and compact-folding, Wind, Chill and Wet proof, a "Mattamac" can be used additionally as a light Overcoat for Driving, Motoring, Shopping, etc.

Don't risk disappointment with an imitation. Get the genuine which is labelled "Mattamac" beneath the Coat-hanger.

19 OUNCES WEIGHT Three ounces heavier than an umbrella.



"MATTA" FABRIC

made and reserved exclusively for "Mattamac" Stormproofs, is a light-weight, closely-woven, intensely-strong and compact-folding material. It is tough, warmth-giving and absolutely waterproof—so waterproof that even wind-driven rain cannot penetrate a "Mattamac."

15 SHADES. 40 SIZES

Unbelted "Mattamac" Stormproofs now cost 21/-, belted models are now 23/6, in all 40 sizes. Conduit Street, their birth-place, and the Overcoat Centre of the World. Is represented in the graceful, tailored "hang," well-cut skirt, easy Raglan shoulders and roomy "under-arms."

Each "Mattamac" has wind-strapped adjustable cuffs, well-made pockets, lined shoulders, is conscientiously finished in all details, and is guaranteed to be made entirely from the genuine all-weather-proof "Matta" (Reg'd) Fabric.



SENT OUT ON SEVEN DAYS' FREE APPROVAL.

You can satisfy yourself about a "Mattamac" in actual wear. Each coat is sent out on the understanding that it can be returned within seven days of receipt in exchange for the full purchase price should you so wish. You can safely order your "Mattamac" straightaway without waiting for the Booklet to reach you.

"MATTAMAC" ART BOOKLET, POST FREE.

Send a post-card for the "Mattamac" Booklet "Q142" and colour patterns of "Matta" Fabric. This booklet illustrates all models and makes ordering by post easy.

Alter Retailers' existing stocks have been cleared, "Mattamac" Stormproofs can only be obtained from the "Mattamac" Showrooms and Branches, or by Post from the Conduit St. Headquarters. If unable personally to inspect Models, send order with remittance, or write for "Mattamac" Booklet "Q142" to the Sole Makers:—

PEARSON BROTHERS 45, VICTORY HOUSE, CONDUIT STREET, LONDON, W.1.

"MATTAMAC" BRANCHES NOW OPEN AT:—
20, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C. (10 doors West of St Paul's);
117, Oxford Street, London, W. (between Dean Street & Wardour Street);
157, Fenchurch Street, London, E.C. (2 doors from Lime Street);
120a, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W. (2 doors from Ashley Place);
AND AT 134, NEW ST. (NEXT DOOR TO THE HIGH SCHOOL), BIRMINGHAM

Covenant Explained" and "Reconstruction," both of which are (or ought to be) familiar to readers of HEADWAY. The articles of the Covenant are translated into German, and the comments attached to them are on the whole free from propaganda, although such controversial points as the definition of sovereignty over Mandated Territories are perhaps treated a trifle didactically.

WHAT LOCARNO MEANS

Locarno Sans Rêves, by Alfred Fabre-Luce. (Grasset. 12 francs.) Those who know M. Fabre-Luce's earlier book, "La Victoire," will not need to be told that the successor to it is abundantly well worth reading. The author wisely spends less time in attacking M. Poincaré than he did and devotes himself to evolving a constructive policy for France, the essence of which is the early evacuation of the Rhineland and the cultivation of a steady friendship with Germany. M. Fabre-Luce does wisely to remind his countrymen that the longer France leaves the evacuation of the occupied area the less her action is likely to impress Germany, and in a sentence for which we may be grateful to him he observes (in regard to Italy) that "it does not seem essential that liberty of conscience should be suppressed in order that trains may run to time."

CHINA IN OUTLINE

"The China of To-day," by Stephen King-Hall. (Hogarth Press, 2s. 6d.) An admirably concise presentation of the Chinese situation by a writer whose larger book on the same subject has given him an unchallenged right to speak with authority. The price, it is true, is a little startling, for the book consists of 41 smallish pages in largish print. However, it is worth even half-a-crown to get a reasonably clear understanding of the Chinese situation, and for half-a-crown Commander King-Hall and his publishers give it us.

The Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, which hitherto has had a strictly private circulation, is now on public sale at the price of 1s. 6d. It can be obtained from the Institute, 10, St. James' Square. The first issue (January) includes Mr. Amery's speech on the Imperial Conference, an address by Mr. Christie Tait on International Aspects of Migration, and a number of important book reviews, together with the full text of the British Memorandum on China.

TOURS.

TWO TOURS TO ITALY—Genoa and Italian Riviera, Milan and the Lakes. Small parties throughout spring and summer personally conducted by Mrs. C. ARNOLD, 54, Denman Drive, London, N.W.11.

HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, &c.

BRITTANY—"BIORD-HOUSE," St. Jacut-de-la-Mer (C. du N.), small conf. hotel, free sunny spot, seaside; tennis, good food. Inclusive £2.

MESDEMOISELLES RIECHELMANN receive ladies as paying guests in their comfortable apartments at Territet-Montreux (Switzerland). Ideal position overlooking Lake of Geneva. Home life. French and Lace making lessons if desired.—Write to Mlles. RIECHELMANN, Les Tourelles, Territet (Vaud), Switzerland.

HUMANITARIAN SUMMER HOLIDAY CENTRE from July 30th to September 3rd, 1927, 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 2276.

MISCELLANEOUS.

WESTBOURNE PARK BUILDING SOCIETY—Shareholders receive FIVE PER CENT. INTEREST, entirely free from Income Tax payment, promptly on January 1st and July 1st. Ample Reserve Funds with absolute Security. Any amount can be paid. Easy Withdrawals. Apply for Prospectus, MANAGER, 136, Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2.

READERS' VIEWS

LEAGUE AND I.L.O.

SIR,—Your remarks about the back page of HEADWAY in your last issue led me to examine some of the "Facts about the League" there set forth, and to discover what seems to be a not unimportant inaccuracy. It is stated that "side by side with the League itself, and as integral parts of it, there exist: The Permanent Court of International Justice . . . and the International Labour Organisation."

Now, in the first place, is it not a contradiction in terms to say (in ordinary parlance) that anything is "side by side with" and also an "integral part of" another thing? and, secondly, is it not true that while the Court of International Justice is undoubtedly an "integral part" of the League, being mentioned in the Covenant, and constituted under its provisions, the I.L.O. is, more accurately, a parallel institution, in intimate relation with, but not an essential part of, the League, and constituted under separate provisions of the Treaties? "Side by side with," therefore, applies properly to the I.L.O., but not to the Permanent Court; and the reverse is the case with "integral part of." The I.L.O. could stand by itself even without the League; the Permanent Court, in its present form, could not.—Yours, etc., H. D. WATSON.

[As things are, the I.L.O. could only stand by itself if it stood on air, for all its expenses have to be voted by the League Assembly. Moreover, the I.L.O. is constituted both under Article XXIII (par. A) of the Covenant, as well as under other provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. But our correspondent's arguments command respect, and another wording will be substituted.—ED., HEADWAY.]

LEAGUE POLICE ?

SIR,—The need in various Chinese international areas for international policing has brought out several points very clearly. First, the use of Marines for police work in Hankow was easy and caused no misunderstanding, as our Marines are trained to police work, with the daily duty of policing for our sailors either ashore or afloat. Second, the policing of Shanghai by contingents from British and other armies, i.e., by fighting men trained to attack and kill, caused much misunderstanding both by the Chinese and our own Labour Party, and they needed time and many explanations to realise that our troops were sent in the police spirit to do police work. Third, our High Command also felt it necessary to tell our troops (on parade before embarkation) in very specific terms that they were to show the utmost forbearance and patience and that, though an armed force, the very last thing they were to do was to use those arms. Lastly, these contingents of British, French, American and other soldiers have been trained on different systems in different languages, which will add to the difficulty in using them for concerted police action in the Shanghai area should such be necessary.

Now, with an internationally recruited body of international police none of these difficulties or misunderstandings would exist. The March League Council has made history by deciding to create an initial force of 800 international police for international police work in the Saar.—Yours, etc.

Cerube Down, Bath.

MARY M. ADAMSON.

[Unfortunately the League Council declined to create an international police force for the Saar. What it created was an inter-Allied military force.—ED., HEADWAY.]

ADVERTISING THE LEAGUE

SIR,—I was glad to read your excellent article on "Advertising the League" in this month's issue. I have long felt that what is most needed for the education

WHY BE CONTENT WITH 5%?

You can get a Guaranteed 7%, 10%, 15%, or even 20%, according to age.

Do what many others are to-day doing: sell your stocks and shares and buy a "Sun Life of Canada" Annuity with the proceeds. A retired professional man has just doubled his income by making this safe exchange. This "two years income in one" will be paid to him every year as long as he lives. It will never fail. No more worry, no more wondering how to make ends meet. Life is now a different thing for him.

Think what it would mean to you—a far larger Income; an absolutely safe Income; an unalterable Income for Life, Guaranteed by a Company with over £70,000,000 assets under very strict Government supervision.

Write for full details of our Annuities, so that we can show you how much better you can employ your capital—what a much larger income you can enjoy, and how much safer it will be. *Better terms are granted in cases of impaired health*, and there are many kinds of annuities, including a *guaranteed return of Purchase Price*. Please give exact date of birth and amount of capital at your disposal. J. F. JUNKIN (Manager), Sun Life of Canada, 99, Sun of Canada House, Victoria Embankment, London, W.C.2. (Nr. Temple Station.)

League of Nations Assembly Tour

A party will leave London for Geneva, September 2nd to 9th. VISITS to Assembly and International Labour Office, Lectures, etc. Inclusive Fee, London—London, £11 11s.

APPLY EARLY to Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, or direct to ORGANISER OF TOUR, Mrs. INNES, 29, High Oaks Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

To all who believe in a practical application of the Ideals of the League of Nations

The Save the Children Fund

appeals for help in its work for the Children of the World, which is based on the Declaration of Geneva, the Children's Charter of the League. Further details can be obtained from the S.C.F. Office, 26, Gorjon Street, W.C.1, or from the S.C.F. International Union, 31, Quai du Mont-Blanc, Geneva. Subscriptions (earnmarked, if desired, for the children of any particular country) will be gratefully received at the London Office by the DUKE OF ATHOLL, President of the Fund.

WANTED—Women Writers!

Earn While you Learn.

Learn to write ARTICLES and STORIES. Earn while you learn. Make spare hours profitable. Write for free booklet, "How to Succeed as a Writer."—Regent Institute (Dept. 219A), 13, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

Notice to Advertisers.

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

THE ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER,

FLEETWAY PRESS Ltd., 3-9, Dane St., Holborn, W.C.1.

of the public in the real aims and work of the League is a permeation of the daily Press. This, it would seem, can only be effected by use of the advertisement columns, as the newspapers, in the mass, appear to interest themselves more in war than in peace and efforts for peace, and leave the work of Geneva either unreported or misrepresented. Consequently, there is an amazing amount of ignorant prejudice against the League of Nations in the minds of people of all shades of political colour. I myself was afflicted with it until, in the course of a tour in Switzerland in 1925, I found myself at Geneva during the session of the Assembly. As a matter of curiosity, I attended two sittings, and was led to obtain and read various publications of both the League itself and the L.N.U. I left Geneva filled with a new hope for the future of the world and humanity, and have ever since been an enthusiastic supporter of the League and the Union. But if only the actual work of the League and its already marvellous results had been brought to my notice in the newspapers I should have been converted from my ignorant prejudice years sooner. And what of the millions who never get near Geneva?—Yours, etc.,

17, The Chine, N.21.

FRED LOW.

DISARM THE MOVIES

SIR,—They say that the "movies" are bad for the morals of the young and also affect deleteriously the outlook of those who have reached maturity. May I call your attention to a film issued by a well-known firm of producers attached to the tail end of one of their most admirable news gazettes? It consists of a succession of visions of aeroplanes, tanks, trenches, gas masks, warships and marching regiments; to the accompaniment of these delightful subjects are played all the old war tunes imaginable, ending in a ferocious climax with "Land of Hope and Glory," featuring line by line upon the screen above a succession of scenes ranging from the smoke of a Flanders battlefield to the inevitable cottage in Blighty "with roses round the door." The audience, having been thoroughly worked up to a warlike paroxysm, are then requested by urbane black-coated managers to stand and sing "Land of Hope and Glory," the scenes described above continuing on the screen. While patriotism is admirable and essential, warlike enthusiasm at the present time is criminal. There are now many children who know nothing of war. Cannot the League of Nations do something to suppress this type of film? How can any future schemes for disarmament ever be brought into serious action whilst this type of nonsense is being fed to the children of to-day?—Yours, etc.,

32, Chesham Place, S.W.1. IVAN MCL. C. POWER.

March 21, 1927.

"WOLVES IN THE FOLD"

SIR,—We note in the February number of your honourable paper the letter which you publish under the title "Wolves in the Fold." We beg to point that the World's Health, a review issued by the League of Red Cross Societies, in Paris, is by no means the organ of the International Red Cross Movement, and that the International Committee of the Red Cross, in Geneva, the founder of this beneficent institution and publisher of the official "Bulletin International des Sociétés de la Croix Rouge" has no responsibility with the said review.

As you have remarked that there is no working connection between the League of Nations and the Red Cross, we wish you to kindly quote the above statement.—Yours, etc.,

BERNARD BOUVIER,

Vice-Président en Comité International de la Croix-Rouge.

Genève le 17 février 1927.

FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT WORKS

FIFTY-FIVE States belong to the League of Nations, 42 having joined as original members, and 14 at different dates between 1920 and 1926, while Costa Rica has withdrawn. The League now comprises all the independent States in the world except The United States, Turkey, Egypt, Arabia (Nejd), Russia, Afghanistan, Ecuador, Mexico and Costa Rica. Two members, Spain and Brazil, have given the statutory two years' notice of withdrawal.

* * * *

The main organs of the League are—

(1) **The Assembly**, meeting annually in September, and consisting of not more than three delegates from each of the States members of the League.

(2) **The Council**, meeting four or more times a year, and consisting of one delegate each from fourteen different States, five States (Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan) being permanently represented, while the other nine States are elected from time to time by the Assembly.

(3) **The Secretariat**, the international civil service by which the League is served.

The fundamental purpose of the League is "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security."

The seat of the League is at Geneva.

* * * *

Side by side with the League itself there exist—

The Permanent Court of International Justice, with its seat at The Hague; and

The International Labour Organisation, with its seat at Geneva.

The Permanent Court had, down to March, 1927, decided 7 cases and given 13 advisory opinions to the League Council.

* * * *

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE

The Council consists, as stated above, of five permanent members—Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan—and nine elected members. The elected members hold their seats for three years and three of them retire each year. They cannot—unless the Assembly by a two-thirds majority rules otherwise—be re-elected during the next three years.

At present the nine elected members of the Council are:—

Chile.	Colombia.*	Belgium.†
Poland.	Holland.*	Salvador.†
Rumania.	China.*	Czechoslovakia.†

(To secure a proper rotation in the first three years States marked † were elected for one year, to retire in 1927, and States marked * for two years, to retire in 1928.)

The Council deals with the settlement of disputes.

It is responsible for supervising the working of the Mandate system and the execution of the Treaties for the Protection of Minorities.

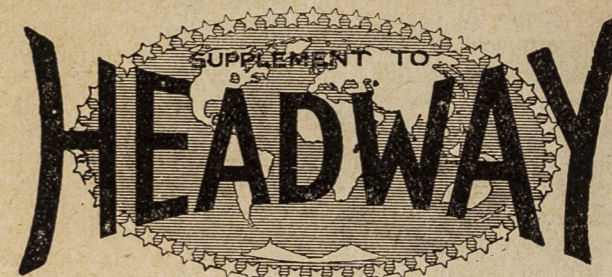
It is charged with formulating plans for the limitation and reduction of armaments.

It appoints the Governing Commission of the Saar and the High Commissioner of Danzig and deals with appeals against the rulings of the latter.

It has to propose steps for giving effect to awards or decisions given in a dispute between States, and to recommend action by members of the League against a State which has gone to war in disregard of the Covenant.

It definitely authorises action proposed by the League's various Standing or Advisory Commissions (e.g., Financial and Economic, Opium, Women and Children, Mandates).

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



APRIL, 1927

MAKE IT A POUND

THE recent Council Meeting of the League of Nations, when Dr. Stresemann, Foreign Minister of Germany, presided over a Council including the Foreign Ministers of France and Britain, and the representatives of other Allied Powers like Italy, Japan and Czechoslovakia and Poland, marked an epoch in the history of the League. Friendly talk, helped by a sense of humour, readily led to agreement, even on questions that had been hotly debated by great Powers; and where difficulties did occur they were due to the doubt whether people at home would accept the just decisions on which statesmen at Geneva were ready to agree. The Governments, at least, are enemies no longer. Deliberately, as part of their considered policy, they are honouring the promise given when they signed the Covenant to "promote international co-operation as well as to achieve international peace and security." More and more clearly is it demonstrated how firmly the League has established itself. The *Times*, in an appreciative leading article on March 16, refers in particular to the work of European reconstruction, the White Slave Traffic Enquiry, and the many activities of the Health Organisation.

Yet such work as that, however valuable, is not the League's main task. The promotion of co-operation, though in one sense an end in itself, is at the same time a step to a further end—the prevention of war. Three wars at least the League has stopped. They were between small States, but they might easily have involved great States.

To avoid another war, the first and most essential step is a drastic cut in armaments. The man with pistols in every pocket cannot expect his neighbours to be convinced that he is a man of peace. That necessary work is now in train. The World Conference on Disarmament will meet not more than twelve months hence. The Governments assembled at it will do their best to reach agreement, but Governments cannot do everything by themselves. It is less than fair to expect that of them. Behind them stand the peoples on whom they rest, and if the peoples have a resolute will the Governments will execute it.

It is on the peoples, therefore, that the success or failure of the Disarmament Conference hangs. Are they realising their responsibility? That question must be answered first as regards ourselves. We imagine the British public to be as well informed and enlightened as any other, perhaps more so. Is it? A famous headmaster can write in the last few weeks: "I regret to say the League of Nations is a mischievous delusion, and I believe only in England and its dependents." The education even of headmasters has still some progress to make. It is with the task of educating the whole British people in the aims and work of the League that the League of Nations Union concerns itself before all things. In its task it has behind it the support of

all the political parties and their leaders; its national importance was recognised a year ago by the grant of a Royal Charter.

But that work needs money. In the past the Union has been generously supported, not only by its rank and file, but by large gifts from the comparative handful of wealthy men. If it is to maintain its health and prosper, it must depend democratically more and more on the rank and file and less and less on the benefactions of the rich. Already the Union's branches are helping to place its finances on a broader basis, so that to-day its central office receives nearly one-half of its income from branch efforts and membership subscriptions. Three years ago the proportion was less than one-sixth.

But £10,000 a year still has to be collected from year to year in special donations if the work entrusted to the Union is to be properly done in these next critical years. An appeal inviting attention to all those facts is about to be issued to many who are now subscribing 10s. or more. If you are a member of the Union who subscribes less than 10s. a year, you will not receive the appeal. But you can help to meet our urgent need if you are able to increase your annual subscription. Can you make it £1 a year, and so become a Foundation member?

AN APPEAL TO YOUTH

SOME twenty-five Foreign Embassies and Legations in London have volunteered to send contingents, in national costume, to the Great Massed Gathering in connection with the Festival of Youth at the Crystal Palace on June 18, which is being organised by the London Regional Federation of the Union. An international display of Folk-dancing, Choral and other items will be given by the contingents. The Tonic-Sol-fa Secretary reports that entries for the 5,000 Juvenile Choral in the afternoon are pouring in, and a Great Concert is promised. Entries for the Lewisham Churches Athletic Festival are equally good, and it is possible that more than 2,000 will compete on this occasion.

A number of team events are open to all L.N.U. members, Brigades, Schools and Youth Organisations generally, as also are the Elocution, Essay and Public-Speaking Competitions. Entry forms for all the above items can be obtained from the General Festival Secretary. The Public Speaking competitions (Class II) are open to all adults. On the Exhibition side, a number of stalls have already been booked, and there are more available for those who apply to the General Secretary. The Metropolitan Free Church Federation is transferring its Hyde Park Peace Demonstration to the Crystal Palace, where Dr. Norwood will speak. It is hoped that many L.N.U. Country Branches will be represented at the Great Mass Gathering, which promises to be of a most inspiring nature. Branch

(Continued on page ii, column 2.)

AT HEADQUARTERS

THE Executive Committee is the link between the public opinion formed throughout the country to support the League, and the Government of the day. No small importance, then, attaches to the full discussion which took place between Sir Austen Chamberlain and the Committee on February 22, when he received its members at the Foreign Office. The Union's policy on all outstanding questions was explained by Professor Gilbert Murray, Major Hills, M.P., and Mr. George Barnes, and others joined in the conference. The Committee, without respect of party, left the Foreign Office with the conviction that they had met a Minister sincerely anxious to strengthen the League. And if he could not, in the matter of Mandates or the Permanent Court of International Justice, promise that the Government would do what the deputation asked, he gave very substantial reasons why. This is an immense gain.

Sir Austen gave to the Executive Committee the first public intimation that the British reply to President Coolidge's proposals for Naval Limitation would be an acceptance. The Committee, welcoming this decision and still more the Government's intention that any naval agreement should help and not prejudice the work of the World Disarmament Conference, is publishing the American proposals and the replies of the Powers to whom they were addressed, together with its own views. This is but a small part of the educational campaign upon Armaments Reduction which is now gathering speed. A special fund has been raised, special pamphlets, leaflets and posters are being issued. Speakers are everywhere concentrating on this subject; a conference of London Mayors at the Mansion House is being organized, and arrangements for an important three days' conference on disarmament in London at the end of May are already in hand. Lecturers and speakers, well loaded with information, are visiting all manner of organizations, including Chambers of Commerce and Co-operative Societies for the same cause.

The Executive Committee's statement of policy on China has caused great satisfaction among most of the branches in the country, and has been published in full in the principal provincial papers. It has now been brought up to date and is printed in leaflet form. Several branches, it is true, have expressed their anxiety at the despatch of troops and at the non-intervention of the League at present. But the Committee, while continuing to study the Chinese situation from every angle, has not modified its policy.

The Opium Committee has presented its first report. It has collected a great deal of little-known information including an exhaustive account of the efforts made in British Malaya to limit the terrible abuse of opium. Hardly ever has the outlook been so black. The Chinese anarchy has caused such an orgy of smuggling into the Far Eastern dependencies of the Western Powers that restrictive measures seem to have collapsed. The Indian prohibition on opium export, the new offer of reduction in Persia, and the Opium Revenue Replacement Fund in British Malaya, are the only bright spots in a discouraging picture. The Union must address itself to arousing public opinion about this curse. The Head Office will gladly supply to any speakers or writers who will give special study to this subject the latest information available.

A new joint Committee has been formed with the British Legion to find means of intensifying co-operation between the two societies. It would greatly assist the work of the two headquarters if branches would make a practice of inviting the local branch of the British Legion to join in their meetings.

AN APPEAL TO YOUTH—(Continued from page i.)

Secretaries in particular should make a special effort to attend the Festival, as they will gain many fresh ideas that are bound to be of help in their work. A large number of organisations outside the L.N.U. are already booked.

Messrs. Thomas Cook (through their sub-offices and agents) are ready to assist L.N.U. Country Branch Secretaries in securing special rail facilities, and to arrange accommodation in London, upon request. Festival handbills are now available, application for which, and all other information, should be made without delay to the General Secretary, L.N.U. Festival Headquarters, Crystal Palace, S.E.19. Telephone, Sydenham 5184.

"HELP THE CAUSE OF YOUTH! COME TO THE PALACE IN YOUR THOUSANDS AND TEN THOUSANDS." This is the Message to our Members from the Festival of Youth.

Uphill Work

The Secretary of a Corporate Membership branch in an armaments centre writes as follows:—

We are rather a poor church, most of our people being what are known as "Working People." There is something worse than poverty that holds us back, however, and that is the fact that so many have worked many years for armament firms and are still working on armaments, and it is rather a difficult matter for some of them to look ahead and believe in all sincerity that there will come a time when they will no longer be engaged on war work. Speaking to one of our church members a few days ago, I was informed by him that he was working on Tanks. Another member of our church has recently been promoted to the position of Inspector of Guns, and I have two relatives, one who works on guns and has done so practically all his life, and the other who is a clerk in the services of a firm at the present time busily making hundreds (I believe) of shell cases. In these circumstances, it is, of course, very difficult to arouse enthusiasm, as a man feels himself to be in a silly position when he signs his name as a member of the League of Nations Union whilst working daily on implements of warfare.

Woolwich Backs the League

Woolwich, the home of armaments, showed itself enthusiastically in support of the League at a crowded meeting held there last month when a central branch was formed. The Chief Superintendent of Ordnance Factories gave his whole-hearted support to the movement, and supported the Chairman on the platform, whilst Sir Kingsley Wood, the local M.P., sent a cordial message.

A Novel Reception

A novel reception was planned by the Junior Branch at the Hastings and St. Leonards Ladies' College. "Delegates" from all the member States of the League were welcomed by the Bishop of Lewes. The majority were in national costume, but, where this was not possible, distinctive ribbons were worn. Each delegate was announced on arrival. The Bishop then gave an address of welcome and a number of national anthems were rendered by the College orchestra. A League of Nations Morality play, followed by an impromptu dance, brought a very original programme to an end.

A Library for Everyone

The catalogue of the books in the library at headquarters has recently been published (price 6d.). It contains particulars of about 3,000 books on the League and international affairs generally. A supplement, giving the latest additions to the library, is supplied free with the catalogue. In addition to the books mentioned in the catalogue, the library contains a great number of pamphlets, current periodicals and I.L.O. studies and reports.

Glasgow's Fine Record

Glasgow and the West of Scotland District can show a splendid record of achievement during the past year. No less than 376 meetings were organised. In addition to Dr. Norwood, they have had, amongst other distinguished speakers, Lord Home and Lord Meston

within 12 months. At the annual business meeting over 700 people were present. Dame Rachel Crowdy made a special journey from Geneva to speak at the meeting and gave a very interesting address on the activities of her section. Dame Rachel also addressed two other meetings in Glasgow, one of which was the Women's Union of Glasgow University. After the address the students entertained her to luncheon.

The League in the East

A branch of the Indian League of Nations Union has been formed at Lucknow with His Excellency Sir William Morris as Patron and the Hon. Mr. Justice Gokarnath Misra as President.

An International Educational Works Exhibition was held recently by the Japanese League of Nations Association at Osaka. The Exhibition, which lasted five days, was an unparalleled success, the Press helping in giving it publicity. The Exhibition is to travel from town to town and was held at Tokyo at the end of last month. Australia and New Zealand contributed very largely to the Exhibition. The Society is appealing for more exhibits from all over the world, such as pupils' posters, banners, badges, pictures of processions in the cause of peace and anything that will introduce the donor's country to the eyes of Japanese children. They should be sent to the Secretary, Japanese Executive International Educational Intercourse Association, 14, 1 Chome Uchiandojimachi, Minamiku, Osaka, Japan.

Rumanian Children and the League

L'Argus published, a little while ago, an announcement issued by the Ministry of Education with regard to instruction in the aims of the League of Nations in Rumanian schools. Pamphlets describing how the League works and what its aims and principles are will be distributed throughout the country.

German Churches Move

A Theological Committee has been formed in the German League of Nations Society with the object of gaining the support of the Evangelical Church. The opening meeting, at which several prominent people spoke, took place in the Reichstag. This Committee will also deal with certain aspects of minority questions.

A Paris Debate

A debate for and against the League of Nations was held in Paris recently in the Salle de l'Etoile. The principal speakers were Mr. Elliot Felkin, of the League of Nations Secretariat, and Mr. O. Bodington, of Paris. Some 350 people of various nationalities, including many Sorbonne students, were present, and the debate aroused very great interest.

Oxford Summer School

The preliminary programme for the Oxford Summer School is now ready. Amongst the subjects and speakers so far arranged may be mentioned: "The Growth of International Organisation," by Mr. C. Delisle Burns; "The Growth of Arbitration in International Affairs," by Lord Phillimore; and "International Economic Problems," by Sir Arthur Salter. The problem of disarmament will be dealt with by military, naval and aerial authorities. The humanitarian activities of the League and the work of the I.L.O. will also figure on the programme.

The School will be held in St. Hugh's College, Oxford. All those wishing to attend are advised to book early.

A School for Teachers

An important development in the educational side of the Union's work will be marked by the holding of an Educational Conference at Oxford from July 27-29. The whole teaching profession is taking part in this Conference, which will take place at St. Hugh's College immediately preceding the Union's annual Summer School.

The inaugural address, on "The Teacher and World Peace," will be given by the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher; Mr. Sydney Herbert, M.A., will lecture on "The Teaching of History," and there will follow five lectures by various authorities on the teaching of history in relation respectively to Girls' Secondary Schools, Boys' Secondary Schools, Training Colleges, Central Schools and Elementary Schools. Other matters dealt with will include the League Experts' Report, the Teaching of Geography and Junior Branches of the Union.

The fee for the Conference will be one and a half guineas.

An Appeal from India

Mrs. L. H. Taffs, Secretary of the Student Department of the Y.W.C.A., 65, Poonamallee Road, Vepery, Madras, is running a Study Circle for Indian students, and would be glad to receive League of Nations literature for the use of this Circle. If any readers would send spare literature, copies of HEADWAY, etc., to Mrs. Taffs, at the above address, she would make good use of them.

A League Shop

A League of Nations Shop was one of the special features of a Recruiting Week organised by the St. Albans Branch. Literature, badges and so on were sold at the shop, which had been lent rent free for the week, whilst members were also enrolled there.

A Lecture to Teachers

A magnificent lead was given to educational authorities and teachers by West Bromwich Committee, who gave the schools a half-holiday on Friday, February 11, in order to enable the teachers in their employ to hear an address by Dr. Maxwell Garnett on the League of Nations, particularly in relation to school teaching. In addition to the 400 teachers, there were also present the members of the Education Committee, the Town Council, magistrates and the public officials.

Visitors to the Economic Conference

The Union will be very glad to be of service to those who want to visit the World Economic Conference, which is meeting at Geneva on May 4. It is not proposed to organise a party, but scales of hotel charges will be supplied and accommodation secured for those who wish to visit Geneva then.

Applications for the Union's party to the I.L.O. Conference are already being received at the head office. The party will leave London on May 28, and those wishing to join are advised to apply immediately.

Museums and League Exhibits

The North Staffs District Council arranged that an original set of the League Exhibit in their possession should be "hung" at one of the exhibitions arranged by the Stoke-on-Trent (City) Libraries and Museums Committee in the Hanley Museum. At the Chief Curator's suggestion the exhibits were afterwards removed to the Tunstall Museum for a fortnight.

The Slaves of To-day

At a meeting in support of the League's Convention on Slavery, held at Reckitt's Garden Village, Hull, Mr. W. D. Priestman, who presided, pointed out that there are at the present time six and a half times as many slaves in the world as were liberated in the days of Lincoln. These are the kind of facts that need more publicity amongst our members.

Derby and Disarmament

The Derby Branch has printed as a leaflet the article by Professor Baker on Disarmament which appeared recently in the *Daily News*. Other Branches who would like to make use of this leaflet can purchase supplies on application to the Honorary Secretary of the Derby Branch, Mr. T. A. Lewis, 18, Stenson Road, Derby.

A Summer Campaign

This summer an open-air campaign for the League will be conducted by women in Northamptonshire. To prepare for the campaign a Conference is to be held at Wellingborough on April 9th at which representatives of the Northamptonshire Branches of eighteen women's organisations will meet to discuss plans for conducting an open-air campaign in the rural areas of the country during the middle of June. Amongst the organisations which are co-operating may be mentioned the National Council for Women, the Girl Guides Association, the British Legion, Women's Section, and the Mothers' Union. Last year, as a result of a campaign organised by the Union, about twenty new branches were formed in the country.

Hospitality Wanted

"The German League of Nations Society is anxious that one of its secretaries, Fraulein Vogeler, should come over to England this summer to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language. In return for board and lodging she would give German lessons and do type-writing. Communications in the first instance to League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1."

Wanted: A Slogan

Union members are asked to send to the Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, any ideas they may have for a disarmament slogan suitable for display on posters. A copy of Professor Baker's book on disarmament will be presented as token of appreciation to the sender of the best slogan.

Harrogate Council Meeting

Will all branches send to Mr. R. A. White, 89, West End Avenue, Harrogate, the names and addresses of delegates to the Union Council meeting in June who would like private hospitality provided for them, as well as of those who wish to have hotel accommodation booked?

Borrowed Plumes

Requests for costumes are often received at Headquarters from branches organising League of Nations Plays and Pageants. We shall be glad if any branches owning such costumes and willing to lend or hire them will send particulars to 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

A "Club Night"

What is described as a "Club Night" is one of the more recent activities described in the annual report of the Berwick-on-Tweed Branch. The "Club Night" is held in a hotel once a month, when papers are read and informal discussions held on different matters of League interest.

Two Branch Journals

North Hackney Branch has its own "official journal." *Branch News*, a four-page leaflet, is sent out free with the News Sheet to all the members of the Branch. A corps of voluntary workers undertakes the rather formidable task of delivering the papers to the more than 2,400 members. Here are a few of the activities mentioned in one issue of *Branch News*: A Model Assembly; the Union's film, "The World War and After"; a Public Meeting; a Visit from Dr. Norwood; a Junior Model Assembly; a Course of Lantern Lectures. These are, in fact, but a selection of the events mentioned in the current issue.

Southampton also issues a news sheet, *Local News*. An interesting item from its columns states that a lending library of books on International Relations, Peace, the League, etc., has been started by the Branch. The library is open daily from 10.30 to 12.30 and from 5.30 to 7.30.

Enquire Within

The Brussels secretariat of the Federation of League of Nations Societies has up to the present time been able

to conduct a summer office in Geneva during only the months of August and September each year. Very often, nevertheless, members of affiliated societies and other persons anxious to learn about the League and the International Labour Organisation or to be present at meetings of the Council or of Commissions, visit Geneva during other months of the year, especially, perhaps, during the period of winter sports.

The American Committee in Geneva (of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association), which has a permanent office in the International Club, No. 4, rue de Monthoux, Geneva, has very kindly offered to act in the meantime as a sort of permanent office of the Federation for that period when its own summer office is not open there. Members of the Union and others interested may, therefore, count upon a friendly welcome as well as information and literature on the League and the I.L.O. on applying to the American Committee at the International Club.

Corporate Associates

The following have been admitted to corporate associatiship:—

Ashton Hayes Women's Institute. Biddenden Women's Institute. Bollington Cross and Lower House, W.I. Burwarton and District W.I. Callow End W.I. Chisleton W.I. Dinder, Dulcote and Crocombe W.I. East Budleigh and Bicton W.I. East Harptree W.I. Frinton-on-Sea W.I. Lingfield W.I. Little Bookham W.I. Manaccon W.I. Monks Risborough. Partington W.I. Perranuthnoe W.I. Pewsey W.I. Prees W.I. River W.I. Speen W.I. Wild Hill W.I. Woolverstone W.I. Ryton and District W.I. Newbiggin-by-Sea W.I. Stroud British Legion—Women's Section. Chatham Women's Co-operative Guild. Hackney Midwives' Association. Bookham Women's Own. Lincoln Y.W.C.A. King's Lynn B.W.T.A.U.

WELSH NOTES

The World Message of Peace, which is broadcast each year since 1922 by the children of the schools of Wales and Monmouthshire, will again be sent out this year from the principal broadcasting stations of the world.

* * *

At "the gathering of the clans" in various parts of Wales on St. David's Day, the work of St. David as a Herald of Peace, and the League of Nations as an instrument for the realisation of the Peace Ideal, were referred to in hundreds of schools as well as in many public functions and meetings. A fine tribute to the League of Nations Union was paid by Professor Ernest Hughes, M.A., at the Cardiff Cymmrodorion Banquet where the Prime Minister and Mrs. Baldwin were the guests of the evening.

* * *

The Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council will be held at Colwyn Bay during Whit-week—June 7, 8, and 9, 1927. A full and interesting programme has been prepared. In the list of speakers are Dame Edith Lyttelton, Sir William Vincent, K.C.S.I., Baron Von Rheinbaben, Mr. David Davies, M.P., Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Mr. W. Arnold Forster, M.A., Major Goronwy Owen, M.P., the Rev. J. H. Howard, M.A., Mr. Robert Richards (ex Under-Secretary for India), and Mr. E. H. Jones, M.A.

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: Freet 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.