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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE effect of the ratification of the Kellogg Pact by the United States is discussed in another column. Rather apart from that, though, of course, directly connected with it, is the question of how many States have ratified or propose to ratify the Treaty. It would appear that some 59 States, out of 64 in the world, have signed, and it is reasonable to suppose that most or all of them will in due course ratify. Soviet Russia actually took this course in advance of the United States. The Soviet Government at the beginning of January made an unexpected proposal to Poland that the Pact should take effect between those two countries as soon as both of them had ratified it, regardless of what any other nation did. (The Treaty itself provides that it shall not enter into force till it has been ratified by the fourteen original signatories.) Poland, who has not yet given her final answer, appears disposed to agree on certain conditions. In any case ratifications by the original signatories are likely to follow pretty quickly, so that it will make little difference in point of time to Poland and Russia whether the Soviet proposal is actually adopted or not. It is significant, for

another reason, that one of the first countries to complete ratification is Afghanistan, because it was always understood that the British reservation to the effect that there were certain regions of the world where Great Britain had so dominant an interest that any armed action there would be regarded as an attack on the British Empire, and would be repelled under the head of self-defence, applied to Afghanistan as well as Egypt. If Afghanistan actually ratifies the Treaty the need for any such reservation (if there ever was any such need) disappears, because any State attacking Afghanistan would be violating the Treaty, and thereby setting every other signatory free to take armed action against it if it chose. With Egypt ratifying also the bottom looks like being knocked out of the British reservation.

Averting a War

THE main lines of the League Council's action in regard to the Bolivia-Paraguay dispute are traced on another page. (It was impossible to deal with the matter adequately earlier in view of the date at which the January HEADWAY had to go to

press.) It becomes clear, from documents recently issued at Geneva, that far too little note has been taken of the active and effective part played by M. Briand, as President of the Council, after his return from Lugano to Paris on December 17. Sir Eric Drummond joined M. Briand the next day, and immediately despatched the following message to all members of the Council:—

"M. Briand asks me to inform you that it is not unlikely that he may summon an extraordinary session of the Council towards the end of the week. Definite information regarding this meeting will be telegraphed to you as soon as possible."

On the same day also M. Briand gave the representatives of the United States and of the Argentine Republic in Paris (these two States having taken a lead in efforts at mediation) a memorandum, assuring them of his desire to have all attempts at settlement co-ordinated, and indicating that an emergency meeting of the Council might have to be held because war had either broken out or was on the point of breaking out "between two members of the League, neither of which appears to recognise any common contractual obligation not to resort to war other than that arising under the League Covenant, by which they are both bound." This emphasises the fact, hitherto hardly realised, that it was only their Covenant pledges, of which they were so urgently reminded by the Council, that deprived the two disputants of the right to take up arms immediately.

Disarmament Talk

THE next meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference has been definitely fixed for April 15. That date is later than a good many people, notably the Germans—who have always been most zealous, for obvious reasons, in pressing for general disarmament—would have desired. The reasons for the postponement are various, one of them being the feeling that President Hoover, who does not take office till March 4, must be given time to appoint his delegates to Geneva and draft the necessary instructions for them. The work of the Commission will consist of discussion of the revised proposals of the Soviet Government for progressive disarmament over a period of four years and (unless the Russian proposals are adopted) further consideration of the draft Disarmament Convention which has remained in its present form since the spring of 1927. The prospects of reaching further agreement on the points left vague when the Commission adjourned in May, 1927, are not very bright, and the fact that M. Paul Boncour, who has so far represented France throughout, will no longer be sitting, is likely to make for further delay rather than progress. The situation is difficult, for the Commission can neither go on adjourning nor go on sitting and beating the air every time. On the other hand, it is perfectly possible that sufficient progress may be made to pave the way for a decisive meeting of the Commission a little later in the year. To look for the actual summoning of the International Disarmament Conference in the course of 1929 seems unduly optimistic.

Peru Resumes

THE action of Peru in sending the League an unexpected cheque representing the country's League subscription for 1928 and an assessed proportion of its arrears is interesting and important. Peru has been absent from Geneva since the day in 1921 when, in conjunction with Bolivia, she tried unsuccessfully to raise the old Tacna-Arica dispute before the League, but did it in the wrong form. It was significant that the Peruvian Minister in Paris was among the South American diplomatic representatives who waited on M. Briand some five or six weeks ago to thank him for the action the League had taken in intervening in the Bolivia-Paraguay dispute. That fact was commented on in the last issue of HEADWAY, and it is clear now that it was merely the preliminary to Peru's return to closer association with the League. The decision of the Peruvian Government may further have been influenced by the interest aroused throughout Latin America generally in one aspect of the League's non-political activities by the visit of the President of the Health Organisation and the Director of the Health Section of the Secretariat some eighteen months ago. It becomes the more important for the League to use every endeavour to develop closer ties with the South American continent. (See map, p. 27.)

Too Much Coal

ONE of the main facts brought out by the recent discussions of the coal experts at Geneva has regard to the far-reaching effect of the British Coal Strike of 1926. The point may be fairly obvious, but it is worth while bringing it out. When coal production in Great Britain ceased, other European countries, of course, largely increased their output to make up the shortage. That meant that when the British strike was over, and the pits in this country began producing again, the total output of Europe was considerably in excess of its needs, for it was not to be supposed that other producing countries which had just established themselves in new markets were likely to relinquish them without a struggle. Much the same thing had, of course, happened during the Ruhr stoppage of 1923, so that it can easily be understood that the Geneva experts went as far as to declare that there had been no such thing as a "normal" condition of the European coal industry since the war. A further disturbing factor has been the practice of some countries which foster their coal industry by carrying coal on the State railways at an abnormally low rate, thus enabling their coal to compete on advantageous terms in outside markets with the output of other producing countries. It is a pretty involved tangle for Geneva to straighten out. But there are aspects of it which can be handled internationally, and after further meetings definite proposals are likely to emerge.

Recourse to the Radio

BROADCASTING is the approved method of publicity nowadays as the United States has realised much more fully than Great Britain. In France supporters of the International Labour Office have appreciated the possibilities of the radio,

and daily talks are being broadcast on the work of the I.L.O. from Paris. The talks deal with such subjects as labour legislation, the history of labour problems, social and industrial conditions, and while they are necessarily phrased in popular language they are all given by speakers who are acknowledged authorities on the subject. A recent address, for example, by M. Arthur Fontaine, who is the French Government representative on the Governing Body of the I.L.O., and has been Chairman of that Body since the outset, was devoted to pointing out that all the countries found it necessary to impose regulations of their own in regard to conditions of work in their own country, and that the next step was to assimilate the laws in force in different countries (so far as conditions were substantially the same). That was one of the justifications for the work the Labour Office was doing. M. Lambert Ribot, French Employers' representative on the Governing Body, and a leading figure in the great French Iron and Steel Federation, the "Comité des Forges," in another talk gave a necessary reminder of the part played by great employers in an institution sometimes strangely misconceived as very largely "a Labour show."

Broadcasting a Vacancy

WIRELESS has been playing a rather unexpected part in connection with the I.L.O. in another sphere. The Labour Office had occasion recently to advertise for the post of chief statistician, a fairly important office carrying a commencing salary of between £1,100 and £1,200. As is customary all States Members of the League were officially advised of the vacancy. The Polish Government, anxious to give its possible applicants the best opportunity, immediately broadcast the fact that applications were being invited, and a Polish applicant, in writing to Geneva, mentioned that he first heard of the vacancy through the wireless. An Australian candidate, finding that a letter would not reach Geneva in time, wirelessed an application of 300 words, which must have cost him a substantial proportion of his first year's salary—if he gets the post and the salary. Altogether 76 applications were received from 22 different countries, including one from Iceland. One of the candidates sought to strengthen his case by forwarding copies of 20 books he had written.

A Well-deserved Honour

SIR ARTHUR SALTER has been awarded the Showland Memorial Prize offered by Yale University for distinction in arts, literature or the science of government. It is, of course, the last of these qualifications that has entitled Sir Arthur to an award he most richly deserves. "The Science of Government" is, no doubt, a wide term, and Sir Arthur Salter is actually concerned with the administrative rather than with the legislative side of government. But in his own particular sphere it may be questioned whether he has half a dozen equals in the world. There are many who regard the economic and financial work of the League of Nations, including particularly the Austrian and Hungarian reconstruction schemes and the Greek and Bulgarian refugee settlement

loans, as the most successful part of the whole of the League's activities. And a high percentage of that success is due to Sir Arthur Salter personally. He made a heavy financial sacrifice when he abandoned the General-Secretaryship of the Reparations Commission to become head of the Financial Section at Geneva, but he made it willingly, and has no doubt had the reward he desired in contemplation of the achievements his section has set to its credit. It is none the less satisfactory that such work should receive public acknowledgment, and at least interesting that the acknowledgment should have come first from the other side of the Atlantic.

A Recent Prosecution

CONSIDERABLE public interest was aroused a few weeks ago by the condemnation—first by the magistrate at Bow Street, and then, on appeal, by a unanimous ruling of the Justices at the London Sessions—of a recent novel described as obscene. Without entering into any of the controversial questions this incident has opened up, it is worth observing that the action taken by the British Government was enjoined on it by an international convention for the Suppression of Obscene Publications, signed at Geneva in 1923. Information on the action taken is sent to the League of Nations, and therefore becomes available to all other signatories of the Convention. It follows that, if a particular publication is condemned in one country, the authorities of other countries are placed on the alert in regard to it. Consequently, it is not surprising that the Government of the United States, which, though not a member of the League, has signed this particular convention, has seized a consignment of the novel in question and intends to prevent its circulation. This is, perhaps, not a matter of the first moment, but there is some value in realising how international agreements at Geneva can affect the action of a particular Government in its domestic affairs. The Government does not itself condemn a book or picture as obscene. It simply brings it before the ordinary courts, which give their decision in accordance with the law.

Tagore at Geneva

THE reference to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in a book review in the last issue of HEADWAY has evoked some interesting reminiscences from a reader who met him at Geneva. Remark was made in the review in question that Dr. Tagore in his published letters from Geneva made no reference to the League. The correspondent who now writes to HEADWAY, however, mentions that he himself arranged for a number of members of the staffs of the League Secretariat and the International Labour Office to meet the Indian poet. "He agreed," says the writer. "I got together some sixty people belonging to seventeen nationalities, and Tagore addressed them, and then conversed with many of them. The I.L.O. staff was well represented, including at least one Chief of Division and most Chiefs of Section—the Secretariat much less so. I arranged an interview with M. Thomas, but Tagore was not free. Unless I am mistaken, M. Thomas called on him at the Hôtel des Bergues. I cannot recall whether Tagore visited the Secretariat."

THE MONTH IN BRIEF

WASHINGTON, GENEVA, BELGRADE, CABUL

(In response to the requests of HEADWAY readers who desire to have before them each month a concise account of recent events, so far as they closely affect the League of Nations, it has been decided to publish, experimentally at any rate, a page in each issue devoted to summarising such events. Most of the subjects mentioned are dealt with more fully on other pages.)

BY far the most important event in the weeks immediately preceding the date at which this issue of HEADWAY goes to press was the **ratification of the Kellogg Pact** for the Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy by the United States Senate on January 15. The vote was all but unanimous, one single Senator putting himself in the minority. The Treaty was ratified without reservations, though there was laid before the Senate a report of the Foreign Affairs Committee emphasising the fact that the Monroe Doctrine and the right of self-defence both remain intact. This, however, has no legal value, as Mr. Kellogg himself subsequently emphasised in an interview. The U.S.S.R. (Russia) had already ratified, and other nations will no doubt follow suit without delay.

Other events important in themselves, but unconnected with the League, were the sudden suspension of Parliament and the institution of **autocratic rule in Jugoslavia**, and the **double revolution in Afghanistan**, involving the dethronement, first, of King Amanullah, who visited London last year, and then of his brother Inayatullah.

The last fortnight of December saw the final movements which led to the negotiations that finally averted the **danger of war between Bolivia and Paraguay**. It is clear from facts recorded in another column of this issue that the action taken by the League Council through its President, M. Briand, contributed more largely than had been realised to the decision of the two countries to accept arbitration instead of going to war, and Bolivia's proposal to refer the matter at issue to the Permanent Court of International Justice is important.

Another event which, like the Kellogg Pact, has no direct and formal connection with the League, but is calculated to promote the realisation of those aims for which the League stands, was the **adoption by the Pan-American Conference** (composed of States on the American continent, with the exception of Canada) on January 5, of **two treaties of conciliation and arbitration**, the latter of the two binding the signatory States to accept arbitration in every dispute, if conciliation fails. There were no general reservations to the arbitration treaty, but each signatory State was entitled to make whatever individual reservations it chose, so that the actual effect of the treaty may be less far-reaching than at first sight appears.

In the middle of January a committee of experts on the **coal problem** met at Geneva to consider in every aspect the problem created by the present excess of production over consumption in Europe, combined with unsatisfactory arrangements for distribution. The committee reported to the Economic Committee of the League, but is so far only at the beginning of its investigations which may be very far-reaching. The miners' organisations are also to be consulted by the Economic Committee. This latter committee began its own regular meeting on January 15. A similar procedure is to be set on foot in regard to sugar.

Two other League organs that have been in session in January are the **Opium Advisory Committee and the new Opium Central Control Board**. The latter elected as its chairman the British Member of the Board, Mr. L. A. Lyall, formerly a high official in the Chinese Maritime Customs. This was the first meeting

of the Board, and was devoted principally to discussing plans for future working. The Advisory Committee itself concentrated specially on the eternal question of how to check the illicit traffic in drugs. In the middle of January also there were resumed the **conversations between Rumania and Hungary** regarding the settlement of the old dispute about the Hungarian Optants in Rumania. The recent change of Government in Rumania encouraged the hope that these negotiations might at last lead to some definite settlement.

COMING EVENTS

JANUARY 28.—Geneva: Committee on Codification of International Law. (To examine replies received from Governments on the three questions on the Conference agenda—namely, Nationality, Territorial Waters, Responsibility of States for crimes committed on their Territory against foreigners.)

FEBRUARY 15.—The Hague: Ordinary Session of Permanent Court of International Justice opens.

FEBRUARY 20.—London: League Communications and Transit Organisation Conference on Ports and Maritime Navigation.

MARCH 4.—Geneva: Fifty-fifth Session of the Council.

MORE ARMS AND MORE

THE following table, showing the armaments expenditure of six Great Powers at different periods between 1913 and 1928, is based, as regards the figures of 1913-14, on material supplied by the League of Nations' Secretariat, and as regards other years on the League's official Armaments Year Books for 1927 and 1928.

The feature of the table is that allowance has been made here for changes in wholesale price levels from year to year, so that the figures for each year are comparable with those for every other year. (An exception to this is the figures for Italy, which were produced on a new basis in 1927, and, therefore, cannot properly be compared with the Italian figures for earlier years.) In the case of Great Britain the figure for 1913-14 included the whole of Ireland, for the other years only Northern Ireland.

It is necessary to emphasise the fact that the figures, which are reduced to 1913-14 price levels, with 000,000's omitted, can be only compared horizontally—i.e., across the page, not downwards—as the different nations include different items in their returns of naval and military expenditure. What can be discovered is whether individual nations are tending to increase or diminish their expenditure on armaments from year to year, and it will be observed that there has in every case been a distinct rise as between 1924-25 and 1927-28, Great Britain being no exception to this rule.

	1913-4	1923-4	1924-5	1925-6	1926-7	1927-8
Great Britain & Northern Ireland	77.1	—	72.6	82.1	83.6	85.6
France	72	64	48	40	37.1	49.7
Germany	94.5	—	16.9	22.2	25.4	26.2
Italy	44.3	27.1	25.4	21.3	34.6	42.5
Japan	19.2	24.5	21.7	21.6	24.7	27.3
U.S.A.	61.8	—	73.6	75.6	77.4	77.2

A CHANNEL TUNNEL

WOULD IT FURTHER THE AIMS OF THE LEAGUE?

THE Channel tunnel discussion may have no direct connection with the League of Nations, but it has a very real indirect connection. One of the objects of the League—indeed, the first object as set out in the Preamble to the Covenant—is “to promote international co-operation,” and anything that tends to increase international contacts is along the lines of the League's endeavours.

But the League is affected by certain phases of the Channel tunnel controversy much more obviously. The loudest objections to the tunnel project, though not necessarily the most weighty, are those based on the military dangers this country would incur if the tunnel were actually constructed. The strategic value of this objection need not be examined here, though it may be observed that such a peril, if it exists, is obviously as nothing in comparison with the dangers incurred cheerfully every day of every month by a country with a land frontier—that is to say by every other country in Europe—which can be crossed at any point by an invading force.

The Tunnel in War

The intolerable aspect of this is that under a Government whose Foreign Secretary has declared explicitly that the keystone of this country's foreign policy is the League of Nations, at a moment when this country and every other country in Europe has signed an international treaty renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, and undertaking never to seek the settlement of disputes except by peaceful means, the Channel tunnel project should be openly opposed on the ground that the tunnel might increase British insecurity in another war.

There are no doubt sound arguments against a tunnel as well as sound arguments in favour of it. The final decision must be reached by balancing the one against the other. To illustrate the best that can be said by both sides a HEADWAY representative has obtained statements from Sir William Bull, M.P., the leader of the movement in favour of the tunnel in the two Houses of Parliament, and Major J. W. Hills, M.P., who has publicly put forward some striking arguments against the construction of any tunnel at all.

The Soldiers' Opposition

Sir William Bull, while taking the view that the Kellogg Pact had undoubtedly modified the situation to some extent, was not prepared to underrate the advice of so important a body as the Committee of Imperial Defence (which in 1924 pronounced decisively against a tunnel scheme). But the C.I.D. was compelled, he pointed out, to take what might be termed the pessimistic view. Against that other considerations must be measured. The matter must be weighed on its own merits as a business risk, just as colleagues on the board of an insurance or any other company should weigh the risk of using money for certain purposes. The advantages of a tunnel needed no enumeration. It would clearly serve many of the ends that the League of Nations had in view. On military grounds there were no doubt certain conceivable dangers, but they were so remote as to be almost outside the range of the practical, and in any case they could be guarded against in different ways, as, for example, by the use of gas against an attacking force, by providing “dips” in the tunnel which could be flooded on the shortest notice, by blocking the tunnel-mouth with shingle, or by putting into operation certain other plans not disclosed. France would be the only conceivable enemy who could gain sudden possession of the tunnel, and even

if she ever harboured such a design it was inconceivable that such action could be contemplated except after a period of gravely strained relations, in which case the British forces controlling the tunnel would be perpetually on the alert and take any necessary measure in time.

Sir William Bull did not think Baron Erlanger's plan of constituting a holding company controlled by the League of Nations would be accepted, since this country had not yet sufficient confidence in the League. As to the practical possibilities of tunnel transport, there were no serious difficulties to be encountered, for the fractional difference in the gauge of the British and French railways was not enough to prevent British rolling-stock from travelling on French lines.

A Commercial Objection

Major Hills, who is, among other things, Vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, takes a completely different view. Without expressing any opinion as to whether the existence of the tunnel would actually endanger British security, he makes the point that if the southern end of the tunnel were in the hands of a nation both powerful and unfriendly to Great Britain grave alarm would be created in this country, with the possible result of embitterment and increased expenditure on armaments. But Major Hills' main argument is based not on strategic but on commercial grounds. It would, he considers, be a serious matter to construct a tunnel mainly to endow this country with a new commercial outlet, and have that outlet controlled completely by the particular country through whose territory goods using the tunnel must necessarily pass. The question of customs duties and the actual material facilities granted for the transport of British goods over French railways would be vital factors in the situation, so vital in Major Hills' view as to constitute a grave objection to the whole scheme.

Tunnel or Ferry?

The Member for Ripon has other objections to urge. There may, he thinks, very soon, or even now, be better methods of transport than by travelling through a tunnel. He would like to see train-ferries, running not to one country only, but to three or four (e.g., to Belgium and Holland as well as to France), constructed at once and put into operation, while he is altogether opposed to the sinking of large sums of money in the construction of a tunnel, at a moment when the development of aviation is just in a stage of development which makes it quite uncertain whether it will or will not constitute the great transport agency of the future.

The views of the two Conservative M.P.s provide an interesting contrast, the more so since there is obviously much weight in the contentions of both. From one point of view, at any rate, the problem would be simplified if we could make up our minds whether we have or have not to discuss the matter in terms of war. Even Major Hills, though he himself declines to dwell on the military aspect, thinks it inevitable that most of his countrymen would do so. It is to be hoped that he is wrong. The world is in a bad way if nations are to go on making solemn treaties for the maintenance of international peace and yet not merely decline to abate their preparations for possible war, but even resist an enterprise like the Channel tunnel by reason of the part it might play in some imaginary war of the future. If this country is to raise the insecurity issue over a Channel tunnel, it is hard to see how it can reproach France for raising it over a Rhine frontier.

THE DEFENCE OF THE BLACK SAFEGUARDING NATIVE LABOUR AT GENEVA

By SIR SELWYN FREMANTLE

THE question of native labour is forcing itself on public attention. The natives of the Cape have been organising their own trades union, as recently described in *The Times*, for raising the position of the large section of their community now employed in industry. In the gold mines of Johannesburg they are gradually displacing Europeans in semi-skilled work. "The main issue," General Hertzog states, in the general election to be held next summer in South Africa, "will be the preservation of the existence of the white man and his civilisation as against the danger which threatened it from the lack of civilisation among the natives." It is clear indeed that the only lasting solution of the native question in South Africa and in those parts of East and Central Africa where white men can settle is to raise the native in the scale of civilisation.

One of the first means to this end is the improvement of labour conditions, and this is the special concern of the I.L.O. It has recognised almost from the first the importance of the subject, and in 1921 the Governing Body decided that the general study of native labour should be undertaken. This study has gradually expanded until now there is a whole section of the office engaged on it and, following the usual practice of the League and I.L.O., a Committee has been set up to assist the office in its consideration of the subject. This Committee, of which I am a member, consists of persons with expert knowledge of African and Asiatic colonies and dependencies. Lord Lugard can speak with unrivalled authority for British colonies. The French representative, M. Merlin, has been Governor-General successively of Madagascar, French West Africa and Indo-China. The German and Portuguese members are also former Governors of African colonies. Other members are M. Gohr, from Belgium, and M. Van Rees, from Holland—prominent members of the Colonial Ministries of their respective countries; Mr. Taberer, Native Labour Adviser to the Transvaal Chamber of Mines; and representatives from Spain, Japan and India. Three of the members of the Committee were also members of the Temporary Slavery Commission and the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, and one of these, M. Gohr, was voted to the chair.

Compulsion Just and Unjust

There was no doubt as to how to begin work. The Assembly of the League had adopted a Convention on Slavery in which reference was made to forced labour, and passed a resolution drawing the special attention of the I.L.O. to the importance of the question. Accordingly forced labour was the first subject considered by the Committee. It may at first sight appear that forced labour is an abomination and should be abolished without further ado. But this would not have been accepted by several of the Governments concerned.

And forced labour is of many kinds: For public works, railways and roads which are necessary to open up a country both for commerce and the improvement of the administration, and for portage which cannot be dispensed with till the roads are made. There is the French system by which, as in France itself, each citizen has to give a certain number of days' work or its equivalent to the local or public authority. There is also the system prevailing in Spanish and Portuguese colonies where there is a general obligation on a man to labour either on his own account or for a private employer. On this last question the Committee had no hesitation in finding that no administration should authorise forced labour for private employers and that, where such labour

exists, every effort should be made to bring it to an end as soon as possible.

But in the case of forced labour for public purposes we could not, in view of the backward condition of many tracts and the attitude of governments, go so far and could only suggest strict criteria for having recourse to it and careful regulation of the conditions under which it takes place.

The criteria suggested are as follows:—

- (1) The necessity and public character of the service to be rendered or the work to be carried out.
- (2) Its actual or imminent necessity.
- (3) The impossibility of obtaining voluntary labour.
- (4) That the work or service should not be undertaken without careful consideration that it will not lay too heavy a burden on the present generation, having regard to the labour available and its capacity to undertake the work.
- (5) The responsibility for any recourse to compulsory labour should rest with the competent central authorities of the territory concerned.

Taking Men from the Tribe

Now the first three of these criteria are obvious, but the fourth and fifth call for some comment. The fourth was inserted in order to call the attention of administrations to the necessity, in planning measures for the economic development of a tract, such as a new railway, of considering whether carrying it out may not prove a bigger burden than the tract can support. For experience shows that if anything more than a small proportion of adult males are taken from their villages to labour on important public works, there is risk of serious injury to the well-being of the community concerned, while the granting of concessions in a district where voluntary labour is hard to obtain is likely to result in indirect pressure being brought to bear on the local population.

The fifth criterion was adopted with the object of bringing prominently to the notice of an administration the fact that forced labour is an abnormal system only to be utilised in special cases and of abolishing abuses which are liable to take place if local authorities are given power to call out such labour. In our own colonies the rule now is that forced labour for any public work can only be employed with the sanction of the Secretary of State.

Fair Wages

As to the conditions of such labour the most important is adequate remuneration and the following recommendations are made: That only adult males should be impressed; that wages should be paid at the ruling rate with no deductions for special food, clothing or accommodation; that the duration of employment should be limited to 60 days, or in cases where labour is to be brought from a considerable distance, to 6 months; that an 8-hour day be observed and proper sanitary and medical arrangements be made.

Such are the criteria and conditions under which alone the Committee thought that forced labour should be permissible. They will come before the I.L.O. Conference during the present year and will, it is hoped, be accepted as the basis of a Convention which will be adopted by the nations interested.

And when this takes place I believe that forced labour will soon be a thing of the past. For the provision that full wages be paid will remove a great temptation to utilise forced labour and should cause administrations to consider how best the people can be induced to come forward voluntarily to assist in the economic development on which their own well-being ultimately depends.

ARBITRATION WINS THE BOLIVIA-PARAGUAY DISPUTE REVIEWED

THE dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay has to be added to the list of international controversies which the League of Nations has had to handle. Opinions may legitimately differ both as to whether the League did everything it might have done in this particular case and as to the actual effect of its intervention, but the facts at any rate are fairly clear, and it is well to grasp them before seeking to interpret them.

The dispute between the two South American countries as to where the frontier between them should run in a certain area of marshy, valueless and practically uninhabited country, is of long standing. It is said indeed that it actually goes back to the days of Spanish occupation. To come down to much more recent history, a Reuter message in May of last year mentioned the failure of delegates of the two countries to reach agreement on the frontier line, with the result that Argentina suggested to both parties resort to arbitration.



This wise counsel was, unfortunately, not accepted, and in the first week of December a clash between troops of the two countries in the Chaco district was reported, with casualties on both sides.

Some Awkward Snags

There is some contradiction between the various reports of what actually happened, each nation accusing the troops of the other of trespassing on its territory—a not unnatural development seeing that each country drew the frontier line in a different place. In any case, here was an outbreak of actual fighting between two Members of the League, and curiously enough it took place at a moment when the League Council was just opening its sessions at Lugano, and a Pan-American Arbitration Conference was beginning at Washington.

The League Council laboured under every kind of difficulty. In the first place, it happened to be sitting away from Geneva and, therefore, without access to the information in the archives and library of the Secretariat. In the second place, it had no accurate knowledge of what was actually happening, being dependent entirely

on reports in the various newspapers when those papers reached Lugano. In the third place, though both countries are Members of the League, one of them, Bolivia, was a Member only in name, not having sent a delegation to Geneva or paid a subscription for several years. In the fourth place, there was always the fear lest action by the League might alienate the sympathy of the United States, on the ground that it involved some sort of infraction of the Monroe Doctrine.

Something or Nothing?

Under those circumstances the Council had to choose whether to do anything and, if so, what. To do nothing would obviously be an advertisement of impotence. To attempt something and fail completely would hardly have happier results. Faced with that dilemma the Council decided in the first instance, following the precedent set in the Greco-Bulgarian dispute, to telegraph to both Governments reminding them urgently of the pledge they had taken as signatories of the Covenant to submit every dispute to some form of peaceful settlement instead of fighting about it. The telegram was sent on December 11 and was promptly acknowledged by both Governments. Paraguay declared herself entirely ready to accept arbitration, while Bolivia, after forwarding an interim reply, indicated that Paraguay was the aggressor and that no settlement was possible until satisfaction had been given for the Paraguayan attack. Meanwhile mobilisation continued in both capitals.

While all this was happening the Pan-American Arbitration Conference at Washington was naturally concentrating its attention on the events on the disputed frontier, and its members urged the two parties, in much the same language as the League, to bear in mind the various pledges they had taken to settle their disputes by peaceful means. Bolivia here too showed herself much the less amenable of the disputants and her delegation was in fact withdrawn from the Conference.

M. Briand Carries On

By this time the League Council had reached the last day of its meeting and had to decide whether to remain in session in the hope of being able to be of further service in connection with the South American trouble. It was decided that little would be gained by this, seeing that an emergency meeting of the Council could be summoned at short notice in case of need. A further telegram was, therefore, sent to both Governments reminding them again of the provisions of the Covenant they had signed, particularly Article XII, and M. Briand and Sir Eric Drummond were specially charged to watch the situation and call a new meeting of the Council if necessary. The Council then adjourned, but the threat of war was as serious as ever, and in consequence no sooner had Sir Eric Drummond got back to Geneva from Lugano than he started off again for Paris to remain in daily conference with M. Briand.

At this point the President of the Council took energetic action. He warned all his colleagues to be ready for an emergency meeting of the Council, and at the same time invited the diplomatic representatives of Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina and the United States in Paris to confer with him, assuring the two latter of the League's desire to co-ordinate all efforts at settlement and warning to the two former that unless a settlement were reached the Council would have to meet to decide "what measures should be taken." Fortunately messages were received the same day announcing that Bolivia was ready, as Paraguay had been throughout,

to accept the arbitration of the Pan-American Conference. Thereupon the danger of war disappeared. The diplomatic representatives of Chile, Venezuela, Uruguay, Peru and Panama in Paris all waited on M. Briand in Paris to thank him on behalf of their Governments for the action the League had taken.

Who Kept the Peace?

It is to be noted that the arbitration accepted by Bolivia and Paraguay was that of the Pan-American Conference, which is entirely natural in the case of a dispute on the American continent. The Covenant of the League, of course, only demands that recourse shall be had to arbitration, leaving the parties entirely free to choose any form of arbitration they will. In this case the League's one concern was to see the fighting stopped. Till that was done the process of arbitration was a secondary question.

As to the respective parts played by the League and the Pan-American Conference, it is obviously impossible to say anything decisive, though certainly both bodies contributed to the peaceful solution. One of them acting by itself might have succeeded or might not. Certainly the intervention of both was a great deal better than the intervention of one alone, and since the Bolivian Government, which was obviously the more reluctant of the two to accept a peaceful settlement, declared specifically in its note to the President of the Council that in the end it consented to arbitration "in accordance with the lofty suggestions of the League of Nations," it may be claimed with justice that the League, so far from suffering any detriment to its prestige through its intervention in this singularly delicate situation, definitely gained rather than lost.

A LIMPING COURT

A RATHER unsatisfactory situation as regards the Permanent Court of International Justice is disclosed by a report which appears in the last issue of the (official) Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, describing a recent special session of the Court to deal with a case arising out of financial claims as between Yugoslavia and France, when a quorum appears to have been obtained only by calling in three deputy judges. There is nothing unusual or unsatisfactory about that, provided that there are still one or two reserves available in case of need. In this case there evidently were not, for the following description of the proceedings appears in the League's Official Journal:

"The Court began the hearings in a public sitting on November 13. After M. Fromageot [who was sitting for this case alone as France was entitled to have a judge of her own nationality on the Bench] had made the solemn declaration provided for by the Statute to exercise his duties impartially and conscientiously, M. Albert Montel began his statement on behalf of the French Government.

"Some moments later, M. Negulesco (deputy judge) was taken ill and obliged to leave the Court. As, in these circumstances, the quorum laid down for the Court by Article 25 of the Statute was no longer present—this quorum, in the calculation of which judges *ad hoc* are not taken into account, being nine—the President, pending M. Negulesco's recovery, adjourned the hearing in conformity with Article 30 of the Rules of the Court, according to which 'if at any sitting of the full Court it is impossible to obtain the prescribed quorum, the Court shall adjourn until the quorum is obtained.'

"As the state of M. Negulesco's health gave rise to no anxiety, the resumption of the hearings was successively fixed for November 17, 19 and 21. When, on the date last mentioned, it had become clear that

the state of M. Negulesco's health, though much improved, did not yet permit him to resume his seat, the President found himself obliged to adjourn the hearings *sine die*, and, by an order made the same day, declared the fifteenth session to be closed. Accordingly, the case will be taken at a subsequent session."

Seeing that the Court consists altogether of eleven judges (one vacancy caused by death has not yet been filled) and four deputy judges, there is something seriously wrong somewhere if it ever proves impossible to obtain a quorum of nine. The difficulty appears to be partly due to the reluctance of judges belonging to other Continents than Europe to travel to The Hague for special sessions.

LOST BIRTHDAYS

IN connection with the proposal for the fixation of the calendar (regarding which a letter appears in another column of this issue) a very pertinent question has been raised as to what would happen (a) to birthdays of persons who had the misfortune to be born on a day of the month which will disappear altogether under the new arrangement, and (b) notable anniversaries falling on similar dates.

These may sound unimportant matters, but they have a considerable psychological significance, and human beings are as often influenced by psychology as by more material considerations. We are all of us rather interested in our birthdays, and reluctant to see them disappear. Inquiry of the International Fixed Calendar League elicits the explanation that birthdays will not disappear under the new scheme, but be transferred. Under the plan favoured by the Fixed Calendar League, the first twenty-eight days of January would be as at present, but every other date in the year would be altered. We should, therefore, have to shift our birthdays and peg them down to the new date, and some of us at least would live long enough to get as fully accustomed to the new arrangement as we have so far to the old.

The explanation may or may not give complete satisfaction to those interested. At any rate the question has been asked, and this is the answer to it. It is pointed out, by the way, that calendars have been altered more than once in history, notably, so far as the West is concerned, in 1752, without any very disastrous consequences.

It may be added that the Information Section of the League of Nations has just published a 6d. booklet on "The League of Nations and the Reform of the Calendar," recounting in concise form the various steps which have been taken both at Geneva and through the national committees existing in different countries to promote the calendar reform movement. The movement is particularly strong in America, and the League booklet contains in an appendix the text of a telegram from one of the leaders of the movement in the United States, Mr. George Eastman, head of the Kodak Company, to the following effect:—

Chairman Porter, of Foreign Affairs Committee House, introduced to-day following resolution: "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled that the President is respectfully requested to propose on behalf of the United States to the nations of the world the calling of an international conference for the simplification of the calendar, or to accept an invitation on behalf of the United States to participate in such a conference upon the proposal of some other nation or group of nations."

It is to be observed that Mr. Porter (who was the chief United States delegate at the Opium Conference of 1925) is quite as ready to see the United States accept an invitation to a world conference called by the League as to take the initiative in calling the conference itself.

THE CHILD AND THE PICTURES

MEASURING KISSES BY THE YARD

THE report just issued by the League of Nations on the Cinema (C.P.E. 134 revised) raises the question, "Why should the League, through its Child Welfare Committee or other committees, touch the question of the cinema at all?" The point is worth considering.

The Cinema industry is international. Films may be made in one country and shown in twenty others. Very large financial interests are involved—some \$800,000,000 is said to be invested in the industry—and attempts of any country to forbid the importation of the films manufactured in another might lead to international ill-will.

The control of the display of films in any country is a difficult problem. The framers of regulations, and the public opinion that supports or attacks them, need information about the methods adopted elsewhere and the success or failure of them. The League is the only body competent to collect such information impartially and to communicate it to those concerned.

For years, therefore, the League has been at work on the question of films: it proceeds by its usual methods, collection of information, reports, resolutions, recommendations, the steady enlightenment of public opinion. The last report deals mainly with the cinema and the child.

The League has, of course, realised the many other questions of international importance connected with the cinema, the types of films that ought to be shown in less civilised communities, the use of the cinema as direct means of education, the consideration of the cinema as a new form of art, but here it is only possible to summarise what has just been published on the cinema and the child.

All the world goes to the picture house with his wife and children, enjoys it and means to go on going. The problem is, "What steps, national or international, are, or should be, taken to ensure that the children shall not be subjected to unhygienic or demoralising influences when they go, either with or without their parents?"

"Children Not Admitted"

Practically every country has its own regulations on such matters as ventilation of picture houses, lighting, escape from fire, etc. Six countries forbid very young children to be taken to the cinema at all. The heart of some schoolmasters would rejoice at the thought of certain districts in Japan, where the school authorities have the power, and exert it, of forbidding any child from an elementary or secondary school to enter a picture palace ever. Many countries will not allow children in picture houses after seven or eight o'clock in the evening either alone or in a family party. Obviously the common sense of the world does not trust private enterprise, nor in a lesser degree parental understanding, when the health of the future citizen is concerned.

But the mental and moral health of children is a much more difficult problem. Take a simple example. How long a kiss should be allowed on the screen. One State in America lays down, it is said, a maximum of five feet, *i.e.*, an embrace lasting five seconds. Elsewhere a picture of the hold-up of a train is forbidden; even the representation of a woman smoking may be tabu.

What are the reasons for these quaint anomalies? The first, difference of convention, makes an international censorship, even it were desirable, impossible. A kiss five feet long might be considered cold and undemonstrative in certain Southern countries; it might be the happy mean where this censorship by long measure is in force; and it might be odiously improper

in Japan. The second reason is our ignorance of the effects of the film on the mind of the child. One meets in the regulations again and again phrases like "demoralising effect of scenes of violence," "overstimulation of the imagination," and the like. We can only thank heaven for the protection we must have received in our childhood from the effects of the scenes of violence in Jack the Giant-killer, from the stimulation of the imagination in Cinderella, from the sensuous power of the kiss in *The Sleeping Beauty*. Not even the teacher, whose aid is called in in many countries, really knows what goes on in the mind of a child, much less the magistrate who swallows the oft-told story of the child wrong-doer pleading that "he saw it on the pictures."

What Should We Do?

Let us turn to Great Britain. No one suggests that we should imitate Nicaragua or Cuba, admirable though their methods are. The problem in this country is, "How far is our present system of local licensing, coupled with the issue of a 'U' or an 'A' certificate (U for universal exhibition, A for adults only) by an unofficial board of censors the best that can be devised to meet our special conditions?" A reasoned judgment can only be formed by study both of the effects of our present system and by comparisons with those of other countries. The League by its series of reports does an inestimable service to those who are prepared to tackle the question seriously.

One great principle emerges from the Report, however, which every one can endeavour to apply in a variety of ways. Bad films, whatever that may mean, can only be driven out by good ones. It is useless to rail against the cinema, its corrupting influences, its demoralising effect. We must accept the fact that the cinema is a new form of international art, appealing especially to children as a means of amusement, excitement, instruction, and as a medium for receiving impressions of beauty. What the country's children need is good films and the chance of seeing them. What we can all do is to further, as opportunity arises, the movement to give the children what they like and what they need. They themselves are severe critics.

A GENEVA JEST

THE *Evening Standard* has reproduced in a slightly varied form an old Geneva story, which may be worth telling still, particularly in view of the space the London evening paper has devoted to it. According to the *Standard*, "At Lugano the other day, as soon as Voldemaras got up to speak, Signor Scialoja curled himself up comfortably and went to sleep. For four hours, five hours, his sleep was undisturbed. Then M. Zaleski, who was sitting next him, and who, as Poland's representative, had to follow every word of the Lithuanian's speech, crossed his legs, and in so doing kicked Signor Scialoja and woke him up. The latter, looking up and seeing Voldemaras still speaking, turned testily to his neighbour: 'Why can't you keep still, M. Zaleski? Have you got insomnia?'"

In this form the story will not quite work, for M. Zaleski, at Lugano, was sitting far away from Signor Scialoja, at the opposite side of the room, and M. Voldemaras, for all his verbosity, never succeeded in talking for more than about an hour and a half on end. The incident happened, in fact, some time ago in Geneva, and it was M. Briand who found Signor Scialoja listening with unexpected intentness to some dreary utterance, and asked him in concern whether he was suffering from insomnia.

SOUTH WALES AND GENEVA COALFIELD DISTRESS AND HOW TO CURE IT

BY SIR GEORGE PAISH

[The tragedy of the mining areas in Great Britain is not only a national but an international question, and it must be treated internationally as well as nationally. With that end in view a commission of coal experts, convened by the League of Nations' Economic Committee, has been sitting at Geneva during January to consider the problems of the industry itself, which is at present producing more coal than the world needs. In the following article Sir George Paish, the well-known financial and economic authority, shows how the real solution is to stimulate, along lines the League of Nations has clearly indicated, the great industries that use coal.]

THE great distress in South Wales and in our other coal-mining districts is drawing attention to the grave injury from which this country is suffering in common with other countries from the unsound economic policy pursued by the nations since the War. All our great basic industries are depressed, and there is unemployment throughout the mining and manufacturing districts of the country. Nor are there any real signs of improvement. On the contrary, unemployment is increasing, and the situation is becoming still more serious. Clearly the position needs to be impartially surveyed in order to discover and to remove the fundamental cause of the injury from which our industries suffer.

The depression is chiefly in those great exporting industries which have done so much to increase the wealth of our country, and upon which it depends for its prosperity. In pre-war days these industries showed continuous expansion, the number of people they employed increased from year to year, and the rate of wages they were able to pay steadily advanced. Now, instead of expanding, these industries are contracting, their employes are becoming fewer, the rate of wages is declining, and there is great distress.

The Self-Contained Life

What is the cause of this? The answer is that since the war nearly every nation in the world, including Great Britain, has endeavoured, as never before, to become self-contained, and to buy as little as possible from other nations.

When it is borne in mind that the wonderful progress of the world, and with it of Great Britain, in economic well-being in the past century has come from the removal of the physical obstacles to production and to trade, by the construction of railways and roads, the building of steamships, the creation of the credit system as well as by every other means which the ingenuity of man could devise, and that in this way all the nations of the world were encouraged to produce and to exchange their productions, it will be realised that the efforts of the nations since the war to become more self-contained, and to block the channels of trade by artificial restrictions, could not fail to have disastrous results.

Trade is not War

But the difficulties of adjustment are not surmounted by the discovery of the cause of the trouble. Everyone admits the cause. The great bankers of the world, headed by the Governor of the Bank of England, fully understanding the cause of the trouble, in 1926 issued a Plea for the Removal of Restrictions upon European Trade, in which they pointed out:—

"There can be no recovery in Europe till politicians in all territories, old and new, realise that trade is not war, but a process of exchange, that in time of peace our neighbours are our customers, and that their prosperity is a condition of our own well-being."

Nor were the bankers alone in diagnosing the cause of the trouble correctly. The International Chamber of Commerce, which represents the Chambers of Commerce of all nations, and through them the businessmen

of all countries, in plenary Congress both in Brussels and in Stockholm, passed unanimous resolutions urging the removal of the artificial barriers to trade which have been created since the war.

And the International Federation of Co-operative Societies, at their plenary Congress in Stockholm, were equally unanimous as to the cause of the present difficulties and as to the urgent need of removing the fiscal barriers to trade in order to restore the world to prosperity, and to solve the problem of unemployment.

But the most authoritative and conclusive survey of the situation was made by the World Economic Conference, convened by the League of Nations at Geneva, and attended by the representatives of no less than fifty countries. This Conference, consisting of 194 members, attended by 226 experts chosen with few exceptions by Governments, was unanimous as to the cause of the present trouble and equally unanimous as to its remedy.

Cut Tariffs Down

Here is its most important conclusion:—

"Conclusion. In view of the fact that harmful effects upon production and trade result from the high and constantly changing tariffs which are applied in many countries; and since substantial improvement in the economic conditions can be obtained by increased facilities for international trade and commerce; and in view of the fact that tariffs, though within the sovereign jurisdiction of the separate States, are not a matter of purely domestic interest but greatly influence the trade of the world; and in view of the fact that some of the causes which have resulted in the increase of tariffs and in other trade barriers since the war have largely disappeared and others are diminishing;

"The Conference declares that the time has come to put an end to the increase in tariffs and to move in the opposite direction.

"The Conference recommends—

"That nations should take steps forthwith to remove or diminish those tariff barriers that gravely hamper trade, starting with those which have been imposed to counteract the effects of disturbances arising out of the war."

Here is the fundamental cause of the depression in the great basic industries of this country, and here is the true remedy. But so far politicians have continued to regard trade as a form of war, and so long as they do so the distress in the coalfields and in the great industrial districts of this country will continue.

Has not the time come for the nations, including Great Britain, to act upon the recommendations of the World Economic Conference convened by the League of Nations, and by removing every barrier to trade permit industry to expand and to flourish more freely than it did in the days before the war?

The distress in South Wales is a symptom that cannot be misunderstood.

With Easter now not so very far off, readers of HEADWAY may be glad to have their attention drawn to the Near East tour (Athens, Cairo, Jerusalem, etc.) organised by Everyman's Tours, of 32, Ludgate Hill, E.C.4, between March 11 and April 21. Full particulars appeared in the advertisement columns of the November HEADWAY.

HEADWAY

FEBRUARY

1929

AFTER THE PACT

AS a British newspaper observed, the single opponent of the ratification of the Kellogg Pact in the American Senate only served to make the unanimity of his colleagues the more impressive. Absolute unanimity might have made the thing look formal. The fact that there was that much division of opinion gave it reality.

This ratification is a fact of historic significance for it may be regarded as certain that other ratifications by the nations that signed the Pact at Paris in August, and others that have adhered to it since, will follow thick and fast. Soviet Russia has hastened to supplement her adhesion by ratification. France has introduced the necessary Bill into the Chamber. Great Britain has delayed action only because her Parliament was not in session till the end of January. Before many weeks are past the provisions of the Pact will be a part of international law.

And what does that mean? A great deal more than so far quite appears. Or rather it must be made to mean much more. It was said above that the ratification is a fact of historic significance. That statement, perhaps, goes further than is so far warranted. All depends on whether the Pact becomes a law the world observes or a law the world ignores. The proper way to put it may be that it rests with the world of to-day or to-morrow to make the full acceptance of the Pact a new starting point in human history.

Is it to be that or not? The Pact itself is so simple that a child can understand it. Clause One: No more recourse by any State to war as an instrument of national policy. Clause Two: No settlement of any dispute between nations except by peaceful means. Both clauses are different ways of putting the single declaration: No more war, except, in case of need, a police war waged in the interests of world-order, not of any single State.

But what nation really means No more war? There are various tests of the world's sincerity that may be applied, but one decision beyond all others. An honest intention to abandon war, and a readiness to believe in other people's honesty when they say they are ready to abandon it too, is not consistent with the continuance of elaborate preparations for the war that everyone is agreed shall never be waged. On another page of this paper there appear figures which show that if money-terms are adjusted to a uniform value over a period of years—i.e., if we measure money by what money will buy—practically every Great Power has been actually increasing its military expenditure in the past eight years. If that goes on it reduces the ratification of the Kellogg Pact to an act of shameful hypocrisy.

The increase in armament expenditure must stop. Not merely must it stop, but the tide must be made to flow quite definitely the other way. How can that process be begun, and to whom does it fall particularly to begin it? In one sense it is better that no single nation should begin. All alike should be willing to enter together into a general agreement for limitation and reduction. That is what the League of Nations has been aiming at throughout, and if the Kellogg Pact had that effect the success of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference when it meets in June would be assured. As things stand no one can pretend that it is assured, or even probable.

But though, as has just been said, there is a sense in which it is unnecessary for any single nation to take the lead, because the ideal thing would be for every State to act together, yet there is one country with whose action everyone who cares for a peaceful world, be he British or American, Japanese or German, is primarily concerned—that is the country of which he happens to be a citizen. We cannot do very much to influence the Government of another country. We may be able to do something to influence the Government of our own. And we are abundantly entitled to do so if we can, because we elect our Government not to rule us over our heads, but to represent us.

At the present moment it looks as though the best thing a British Government could do would be to explore ways of reaching an agreement on naval questions with the United States. Other agreements with other nations are needed, but if two Anglo-Saxon countries so fundamentally at one in spite of all their surface differences can reach no accord on armaments, it is not much use hoping for a larger agreement that must embrace some fifty or sixty States.

And where do we stand with the United States? That country is proposing to build fifteen 10,000-ton cruisers, and we ask in suspicion and irritation "Why?"—forgetting, perhaps, that at the moment we have seven of such cruisers in the water and the United States not one. We cannot seriously complain of the United States building up to our level unless we are prepared to scrap down to hers, and it is reasonable to remember that when the American delegation at Geneva in 1927 proposed a certain maximum figure for the cruiser tonnage of their own country, Great Britain and Japan, they said at the same time they would willingly accept a lower tonnage if the other Powers would agree.

We had better accept the principle of parity with America, for America with her vast resources can have parity—or superiority—whenever she wants it. It is for us to say whether it shall be parity on a low level or a high. And the best way to keep it on a low level is to get rid of the difficulty about the "freedom of the seas"—of America's fear, in other words, lest her commerce should be interfered with as it was in 1915, by some warring State fighting over a quarrel with which she herself has no concern.

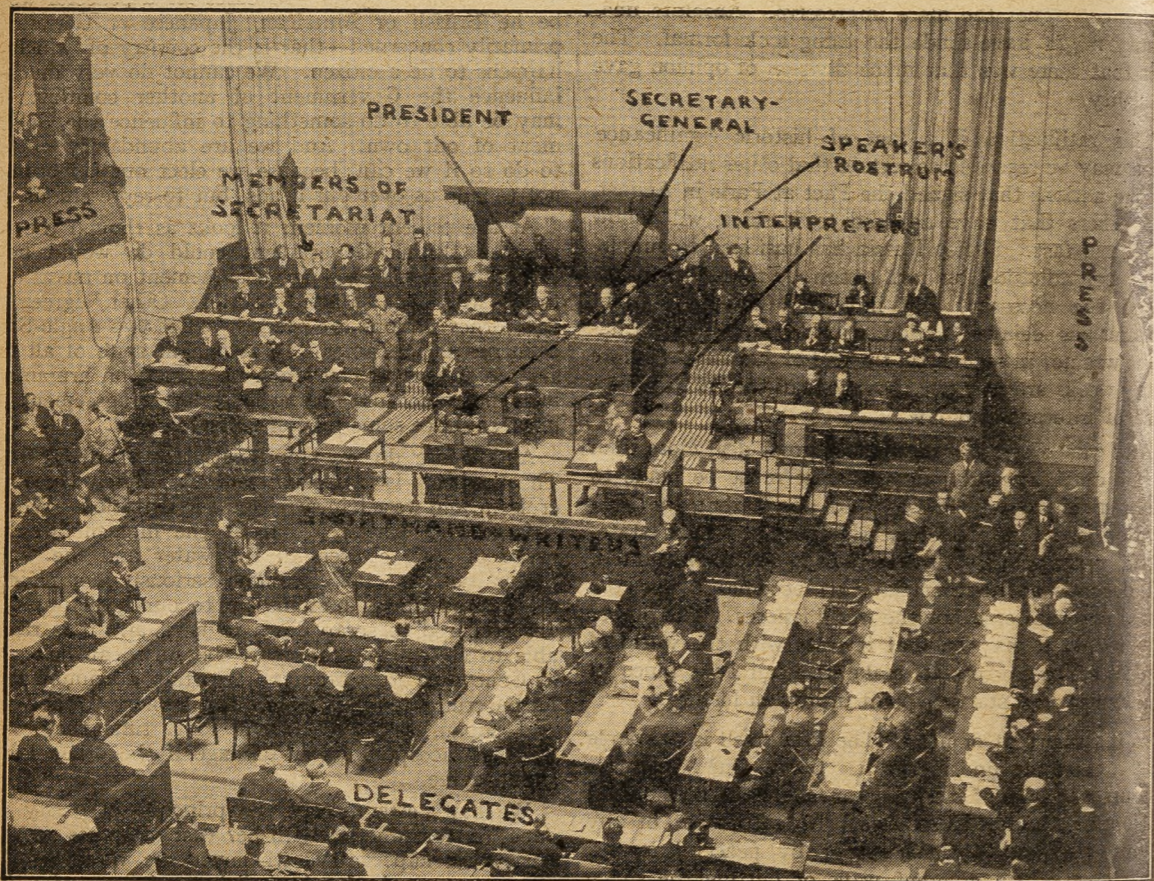
Here, it is obvious, the Kellogg Pact, if it is accepted generally by the nations of the world, has a decisive contribution to make. Unless the Pact is violated no such war can ever occur again. And if it is violated, then, specifically under the League Covenant and morally under the Pact, the defiance of international law becomes a matter of international concern and international action must be taken against the offender. The "private war" which causes America apprehension must disappear. It will take some time for that doctrine to sink in deep enough for it to affect the course of future naval construction. The work of driving it home devolves on everyone who has once grasped the new situation himself.

THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS

II.—THE GENEVA MACHINE AND HOW IT WORKS

WHEN the peacemakers at Paris were constructing the League, the first thing they had to decide about it was how to make it work. It was not enough by any means to say: "Let there be a League." They might have said that every day for a month and still there would have been no League at the end of it. Suppose a League of fifty States was being imagined (actually there were only forty-two when the League began, though there are over fifty now), it would be essential to work out a plan whereby those States could act together—"co-operate," to use the language of the Covenant.

and now the practice of admitting assistant-delegates on top of that has grown up. A little more must be said about these people before we leave them. It has to be remembered that though the League Assembly consists of individuals, the League itself consists not of individuals, but of States. If, therefore, a vote ever has to be given, it must be given in the name of the State. Consequently, whether a State sends one delegate or two or three to the Assembly—it can please itself about that—it has only one vote. In our own case, though Sir Austen Chamberlain may walk up to the Assembly platform and drop his voting paper into



The Assembly in Session

Such a plan was, in fact, worked out. When three, or half-a-dozen, or half-a-hundred, States want to discuss something together, there is only one way of doing it. They cannot have a mass meeting of all the members of all their parliaments, or even of all the members of all their cabinets. The result would be a surging throng far too unwieldy for the transaction of business. All they can do is to choose one representative, or it may be two or three representatives, from each country, and let those representatives speak in the country's name.

How Sir Austen Votes

The makers of the League discussed how many representatives, or delegates, each country should send to the general meeting of the League, known as the Assembly, and decided finally on three, but with the right to send another three as substitute-delegates;

the urn, he goes up when the name of Great Britain—or rather, the British Empire—not the name of Sir Austen, is called out.

But to explain that is not to explain how Sir Austen Chamberlain gets to Geneva at all. Who sends him? How, in other words, are delegates to the Assembly appointed? He is appointed, of course, by "his country." But his country, in its discussions and negotiations with other countries, acts through its Government, and consequently Sir Austen is appointed by the Government of Great Britain. So are the other delegates and substitute-delegates who go with him to the Assembly. And as a Government is not very likely to send someone who disagrees with it politically to represent it at Geneva, a national delegation usually consists of supporters of the Government of the day. In Great Britain, a Conservative Government sends

Conservatives, and a Labour Government Labour men, though occasionally one substitute-delegate of another party is included.

So far, nine ordinary Assemblies and one special one have been held. They have all looked pretty much alike, though the number of States represented has gradually increased. The League has so far no permanent buildings of its own, and has to hire a singularly ugly concert-hall for its Assembly every year. The delegates sit in rows at desks on the floor of the hall, each desk labelled with the name of a delegation in alphabetical order. Both sides of the lower one are reserved for the Press of all countries, and the end part for distinguished strangers. In the upper gallery are found seats for as many of the general public as the space will accommodate.

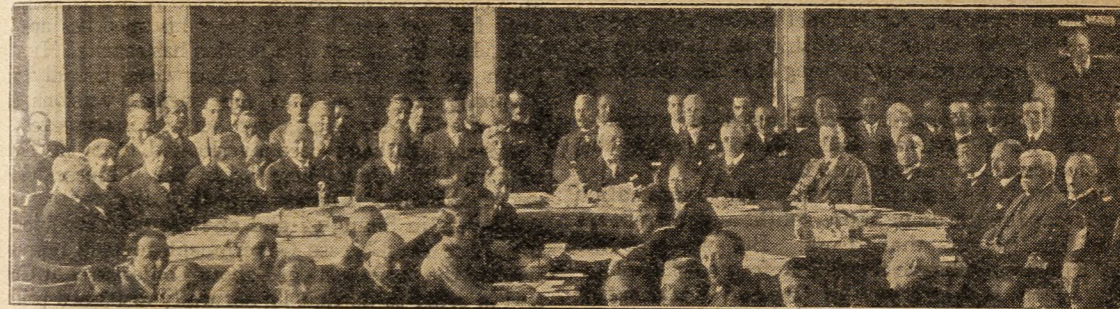
The Tongues They Talk In

On the platform at the front of the hall are seats for the Chairman of the Assembly, with the Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, on one side of him, and the Chief Interpreter, M. Camerlynck, on the other. Behind are the seats for the members of the League's permanent staff, and below the platform sit the official shorthand-writers. Delegates do not speak from their places on the floor of the hall, but mount the platform to a desk placed in front of the President's chair on a

—Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan—always have seats on the Council, and nine others are elected from time to time, three retiring each year to make place for a different three.

This body meets four times a year (the Assembly normally meets only once annually) in the Council room in the Secretariat buildings. The members sit round a horse-shoe table, and preside in turn at successive meetings. Behind each delegate at the Council meetings sit three or four secretaries and advisers, a large part of the rest of the room is occupied by the Press, and in what is left seats are found for a few of the general public. It must be remembered that publicity at Geneva does not mean the admission of a few odd ladies and gentlemen from the locality, or even from further afield, but the presence of journalists from forty or fifty different countries recording everything said or done. The Council sits sometimes in private, but generally in public, the Assembly always in public.

In the Council, as in the Assembly, practically every decision has to be unanimous, and the Council discusses everything the League is doing anywhere. But there are obvious difficulties about this. Its members are politicians, mostly Foreign Ministers, not experts, and none of them would profess any special knowledge on questions like opium or economics or health.



The Council in Session

slightly lower level. The official languages of the League are English and French, and every delegate speaks in one of those two tongues. As soon as he has finished one of the League's official interpreters immediately translates the speech into the other language. This means, of course, that every delegate, even from countries like Japan or Bulgaria or Chili, must be able to speak either English or French. Very occasionally a delegate will speak in his own language (for example, German), but in that case he must provide his own translator into one of the official languages.

No Majority Votes

There is voting in the Assembly, but in most cases it is a matter of form, for no important decision is valid unless it is unanimous. That, of course, has always been the rule at international conferences. Otherwise, some country, even a great Power like Britain or France, might find itself compelled by a majority vote to do something it strongly objected to doing. Sometimes there has to be voting, as, for example, in electing the members of the Council or deciding about an amendment to the Covenant (for which a three-fourths majority is needed), but this is the exception.

The Assembly, it will be seen, consisting as it may of three delegates and another three substitute-delegates from each of over fifty States, is a fairly large body, and therefore not suitable for rapid or detailed decisions. That part of the League's work is left to the Council, a much smaller body of only fourteen men. Who are these fourteen? They are chosen not as individuals, but as representatives of States, and the States represented vary from time to time. The five Great Powers

There has, therefore, been created a whole network of special committees to deal with subjects like this.

The Men on the Spot

That to the outward eye is how the League works—through an Assembly meeting once a year and a Council meeting four times. But it would never work at all if there were not men on the spot all the time collecting information, answering questions, getting material ready for the Assembly and Council and watching whether League decisions are being carried out as they should be. These men (and equally women) are the Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, and the remarkable staff he has collected round him. That staff is called the Secretariat, and it does for the League of Nations very much what the Civil Service in Whitehall does for Great Britain. It has got its different Sections dealing with different subjects—purely political questions, economic questions, legal matters, mandates, minorities, etc. It consists of men and women of over thirty nationalities working in complete harmony side by side, and devoting their careers to the creation of the best kind of international spirit and the expression of that spirit in effective international action.

The Secretariat lives at present in a hotel that was bought up and adapted when the League first went to Geneva in 1920. It does well enough, but various extensions have been needed, and before long the League will have a home worthy of itself, including offices in which its Secretariat can work, committee rooms in which its Council and committees can deliberate in comfort, and a hall in which its Assembly can meet every year.

WHAT WE DON'T KNOW

A GOOD many people no doubt read the *Manchester Guardian* on January 7, and it is conceivable that one or two of them were struck by the accidental connection between three articles that found themselves placed at the top of adjacent columns on the same page.

All the articles deal with teaching and learning. One shows, or purports to show, how bad education is to-day; a second shows, or purports to show, why it is as bad as it is; the third shows, or purports to show, how in one field at any rate it might be made better.

Let us probe a little deeper into this. Take first what happens to be column three, devoted to a report of an address to the Historical Association Conference at Oxford by an Oxford Don, Mr. L. Woodward, Fellow of All Souls, on the accomplishments of the average Oxford undergraduate.

"Very few of the undergraduates who read history," declares Mr. Woodward, "come to Oxford knowing the position of the capitals of the European States, the boundaries of the States and the courses of the great European rivers."

That, it is to be noted, is a criticism, not of the way Oxford teaches, but of the way the public schools from which Oxford draws its undergraduates teach. What is wrong about the whole business is explained in column two, containing a summary of what another distinguished Oxonian, Sir Michael Sadler, was saying to the New Education Fellowship at Westminster while Mr. Woodward was talking to the Historical Association at Oxford.

The trouble, according to Sir Michael, is all examinations. The whole system is bad, and some responsible commission ought to enquire into it.

"I suspect," he asserted, "that the examination system is capable of doing more subtle and permanent harm to English wits than drink. But where is the United Kingdom Alliance for the Reform of Examinations? Where is the Church of England Examination Temperance Society?"

Sir Michael's remarks appear to have been punctuated by laughter, and it must be left to readers of his observations to decide for themselves precisely how far he was serious. But on the face of it what two representative Oxford teachers have to tell us is that our existing educational methods are all wrong and that as a result boys (and no doubt, equally girls) go up to the University without knowledge of the elementary facts on which an intelligent interest in the world at large must be based.

Clearly, therefore, there is abundant room for such an address as that reported in column number one, delivered by Mr. F. S. Marvin on "The League and the Schools," and devoted to demonstrating the value of League teaching (quite apart from any other consideration) as an adjunct to the history and the geography lesson. That truth needs to be emphasised. It is quite true that geography does not consist merely of capitals and frontiers, any more than history consists merely of battles and kings, but geography, if it is taught in the light of the kind of problems the League has to deal with—whether a political frontier includes a lot of people who ought not to be inside it at all; whether a river that serves three or four States is, in fact, an international highway with free passage for everyone; whether States without coasts of their own have proper access to the sea—is something that makes the person who learns it fit to express an opinion on world affairs.

There are a good many thousand readers of HEADWAY (derived though they are, needless to say, from the most intelligent section of the population) who, whether they went to Oxford or not, found themselves no better equipped on leaving school than the young gentlemen referred to in the first of the addresses already quoted. War, a British statesman once observed, has at least

the advantage of teaching people geography. Peace, it may be hoped, can teach them that equally, and a little history as well. As a contribution towards the process, HEADWAY will for the next few months print on its back page maps of Europe and other continents, together with the frontiers unfamiliar to the entrants into Oxford, and certain other points of importance. The first map appears on page 40 of this issue.

A VISITOR TO CHINA

M. ALBERT THOMAS' visit to China appears, judging from an article in *The Times*, to have caused some little dissatisfaction among the foreign community at Shanghai, largely on the ground that M. Thomas was shown round by a Chinese, who is alleged to have pointed out to the European visitor only such aspects of Chinese industrial life as it was desired the European visitor should observe, and that M. Thomas did not visit the foreign-owned factories, where labour conditions are said to be considerably better than in those run by Chinese proprietors. M. Thomas is also accused of having made uncomplimentary remarks about capitalism, and of having said that Chinese labour would be better off when the so-called "unequal treaties" had been abrogated, a process which is in fact taking place. As to this it is to be observed that judgment as to what M. Thomas did or did not say had better be suspended until full and reliable reports of his speeches are available. In point of fact information has reached HEADWAY (from quarters critical of, rather than friendly to, M. Thomas) suggesting that the original versions (taken from the Chinese Press) were largely inaccurate.

It seems to have been overlooked that M. Thomas' concern in China was with the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, not with foreign employers in Shanghai and elsewhere. His object was to induce the Chinese Government to send representatives to the International Labour Conferences at Geneva, and in order to do that he naturally discussed primarily the effect of such action on the great mass of Chinese labourers, of whom only a very trifling proportion are in the employ of foreigners.

This is not to argue that M. Thomas showed himself in every respect and at every moment a model of impeccable discretion. He may or may not have. Our information on that point is so far inadequate. But it is quite clear that some, at any rate, of the criticisms directed against him are pretty wide of the mark.

A SAVIOUR OF CHILDREN

THE death of Miss Eglantyne Jebb, at Geneva, after a long illness, in the 53rd year of her life, removes from the ranks of the workers in the cause of international peace and amity a remarkable and arresting personality. The founding of the Save the Children Fund by her and her sister, Mrs. Charles Buxton, in April, 1919, as a non-political offshoot of the "Fight the Famine" Council, was followed in January, 1920, by her institution of the Save the Children International Union (Union Internationale de Secours aux Enfants), which had its headquarters at Geneva, and a large number of affiliated and associated societies in various countries. Honorary Secretary of the British Fund, Miss Jebb was also Vice-President of the Union, and the two organisations have always worked in the closest co-operation. She represented the Union on the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, and it was she who drafted the statement of the duties of men and women of all nations towards the child, known as "The Declaration of Geneva," which was adopted by the League of Nations at its Fifth Assembly.

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Needless to say, such a visitor is immensely impressed and at once enrolls for the Pelman Course in the particular language in which he is interested.

Still more numerous are those who write to the Institute for particulars of the method and receive in return a free first lesson in Italian, Spanish, German or French. There are no English words in this lesson, yet to their surprise they are able to read it through without a mistake. They, too, decide to enrol and soon become enthusiastic admirers and advocates of the new Pelman Method.

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General Sir Aylmer Haldane, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.S.O., writes:—
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And others write in the same strain of the Pelman Courses in German, Italian and Spanish. Here are a few typical examples of letters received from readers who have adopted this new method:—

"I have only been learning German for four months: now I can not only read it but also speak it well." (G.M. 146.)

"It would have taken me as many years to learn by any ordinary method as much (French) as I have learnt in months by yours." (P. 145.)

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

"I have recently returned from Spain, where I have been doing Consular work. With only the knowledge of Spanish gained from your Course I was able within a month to tackle any sort of correspondence and conversation." (S.C. 279.)

"It is a wonderful system you have for teaching languages. So extremely interesting, and the old-fashioned rules and regulations eliminated! I have learnt more (Italian) in these few short weeks than I ever learnt of French (by the old System) in several years. It is perfectly splendid and I have very much enjoyed the Course." (I.L. 108.)

"Your system of teaching French is the best that I have yet encountered. According to the old custom of translation I used to memorise pages of vocabulary which proved to be of no practical use; but under your system the words seem to be indelibly written in my mind, and I am able to recall them at any time without the slightest effort, using them intelligently in question or answer." (R. 256.)

"I should like to offer you my heartiest congratulations. The way in which it has been planned and (above all) the admirable judgment which is apparent in the progressive introduction of new matter has impressed me more than anything of the kind I have met before, either in teaching languages or any other subject. It almost brought tears to my eyes to think what I might have saved myself when I first learnt German, if only I had had your method." (G.W. 196.)

In fact, everyone who has followed it is delighted with the ease, simplicity, interesting nature, and masterly character of the new Pelman Method.

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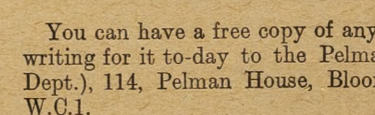
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WORK AND WASTE WHAT LIES BEHIND "RATIONALIZATION"

By L. URWICK, Director of the International Management Institute, Geneva

[A few decades ago an American who began life as a labourer and ended as a chief engineer discovered that by giving a little thought to his physical movements a man could load bricks into a cart much faster and with less fatigue one way than another. He went on to develop the theory that almost every kind of operation in industry and commerce could be done better one way than another, and that the better way was worth thinking out. Hence grew up the doctrine of "Rationalization." Since it is now on everyone's lips and the League of Nations has taken it up, HEADWAY has obtained the following authoritative explanation of what it is.]

DURING the last two years a new word has suddenly leaped into prominence, which is troubling the minds, not only of economists, but of the "man in the street." That word is Rationalization.

It is difficult to define it, because it is used in two quite different senses. The World Economic Conference of 1927 took note of a number of movements which were taking place in different countries and at different levels of the world's economic life, each of which, in its own way, seemed to hold out some hope of greater industrial prosperity for the nations.

They included:—

1. **The study of working conditions in the light of modern psychology, or Psycho-Technology, as it is called.**
2. **Research along similar lines into the corporate activities involved in industry,** bearing on such questions as wage payment systems, profit sharing and co-partnership, industrial relations, and so on.
3. **Research by means of the physical sciences, such as chemistry and engineering, into the materials and processes on which industry depends.**
4. **The application of the same thought to the more general problems involved in the control of businesses,** which is known in America as Scientific Management.
5. **Efforts to improve the general organization of production and distribution,** as, for example, the attempt in the United States to simplify and standardize the goods offered by any particular trade, the creation of industrial combinations with a view to concentrating the production of particular articles in special factories and the elimination of inefficient units of production, mass distribution, the forecasting of business tendencies by means of statistics, and the statistical study of general world conditions bearing on industry.

All these movements the Conference grouped under the general title of Rationalization, which it defined as "methods of technique and organization designed to secure the minimum waste of either effort or material."

Some Dangers

There are, of course, both advantages and dangers in such a movement. Only by increasing our exact knowledge can we hope to deal with the difficulties which surround our modern civilization on every side. But knowledge is power, and power may be either used or abused. Moreover, discoveries in any of the fields covered by the term Rationalization inevitably mean economic changes, and even changes which may be of great benefit to the community as a whole in the long run may hurt immediately individuals and groups who are incapable of rapid adjustment to the altered circumstances.

For example, the concentration of the control of a large number of businesses under a single administration undoubtedly makes possible very large economies in the production and distribution of goods. It thus makes possible the lowering of prices and the wider distribution of necessities and luxuries. On the other hand, it is possible that in the earlier stages of such a development, the necessary skill, and still more the requisite moral and social outlook, for the successful management of these larger responsibilities may be lacking. This will lead to confused administration and consequent loss, or even to short-sighted attempts to maintain high prices for the sake of profit, instead of

employing the added power of the combination to effect economies and lower prices, and thus to enlarge the total market.

Doing Things Better

These dangers must be faced. There is an instinct in humanity which drives men perpetually towards discovery and the contrivance of better ways of doing things. One modern economist has called it "the instinct of workmanship." Men have begun to treat not only the material, but the administration of business as a subject for scientific inquiry, and that same instinct will inevitably drive them forward in the development of this new knowledge and these new methods which we call Rationalization.

If the dangers are to be avoided, what is necessary is not less study and less experiment, but more of the scientific spirit, and particularly of the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake divorced from any political or financial consideration.

One of the most powerful means of achieving this lies in the exchange of experience between individuals and nations. To this end the League of Nations has been working since its foundation.

The Research Division of the International Labour Office is primarily concerned with the development of such movements as they affect the worker. It is at present engaged on a large-scale inquiry into the social effects of Rationalization. It is thus available to point a warning finger towards the dangers which may arise from the too rapid or ill-considered application of the new knowledge. The International Management Institute is responsible for following up the technique of Rationalization in the various countries, for maintaining a service of information, and for interpreting the significance of the new technical developments to the League and the I.L.O.

What Geneva is Doing

The Rationalization movement is therefore being closely watched by the international organizations established at Geneva from all possible angles. The common aim which inspires the work of all these bodies is the promotion of knowledge and of understanding. For this reason it is destined to be a very powerful factor in the building of international peace. An eminent student of modern industry has stated that when a meeting of employers and employed is in disagreement on some question, far the best course is to persuade both sides to undertake a joint inquiry into the facts of some particular issue bearing on the total situation. Their association in such an inquiry, which has for its immediate end not action but knowledge, invariably creates a better atmosphere, and often one in which agreement as to action becomes possible.

The same is true of nations. Rationalization, in considering the conduct of industry, not from the angle of power or of profits, but in the spirit of the scientist who cares only for truth, holds out the possibility of agreement not only between employer and employed within industry, but between nation and nation over these broader economic issues which are more and more coming to be recognized as the fundamental roots of war.

BOOKS WORTH READING IS WAR RENOUNCED?

*War as an Instrument of National Policy and its Renunciation in the Pact of Paris. By Prof. J. T. Shotwell. (Harcourt, Bruce, New York.)

Professor Shotwell's book on the Pact of Paris is highly important as well as interesting in several ways. It speaks with authority about the Peace Pact itself and the various diplomatic documents from which it has taken shape. It also enables a reader to estimate, in spite of the great modesty and discretion of Professor Shotwell's language, the processes whereby these large and glorious acts of Governments are coaxed into reluctant existence. Probably Professor Shotwell himself did as much to bring about the formulation and eventually the signature of this Treaty as any other individual.

M. Briand began, as we all know, by proposing something quite different, the permanent renunciation of war between France and the United States. The United States seemed to take no particular interest. Other countries slightly disliked the idea, but Professor Shotwell and others made the American public realise what a great thing this Renunciation of War would be if it were not bi-lateral but universal.

Some elements in the Coolidge Government began to believe that that was the kind of thing that public opinion approved, while others made the situation safe by showing extreme patriotism in other matters. A general treaty was proposed to France. But now France was in the cold fit. There were evidently people at the Quai d'Orsay who were ready to renounce war for the sake of a close alliance with America, but saw no particular point in the renunciation without the alliance. Meantime, the American friends of peace, who had hitherto been sharply divided into "Leaguers" and "Anti-Leaguers," were persuaded by Professor Shotwell that the new proposed treaty was neither pro-League nor anti-League, and that it was possible for the peace forces to co-operate.

Eventually, by a great deal of tact and assiduity, helped by occasional good luck, the people who really wanted to have a renunciation of war somehow induced all the Governments of the world to believe that it was better for their electoral chances to renounce war than to insist on retaining it. Surprised and half-unwilling, the Governments found themselves signing a document which few of them would have ever dreamt of contemplating if left to themselves.

The great advance was made at the expense merely of a certain number of faltering explanations, which read rather like the last protests of an old offender unwillingly compelled to sign the pledge, or an ancient Gothic chief forced into Christian baptism with all his battalion.

There is a third point of interest which comes out in Professor Shotwell's book, and is well worth bearing in mind. It is that the supposed controversies between the United States and Great Britain are not controversies between those countries at all, but controversies between two elements of opinion inside each country. Members of the League of Nations Union will find that on this point they are in entire agreement with Professor Shotwell, and that he has the same opponents to deal with in America as they have on this side of the ocean. There is no issue at all left between England and America, but there are still all the old burning issues between those who wish to adapt national and international policies to the new world in which we are living and those who are desperately resolved to fight rather than to learn.

* An English edition of this book is shortly to be published by Messrs. Constable.

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By a Well-known Novelist and
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Story-writing demands an ability to write, imagination and a knowledge of the rules of construction. And a great number of people who do not write have the ability to do so (their entertaining letters are witness to that), and the imagination which, if used correctly, could seize on the myriads of ideas that every-day life provides and make plots of them.

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AMERICA'S METHODS

American Diplomacy in the Modern World. By Arthur Bullard. (Humphrey Milford. \$1.50.)

Mr. Bullard has written a timely book. An American who has travelled widely in Europe, and who has been attached to the diplomatic service of the United States, and to the Secretariat of the League, he is able to see both sides of the question with which he deals. He addresses himself in the first instance to his own people, and he does not hesitate to express his strong dissatisfaction with a great deal of the recent foreign policy of the United States, although he refrains from explaining the domestic reasons for that policy. But at the same time the fact that he attempts to pluck the beam from his own country's eye justifies him in pointing the mote in the eye of Europe. The beam is the American refusal to accept "the new diplomacy," the principle of joint responsibility for the peace and policing of the world. Mr. Bullard points out, however, that the march of events, not argument, is bringing about an increasing measure of American co-operation with the League, and he analyses in an effective way the groups of his fellow citizens who stand in the way of a joint endeavour for the organisation of peace by an extension of the realm of law. A concluding chapter deals with what is for us, perhaps, the most important question, the problem of disarmament, and in particular the Anglo-American naval controversy. Mr. Bullard uses a stiff broom, and sweeps away many cobwebs; he contrasts unsparingly the success of the Washington Conference with the "dismal failure" of that at Geneva in 1927, and attributes the difference in results not only to the different methods of approach, but to the different place occupied at each by the naval experts, whose rôle he carefully distinguishes from that of statesmen. He goes to the root of the matter, however, when he emphasises the fact that behind and above the question of armaments lies that still unsettled question of neutral trade in war time. On this point he urges his country to declare that it will not give support to any nation which has been declared guilty of a war of aggression by an international tribunal; that done, the size of British and American navies becomes a matter of secondary importance.

WAR AS IT IS

Undertones of War. By Edmund Blunden. (Cobden-Sanderson. 10s. 6d. net.)

This is one of the books that is really too good to review. It is useless to describe it. It is pointless to lavish adjectives on it. It is the story of what the war meant to one man who went through it. But he happens to be a curiously human, curiously observant, curiously sensitive, and, though he hardly lets the fact be seen, a strangely courageous man. He had friends all about him, and he saw them shot down or blown to pieces one by one. He describes with an arresting pen a trench raid, a night relief, a barrage with himself in the midst of it, or the quiet summer beauty of some French village away behind the line. The book, as a whole, is terrible and fascinating, breathing reality and tragic experience in every page. In point of form it is an astonishing blending of objectivity with depth of feeling, and, if anyone in the new generation asks what war is, this is the answer.

Teachers and World Peace. Second and enlarged edition. (League of Nations Union. 6d.)

This well-known booklet has been so enlarged and developed as to be practically a new publication, and certainly one of the most effective and valuable the League of Nations has produced. Within the space of something under 100 pages there is included a selection from the declarations of authorities (from the

King downwards) who have urged the necessity of "teaching peace"; an outline of the main facts about the League's activities in a form suitable for children's apprehension; a section on methods of teaching, direct and indirect; a list of books to be consulted by teachers, and a table of States Members of the League with their population. Rarely has more valuable material been packed into so limited a space.

A Faith for the World. By the Rev. William Paton. (Edinburgh House Press, 2, Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 2s. 6d.)

It is of importance to Christian people that they should know, if need be by the reconsideration which the present moment demands, what is the mission of their religion to the world. This is what Mr. Paton has admirably shown in the new light cast upon the question by the Jerusalem Missionary Council of last year. Incidentally he points out how great can be the co-operation between the Church and the I.L.O. and the League in the problems of industry and nationalism which each is seeking to solve.

READERS' VIEWS

A SEA MEMORY

SIR,—Yesterday a friend who takes your paper said to me, "I see that your delegate, Mrs. Carlile McDonnell, intends to celebrate Armistice Day on board on her way out to Australia." "But," I replied, "Armistice Day is always celebrated at sea, and is a most impressive ceremony."

On looking at the number of HEADWAY, December, 1928, I found that the notice mentioned the fact of a Union meeting to be held at sea—quite a different matter.

As, however, others of your readers may be under a similar misapprehension as my friend, I decided to write a short description of the last celebration at sea in which I took part. This was on a liner coming from Australia.

A sunny morning in the tropics with an oily sea. Just before eleven, passengers, crew, stewards, and all officers except those on duty assembled under the awning on the boat deck. The captain, standing at a desk draped with the Union Jack read the prayers. In the hymn which followed we all joined. Then came the two minutes silence.

Think of those two minutes of silence in the midst of the immense ocean. The engines were stopped, the only sounds heard were the wash of the water against the great ship's sides, and the faint wind playing in the rigging. Standing there with bowed heads, we seemed to be alone in eternity, our thoughts with our loved dead. The Last Post had an indescribable melancholy as it rang out on the quiet air in the vastness and silence of sky and ocean, in which our great ship seemed but a tiny speck.

The spell was broken by "God Save the King," which was sung with deep feeling by the company.

The throb of the engines began again. Shipboard life was resumed. The dead, however, were not forgotten—no, we thought of them all with tender reverence—all those who had died, as one simple sailor said to me, "Just doing their duty."

Believe me, yours very sincerely,

13, Taubstammen Gasse, ELSA CARLYLE SMYTHE.
Wien 4.

A NEW CALENDAR ?

SIR,—Now that it is practically certain that the calendar will be simplified by the International Conference of Government Delegates which the League of Nations will invite either during this year, or not

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J. F. Junkin (General Manager), Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada, 99, Sun of Canada House, Cockspur Street, Trafalgar Square, London, S.W.1.

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—by knowing something of—

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By H. G. MASSINGHAM

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later than the spring of next year—the facts which will control New Year's location and Day-name in the simplified calendar will interest your readers.

Because the basic yearly calculations, for not only the Gregorian but nearly all the other great calendars, are computed by astronomers in the Nautical Almanac Office at Greenwich, the following quotation from their official letter to us is of special interest, because it proves that the proposal to make New Year's Day a "zero day" without a week-day name or monthly date, is futile:—

"In regard to the proposed calendar reform, the two essential requirements from our point of view as astronomers and compilers of astronomical ephemerides are:—

"(1) The beginning of the year (January 1) must not be changed.

"(2) Any extra day, such as the proposed 'Year-Day' must be put at the end of the year, not at the beginning. The placing of a day at the beginning, with the designation Day 'O,' would be most confusing. . . . Day 'O' has already a widely accepted conventional usage among astronomers, and denotes the last day of the preceding month, e.g., April O=March 31, and January O=December 31 of the previous year. In any calendar reform it is important that this convention should not be disturbed." (Since the end of the astronomical day was changed in 1925 from mid-day to mid-night, the designation "O" has been used to denote the preceding 12 hours, for comparison with former observations.)

January "O." Evidence gathered by the League of Nations proves that the proposal to have New Year's Day calendared apart from the week as January "O" will never be accepted by the International Conference. Therefore, it is all the more certain that the last day in every year from 1933 will, by international treaty, be made "Year Day" as an extra rest day ending the last week as its 8th day for year-end festivities, completing accounts, making inventories and helpful resolutions.

It will always be on Sunday, because that will keep Easter, Whitsuntide, Christmas, etc., to their truest and most convenient dates, while also beginning the year, the month and the week together (as the most simple and scientific calendar should) from Sunday the first day of the year, 1933.—Yours, etc.,

MOSES B. COTSWORTH,

Director, International "Fixed Calendar" League.
1, Regent Street, London, S.W.1.

THE DRIVING FORCE

SIR,—I have read your admirable editorial in the current number of HEADWAY, with the closest attention. Some of your sentences appear to me to be pregnant with meaning; and to be bound up with implications of the most far-reaching significance for the peace cause.

I must not venture to trench upon your valuable time, but I may, perhaps, be permitted to refer to what you say in the third paragraph: "The force that drives it" (the League of Nations) "and shapes its course, is the force that the statesmen of different countries, deriving their mandate from the peoples of these countries, determine to put behind it."

If the above named principle ever comes to be clearly recognised, in such a way as to lead to determined action on a sufficiently large scale, the peace movement will begin to move forward apace. The right atmosphere must be obtained before we can hope for partial disarmament, or any great expansion of pacific ideals. Thanking you for your article.—Yours, etc.,

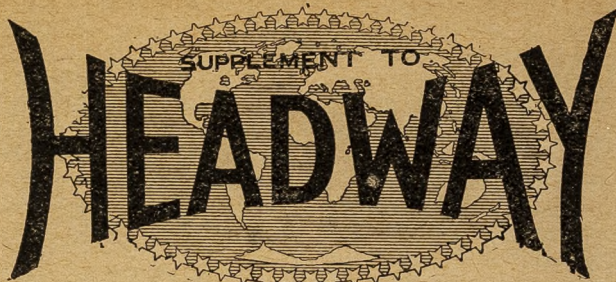
"Talland," W. G. HODGES.

West Pentire, Crantock.



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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



FEBRUARY 1929

EDUCATING PARLIAMENT ALL PARTIES AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

A GENERAL Election will pretty certainly take place in this country some time within the next six months. Living as we do under a democratic constitution, it will devolve on us to choose to the best of our ability the men and women who are to represent us in Parliament for the next three or four or five years—or possibly less.

This is a responsibility that is often taken too lightly, partly because politics to-day are a complicated matter, and the average elector, intent mainly on the work he has to do to earn his livelihood, often feels himself genuinely incompetent to draw a clear line between the merits of Mr. A, Mr. B and Mr. C, who make their rival claims for his support. He may like Mr. A's personality, but not very much like his general politics, or *vice versa*. Is it better to elect a man of high character, whose political views are largely not our own, or a man of indifferent character who professes the opinions we hold ourselves?

These are difficult questions to answer, and fortunately they need not be answered here, for the subject with which this journal is most concerned—the realisation of the aims and ideals of the League of Nations—though it is essentially a political matter, is not a matter of party politics. All parties in this country profess at any rate consistent support of the League. The spokesman of one of them has declared, indeed, that this is the keystone of British foreign policy, and the other two would certainly speak of it in language quite as decisive.

What part then should supporters of the League of Nations take, as such, in the coming contest? They will, no doubt, take part in it in other capacities as Conservatives, Labour men or Liberals. Whatever their colour they can probably blend with their general political activity the insistence that the candidates in the field in their own constituency shall give personal undertakings, such as the leaders of their party have given in its name, of a steady and consistent fulfilment of the pledges embodied in the Covenant. About the propriety of that step there can be no sort of question. Whether it is legitimate for an unofficial body to press a particular policy on a Government is possibly arguable, though the answer must almost certainly be in the affirmative. But when it is a question of choosing a new Parliament, and in consequence a new Government, it is not only legitimate but imperative that the electors should see to it that the Parliament is composed of men and women who rightly represent the views of their constituents on certain essential points. One of these points is the League of Nations.

What in particular is to be asked of candidates at the present time? The world is in process of evolution.

The contrast between a policy of *armed anarchy* on the one hand, and *world order* on the other, was drawn in an article in the HEADWAY Supplement last month. We stand to-day between the two. Barbarism may be in front of us as well as behind us; the reign of order is not yet certainly established. To bring it into full being must be our constant aim, and so far no instrument more potent to that end has been forged than the League of Nations.

But for practical purposes it is necessary to concentrate and select. To ask of a candidate for Parliament that he shall give his general support to the League is a request so vague as to be valueless. Some of the League's worst enemies would avow themselves supporters of it in principle. At any particular moment there are certain things that need doing, and what those of us who care much about the League want to know is whether candidates for the next Parliament are prepared to help get them done. The General Council of the League of Nations Union last December formulated a list of the steps it most desired to see taken, and from these a selection has been made by the Executive Committee of the Union for use at the coming election. (It was printed on page ii of the last issue of the HEADWAY Supplement.)

These points are very far from representing what might be termed the whole League gospel. They do not necessarily even form a coherent whole among themselves. One, for example, deals with the movement of the machinery for peaceful settlement of international disputes. The importance of that is clear. The Kellogg Pact, now ratified by the United States Senate, declares that no settlement of international disputes shall be sought except by peaceful means, but it says nothing about providing the means of which it speaks. It must fall to the League, so far as its own members are concerned, to do that, and machinery should be made sufficiently comprehensive to cover every class of case.

Another plank in the platform refers to the limitation and reduction of armaments. The case for that has been argued so often that it needs no exposition here. It has only to be observed that when the Kellogg Pact has been ratified by this country as well as the United States, its legal outcome ought to be the disappearance of every possible obstacle to naval limitation agreement between the two countries.

Other points it is desirable to raise at the present moment have relation to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Germany—though this is not a matter which lies in the hands of any British Government alone—to the adoption and application of the recommendations of the International Economic Conference,

particularly its declaration that the raising of tariffs in the world has gone too far, and that it is necessary to move in the opposite direction. Some indication of advance towards ratification of the Washington Hours' Convention in its existing or a modified form is also much to be desired, and in addition it is worth insisting on the abandonment by this country of any cheeseparing attitude towards the very modest annual budget of the League.

There is a double advantage in bringing these questions before candidates at the coming election. Many candidates, naturally enough, have had no occasion to give thought to these particular questions. The answers they may give in regard to them may be satisfactory or unsatisfactory to members of the League of Nations Union. It is necessary throughout to respect the views of a man or woman who honestly differs from us on this or other matters. But at any rate it is of the first importance that candidates for Parliament should be called on to give their minds to these matters, for the fact that they have done so, whether their ultimate conclusions are the same as ours or not, will add substantially to their competence as members if they are elected. National issues often bulk largest at a General Election, but it is essential that international issues should not be forgotten. Of those issues the most momentous for the world is the future of the League, and those members of the Union who make it their business to focus the attention of candidates of all parties quite definitely and explicitly on certain League questions will be doing real service to their generation—and the next.

SHERMAN MEMORIAL FUND

THE following is a list of donations received or promised up to January 18. The committee is very anxious to increase the fund, and hopes that any readers who have not already subscribed will do so as soon as possible:—

	£	s.	d.
Amount of £50: National Union of Teachers	50	0	0
Amounts of £10 10s.: Mr. David Davies, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. Herbert Worsley	42	0	0
Amounts of £10: Miss Henrietta Busk, Mr. L. J. Cadbury, Dr. Stella Churchill, Miss A. L. Colegrove	40	0	0
Amount of £5 5s.: Miss M. S. Sorley	5	5	0
Amounts of £5: The Hon. Oliver Brett, "L.E.B." Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil, Mr. Herbert D. Cohen, Dame Rachel Crowley, Mr. M. Fanshawe, Miss Ruth Fry, Sir Arthur Haworth, Mrs. Henrietta Irwell and friend, London Teachers' Association, Miss G. L. Morant, Mr. Petrick-Lawton, The Most Hon. The Marquis of Reading, Mr. M. Schalit, The Countess of Selborne, Mr. H. D. Watson, A. N. Other, A. N. Other	90	0	0
Amounts of £3 3s.: Mr. C. W. Montgomerie, Mr. Myer S. Nathan, Mr. R. D. Sieff	9	9	0
Amount of £3: Mr. L. M. Wynch and members of the Camberley Branch	3	0	0
Amount of £2 12s.: Mrs. Macnab, Miss Radziwill, Mrs. Whith, A. N. Other	2	12	0
Amounts of £2 2s.: Mr. Montague Burton, Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Colonel H. F. T. Fisher, Mr. W. E. Frith, The Viscountess Glasstone, Miss M. Glazebrook, Sir Israel Gollancz, Lady Hall, Mr. Wilson Harris, Mrs. E. T. Hicks, Mr. Harry Kosky, Mr. A. H. Levy, Mr. Daniel L. Lipson, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Miss M. J. Lloyd, Sir John Mann, Sir Francis Montefiore, Mr. S. Rosenfeld, Southbourne Branch, South Westmorland and District Council, Miss A. H. Tynan, Welsh League of Nations Union, Two members of the Film Sub-Committee, Mr. M. Kilman	50	8	0
Amounts of £2: Mrs. B. Lorisniol, Mr. E. F. Maitland, Sir Walter Napier, Professor Percy M. Roxby, The Rev. and Mrs. W. J. Synges, per Miss Tuffs (£2 0s. 6d.)	12	0	6
Smaller Amounts	115	12	6
Total	£420	7	0

ON FORCED LABOUR

Forced labour is one of the subjects on the agenda of the International Labour Conference to be held in Geneva in June, and following the practice of recent years, the League of Nations Union is organising a Conference to be held at the London School of Economics on March 6 and 7 to discuss this subject, and also the question of Contract Labour. A very distinguished list of speakers expert in these subjects

has already been secured and the Conference will be opened on the morning of March 6 by Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies. The other speakers include Rt. Hon. Lord Lugard, Rt. Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Rt. Hon. Lord Olivier, Rt. Hon. Earl of Lytton, Lady Chatterjee, Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P., and Sir Selwyn Fremantle. The Conference will also discuss Woman and Child Labour in the East, and Labour Systems Analogous to Slavery. Tickets for the Conference, which are free, can be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

NOTES AND NEWS

Progress—Some Striking Figures

During the past year 88,128 new members joined the League of Nations Union; the total number of membership subscriptions actually paid and recorded at Head Office during the year being 362,160, as against 319,484 in 1927, and 279,990 in 1926.

The subscriptions paid during the year 1928 amounted to approximately £37,500, of which about £8,500 was retained by Headquarters. Of the remainder approximately £14,500 was retained by Branches for their local work, and £14,500 returned to individual members of the Union in the shape of literature, publications, etc.

Summer Schools

Arrangements are already in train for the Union's Summer Schools and parties to Geneva in 1929. A Whitsuntide school will be held at Cober Hill, Yorkshire (six miles from Scarborough) from May 18 to 25. A week's Lecture Course is being arranged, but those who can only stay for the Whitsuntide week-end, May 18 to 21, will be welcome. The date for the Union's party to the International Labour Conference is not definitely fixed, but it is anticipated that the party will leave London for Geneva on June 1 or 8. The arrangements will include visits to the Conference and lectures by members of the Secretariat of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Office. The Union's Summer School will take place this year at New College, Oxford, from July 25 to August 1. The Union's party to the Geneva Institute of International Relations will leave London on Saturday, August 3. A Geneva Summer School for Secondary School students is also being arranged. This party will probably leave London for Geneva on August 9. Further particulars of all these activities can be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

"This is the man . . ."

Despite the constant click of a demonstration Lewis gun and the inspiring sight of what was left of the R.33, the Union's exhibition stand at the Schoolboys' Own Exhibition attracted considerable interest. A portion of the Union's portable exhibition was on view, together with a stock of Union literature. One of the Union's staff speakers collected large and interested circles of schoolboys whenever he gave a short talk on the League. He was bombarded with intelligent questions. The simplest exhibit was perhaps the most interesting. It was a mirror round which was written: "To everybody—This is the man on whom the League depends." Prizes were awarded daily for answers to a question paper on the League of Nations. Some excellent papers were sent in, which showed a good and intelligent knowledge of League subjects. The prize-winners were:—

R. D. Say, University College School; C. Arthur Halden, Wandsworth Common Secondary School; V. E. M. May, Highfields School, Liphook, Hants; Freda Harris, Plumstead, County Secondary School; and Ronald Church, Westminster City School.

The Song Book

Owing to a delay in delivery, the "Little Song Book of the Nations" was not obtainable when the notice of

it appeared in the HEADWAY Supplement. A full supply has now arrived, and copies may be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, price 1s. 6d. Copies of the words only are 1s. per dozen.

The Song Book contains songs from 17 different countries, suitable for Community Singing, more particularly at League of Nations Union gatherings. The accompaniments are easy to play, and the words have been translated or adapted into English.

Paris

The Paris Section of the League of Nations Union recently arranged an interesting conference in co-operation with the "Association Francaise pour la Société des Nations" on the subject of "La Renaissance d'une Conscience Européenne." M. Borel presided, while M. Barthélémy represented the French point of view. Professor Murray took the standpoint of wider international interests, and M. Pfafferot, the German writer, explained the value of European solidarity to Germany.

On January 12 the Paris section organised a meeting at the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation, at which Professor Zimmern took as his theme, "Democracy and the Post-War World."

Admiral Allen in Scotland

During December Admiral J. D. Allen paid a much appreciated visit to Glasgow and the West of Scotland District and inaugurated two very promising branches at Dalry and East Kilbride. He spoke in schools in Glasgow and made a flying visit to the Highlands, where he addressed a good meeting under the auspices of the Ardrishaig Branch. At the Engineers' Hall, Glasgow, Admiral Allen spoke on behalf of the League of Nations Union, to a meeting organised jointly with the Navy League. It may be added that the feeling of this meeting was with the League of Nations Union.

A Lantern on Loan

The Honorary Secretary of the Sloane Group has an excellent lantern which she is willing to hire out for the use of other Branch Secretaries in the London area. This lantern, which throws a definite picture from any range up to 40 feet, is suitable for use in halls or drawing-rooms. It is worked from the ordinary electric light current, and is fitted with various bulbs, which make it adaptable to a voltage of 110 or 200-240 inclusive. The lantern can be hired from Miss Stavridi, 33, Lennox Gardens, London, S.W.1, at a charge of 10s. It must, however, be collected from and returned to the above address by the hirer, who must also be responsible for any damage done to it.

At Dumbarton

The Education Authority in the County of Dumbarton, which takes an active interest in the work of the League of Nations, has ordered 100 copies of HEADWAY each month for the next year, which will be distributed free to the schools in its area.

Notes from Wales

Branches in Wales and Monmouthshire are looking forward to the Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council, which is to be held this year at Wrexham, during Whit-week, May 21 and 22. The programme, which includes a number of public meetings, Welsh and English, will be available shortly. Amongst the chief speakers will be Senor S. de Madariaga (the late head of the Disarmament Section at Geneva). The Wrexham District Committee is co-operating in the arrangements for the Conference.

On March 11 the bronze bust of Robert Owen, by Sir Goscombe John, will be presented to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at Geneva. Mr. David Davies, M.P., has accepted the invitation

to unveil the bust, which is to be placed in the library of the new building of the I.L.O.

The following are amongst the Branch activities reported during January. The Rev. H. Elvet Lewis addressed crowded gatherings at Morrision and Neath. A Conference on the I.L.O. at Cardiff was addressed by Mr. E. L. Poulton and Mr. T. W. Gillinder. Mr. Victor Evans addressed a public meeting organised by the Dingestow Branch. The Llandudno District Committee, through its active Hon. Secretary, Mr. W. R. Brookes, arranged an excellent meeting, which was addressed by the representatives of the Conservative, Labour and Liberal parties—namely, Councillor Albert Hughes, Mr. T. ap Rhys and Captain R. T. Evans. The Union's film, "The World War and After," was exhibited at Coedpoeth and Aberystwyth. A number of other meetings and conferences have also been held during the month.

In the list of really active District Committees, the Tonypany District Committee figures prominently. For several years, in spite of industrial depression, this committee has carried out a vigorous programme, and the Union is deeply indebted to Mr. Victor Evans, its President, and Mr. Emrys Williams, its Hon. Secretary, for a great deal of valuable work.

The Welsh Council is organising a Geneva Scholarships Scheme again this year.

Australia

The South Australian League of Nations Union has held most successful luncheon-hour meetings for several years. On November 27 the meeting was addressed by Professor Hicks, of Adelaide University, on the responsibility of the "ordinary person" to support the League. He pointed out that it was impossible to hope for permanent peace without a far greater pressure of public opinion, and that while modern science was on the way to make war more deadly than before, there was far too much indifference shown towards the work of the League. He appealed to South Australia to do its share in supporting the work done at Geneva.

At Marlborough and Hungerford

The Marlborough Branch recently held a successful meeting at which Sir William Finlay presided over a large and representative gathering. Other speakers were Mr. H. A. V. Ransome, Mr. A. B. Kerr, and Mr. H. A. Chandler. Towards the end of last year the Hungerford Branch organised an excellent production of the pageant play, "Humanity Delivered." Both these events received good Press notices.

From the Riviera

A meeting organised by Mr. Dancy Hall was held at Nice on December 28. The chief speaker was Mr. Henry A. Hering, who spoke on the League and Disarmament. Others who addressed the meeting were Mrs. Dancy Hall and the Rev. Dr. S. McComb, Rector of the American Church. About 100 people attended.

Seabury Prize Essays

The Union, in co-operation with the American School Citizenship League, organises annually a Prize Essay Contest open both to British and American schools. Two sets of prizes of 75 dollars, 50 dollars and 25 dollars are offered for the best essays on the following subjects:—

1. "The Influence of Education in Eliminating War." Open to all under 21 on May 15, 1929, attending a Training College in the British Isles.
2. "Above all Nations is Humanity." Open to all students between 16-18 years of age on May 15, 1929, attending an Educational Institute in the British Isles.

The Education Committee of the League of Nations Union or its nominees will act as judges. Essays

must not exceed 5,000 words in length—a length of 3,000 words is suggested—and must be written on one side of the paper only with a margin of at least one inch. Essays, which should be marked "Prize Essay" in the top left-hand corner, should bear the writer's name, school and home address, and must reach the Head Office of the Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, not later than May 15, 1929. Principals, headmasters, and headmistresses are asked to encourage their students to enter this contest.

Exchanging Correspondence

Headquarters has the names and addresses of a few Germans, interested in international affairs, who would like correspondents in England. Any members wishing to avail themselves of this opportunity to exchange correspondence with friends overseas should communicate with the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

New Zealand

In six New Zealand towns, Auckland, Gisborne, Wellington, Westport, Christchurch and Dunedin, meetings were held on Armistice Day to pass the following resolution in favour of disarmament:—

"We, the citizens of . . . declare our detestation of war, and our earnest desire for permanent peace, based on international friendship and general disarmament."

This resolution was sent to the British Government.

The Minister of Education addressed the meeting at Wellington, where about 2,500 people were present.

At Dunedin the manager of a picture theatre gave the use of it free of charge for a meeting. The audience numbered about 1,500.

Branches throughout New Zealand are asked to have the following questions put to Parliamentary candidates in open meetings:—

1. What policy does the candidate support as to New Zealand's relation to the League of Nations?
2. Whether the candidate is in favour of New Zealand sending a delegate direct to the Assembly of the League of Nations, in addition to representation by the High Commissioner?
3. Whether the candidate is in favour of New Zealand being represented at the Annual Conference of the International Labour Organisation?

A Parliamentary Group of the League of Nations Union was formed last August at Wellington. Sir James Allen, former High Commissioner of New Zealand in London, and Patron of the Union, has been appointed Chairman, and all the parties in the Lower House are represented on the provisional committee.

Youth and World Peace

The London Regional Federation is arranging for a meeting on Youth and World Peace to be held in the Great Hall, University College, London, on Monday February 25, at 7.30 p.m. The Chairman will be Dr. Ronald Cove-Smith, and the chief speaker Dr. F. W. Norwood. Admission will be free.

The Council's Vote

The following is a list of Branches which have recently completed their quotas to the Council's Vote for 1928:—

Aldbourne, Altrincham, Attenborough, Barton-on-Humber, Bedminster Parish Church, Beverley, Bexhill, Bishopston, Bletchley, Bognor, Brentwood, Briston, Broadstone, Bromley, Burneside, Bury St. Edmunds, Calstock, Camborne, Charlton-on-Otmoor, Chelmsford, Cheltenham, Chorley Wood, Christchurch, Clifton, Cobham, Cockermouth, Colwall, Cowley, Crewe, Cuckfield, Deal, Dewsbury, Dorchester, Dunmow, Eccleston, Epping, Eye, Eynsham, Fakenham, Felixstowe, Fleet, Gerrards Cross, Gillingham (Dorset), Gomersal, Goxhill, Grange-over-Sands, Grimsby, Helston, Hereford, Herne Bay, Hillhouse Congregational Church (Huddersfield), Horncastle, Hornchurch, Hungerford, Hurstpierpoint, Ilkley, Ipswich, Kirkby Stephen, Knaresborough, Knutsford, Launceston, Leighton Buzzard, Liskeard, Littlehampton, Lowestoft, Maidenhead, Malvern, Milford-on-Sea, Mottisfont, Mundham, Newport (Salop), Norwich, Ottery St. Mary, Oxford, Oxford Federation,

Queenborough, Radlett, Radstock, Rawdon, Romford, Roundhay, Salisbury, Scunthorpe, Sheffield, Shirehampton, Silverdale (Lancs), Sketsmergh, Southbourne, Stroud, Tadworth, Taunton, Teignmouth, Tiptree, Tonbridge, Totnes, Totteridge, Upminster, Warsop, Walton-on-the-Naze, Watford, Watton, Wells, Winchester, Windsor, Withernsea, Witney, Wolverton, Worthing, and York.

Recent Union Publications

264, Law or War; 265, The League and the Drug Traffic; 266, The League Clears the Road; 267, The League's War upon Bondage (leaflets 264-7, price 3s. 6d. per 100); 269, Traffic in Arms (2d.); 270, The Old Way and the New (1d.).

Some February Meetings

- 6.—Saffron Walden Lord Iddesleigh and C. G. Ammon, Esq., M.P.
6.—Glasgow, St. Andrew's Hall... Lord Cushendun and Miss M. Lloyd George.
7.—Wolverhampton, Conference Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P.
8.—Eastbourne Lord Cecil.
12.—Ashford Lord Lytton.
18.—Battersea Town Hall ... Lord Thomson.
21.—Church End, Finchley ... Sir Atul Chatterjee and E. L. Poulton, Esq.
23.—Worcester, Conference ... Lord Lytton.
23.—Bournemouth Vernon Bartlett, Esq.
28.—North Hackney Lord Cecil.

"Nottingham Journal"—A Novel Enterprise

In order to stimulate interest in the development and activities of the League of Nations, the *Nottingham Journal* has organised an essay competition for scholars (over 15 years of age) attending schools in the area in which the paper circulates. The *Journal* will publish articles on the League during the next few weeks in order to enable competitors to grasp the subject. The prizes include six £20 travelling scholarships, two £5 prizes in cash, and others, amounting to £160 in all. Full particulars can be obtained from the Editor, *Nottingham Journal*, Parliament Street, Nottingham, who is to be heartily congratulated on this enterprise.

The Freedom of the Seas

A debate between Admiral Taylor and Mr. W. E. Arnold Forster on the above subject will take place at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on February 15. This debate has been organised by the Westminster Branch. Full particulars can be obtained on application to Headquarters.

Total number of persons who have at any time joined the Union and who are not known to have died or resigned:

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,931
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,221
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	...	665,022
Jan. 20, 1929	...	...	...	...	747,945

On Jan. 20th, 1929, there were 2,764 Branches, 658 Junior Branches, 135 Districts, 2,823 Corporate Members and 480 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

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

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

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