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HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

AMID all the tributes that have been and will be paid to the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, it is well to remember that Mr. Asquith, as he then was, was one of the first of European statesmen to foreshadow the creation of a League of Nations after the war. Speaking at Dublin as early as September 25, 1914, the Prime Minister used these prophetic words: "The idea of public right—what does it mean when translated into concrete terms? . . . it means, finally, or it ought to mean, perhaps by slow and gradual process, the substitution for force, for the clash of competing ambition, for groupings and alliances, and a precarious equipoise, of a real European partnership based on the recognition of equal right, and established and enforced by a common will. A year ago that would have sounded like a Utopian idea. It is probably one that may not, or will not, be realised either to-day or to-morrow, but, if and when this war is decided in favour of the Allies, it will at once come within the range, and before long within the grasp, of European statesmanship." From that moment Lord Oxford became one of the strongest and sanest supporters first of the League idea and then of the League in being. His death deprives the League of Nations Union, for whom he spoke several times, of one of its five Honorary Presidents.

Canada's Voice

IN view of the frequency with which difficulties with Dominions are cited as the reason why the British Government should not sign the Optional

Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court or proceed further in the direction of arbitration, a recent speech by Senator Dandurand, of Canada, is well worth quoting. It is to be remembered that Senator Dandurand, who is, incidentally, Canada's representative on the League Council, is the Government spokesman in the Canadian Senate. Speaking in that official capacity, on January 31, he said: "Our own necessities happen to be on the same lines as the necessities of humanity, and it is our duty to preach, and to continue to preach, the gospel of arbitration between peoples. It is not an easy matter for great nations to forgo their power and place themselves on a level with smaller nations before a World Court, but I cannot help thinking that it is the only way whereby we can make any advance towards permanent peace throughout the world." These are important and valuable words, and confirm the impression that if Great Britain really desired to go further in this direction Canada would readily support her in any endeavours that might be necessary to persuade the other Dominions to come into line.

America's Rôle

DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, the principal President of Columbia University, keeps hammering away very usefully at the proposal that America should undertake not to interfere with any blockade which the League of Nations might find it necessary to impose in order to bring

pressure on some Covenant-breaking State. It appears, however, that Dr. Butler has amended his original proposal so as to bring it definitely into line with the Monroe Doctrine as interpreted by the United States, for, speaking at a Pilgrims' Dinner in New York on February 9, he suggested that the United States should say to Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan: "If you find yourselves under obligation either as members of the League of Nations or Locarno signatories to establish a blockade against an aggressor nation, we shall accept your good faith, and shall ourselves respect the blockade, provided that no such blockade shall be effected against any nation in the Western Hemisphere." It will be observed that under such a formula America would not be recognising the right of the League to institute a blockade against any Latin-American State. Whether the League could tacitly acquiesce in such a limitation of the Covenant would need careful consideration. The Latin-American States themselves might have a good deal to say on the subject.

The Eight-Hours Convention

THE substantial volume embodying under the title of "Britain's Industrial Future" the report of the Liberal Industrial Enquiry, includes a far from satisfactory passage on the subject of the Washington Hours Convention, concluding with the observation that "agreement between Great Britain and other industrial powers upon the terms of a revised Convention ought not to be difficult." The Liberal Committee has clearly not realised how serious a set-back a decision to revise the whole Convention would be, and would appear, on the face of it, not to realise either that agreement was actually reached between Great Britain and the other chief European industrial powers in 1926 on doubtful points, an accord ensuring uniformity of interpretation having, as almost everyone thought, been concluded. The failure of the British Government to ratify the Convention, in spite of the hopes the Prime Minister had held out before the 1926 agreement was reached, lays the Government itself open to grave criticism, and the comments of the Liberal Committee on the subject seem singularly weak.

Which is Right?

SOME strange confusions of thought regarding the Hours Convention seem to be in the air. Sir Murrough Wilson, for example, Member of Parliament for the Richmond division of Yorkshire, is reported by the "Yorkshire Post" to have said at a Northallerton meeting on February 6, "In theory nothing could be nicer than the uniform eight-hour day, but would nine out of ten other nations honour their bond as loyally as England when once she had given her word?" Compare with that the observations of Mr. Tom Shaw, a former Minister of Labour, regarding the attitude of the Government in declining to ratify the Convention. "I want to say quite bluntly that we have been betrayed, and the word of the Government is not worth the paper on which it is written. This is the country that has held back the ratification and no other. We, who had most to gain by it and who

ought to have been the first to ratify it and to encourage others to ratify it, have been the country that has kept others back, and if the Parliamentary Secretary and the Prime Minister believe that they are looked upon as men of honour and of strict probity on the Continent, let them get the idea out of their heads." Between those views you take your choice.

"Arbitration"

NOW that the subject of arbitration is so much under discussion it is well to maintain a clear distinction between the various processes for the pacific settlement of disputes. That is emphasised by a casual remark made by Mr. Lloyd George in the course of the debate on the address in the House of Commons. The former Prime Minister dwelt on the advantages that would accrue "if it is known that every subject of dispute will be also a subject of judicial reference between the two countries," to which Sir Austen Chamberlain replied quite properly that only questions of a legal character were suitable for judicial settlement, and that other questions must be dealt with by a slightly different procedure. As things stand to-day judicial settlement is taken to mean proceedings before the Permanent Court of International Justice, arbitration to mean the rendering of a definite verdict or decision by a board of arbitrators, while conciliation consists in the endeavours of some third party or parties to bring the disputants to a voluntary agreement, no question of a binding award arising in this case. In its broadest sense arbitration may be held to include the work of the Permanent Court, but now that the Court is in existence it makes for clearness of thought and of speech to reserve the word for those cases which do not go to the Court, but are made the subject of a definite award by a special body.

The Children of India

THE announcement that the Government of India intends to initiate an official inquiry into the age of marriage and consent in India will be of considerable interest to the League of Nations Women and Children Committee, which has itself the whole question of the age of marriage and consent under consideration. Miss Mayo's much-discussed book, "Mother India," has served to draw attention to the evils of child marriage in India, though there was nothing in the Government statement to suggest that the publication of this work was a reason for the action taken. The proposed inquiry incidentally has the effect of shelving for the moment the Bill introduced by Sir Hari Gour to raise the age of consent from 14 to 16 in the case of unmarried girls and from 13 to 14 in the case of married. (The age of consent means the age below which it is a criminal offence for a man to have physical relations with a girl, whether she consents or not.) The agitation for the raising of the age of marriage in India makes it pertinent to recall the fact that the age of marriage in England is 14 for boys and 12 for girls, though, in point of fact, practically no marriages actually take place at anything like this age.

Moscow Declines

THE note from the Russian Government to Geneva, indicating that that Government sees no use in having Russian representatives on the League's Economic Consultative Committee, is a little surprising, for it was understood that M. Litvinoff, when he was at Geneva in December, was entirely favourable to Russia's representation. In any case there was no question of the Russian Government itself making any appointment. That lies in the hands of the Council. All the League did in the matter was to write more or less privately to Moscow asking for a list of names from which two suitable representatives could be selected by the Council. The precise shades and tendencies of Russian policy at the moment are a little difficult to determine. It may be that M. Stalin and his colleagues think they would be giving their domestic opponents too useful a handle if they were to approve the appointment of Russian representatives on a Committee engaged in improving the economic arrangements of a purely economic system.

Hanging Fire

THE Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association, in its annual report, makes some pertinent observations on the non-ratification of international conventions of importance to the commercial and shipping world. A list of such conventions is quoted, notably those on Freedom of Transit, on Navigable Waterways, on Railways, on Maritime Ports and on Customs Formalities. These are all League Conventions, and their value is very largely diminished by the delay of various nations in ratifying them. It should be observed that the British Government has a thoroughly good record in this respect. If other nations were as prompt and punctilious as Great Britain habitually is (always excepting the Eight Hours Convention) international commerce would have smoother water to steer through.

Fixing Easter

IT is a matter of interest that the Bill to provide for a fixed Easter has passed its second reading in the House of Commons without a division, and that the Government has shown itself entirely favourable to it. The Home Secretary's suggestion that if the Bill passes, as it presumably will now, he should get into touch with various organisations concerned, ecclesiastical and commercial, and in particular with the League of Nations, is clearly the right one. The objection has been made that the date proposed, the second week in April, has usually been wet in this country in recent years. So for that matter has almost every other week in every other month. In any case, a reform which it may be hoped will be adopted throughout the world can hardly be made dependent on the vagaries of British weather. The advantages of fixing Easter are obvious and great.

Signs from Spain

IT is an interesting and significant fact that the Secretary of the Spanish League of Nations Association gave a public address at Madrid on the League in the middle of February—significant because ever since Spain resigned from the League

the activities of the Spanish League of Nations Association have been vetoed. This particular lecture was given with full official authorisation. It is to be observed also that various Spanish papers, including the *Nacion*, which is a Government organ, have been discussing the whole question of Spain's co-operation with the League. The importance of these indications of a change of temper—for so they must be taken to be—lies in the fact that Spain's two years' notice of resignation from the League expires in June, and if it is to be withdrawn, it must be withdrawn before then.

One Road to Peace

IT is a rather striking fact that the American Admiral Plunkett, who created a mild sensation a few weeks ago by describing (if he was rightly reported) war between America and Great Britain as inevitable, has since declared his adhesion to a proposal which may well prove to be the solution for many outstanding difficulties in the realm of maritime law. "Eliminate the right of blockade," he said, "establish the right of merchant vessels to come and go in peace and war, and you will destroy the usefulness of submarines, cruisers and navies generally." He added, however, that he did not believe Great Britain would consent to such a policy. If a proposal of that kind were seriously put forward by the United States, it would be very difficult indeed for Great Britain to reject it.

The Russians in Turkey

REFERENCE was made in last month's HEADWAY to the danger that a large number of Russian refugees still in Asia Minor would be expelled immediately by the Turkish Government, no matter whether any arrangement had been made for their reception elsewhere. It is due to the Turkish Government to mention that it has just informed the International Labour Office, which has the whole refugee question in hand, that it is willing to extend for twelve months the permission given to the refugees to remain in Turkey. There is every reason to hope that before the end of that period the Labour Office will have been able to arrange for the transportation of these unfortunate people to other countries where employment is available.

A Non-Member

ONE of the most interesting among the countries which still remain outside the League of Nations is Afghanistan. That fact lends some importance to the visit of the King of that country, the Emir Amanullah, to Europe. The Emir is a progressive and enlightened ruler, and his contacts with European statesmen, almost all of whom play an active part at the Council or Assembly of the League, can hardly fail to bring home to him the value of League membership. Account must no doubt be taken of the fact that Afghanistan has close relations with Soviet Russia, and the influence of Moscow is likely to be exerted against any rapprochement between Cabul and Geneva. On the other hand, France has many interests in Afghanistan, and M. Briand is as strong a League partisan as exists. Possible developments will, therefore, be awaited with interest.

CAN THE LEAGUE HELP CHINA? A PROBLEM IN POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

By SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, K.C.S.I.

THE League of Nations is not well known in Asia; and, being little known, it plays no effective part in Asiatic problems. Such a consequence of its pre-occupation with the urgent task of European reconstruction is inevitable. Neither the League nor anyone else can do two things at once. It is no use wringing the hands over it all, nor is it possible to hope for a speedy remedy, for only the slow action of time can make the desired change.



Sir F. Whyte, K.C.S.I.

Herein lies the fundamental reason why the League has no present part in the Chinese problem. China follows the rest of Asia in a somewhat sceptical attitude to the League, varied by outbursts of downright hostility. Her view of Western Europe, and therefore of Geneva, is deeply coloured by the distorting medium of Russia; and until she can see the League at work in reality, and not merely as the engine of Western imperialism in disguise, she will not understand why Europe finds it indispensable, and why Asia may yet find in it the one sure guide and protector.

Meanwhile there are certain things which can be done. We can show the Chinese why Europe resorts more and more to Geneva—or to the Hague—for counsel and assistance. We can display to them the League's beneficent work in calamity or distress. And we can show how the League is gradually transforming European rivalry into European co-operation. At the present moment the Chinese have little opportunity of learning the truth about the League, for, though a Chinese public man actually presided over a recent meeting of the Council and a distinguished Chinese jurist is a member of the Hague Court, there is no such thing as a Chinese League of Nations Union, and there is neither Government nor Parliament to discuss and decide Chinese action at Geneva. Moreover, the newspapers published in English treat the League either with a mild and tolerant scepticism or with open scorn; and the Chinese Press, on the other hand, have little use for news from Geneva.

Tell the Chinese

Something could be done at once to remedy this fault, and an information service for the Far East would help to break down the prejudice which now surrounds the League in many Asiatic minds. And, inasmuch as the League cannot play an effective part in China unless the Chinese people desire it, the first step in that direction must be to devise means whereby its purpose and achievements can be made known to them. Once this preliminary result has been attained it seems likely that the Chinese would understand that League intervention would not mean a repetition of their experience with the Treaty Powers

in the nineteenth century, but a genuine co-operation between the Republic of China and the greatest constructive agency in the modern political world.

It is perhaps idle to speculate how and when China will be brought to invite the League to assist her; but recent events suggest that the opportunity may not be so distant as would at first appear. Sun Yat-sen himself sought foreign help, and many of his followers and successors are to-day aware that they stand in need of it more than ever. That is one of the conclusions to be drawn from the recent experience of the Kuomintang with Russia. And now that Russian assistance has been withdrawn, perhaps only for the moment, the vacuum thus left must somehow be filled. But the withdrawal of Russia is not the only phenomenon which points to the need of aid from abroad. The economic condition of China is perhaps even more significant in this respect, for in this field foreign agencies can operate without necessarily arousing political suspicion. Whether it be in the chaos of Chinese finance, or in the physical debility of the railways, or in the still more acute famine conditions in Shantung and other provinces, the Chinese Revolution has reached a stage in its history where factors other than political are forcing themselves urgently upon the attention of the people; and out of this economic condition may arise a demand which could only be met by the enlistment of foreign assistance on a large scale. In such a demand is the League's opportunity.

Finance

Beyond the immediate remedial measures necessary for dealing with famine, for instance, there are the larger problems of reconstruction which cluster round the nerve centre of finance. Now, China will not readily seek an international loan in the old way; but if it were plain to her that the League can and will finance her regeneration with a single eye to Chinese interests her reluctance would be speedily overcome.

It is evident, then, that the heart of the problem is psychological, and that the Chinese disposition in this matter can only be changed by knowledge. We may therefore close this brief review, as we began, by saying that the first step on the road to the desired result is to show the Chinese what the League has done in Europe, and thus to prove to them that it is not the old imperialist wolf in sheep's clothing, but a true agent of human progress.

WHERE IS — ?

MR. JUSTICE ROWLATT, hearing a case in the King's Bench Division on February 16, observed that there is no topic on which more haziness prevails than the identity of Czechoslovakia. There are possibly other items of post-war geography about which similar uncertainty exists, even in the minds of His Majesty's Judges. To make the matter a little clearer, an outline map of Europe with the territorial divisions is printed on the back page of this month's HEADWAY.

THE LEAGUE AND SLAVERY FLYING FOR FREEDOM TO THE UNION JACK

By JOHN H. HARRIS

"... Gedaref... is some seventy-five miles from the frontier..." says Sir Austen Chamberlain in his interesting despatch addressed to the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society on the treatment of slaves escaping from Abyssinia into the Sudan.*



Sir John Maffey
Governor of the Sudan

A story as thrilling as Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" could assuredly be written around this simple geographical fact—that Gedaref, the British administrative outpost, is 75 miles from the Abyssinian frontier, for it is to this point that slaves are fleeing from Abyssinia. To Roseires and to Kurmuk, in the Fung Province, the slaves also appear to be fleeing in ever-increasing numbers. And how are they arriving? Sir Austen Chamberlain says that as a rule they "come in parties of two or three or singly, but there have been cases recently when larger groups numbering one hundred or one hundred and fifty crossed into this province from Abyssinia."

"Hell"

This plain statement of fact by the British Foreign Office conjures up memories of the "Underground Railway" between the Southern and the Northern States of America. One thinks again of the tragedies of the Dixie Line, of the flight of George and Eliza Harris, and the slave stories which we read in our childhood days. These stories are being re-enacted to-day all along the Abyssinian frontier, where slaves in scores and hundreds are attempting to escape from a brutal servitude. It needs but the slightest knowledge of the local situation to picture the slaves to-day as they escape from the "Hell"† of Abyssinia. We can see them even at this distance, stealing away by night, crossing the frontier perhaps in the dark, stripped of every encumbrance that would impede the race for freedom; and then, as they enter the desert, there comes the most terrible part of this race for liberty—the race against hunger, against thirst and against fatigue; but, worst of all, the race against the swift and wily pursuers. To the escaping slaves those 75 miles must seem a never-ending journey. Many of them doubtless fall by the way, many a fugitive is recaptured, but those fortunate slaves who sight Gedaref, Roseires and Kurmuk, and see, floating in the breeze, the much-abused old Union Jack—to them the joy must be such as pen cannot depict.

Freedom

"In no case has any escaped slave been sent back to Abyssinia," says Sir Austen Chamberlain. These travel-stained and hungry and weary refugees, as they reach the distant British posts, anxiously put the question: "Are we safe?" The answer, reassuring and prompt, is the one given by Sir Austen Chamberlain—in no case is a slave driven back to his master. Nor

* The full text of this correspondence can be obtained gratis from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.

† Cmd. 2553.

is this all, for, as Sir Austen Chamberlain tells us, the Government of the Sudan offers them the chance—

Either of settling in various selected localities in the Roseires district, at least sixty miles from the frontier, where "refugee colonies" have been formed, or of moving to the north of the Fung province at a still greater distance from the frontier. The great majority prefer the former alternative, and are allocated land for building and cultivation.

In addition to this, loans are advanced to certain of the slaves, and in Gedaref "work is there found without difficulty for the men, and husbands for the unmarried women," where "the community is reported to be flourishing and a number of children have been born there into freedom."

Britain's Lead

Though the slave systems vary amongst the 4,000,000 or so slaves in different parts of the world, they all have certain features in common—every slave is a saleable property; only in exceptional cases do they possess land or means of free subsistence, while power of life and death often belongs to the owners. The League of Nations gave that for which we have worked and waited for fifty years—an international machine by which alone this great work of liberation could be attempted—and right splendidly that work is being done. Britain's lead has been both a moral and a practical one. The work at Geneva of Lord Cecil, Lord Irwin and Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland is bearing fruit all over the world. For example, who can measure the sum-total of human happiness due to the freeing of slaves in territories in friendly association with Great Britain? In the last 15 years Great Britain—or States associated with her—has set free over 450,000 slaves, as follows:—

Slaves freed, 1915-1927—			
Tanganyika	...	...	185,000 *
Sierra Leone	...	...	215,000 †
Burma	...	...	7,500 (estimated)
Nepal	...	...	57,889 ‡
Total slaves set free			465,389

Should the League Move?

It would, however, be folly to close our eyes to the political consequences which may easily arise on the Abyssinian frontier. There is reason for saying that the Abyssinian slave-owners are viewing with anything but pleasure the ever-increasing stream of slave "property" which is crossing into the Sudan. If the present movement continues, the slave-owners will certainly take some action which will inevitably bring them into conflict with the Sudanese Government. The question arises whether it would not be wiser for the League Council to approach the Abyssinians with a view to an inquiry as to what should be done to abolish slavery.

The Hogarth Press published at the end of February at 2s. 6d., under the title "Arms or Arbitration?" a book by Mr. H. Wilson Harris, discussing the whole question of arbitration as an alternative to war, including particularly the signature of the Optional Clause and all-in arbitration treaties and the attitude of the British Government to both. Review next month.

* Cd. 7620-51.

† Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1926 (Colony of Sierra Leone),

‡ Morning Post, September 27, 1926.

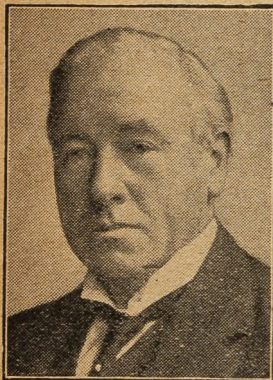
THE PEERS AND THE UNION IS EVERY GOVERNMENT ALWAYS RIGHT?

THE House of Lords devoted the afternoon of February 15 to what should have been a discussion of the question of signing the Optional Clause, but turned, rather singularly, largely into a debate on the virtues and defects of the League of Nations Union.

The discussion was opened by Lord Cecil, who brought forward a motion expressing the hope that the Government would sign the Optional Clause. He supported that proposal with all the arguments he has so frequently used, and with which readers of HEADWAY, at any rate, should be by this time familiar. Incidentally he enforced his contention that public opinion was strongly in favour of such a course by mentioning the remarkable enthusiasm displayed in regard to this matter at meetings of the League of Nations Union he had addressed all over the country.

Lord Cushendun, replying for the Government, submitted that the signature of the Clause or of any general arbitration treaty might imperil vital interests of this country, and declared that only a series of separate arbitration treaties with particular States was practicable.

He then proceeded to make what he called a "real complaint" regarding the League of Nations Union. Concerning this his words may be quoted as they stand:—



Lord Cushendun

LORD CUSHENDUN: I venture to submit to your Lordships that the League of Nations Union, professing to be a non-party organisation, is acting with impropriety when it presses its adherents to support this particular policy of my noble friend. I do not think my noble friend is entitled to use the League of Nations Union as a means of putting forward his own particular policy. In this comprehensive resolution from

which I have already quoted, the executive of the League of Nations Union urges the Government, among other things, immediately to sign the Optional Clause with any reservations that may be necessary. I am a member of the League of Nations Union. I have been a member of it for a long time, ever since it began I think, and a great many of my friends belong to it, too. I have always understood that the object of the League of Nations Union was to inform public opinion with regard to the League of Nations, to popularise it, and to convince people of its necessity and of the good it can do in the world. If that is so, it has no right to dictate a policy either to the League of Nations or to the Government. I do not admit that my noble friend is any better League-ite, if I may use the word, any more devoted to the League than I am. He wants to sign the Optional Clause. I do not, and there are heaps of members of the League of Nations Union who do not in the least believe in signing the Optional Clause.

LORD PHILLIMORE: Take a vote on it.

VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD: My noble friend is making a rather unexpected attack on the League of Nations Union on a matter which does not appear to me to have much to do with the subject of this debate, but since he has made it, let me inform him that the resolution was adopted, not by the executive, but by the general council, which represents the whole of the League of Nations Union, and that it has been approved unanimously at meetings all over the country. His friends could have attended those meetings if they had pleased,

but so far there has been no opposition, or none of importance at any rate. To suggest that the League of Nations Union is not entitled to express an opinion on what ought to be the policy of the League in future seems to me absolutely absurd.

LORD CUSHENDUN: What my noble friend has said amply confirms what was in my mind, that the League of Nations Union is being used, not for its original purpose, but for pressing on a particular policy.

Lord Buckmaster, who followed, supporting the motion in a remarkably eloquent speech, observed that Lord Cushendun's reply had "degenerated into something like an attack on the League of Nations Union for focussing attention on this subject," and gave his testimony as to the enthusiasm and unanimity he had found regarding the Optional Clause.

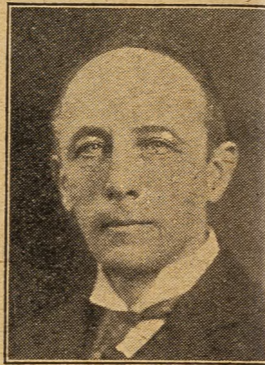
Lord Astor was the next speaker. He, too, supported Lord Cecil, and pleaded in particular for a complete understanding with the United States. Then came Lord Phillimore, whose authority on this question is unchallenged, since he was the British representative on the Commission which drafted the original Statutes of the Permanent Court. He had something to add about the Union, and it was this:—

I come from a part of London which is, I suppose, as strong for the Unionist Party, the party of the noble Lord, as almost any part of the United Kingdom—the Borough of Kensington. I am, and have been from the first, chairman of what I believe is the largest branch of the League of Nations Union which exists, the branch in the Borough of Kensington. I have, so far as an old man can, been about the country from time to time speaking on behalf of the League of Nations. I have no hesitation in saying that all those with whom I have had to deal are in favour of the Optional Clause, and it is not I who push it on my people, it is my people who push it on me, and who will not endure its not being brought forward and pressed upon every occasion.

Finally, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, a Conservative like Lord Cecil and Lord Astor, expressed his firm conviction that the Government was wrong in declining to sign the Optional Clause, and observed that it was remarkable, if public opinion in the country was against signature, that it had not been represented in that debate, except by the spokesman for the Government.

Lord Salisbury wound up. He went back to the familiar argument that the country, when it came to the point in a particular dispute, might decline to acquiesce in the verdict of the Court. And though he looked forward to the day when the Optional Clause might be signed by a British Government he suggested that that day would probably not be within his lifetime.

The debate was, of course, inconclusive, the net result being that the combined eloquence of Lords Cecil and Buckmaster, Astor and Phillimore and Balfour of Burleigh left the Government unmoved, as indeed the five eloquent and noble Lords must have realised it would. As to the views of Lord Cushendun on the League of Nations Union they are discussed a little more at length on the editorial page of HEADWAY.



Lord Buckmaster

DANZIG CHANGES ELECTIONS BRING A NEW POLICY

IT is a significant fact that two entries regarding Danzig on the agenda of this month's Council of the League of Nations are accompanied by the intimation that it will be unnecessary for the Council to discuss the matters in question since agreement is in course of being reached regarding them on the spot.

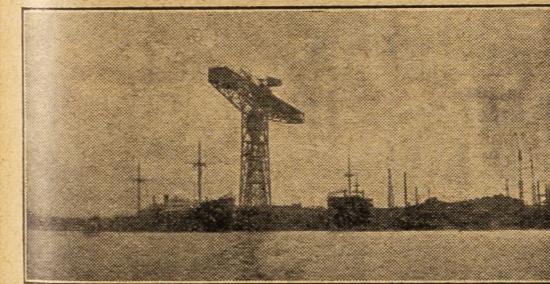


A Danzig Gateway

What lies behind this announcement is the important fact that, as result of a general election held at the close of last year, there is now established, with a clear majority of the Chamber, or Volkstag, at Danzig, a Coalition resolved to co-operate, so far as is reasonably possible, with Poland, in place of the Nationalist majority which has made things singularly difficult for the past seven years.

This change may have considerable effects in North Eastern Europe. As regards Danzig itself, it appears to mean a policy of "Danzig for the Danzigers," instead of "Danzig for the German Nationalists." The Peace Treaty arrangement, whereby the Port of Danzig, with a considerable territory behind it, was made self-governing, subject to Poland's control of its foreign relations, its Customs and some of its through railway communications, was a compromise which gave no one much satisfaction, but a compromise that is quite capable of working provided both Danzig and Poland do their best to work it.

The trouble is that Danzig, 95 per cent. of whose population is German and whose officials are for the most part not Danzigers at all but Prussians whose

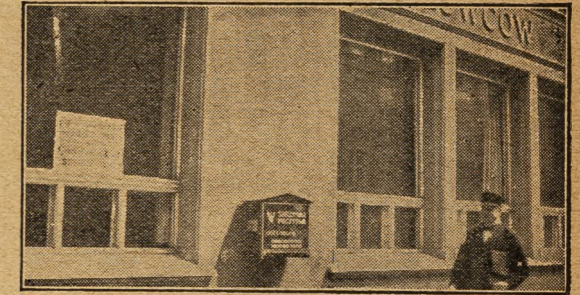


A Danzig Shipyard

work at Danzig counts both for seniority and for pension in the German Civil Service, has hitherto thought more of preserving its German character than of developing its own individuality as a Free City. The business men have always recognised the drawbacks to that policy, for it produced inevitably constant friction with the Poles, whereas all Danzig's industrial prosperity depends on the part it can play as the one great maritime avenue of import and export for Poland.

Now a Coalition, composed mainly of Socialists, Centre Party (Catholic) and Liberals, is firmly established in power. If things run smoothly, Danzig has great possibilities, with its magnificent harbour and shipyards on the Baltic at the mouth of the Vistula, and its rich agricultural land behind. It is, of course, on a small scale as regards population and area, the City itself containing some 206,000 people and the whole of the

territory 385,000. Unlike the Saar, Danzig is not governed directly by the League of Nations but by its own elected Parliament. The function of the League, which is permanently represented by a High Commissioner (living in the house that was General Mackensen's headquarters), is to settle any differences between the Free City and Poland.



A Polish Letter-Box in Danzig

There have been far too many such differences in the past, the most notorious perhaps being one which went ultimately to the Permanent Court on the apparently trivial question of whether Poland should be allowed to put up its own post-boxes on various Polish official businesses and Polish banks in Danzig and have its officials there to control them. It may reasonably be hoped that a new era of co-operation between Danzig and Warsaw is opening now.

UNITY AND DIFFERENCE

THE following message was sent by Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, to Lord Colum Crichton-Stuart, M.P., to be read at a meeting over which Lord Colum was presiding:—

"More than eight years have now elapsed since the foundation of the League, and such progress has been made that you, who were associated with me in its earliest beginnings, may well marvel at its present development.

"Further growth is still required to enable it to reach its full stature, and thus to fulfil the ideals of its founders.

"For this purpose, it is essential that men and women of all political creeds should determine unitedly to support the underlying principles of the Covenant, even though they may honestly differ as regards the best methods of applying them on different occasions."

THE RULE OF THE ROAD

THE activities of the League of Nations are diverse and always increasing. Through a Committee of its Transit Organisation, it has recently taken up the question of the rule of the road, a quite important matter now that motor traffic has so far developed that half a dozen continental countries are often covered in a single tour. In most continental countries, of course, vehicles keep to the right, but there have always been three or four where the English rule of keeping to the left is observed. The old Austria-Hungary was one of these, and some of the countries to-day occupying the territory of the former empire have stuck to that rule. Austria itself, however, following a recommendation of the League Committee in question, has lately decided to keep to the right instead of the left. But as the change will involve some dislocation, the reform is not to come generally into force till 1931. Some Austrian provinces, however, are pushing ahead faster, and the Tyrol has now before its Provincial Parliament a Bill bringing the change into force on March 1.

FIGHTING THE TRAFFICKERS

PUBLIC OPINION AND COMMERCE IN WOMEN

By THE HON. MRS. ALFRED LYTTTELTON



Dame Edith Lyttelton

MR. WILSON HARRIS has performed a signal service in giving us his study of the International Traffic in Women, which he calls "Human Merchandise."* It is not everyone who has either time or inclination to study official reports and documents, still less to make a summary of the detail, and so form an accurate picture of the whole inquiry. The two parts of the Report issued by the special body of experts on the Traffic in Women and Children, and published by the League of Nations are absorbing to read, and so startling are some of the statistics and stories that it is more than usually difficult to get a balanced impression. Mr. Harris has put together the evidence and grouped it in such a way that the reader can judge for himself how much warranty there may or may not be for this or that statement.

The whole subject needs exactly this kind of treatment, for the more people know the facts and realise the urgency of the reforms needed, the quicker will reform be attained. It is permissible to welcome the fact that it should be a man who has come forward to help to make the facts known, for the struggle against the traffic and its dependent evils has been left too often in the hands of women. And if ever there was a question which concerns men as much as it does women this surely is one; yet even to-day prostitution in common parlance is apt to be talked of as a woman's question. Somebody once said brutally: "It takes two to make a prostitute," and until the degradation of a woman for the pleasure of a man is realised as degradation for a man also, the progress can only be terribly slow.

Victim or Criminal?

It is quite true that the supposed victim is often the aggressor, and the supposed aggressor often the victim, or, in other words, that women are constantly to blame as well as men; but the peculiarity of the general attitude is that although women are talked of as victims, they are always treated and legislated for as criminals. I must not go into the discussion of these points. I only want to touch on them in gratitude to the man who has entered the fray.

Of course, "Human Merchandise" does not attempt to do more than make a summary of the League of Nations Report; it is not, like Flexner's great book, an independent study of the question, but I think almost anyone on reading it will say to him or herself: "What can be done? What ought to be done?" Two immediate points, at any rate, are brought out with especial clearness—the influence of the *Maisons Tolérées*, and the sinister power of the Third Party. In this matter of the international traffic it is not contended that the suppression of licensed houses means the suppression of prostitution; obviously, of course, a mere measure of

* Ernest Benn. 6s. net.

that kind will not remove the evil. But it is clear, and this book makes the position irrefutable, that the licensed houses are almost a necessity for the traffickers, and that where they have been abolished there the international traffic wilts. It needs only a small stretch of the imagination to realise why, for the practical difficulties of passports, birth certificates, sham employment, etc., are trebled if the *souteneur* has no definite house into which to draft his girls, and no recognised employer who will pay him for them.

Abolish the Licensed House

The investigators report most illuminating remarks from *souteneurs* themselves on this point. Speaking of the United States, where there are no licensed houses, the man said: "What chance has a foreign girl who can't speak the language on the streets or anywhere except in a house? In South America everything's fine. Here there's simply nothing doing." To quote Mr. Wilson Harris's comment: "The centre of the traffic system is the licensed house. That fact has been established beyond possibility of dispute, and the evidence furnished on the point is of vital importance to the whole of the League's future work, for once a direct connection between the international traffic and the licensed house in an individual country is acknowledged, it becomes impossible to warn the League off the subject of licensed houses on the ground that it is a purely domestic question." I do not feel as sanguine as he does that this plea of the inviolability of domestic questions will not be listened to, but I am certain that the gradual pressure of world opinion will force those nations who have not yet abandoned the system to do so. And that is why publicity, discussion frank and free, and detailed knowledge, are the best weapons in the fight.

Profit from Vice

The second point for attack is the Third Party. I always find it difficult to write or speak about this with any calmness. Terrible as is the degradation of prostitution for both sexes, what are we to feel about the men and women who add to it the ruthless exploitation, for money, of the weaknesses and obsessions of their fellow creatures; who trap, inveigle, stimulate and even instruct the young of both sexes in every form of vice? Not content with the gains of ordinary prostitution, they inculcate horrible kinds of perversion, simply because more money can be earned in that way. When public opinion is really roused, I look for heavier punishment and penalty than has yet been meted out to fall upon these people, the very scum of humanity.

It is on these lines that I should like to see public opinion operate, and so force governments to take strong legislative action, directed to the stamping out of these infamous transactions. Publicity is of the utmost importance, and in that connection this book will greatly help. Everyone should read it, and many will now have the facts forced upon their notice who before would, unconsciously perhaps, have ignored them. That is the strongest tribute which could be paid to Mr. Wilson Harris for a most admirable piece of work.

SOUND BUSINESS

HOW LEAGUE ACTIVITIES HELP BRITAIN

IN a growing institution like the League one thing, as they say, leads to another. Certainly, looking back over the last five years, one has a sense of inevitability about the course which its financial work has taken. Austria—that desperate tragic problem—was of course thrust upon the League by the Supreme Council of the Allies in 1921. To the surprise of everyone, including those who made the reconstruction plan, the plan worked. Half a dozen Governments backed a loan, and the private investors of eleven countries supplied the money. They paid £80 for each £100 worth of stock and received 6 per cent. interest. Those bonds stand to-day above par.

Other potential borrowers were not slow to mark this event. What more natural than that the sister country—Hungary, stronger politically and economically, but involved in the same financial ruin—should turn her eyes towards Geneva? She did so at once; and if the Hungarian scheme was delayed, this was due to the diffidence of her neighbours. Again the markets responded—this time without the inducement of Government guarantees. Again the loan—issued at 88 and carrying 7½ per cent. interest—was heavily over-subscribed in London and New York.

Greece's Refugees

The Austrian and Hungarian problems were on the whole similar—unbalanced budgets, a ruined currency. But other countries with different problems of their own beyond their unaided powers to solve began also to look towards Geneva. In 1922 Greece, and in 1926 Bulgaria, each faced by an influx of refugees which constituted an intolerable burden on public finance, appealed to the League. Loans were again issued as part of a scheme recommended by the Financial Committee, involving, as in the previous cases, a kind of certificate that the securities behind the loan were sufficient, and a system of supervision ensuring that the proceeds would be spent on the objects specified. The Greek loan was issued in December, 1924, at 88, carrying 7 per cent. interest. The Bulgarian loan was issued in December, 1926, at 92, carrying 7 per cent. interest.

But merely to approve the terms of loans was not enough. In Greece's case and in Bulgaria's the first necessity, it is true, was to provide for the settlement of refugees; but when Greece needed a further loan (a new influx of refugees having taken place) it was recognised that a condition of the success of its issue was reform of the country's public finances and the stabilisation of its currency. That, accordingly, was planned in collaboration with the League Financial Committee, and the new loan, launched so successfully at the beginning of 1928, was devoted to the triple purpose of completing the refugee settlement, wiping out past budget deficits, and the establishment of a new bank of issue.

Improving Credit

The London section of the loan was issued at 91, carrying 6 per cent. interest. The success of this issue, particularly in view of the terms, is significant. The previous loan, issued in 1924, was issued, as has been said, at 88 and carried 7 per cent. The improvement in the terms obtained by the Greek Government after an interval of only four years is remarkable. It is partly due to the fact that Greek credit has strengthened owing to the gradual solution of the immense refugee

problem. But a part is also due to the increased confidence of investors in League loans in general.

During these years there have also been issued, under the auspices of the League, successful loans for the benefit of Danzig and Estonia. At the present moment Bulgarian financial reconstruction on the same lines as the Greek is under study and discussion.

More important than this, the principles underlying the Geneva reconstruction schemes have powerfully influenced similar schemes elaborated and applied—e.g., for Germany in the Dawes Plan and recently in Poland—without the League's co-operation.

The gradual spread of the reconstruction movement through the instrumentality or example of the League has not only served the general interests of prosperity and peace, it has had particular advantages for Great Britain and the Empire.

We shall, no doubt, find here one of the true reasons why so many of the League reconstruction loans have been successfully issued on the London market. It is always difficult to know exactly what psychological factor makes the investor take up a loan, or prefer one loan to another; but it obviously counts for much that the securities of the League loans, and the general financial position of the borrowing countries, are in every case carefully investigated in advance by the Financial Committee of the League—probably the most experienced set of experts in post-war Europe. There is also a growing confidence in the efficacy of the Council and its financial advisers that, having authorised the issue of these loans, they will also watch over their future.

Money and Peace

There is this, moreover, to be said of League loans: Though their purpose is primarily economic, they have an important effect in promoting and maintaining the peace of the world. An Austria on the verge of financial and social collapse was fertile in political problems of the gravest kind; and the presence of a million and a half destitute and desperate refugees in Greece and of 200,000 such refugees in Bulgaria, was not likely to contribute to the development of peaceful relations in the Balkans. And, doubtless, returning for a moment to the psychology of the investor, behind his growing confidence in the technical capacity of the League in financial matters and in its political power as an element in the safety of an investment, there lies a dim sense that the reconstructive, stabilising and pacifying purpose which lies at the root of all these schemes is profoundly to his interest. That sense is right. Every country reconstructed under the auspices of the League becomes a valuable purchaser of British goods. Thus—to take only one instance—we are obtaining our share in the added prosperity of Austria; the figures are eloquent. According to the official statistics published by Mr. Phillpotts,* British exports and re-exports to Austria have doubled in value since 1923. The same tendency will manifest itself in regard to Greece and in regard to Portugal, if that scheme should come to fruition.

Thus the financial reconstruction of Europe, with all its beneficent effects on world peace, is an immediate commercial "interest" of Great Britain.

* Department of Overseas Trade. Report on the Financial and Commercial Situation of Austria. To October, 1927. By O. S. Phillpotts, O.B.E., Commercial Secretary, His Majesty's Legation, Vienna.

THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL

THE Agenda for the March Council Meeting of the League of Nations over which M. Urrutia, the delegate of Colombia, will preside, contains in its preliminary form twenty-five items, though these will no doubt be added to before the meetings actually begin. There are two, and possibly three, questions of main importance. Two of them, as it happens, concern Hungary. The old dispute between that country and Rumania over the treatment to be accorded to the Hungarian landowners in Transylvania, whose property was taken by the Rumanian Government for purposes of agrarian reform, is unhappily still unsettled. Sir Austen Chamberlain will, therefore, have to try once more to bring M. Titulesco, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, and the Hungarian protagonist, Count Apponyi, into line.

The other Hungarian affair concerns the seizure of a consignment of machine-gun parts in process of being smuggled across the Austro-Hungarian frontier. The three Little Entente Powers—Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania—who keep a sleepless watch for anything resembling a violation by Hungary of the disarmament clauses in the Treaty of Trianon, have brought this matter before the League Council, which must now decide whether to take action for the first time as the organ responsible for supervising the execution of the disarmament clauses of the Peace Treaties, binding Germany, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. The probability is that it will be decided to send a mission to Hungary to investigate, the assent of the Hungarian Government to such a procedure, of course, being unnecessary. It is a matter of interest that the President of the Military Commission of Investigation for Hungary is an Englishman, General Clive, who was for some time British military representative on the Permanent Advisory Committee at Geneva.

The third important question with which the Council may have to concern itself is the state of tension still existing between Poland and Lithuania. It was hoped that the partial agreement reached between those two States at the December meeting of the Council would gradually develop till satisfactory, if not normal, relations were re-established between them. That, unfortunately, has not happened. There have, no doubt, been faults on both sides, but the main obstacle is the attitude of the Lithuanians. Neither party had brought the matter before the Council at the time when the Agenda was printed, but at the last minute application was considered not unlikely.

Other questions are mainly matters of routine, but the appointment of a new member of the Saar Governing Commission to replace M. Lambert is of some interest. So are the reports which the Financial Committee will present regarding the proposed loans for Bulgaria and Portugal. One satisfactory development is the removal from the Agenda, except as a matter of formal record, of two rather awkward little Danzig disputes, this action being due to the fact that a Government of a different political colour has come into power at Danzig, and is adopting a far more conciliatory attitude than its predecessor in its relations with Poland.

It may be added that there is every reason to suppose that the Council will discuss, almost certainly in private, the position with regard to Spain and Brazil, for the two years' notice of withdrawal from the League, given by these States in 1926, expires in June. If, therefore, a final appeal is to be made to those States to reconsider their decisions, it must be made forthwith.

GENEVA PERSONALITIES

XIV.—DR. LUDWIG RAJCHMAN

WHEN Dr. Rajchman, though a Pole by race, was a Russian subject, i.e., before the war restored Poland's independence, he lived for some years in London, because the Russia of those days was Tsarist and Dr. Rajchman had no love for Tsars.

The Peace brought both Poland and the League into existence, and though Dr. Rajchman moved from London to Warsaw, he soon found his way from there to Geneva, and at Geneva he has remained ever since as director of the Health Section of the Secretariat.

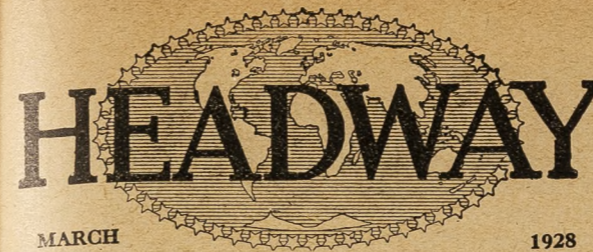
Comparison between League Directors would be invidious, particularly where the general standard is so high, but by common agreement Dr. Rajchman stands near the top of the tree. Under him the Health Organisation has shown remarkable activity and



Dr. Rajchman

universal enterprise. He himself has several times visited Moscow and succeeded in establishing in his own technical sphere the first of the links between Soviet Russia and the League. He was largely responsible for organising the League Health Congress at Warsaw in 1922. He has visited the United States to speak about his work. He last year attended the League conference on infant mortality in Uruguay, and he hopes in a few months' time to go as Director of the Health Section to India.

With it all he is continuously in evidence at Geneva. For it is from Geneva after all that the League's manifold activities in the field of health are directed. So Dr. Rajchman sits in his agreeable room on the lake with one eye on the wall-maps showing the travels of the Malaria Commission, and another on the charts of the Epidemics Intelligence Bureau at Singapore, and another (for he has at least half-a-dozen eyes) on the reports of the Sleeping-Sickness Commission in the heart of Central Africa, and another on the draft of the arrangements for the latest exchange of medical officers of health in Europe or Asia or South America.



PARTY POLITICS?

THE League of Nations Union should feel flattered at the public attention directed to it in these recent days. Lord Cushendun made it the subject of a measured complaint in the House of Lords, while a leading article was devoted to the "so-called League of Nations Union" by what should perhaps be termed, in its own phraseology, the so-called *Times*. The displeasure of the so-called *Times* was based on the fact that a retired Admiral had heard a professor, who happens to be a member of the Union Executive, enunciating sentiments alien to his own on the subject of disarmament. The displeasure of Lord Cushendun was based on the fact that the Union still continues to advocate the signature of the Optional Clause and the conclusion of all-in arbitration treaties, in spite of the continued refusal of the Government to do either the one thing or the other. And once more the old cry about dragging the League into party politics is raised from both quarters.

That general question must therefore be once more examined. And it must be examined in its broadest aspect, for neither the specific complaints of Lord Cushendun nor those of the *Times* are worth wasting much space over. Lord Cushendun takes the line that when the Government has decided on a certain course it is *lèse majesté* and treason for the Union to suggest that that course could be wrong or that any other course could be better. The Government having spoken, every other voice must cease. That doctrine is familiar enough. Moscow has made us well acquainted with it for the last ten years, and Signor Mussolini for the last five; but it has, fortunately, never gained acceptance in this country, and never will. If Lord Cushendun did have his way it would mean that, no matter what line a future Labour or Liberal Government chose to take regarding the League, the League of Nations Union would be debarred from uttering a word of opposition or criticism, no matter how disastrous that policy appeared to the very people who had studied the League longest and most closely.

Let us get down a little deeper into this question of party politics. Obviously, the League ought to be kept as much out of party controversies as possible. But a distinction can properly be drawn here between general principles and details. The vast majority of British voters of all parties are, happily, united in support of the League of Nations. But on the question of the particular action this country should take to support it in a given case there can be, and often is, a difference of opinion. Sometimes that division may happen to follow recognised party lines. There are certainly some Conservatives who are in favour of signing the Optional Clause. But Lord Cushendun and his colleagues—to whom full credit must be given for sincere belief in the rightness of their views—are, as a Government, against signing. Unfortunately, Lord Cushendun cannot give those who differ from him—notably the League of Nations Union, the vast majority

of whose members are for signing the Clause—any credit for sincerity at all. To him they are simply against the Government—deliberately and illegitimately against it.

With that completely untenable attitude compare the sane and statesmanlike statement by Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, which appears on another page of this issue. If any man in the world knows how to steer the just middle course between controversy and stagnation Sir Eric, as a former British diplomat and to-day the highest international civil servant, is that man. And what Sir Eric Drummond has to say is this: "Men and women of all political creeds should determine unitedly to support the underlying principles of the Covenant, even though they may honestly differ as regards the best methods of applying them on different occasions."

That is a rule of conduct we can understand and follow. United support of the League and the Covenant. On that Conservatives, Labour men and Liberals, and the League of Nations Union, which embraces them all, can and do find common ground. There is no sort of divergence between the present Government—or any visible alternative Government—and the League of Nations Union there. The Union has never been slow to acknowledge the services Sir Austen Chamberlain has rendered to the League by determining from the first invariably to attend its Council meetings in person, or by his work at Locarno, or in regard to such questions as slavery, or to the ratification (with one notable exception) of League Conventions, nor will it hesitate to give him full credit if one further negotiation in which he is playing an honourable part bears its appointed fruit in due time. But if it is contended that the League of Nations Union is debarred from ever differing from the Government of the day over such a matter as the Optional Clause or the Washington Hours Convention, then it can only be replied that a Union which accepted that doctrine would be, first, a dishonest and insincere Union, and secondly, and very soon, a dead Union.

Lord Cushendun holds that the Union should exist only to make the League of Nations known. But what is the League of Nations? It is not an abstract theory, it is a living organism. It moves and acts, and its success depends wholly on whether it acts in one way or another. That action is determined by the States that comprise the League, and among them Great Britain is the chief. Is it seriously to be argued that the question of how the British Government is to endeavour to influence League policy is a matter on which no views must be held and no opinions expressed by those men and women in the country who believe in the League most profoundly and follow its activities most diligently? The contention is too fantastic to be considered.

What, then, is the danger, if any, that besets a body like the League of Nations Union in the matter of party politics? It is that persons should join the Union who care in reality more for their own political party than they do for the League, and seek deliberately to use the Union machinery and the influence the Union wields not primarily in the interests of the League but primarily to advance the interests of a Government they support or to discredit a Government from which they differ. If there were any ground for accusing the Union of lending itself to that kind of manoeuvre it would stand condemned in the eyes of all honest men. But not a shred of evidence has ever been adduced in support of any such contention.

As things are the Union may go forward on its straight path with confidence, for criticisms such as were referred to at the beginning of this article are testimony before all things to its importance as a national force.

THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE WHAT IT MEANS AND HOW IT CAME

FEW questions connected directly or indirectly with the League of Nations are being more discussed at present than the Optional Clause. It is so singularly easy to talk lightly and with obvious omniscience about the Optional Clause. Every one, of course, knows exactly what it means. Yes, but do you know yourself? Are you quite certain you understand it upside down and round all the corners? No doubt you do. But there are a great many people all the same who don't, though they talk about the Optional Clause every day.

First of all, what is it a Clause of? Well, it is a Clause of the Statutes of the Court. What Court? The Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague. So let us, as the Americans who study us with such intelligent interest would say, start right there. The Permanent Court was created in 1921. But the process of creation took some time. It took in point of fact most of 1920. The men who did most of the planning were leading lawyers of various countries in Europe, Asia and America. Lord Phillimore was the British representative, and Mr. Elihu Root, a former Secretary of State (i.e., Foreign Minister), represented the United States. Their business was to lay the foundations of a Court that would settle all strictly legal disputes—what strictly legal disputes are will be considered in a moment—between civilised States.

Like Our Own

It was to be a Court very much like an ordinary court of law in an ordinary modern State—Great Britain, for example. If my neighbour climbs over my fence or breaks it down and kills my runner ducks, I can sue him for damages in Court and he has got to come and be sued—or stay away and be sued all the same. He is not free to say that he has no use for the Court and doesn't recognise it and will pay no attention to what it says. The lawyers who drew up the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice followed that model. If State A, that is to say, thought that State B had done it some injury, it could state the case before the Court (provided it was the kind of case the Court was authorised to deal with) and State B had got to appear and defend itself—or else stay away and leave its case unanswered. It would not be free to say that it had no use for the Court and did not recognise it and would pay no attention to what it said.

Two Objections

That was all clear enough. Everyone could understand it because it was just what regularly happens in the Courts of every country. Unfortunately, when the Court rules came to be approved by the League of Nations Council as they had to be, two countries, Great Britain and France, objected to this arrangement altogether. They were not prepared to acknowledge the general right of any other State to cite them before the Permanent Court, and since they could not be persuaded to change their view, and unanimity was necessary, it was in the end decided that a case could only be heard before the Court when both parties agreed that it should be. It was not enough for State A to want to have its dispute with State B heard before the Court. State B had to give its consent as well.

As has been said, Great Britain and France were the only two countries which took that line (and France

has since changed its mind). That meant that all other countries were either willing or anxious that one State should be entitled to bring a case involving another State even without the latter's special consent. There was, therefore, devised an Optional Clause to establish that system for any State which liked it. It was called "Optional" because no State was compelled to sign it. It was a kind of addition to the rules of the Court, and signature was purely voluntary. The States who have signed the Optional Clause form a sort of inner ring of Court members, which agree among themselves that if ever a dispute of the kind with which the Court deals arises between any two of them either one of the two shall have the right to demand that the case be heard and decided by the Court.

The Inner Ring

No State, therefore, which has signed the Optional Clause can suddenly object and say it refuses to allow a particular dispute in which it is concerned to go before the Court. It has promised once for all that all such disputes shall go to the Court automatically if the other State wishes it. This arrangement operates only between the different States that have signed the Optional Clause—the so-called inner ring. A dispute, for example, between Greece and Belgium will go automatically before the Court, because both have signed the Optional Clause, but not a dispute between Great Britain and Belgium, unless both sides agree in that particular case, because Great Britain has not signed. So far the Optional Clause has been signed by 27 States. Some of them still have to complete their signature by the process of ratification (which in most countries means formal approval by Parliament), but the Clause is in actual operation between 14 countries.

Legal Questions

One other important question. Does the Optional Clause apply to all disputes of any kind arising between States that have signed it? By no means. The action of the Court is limited to certain special classes of case of a strictly legal (or to use the more technical term, justiciable) character. These cases are defined in the Optional Clause itself, and are of four classes. They are cases involving (1) the interpretation of a treaty (e.g., were the French entitled to occupy the Ruhr in 1923?); (2) some question of international law (e.g., was there any recognised principle of international law to prevent the Turkish authorities from arresting and trying in their own Courts an officer of the French ship "Lotus" which, in 1926, collided with a Turkish vessel and caused loss of life?); (3) some question of fact (e.g., was the Italian General Tellini murdered in 1923 on the Greek side or the Albanian side of the Greco-Albanian frontier?); (4) damages to be paid for some breach of obligation (e.g., what ought Greece to have paid to Italy in 1923 in respect of the murder of General Tellini, or Egypt to have paid to Great Britain in 1924 in respect of the murder of the Sirdar, Sir Lee Stack?).

That means that the scope of the Court is relatively limited. In signing the Optional Clause a State knows broadly where it stands, and is not exposing itself to extensive and unsuspected dangers.

THE 48-HOURS' WEEK A QUESTION OF BRITISH GOOD FAITH

By E. L. POULTON (*Workers' Representative on the Governing Body of the I.L.O.*)

IT is not too much to say that the majority of members of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation were not only startled but shocked at the statement made at last month's meeting by the British Government representative regarding the Washington Hours Convention.

The speech of Mr. H. B. Betterton, Parliamentary Secretary of the Minister of Labour, amounted virtually to a refusal to ratify the Convention—and that after all the investigations and inquiries and conferences of the past eight years. Mr. Betterton based his demand for the revision of the Convention on the fact that one of its clauses states that the Governing Body shall once in ten years present a report on the working of the Convention, and shall consider the desirability of placing on the agenda of the Conference the question of its revision or modification.

This revision proposal was strenuously opposed by the Workers' Group, who contended that it was one more attempt to retard progress, and was completely contrary to the spirit of the clause in question. Moreover, as was pointed out during the course of the debate, the Prime Minister of Great Britain in the House of Commons, on February 2, 1926, referring to the proposed London Conference, said:—

"We shall do our utmost to secure complete agreement and understanding. If that agreement is reached, then the ratification of the Washington Convention by the participating countries will be possible, and we shall proceed to ratify, but we are not going to ratify until we are convinced that we all mean the same thing."

After the conference, a statement was made on behalf of the Government, the whole tenor of which was that the conference had been successful in removing difficulties, and there was a series of conclusions of the conference regarding a number of Articles of the Convention which it was said had presented difficulties. The result of the conference was to remove those difficulties. Obviously the Government was under a moral obligation to ratify from that day.

Britain Attacked

A series of comments unfavourable to Great Britain followed. Mr. Simpson, the Workers' delegate from Canada, pointed out to Mr. Betterton the bad effect of Great Britain's attitude on the Overseas Dominions (India has already ratified), to say nothing of the point of view of Continental States. The effect on the various Government representatives was one of surprise, to say the least, for they had had no notice of any proposal of the kind, and were therefore entirely without instructions regarding it. For instance, Mr. Mahaim, the Belgian Government representative, pointed out that Belgium, one of the countries taking part in the London Conference, had, without waiting, not only ratified the Convention, but put it into force, and had successfully overcome all the difficulties cited by the British Government. Other Government representatives also, in guarded language, pointed out the difficulty they were placed in by Great Britain, but in the end the debate, which occupied two days, resulted in the adoption of two resolutions, as follows:—

"The Governing Body requests the Standing Orders Committee to present to it at its next session a report on the procedure to be followed with regard to proposals for a possible revision of Conventions, regard being had to the provisions alike of the Conventions themselves and

of the constitution and rules of the International Labour Organisation." (Adopted by 15 votes to 6; the Polish Government representative abstained.)

"The Governing Body decides to place on the agenda for its next session, following the consideration of the general procedure for the revision of Conventions, the question of the inclusion in the agenda for the 1929 Conference of the revision, proposed by the British Government, of the Hours Convention." (Adopted by 13 votes to 7; the Norwegian Government representative voted against, while the representatives of the Governments of Belgium, Poland, Germany and Japan abstained.)

It is a significant fact that in the *Times* of February 8, 1928, it was stated that the French Cabinet had, after hearing a report upon the question from their representatives upon the Governing Body decided to oppose any proposal for revision.

The Obstacle to Progress

It is sincerely to be hoped that before April arrives a different policy will have been decided upon by Great Britain, especially in view of the fact that since the London Conference, both France and Belgium have ratified the Hours Convention (the former conditionally on Britain and Germany doing the same), and Belgium is working it successfully. Germany also has the question before the Reichstag, and it would indeed be a profound disappointment if Great Britain with its millions of workers already working under agreements for a 48 hours' week, or less, becomes in consequence of the Government's attitude, the means whereby this beneficial measure on which the workers set increasing store is not only held up but wrecked.

There is manifestly the strongest moral obligation resting on the Government to implement a Convention which was carried with their full consent, the final vote at Washington being 82 for and only 2 against.

The League of Nations' Union has always pressed for British ratification of the Hours Convention. It will certainly view this latest proposal with dismay—the more so because it comes at a moment when the employers in one of the chief industries in this country are demanding an increase in hours of work far beyond the limits of the Washington Convention. The situation to my mind is both dangerous and humiliating; more will be heard of it, both in HEADWAY and in other parts of the Press—as it is urgently necessary that more should be heard.

Another Snag

One word may be added on another matter of considerable importance in connection with I.L.O. conventions. That is a tendency for countries to make their own ratification conditional upon certain other States ratifying. For instance, Hungary reported ratification of the Convention dealing with "white lead in painting," ratification being conditional upon France, Germany and Great Britain also ratifying. This method of ratifying is somewhat disturbing, and, moreover, is likely to lead one into a vicious circle, with each waiting for the other to break out of it. Inasmuch as Great Britain is one of the oldest and most important of the industrial countries, we ought surely to be in the vanguard, and thereby help to accelerate the rate of progress, instead of allowing other countries to say "when Great Britain ratifies we will."

The Director was, however, able to report that the ratifications now registered numbered 250.

PEACE AND SAFETY

THE Arbitration and Security Committee of the League of Nations Preparatory Commission began its sittings on February 20 under the chairmanship of Dr. Benes, Lord Cushendun being the British representative. This means that the meeting was too late to be reported in this issue of HEADWAY. It is, however, necessary to summarise briefly the important reports laid before the Committee on the three questions: arbitration, security and what may be termed the security clauses of the Covenant.

In regard to arbitration and conciliation, the Rapporteur, M. Holsti (Finland), came to the conclusion that the most useful advance at the present time was in the direction of framing a general conciliation treaty (conciliation involves the intervention of a special commission to assist two disputants to reach agreement, the commission not, however, being competent to give a binding verdict). In regard to arbitration proper, he suggested that the Committee should prepare one or more model arbitration treaties which States which desired to do so could adopt. He took note of the resolution of the last Assembly as to acceptance of the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court, but failed to see what further steps could be taken in regard to this.

M. Politis, who reported on Security, laid it down as axiomatic that (a) there can be no disarmament without security, and (b) there can be no security without arbitration. He dismissed the idea of attempting another general agreement like the Treaty of Mutual Assistance or the Geneva Protocol, and advocated rather regional pacts of non-aggression, arbitration and mutual assistance, recommending in that connection the adoption of the principle of demilitarised zones. He further suggested that such pacts should contain some provision for a reduction of armaments resulting from the security thus created.

M. Rutgers (Holland) was charged with the task of investigating whether any amendment of Article X of the Covenant (defence of political independence and territorial integrity), Article XI (action to be taken by the Council in face of a threat of war), and Article XVI (action to be taken against an actual violator of the Covenant) was called for. The conclusion reached was that amendments were not to be recommended; but the Rapporteur discussed at length and from every angle the steps that might be taken to give the fullest application to the Articles as they stand.

These reports seem likely to determine very largely the course of the Committee's discussions, and it is to be noted that before leaving London Lord Cushendun, who went to Geneva to maintain the British Government's opposition to any extension of the scope of arbitration agreements so far as it itself was concerned, expressed the hope that a treaty of conciliation might be concluded.

FILMS ON THE WAR

THE controversy regarding the exhibition of the Nurse Cavell film "Dawn" has raised once more the whole important question of the influence of films, particularly on juvenile audiences, and the desirability or otherwise of exhibiting films portraying war scenes. Many readers of HEADWAY will have seen the striking article in the *Daily News* in which Mr. John Galsworthy puts a series of pointed questions on this subject, seeking to discover what ground, if any, the Government can have in assisting and promoting the manufacture of war films.

The trouble about such a matter as this is that no one is in a position to speak with much authority of the

effect films actually have on those who see them. It is easy enough to talk about the effect they are bound to have or likely to have, but that is substituting speculation for fact. With the idea of obtaining data of a little greater value than that the Education Committee of the League of Nations Union is hoping to circulate, through some of the Teachers' Organisations, a brief Questionnaire designed to elicit from children themselves some statement of the effect on their minds of such films of this character as they may have seen.

Is there ground, for example, for saying that the war film gives a false view of history; that it encourages international hatred; that it stimulates love of fighting and glorifies war; that it shows only one side of the truth because the rest would outrage all public decency? Or should we hold on the other hand that such films have a definite historic value; that they discourage desire for war by demonstrating war's darker side; that they create an admiration for bravery, devotion and resource; that they stimulate patriotism; that they discourage international hatred, by showing the chivalrous side of former enemies?

Obviously questions on such points as these must be framed in simple language and confined to one simple idea, if the answers given by children are to have any value. If that can be done, and the Questionnaire is sufficiently widely circulated to make the answers at all representative, data of very substantial importance will have been acquired.

GERMANY AND THE EIGHT HOURS DAY

THE following passage is taken from a speech delivered by the German Minister of Labour in the Reichstag on February 10, 1928:—

"At the last meeting of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. the British Government moved that the revision of the Washington Hours Convention should be placed on the agenda of next year's International Labour Conference. From this it follows that the British Government has decided not to ratify the Convention in its present form. As, in accordance with the repeated declarations of the recent German Government, the ratification of Germany can only take effect simultaneously with the ratification of Belgium, France and England, this British step may be of some importance to us.

"At the moment it is impossible to tell what is the object which the British Government is pursuing in asking for a revision of the Washington Hours Convention—whether their plans are directed along the same lines as the London negotiations of 1926, or whether they go further. In any case, however, the action taken by the British Government should not hinder us from pursuing the consideration of a law for the protection of the workers, based on the foundation of the eight-hour day, the discussion of which is now reaching its conclusion in the Reichsrat.

"The existing German legislation, dealing with hours of work, is of a temporary character, and satisfies neither employer nor worker. On this ground alone, a new law is an absolute requirement. Moreover, we are as convinced as ever of the value and the necessity of an international agreement about hours of work. We also believe that the development of events is tending, with certainty, towards such a result, and we shall do our part to bring it about."

The League of Nations booklet on the League's Social and Humanitarian Work has been revised and brought up to date and is now obtainable, price 3d.

THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

By ANTHONY SOMERS

I HAVE discovered a remarkable method of learning Foreign Languages, a method for which I have been looking all my life. I only wish I had known of it before; what toil, what drudgery, what disappointments I should have been saved!

It has sometimes been said that British people do not possess the "gift of tongues." Certainly I never possessed that gift. At school I was hopeless. When the subject was French or German, Latin or Greek, I was always somewhere near the bottom of my Form. And yet in other subjects—English or History or Mathematics—I held my own quite well. I have now come to the conclusion—my recent experience has convinced me of this—that the reason I failed to learn languages was that the method of teaching was wrong.

Now, although I never could "get on" with Foreign Languages, I have always wanted to know them—especially French. I have wanted to read the great French authors in the original. I have wanted to read Racine, Balzac, Anatole France, Marcel Proust, and that great critic whom Matthew Arnold so much admired, Sainte Beuve, in French, and not merely through the medium of a characterless translation. Besides, I have wanted to spend holidays abroad without being tied to a phrase-book. So I have often tried to find a method which would really teach me a Foreign Language. And at last I have found it.

How to Learn Languages.

Some time ago I saw an announcement entitled "A New Method of Learning French, Spanish, Italian and German." Of course, I read it, and when I saw that this method was being taught by the well-known Pelman Institute, I wrote for their book, "How to Learn French," and this so interested me that I enrolled for the Course in that language. Frankly, it has amazed me. Here is the method I have wanted all my life. It is quite unlike anything I have seen or heard of before, and its simplicity and effectiveness are almost startling.

Consider, for example, this question with which the book (which, by the way, can be obtained free of charge) opens:

"Do you think you could pick up a book of 400 pages, written in a language of which you do not know a syllable—say, Spanish or Italian, German or French—and not containing a single English word, and read it through correctly without referring to a dictionary?"

Most people will say that such a thing is impossible. Yet this is just what the Pelman method of languages instruction enables one to do, and so remarkable is this method that I am not surprised to hear that it is revolutionising the normal method of teaching languages in this and other countries.

Grammatical Difficulties Overcome.

The Pelman Language Courses are based upon an original yet perfectly sound principle, and one of their most striking features is the fact that they are written entirely in the particular language (French, Spanish, Italian or German) concerned. There is not an English word in any of them. Even if you do not know the meaning of a single Foreign word you can study these Courses with ease, and read the lessons without a mistake, and without "looking-up" any words in a French-English, Italian-English, Spanish-English or German-English dictionary. This statement seems an incredible one, yet it is perfectly true, as you will see for yourself when you take the first lesson.

Another important fact about this new method is that it enables one to read, write and speak French, Spanish,

Italian or German without bothering one's head with complex grammatical rules, or burdening one's memory with the task of learning by heart long vocabularies of Foreign words. And yet, when the student has completed one of the Courses, he or she is able to read Foreign books and newspapers and to write and speak the particular language in question accurately and grammatically, and without that hesitation which comes when a Foreign Language is acquired through the medium of English.

Thousands of letters have been received from men and women who have learnt French, Spanish, Italian or German by the new Pelman method. Here are a few of them:—

"I have managed, during the past few months, to obtain a better knowledge of colloquial and idiomatic French than I acquired in three years at school." (C. 146)

"This is the easiest and quickest way of learning foreign languages. I was not able to study very regularly, but in the space of eight months I have learnt as much Spanish as I learnt French in eight years at school." (S.K. 119)

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

"I am enclosing my last work sheet for correction. I cannot speak too highly of your system. I calculate that I have spent some 100 hours on German studying by your methods; the results obtained in so short a time are amazing. With the aid of a dictionary, on account of the technical vocabulary, I now find I can master German scientific reports published in their own tongue. I cannot tell you what a help this will be in my work. The whole system is excellent." (G.P. 136)

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By learning languages in this way you will be able to read the leading French, German, Italian and Spanish newspapers and reviews, and thus keep in close touch with Continental opinion on subjects connected with the League of Nations.

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Everyone who wishes to learn FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN or GERMAN without difficulty or drudgery should post this coupon to-day to the Pelman Institute (Languages Dept.), 114, Pelman House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1. A copy of the particular book desired will be forwarded by return, gratis and post free.

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BOOKS WORTH READING

BUILDING PEACE

Towards the Peace of Nations. By Hugh Dalton, M.P. (Routledge. 5s.)

Mr. Dalton, who is incidentally one of the Secretaries of the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee, has written an extremely interesting and suggestive book. He surveys the world, particularly Europe, with an experienced and on the whole dispassionate eye, and has clear ideas as to how the better tendencies can be stimulated and the worse tendencies checked. He is perhaps a little excessive in his enthusiasm both for youth and for the Socialist movement. It is a little hard, for example, on some of the pre-war statesmen to say of them, "the willingness of these old men, grossly indecent in their moral attitudes, to launch on trivial pretexts a multitude of young lives upon a sea of death is foul reading." The war came in a more tremendous form than that, and overwhelmed both young and old alike.

Where Mr. Dalton is perhaps most valuable is when he lays stress on such a fact as the reduction in the number of minorities in Europe, and points out that, "from this point of view the present frontiers are very much less imperfect than the old, though national majorities and minorities have to a large extent changed places." His figures—45,000,000 of pre-war minority populations, 19,000,000 of post-war—lay no claim to meticulous accuracy, but are no doubt near enough to the facts to make it clear that the minority problem was very far from being a creation of the war. It is, moreover, as Mr. Dalton again shows usefully, a diminishing, not an increasing, problem. And it is not to be solved in most cases by merely shifting frontiers. On that point Mr. Dalton is extremely sound and sane.

Two-thirds of the book is devoted specifically, and nine-tenths of it indirectly, to the work of the League of Nations, and no chapter is more important than that devoted to the question of how far it is legitimate and desirable to allow the League to impinge on national sovereignty—that sovereignty which can all too easily be magnified into a consecrated but hollow fetish.

Mr. Dalton is unsparing in many of his criticisms of the present Government in Great Britain in its relation to the League; but it would be hard to convict him of definite injustice on any particular point. There is no need whatever to agree with all he writes, but there is everything to be said for reading the book and weighing thoughtfully the judgments reached and the conclusions framed.—H. W. H.

MAKING MILITARISTS

Modern Japan and Its Problems. By G. C. Allen. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. net.)

An excellent book. The following quotation provokes reflection: "In 1924, the United States thought fit to pass an Immigration Bill, which shut out Japanese completely from America and placed them on a level with other Asiatics. This proved a serious blow to Japan's pride and caused intense indignation throughout all classes in the country. A few months later America held naval manoeuvres in the neighbourhood of Hawaii, and these appeared to the Japanese to be another demonstration of American hostility. At the same time Great Britain set about the building of the Singapore Base. All these events had an enormous effect on Japanese opinion. It seemed that Japan, since the abrogation of the Alliance in 1921, was without a friend in the world, and was beset on all sides by the Anglo-Saxon Powers, whose friendship since the War she had done her best to cultivate. The moment was favourable

for a revival of the power of the militarists, and since then they have to a large extent won back the power which they appeared to have lost since 1918."

INDIA AND GENEVA

India and the I.L.O. (League of Nations Union. 6d.)

Mr. George Barnes in his book on the History of the International Labour Organisation makes the point that the countries of the East have benefited more from the International Labour Organisation than other countries. To demonstrate the influence of the I.L.O. in Eastern countries the League of Nations Union published some time ago a pamphlet by Dr. Ayusawa, a Japanese member of the Staff of the International Labour Office, on the influence of that Organisation in his own country. That pamphlet has been followed by another on "India and the I.L.O." which tells of the way in which India has applied the resolutions and recommendations of the International Labour Office and of the general influence which the Organisation has had upon Labour legislation in India.

The pamphlet does not give the name of the writer, but it was obviously prepared by someone with an intimate knowledge of Indian labour conditions. There is a foreword by Lord Burnham, who has been three times President of the International Labour Conference, and is at present in India as a member of the Simon Commission.

A REMINISCENCE

SIR HALL CAINE has recently, in replying to an invitation to preside over a meeting to be addressed by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood at East Finchley, taken the opportunity of expressing his views on Lord Cecil's personality. The relevant passage of the letter runs as follows:—

"It would give me great pleasure indeed to preside over the meeting at which Lord Cecil will speak in October upon the League of Nations if I were at all sure that I could be present. There is no man in the world who has done more for it than he has done. He will remember (as I very gratefully remember) that in the very early days (as far back, I think, as 1916 or 1917) I 'collaborated' with him, as he was good enough to call it, in a document which we drew up for the consideration of the leading minds in Europe on the subject of an international court to be brought into operation immediately after the war had been concluded. I found him the only man in the Government of the time who was really heart and soul with the spirit of that idea; and he has never relaxed from the exercise of his great talents in support of it. I feel that his contribution to world peace, and the success of the League of Nations, has been perhaps greater than that of any other man whatsoever, and therefore when he felt called upon to resign from the Government all my sympathy was with him. I felt, as I think he felt, that the Government was not pulling its weight in this matter, but, on the contrary, was acting in a way that was almost prejudicial."

COMING EVENTS

MARCH 5.—49th Session of the Council.
MARCH 12.—Committee on Traffic in Women.
MARCH 15.—Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.
MARCH 19.—Child Welfare Committee.
MARCH 23.—Economic Committee.
APRIL 10.—Opium Committee.
APRIL 30.—Health Committee.
All at Geneva.

Wanted—Women Writers!

By Margery Tudor

(A Successful Woman Journalist)

How often one hears women say longingly: "If only I could write!" The tone in which the wish is uttered suggests that they have not the slightest hope of fulfilling it, that they think it is really a tremendous presumption.

This desire for self-expression is natural and commendable. To make one's ideas take definite shape and to widen one's outlook are excellent aims to which every one is entitled. Every woman should be able to express herself winningly. One of the most completely satisfying pastimes is to be found in writing. That it is also remunerative adds to its attractiveness.

The happiest women I know are two free-lance journalists. They have found what so many people lack—the power to break the monotony of their everyday routine and to link themselves to a wider mental life. Both of them took up writing merely as a hobby and, when need arose, they were able to make a very comfortable livelihood.

Do you want to write? Why not try to put your ideas to profitable use? Granted that you have a little natural ability, the mastery of a few simple rules will enable you to produce articles and stories for which editors will pay you good prices.

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In addition to these publications there are dozens of daily, evening and weekly papers with women's pages and magazines innumerable that contain women's sections. Each journal make its own special appeal. Catering for this appeal is a matter of training—not a very arduous one when it is guided by established writers.

At the Regent Institute you will find successful authors and journalists ready to give you the full benefit of their knowledge and experience. Women's journalism is one of the special features of the postal tuition, and so thorough and practical is the training that many students sell their work after a few lessons, while keen women pupils have been enabled to cover the fee several times over before completing their courses.

You will have individual attention. Your latent literary gifts will be discovered and directed into profitable channels. You will be encouraged to work along the lines that appeal to you most.

Mr. Harold Herd, the Director of Studies, will tell you if you have any aptitude for journalism. He will not urge you to write if he sees no promise in your work. Why not write to him to find out just where your chances lie?

Post the following coupon in an unsealed envelope (½d. stamp), or write a simple request for the prospectus.

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READERS' VIEWS

"A LEAGUE OF RELIGIONS?"

SIR,—I hope that support will be given to Admiral Smith-Dorrien's letter in your February number regarding a League of Nations commission on religious co-operation. The setting up of such a commission would imply a recognition by the League of the spiritual significance of its work for international friendship and co-operation, to which many attach the greatest importance, and which is the basis of the corporate membership of churches in the League of Nations Union in this country.

I quite agree also with Admiral Smith-Dorrien's suggested appeal to the religious bodies of all countries to perpetuate Armistice Day as a special day of prayer for the League of Nations and the abolition of war. And, in addition, if in every church in all Christian countries there was prayer every Sunday for the work of the League for world peace and co-operation, that work would gain enormously by having a greater spiritual force behind it.

In the words of Professor Jacks, the League suffers at present in that its members pay more attention to the machine than to the spiritual force needed to work it. Moral power must be behind the League or it will come to grief, and surely we can look to the churches to help to supply it.—Yours, etc.,

S. R. DRURY-LOWE,
Vice-Admiral.

February 12, 1928.

SIR,—Admiral Smith-Dorrien, in his letter to you in the February issue of HEADWAY, has reopened the correspondence, which took place in May and July of 1926, regarding religious co-operation with the League of Nations. Permit me to assure the Admiral that a great deal of spade work has been and is being done in the matter. The gulf separating the religious movements of the world is too wide to be bridged until a strong and influential backing of public opinion has been organised, not only in this, but in other countries. We are working to this end, and there are other important movements in the same field. The advisability of promoting a religious conference, to be attended by representatives of all the societies affiliated with the International Federation of League of Nations Societies was under consideration, but this idea was withdrawn, when we found that a Universal Religious Peace Conference was already being organised by the Church Peace Union of the United States, to be held in Geneva in 1930. A sub-committee has now been appointed to co-operate with this movement, of which the Rev. H. W. Fox, to whose suggestion the Admiral refers, is a member. Mr. Fox is also now the Honorary Secretary of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, and a member of both of our Committees.

May I also take this opportunity of assuring "Is It Peace?" who has commented on the Litvinoff plan, that the Christian Churches are co-operating with us very fully to secure the peace of the world. Will he refer to the invitations you publish on page 39, under the heading of "Moral Disarmament," and on page ii. of the Supplement, "Come to the Albert Hall?" I must also add that it has not been found possible to include members of other faiths in the Albert Hall Demonstration, but we are arranging to hold a further meeting later, which will embrace all religious and ethical movements.—Yours, etc.,

J. CLARK GIBSON,
Hon. Secretary, Christian Organisations Religions
and Ethics Committees, League of Nations Union.

THE NEXT WAR'S PERILS

SIR,—I agree with every word in the article by Prof. Noel Baker in the February issue of HEADWAY, and wish it might be read by some of the naval officers who advise the Government. But no naval officer on the active list will read an article headed "Is the British Navy out of date?" They are too loyal to the Navy. They are too biased and prejudiced to read or listen to or think about anything which is in any way adverse to the British Navy. Besides, Professor Noel Baker and Mr. E. F. Spanner are not naval officers on the active list; and every naval officer is firmly convinced that no one who is not a naval officer on the active list knows anything at all about the Navy. The general public is also biased by naval traditions, and in naval questions has great confidence in the advice and judgment of naval officers. In consequence the Navy gets much more support from the general public than the Air Force does, and the money voted for the Navy is out of all proportion to the money voted for the Air Force. As Professor Noel Baker so truly says: "The real menace to our merchant shipping lies in the power of aircraft." Yet the Admiralty goes on repairing, renovating and maintaining at an enormous cost battleships which are out of date, and gets the money out of the British taxpayers by persuading them that these battleships are a security for their food and raw materials. Under these conditions it is not surprising that we do not get much reduction in taxation.—Yours, etc.,

J. D. ALLEN,
Rear-Admiral.

February 5, 1928.

"A carefully compiled book which can be heartily recommended."—Home and Country.

"All concerned with Peace, will find much of interest in it."—Daily News.

"The account of earlier efforts is useful since it shows what mistakes should be avoided."—Times.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

FROM IDEA TO REALITY

By ROBERT JONES, D.Sc., and S. S. SHERMAN, B.A., B.Sc., Head of League of Nations Union Education Department. With a foreword by LORD CECIL

Twelve splendid chapters, appendices of essential facts, and a valuable bibliography—that is the total of the contents of this timely book.

It deals with the story of Government, the Development of Civilisation, the Background and Early Efforts of the League, the Great War, the Birth and Structure of the League, Disputes amongst Nations, International Government, and the Paths to World's Peace.

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SIR ISAAC PITMAN & SONS, LTD.,
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"WHICH PEDAL?"

SIR,—I want to thank you for your article "Which Pedal?" in February HEADWAY. It is wise and witty, and well timed. I wish everyone would read it who can understand it.

And I want to say this: That what Sir Austen Chamberlain appears to lack is the sense that "all-in arbitration," and all-round guarantees, bring with them less responsibility than partial pacts like Locarno.

If all nations will accept and ratify both of these ways to Peace and Security, no State is likely to be called on to take much (if any) military action to maintain them. And the more there are in the compact, the less there will be for any one to do in case of war.

If these truths were realised, there would be no more talk of England being pledged as far as she dare be; and we should quickly give the lead which other nations have hitherto looked for in vain. We have let Germany forestall us; but there is yet time for Britain to take the lead in promoting and maintaining the peace of the world.—Yours, etc.,

F. RAWSON BRIGGS.

A letter from Dr. Sibly, Flook House, Taunton, contains the following comment:—

"In the current number of HEADWAY there is an article entitled 'Which Pedal?' In the concluding paragraphs of this article the writer represents that Great Britain's answer to those who desire the peaceable settlement of disputes is, 'We will not undertake to send legal cases to the Court and we will not undertake to send the others to arbitration.' Very certainly the uninformed reader of this article will infer that Great Britain definitely repudiates the judicial settlement of disputes and is determined to maintain its rights to go to war in order to enforce its claims. If the statement I have quoted is intended to give this impression it is a very gross misstatement and must be known to be such by the writer.

"Article XII of the Covenant, which has, of course, been accepted by Great Britain, as by every other country which has joined the League, runs as follows: 'The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council.' In the subsequent articles a definite promise is given that the award will be considered finally to settle the dispute unless the arbitrators are not unanimous.

"Great Britain, therefore, is pledged to submit every dispute to arbitration and to abide by the award in all cases in which this is unanimous."

[There is no misstatement. It is unfortunately quite inaccurate to maintain that "Great Britain is pledged to submit every dispute to arbitration and to abide by the award in all cases in which this is unanimous." To begin with, there is a choice between arbitration and reference to the Council. Even in cases in which the Council gives an unanimous award all the two disputants are pledged to is not to go to war about it. Suppose one of them is holding territory which the other claims and the Council decides that it ought to give the territory up, it is under no pledge to do so. And if it happens to be a Great Power, and the claimant a small one, the wronged party has no redress open to it. If the Council is not unanimous—and with a Council of fourteen members that possibility must be seriously considered—there is no obligation at all except to wait three months before going to war. That is why it is extremely important that all States Members of the League should accept some form of arbitration in all cases, for under Article XIII of the Covenant it lies with the Council to see that an arbitral award is carried out.—ED. HEADWAY.]

BRITAIN'S ACHIEVEMENT

SIR,—The achievements of the League of Nations in the cause of international peace are, I think, fairly well known.

Those of Britain have been curiously hidden. In your article, "After Six Years—What Great Britain Has Done and Might Do" (in the February number of HEADWAY), mention is made of what Britain has suggested, promised or advised as one of the members of the League; so far, good. But why does nobody mention what this country has done in the cause of disarmament and of showing a lead in trusting other countries.

If I am wrong in my statement, doubtless someone will kindly correct me; but I believe Britain is the only country (except Germany and Austria, who did it under compulsion) to abolish compulsory military service. Even the United States has, I think, not gone so far as that.

Then, immediately after the war, we abolished 40 batteries of artillery, reduced our small regular army by 24 battalions of infantry and six regiments of cavalry, this bringing our army "personnel" far below that of 1913, even when allowance is made for the addition of Air Force and Tanks.

Has any other nation done anything like this? It is to my thinking a great achievement, which is not sufficiently stressed; many people do not know of these things at all, and I have seen only one mention of it in a speech by a leading politician.

Of course, there is the fact that we are spending more upon the Army than in 1913; but when the rise in the cost of living and the price of all "material" is considered, and when we add the fact that the pay of the soldier has been more than doubled, the proportional difference in the vote is easily accounted for.

Let us give credit to all the nations who are helping on the work of peace by all means, but let us also overcome our national modesty sufficiently to state the contribution which we have not offered, but given, to the cause of disarmament.

In naval matters, too, we have reduced our power, considering that our trade routes only stand between these islands and starvation, to a degree which shows far more than any words how much in earnest our country is.

If any other nation has been sufficiently keen on disarming to abolish compulsory service, no doubt some correspondent who knows the facts will inform us.—Yours, etc.,

VICTOR M. CORDEN.

[There is no desire whatever to minimise what Great Britain has already done in the direction of disarmament. But when the purpose is to persuade the Government to do more it is not unnatural or unreasonable to lay stress on what remains to be done.—ED. HEADWAY.]

REDUCING BY COST

SIR,—At the meeting of our Crusade in support of Lord Cecil's Disarmament Campaign, which he addressed, Mr. Ramsay Muir suggested that we should work for the reduction of the expenditure upon armaments to 2½ per cent. of the national income.

As it was this proportion during the latter part of the nineteenth century under governments that were none too pacific, it would be a sign that we were serious about the matter of disarmament if we once more reduced our expenditure upon preparations for war, either offensive or defensive, to 2½ per cent. of our income, which was all that Palmerston considered necessary.—Yours, etc.,

CECIL BARKER.

Your Private Income DOUBLED

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

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

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

Why not write, stating exact date of birth and approximate amount at your disposal, and see what this great company can do for you?

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

League of Nations Assembly Tour

A party will leave London for Geneva, August 31st to Sept. 7th. VISITS to Assembly and International Labour Office, Lectures, etc. Inclusive Fee, London—London, £11 11s.

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

Visit to The Hague and The Peace Palace.

A week's holiday in Holland during the Session of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Addresses by Officials of the Hague Court and the Permanent Court. A group will leave London, Monday, June 18th and return Monday, June 25th. Fee £9. Numbers limited. Early booking essential.

Applications to The Secretary, Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, &c.

BRITANY.—"Blord House," St. Jacut de la Mer. Small, comfortable hotel in peaceful, bracing, seaside spot. Good cooking. Inclusive, £2 weekly.

EASTBOURNE.—Morningside Private Hotel, 31, Jevington Gardens. Near sea and Devonshire Park. Reasonable terms.—Mrs. DODSON.

INTERNATIONAL GUEST HOUSE.—A bracing, sunny position on Surrey Hills, within 14 minutes of City and West End, 9d. return fare, 6s. acres, tennis, garage, 10/- per day, 55/- per week. Write (H) Secretary, 19, Sydenham Hill, S.E.26.

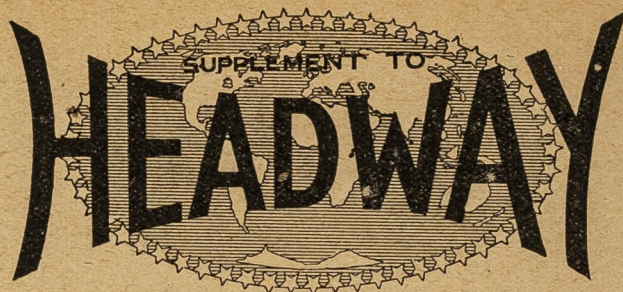
MEETING.

INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT.—MASS MEETING at Golder's Green Hippodrome, Sunday, March 25th, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Margaret Bondfield, M.P., R. S. Hanson, M.P., Dr. Leslie Burgin, Arnold Forster, Chairman. Rt. Rev. Bishop Gore. Community Singing at 2.30, conducted by Geoffrey Shaw. Admission free. Friends sending any donations to the Disarmament Campaign fund direct to E. C. Elsmore, Hon. Branch Sec., 44, Headway, N.W.11, can have seats specially reserved.



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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



MARCH, 1928

THE UNION IN THE LORDS

FOR the last eight years the average increase of the Union has been at the rate of 240 members a day—the membership to-day exceeds two-thirds of a million; the Union has been growing in importance and its influence is already considerable.

* * *

The references to the League of Nations Union during the recent debate in the House of Lords, which is dealt with elsewhere in this issue, are a welcome sign of the Union's growing influence. But Lord Cushendun was evidently unfamiliar with the three objects of the Union set forth in the Royal Charter when he said:—

“I have always understood that the object of the League of Nations Union was to inform public opinion with regard to the League of Nations, to popularise it, and to convince people of its necessity and of the good which it can do in the world. If that is so, it has no right to dictate a policy either to the League of Nations or to the Government.”

The Union's first two objects deal with the education of public opinion, but the third is “to advocate the full development of the League of Nations.” Only a small part of the Union's work is, in fact, directed to this third object. It is, however, a natural corollary to the other two. You cannot educate “in vacuo.” The Union's message will be ineffective unless it is seen to be linked with practical politics. Moreover, when people have learned to think rightly of the modern world, and in particular of international co-operation through the League of Nations, it does not follow as a matter of course that they and their Governments will act rightly in regard to it. *Right action does not tend to follow right thinking as naturally in a community as in an individual.* Thus the Union, in pursuance of its third object, has to organise as well as to educate public opinion.

* * *

But the Union does not “dictate policies to the Government.” That is the veriest moonshine. At Headquarters we have experts in League matters who have studied League problems closely for many years. In the country we have over two thousand Branches, whose members from time to time want to know the opinions

of these experts. Consequently we issue, when occasion arises, memoranda and notes on policy, always couched in studiously unprovocative language, and always drawn up by a committee on which all parties are represented. These memoranda sometimes support the views of the Government of the day; sometimes they controvert them; most often they deal with subjects which have not come at all into the realm of controversial politics.

* * *

Does any one seriously doubt that the Union's chief concern is to inform public opinion about the League of Nations; to foster what Lord Balfour has called “the collective sentiment” of loyalty to the League; and to develop faith in the League's organised collective action? Let him glance at the Union's Interim Report for 1927. There he will find a record of the Union's efforts to provide the nation with the facts that will help it to think right. The range of activities covered will possibly surprise him. The Union's Press Service, its broadcasting arrangements, its variety of publications on all aspects of the League's work, its co-operation with many types of national organisations (religious, educational, industrial and women's), its supply of speakers, its ten meetings a day throughout the year, its library on international affairs, its intelligence service to Members of Parliament, writers and speakers—these and other activities are summarised in the Report. They illustrate the work of the Union as a growing educational force in the life of the nation. The Union is particularly concerned in the work of the schools. There it is helping teachers and education authorities to give effect to the unanimous wish of the League Assembly:—

“That all children and young people should, before completing their formal education, learn something of the aims and work of the League of Nations and the terms of its Covenant, and the recent growth of international co-operation.”

In this way the Union may well and truly lay the foundation of an organised public opinion which will provide a sure support for the League of Nations in the years to come.

UNIVERSITY ENTERPRISE

(British Universities League of Nations Society)

FROM all over the country we have received reports showing a striking increase in the size and activity of our branches, some of which have already more than doubled their membership.

Lord Cecil has, during the winter, spoken with most encouraging results at seven universities—at Durham, where the Town Hall was packed with undergraduates; at Liverpool and Manchester Universities, which filled their Union buildings on a Saturday morning; at Cardiff and Sheffield, where lectures were suspended for an hour to enable all students to hear him; to the Dialectic Society at Glasgow; and to a private meeting of representatives from various college societies, which was presided over by the Vice-Chancellor at London. Besides the impulse which he has given to our work in this country, an interesting side issue has been an effort to start a branch of the International Universities League of Nations Federation in Barcelona—the lecturer in Spanish at Liverpool University was so impressed with Lord Cecil's meeting and with the enthusiasm and organisation of our branch, that he has taken the initiative in this step.

One of the most enterprising branches is that at Birmingham University, which persuaded Sir Austen Chamberlain to address it last term, and crowned him with a laurel wreath.

Some speakers from overseas have recently addressed University Branches, notably Mr. Bolton Waller, from the Irish Free State; Professor Darnley Naylor, from Australia; and Mr. A. E. Zimmern, from the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris.

The object of such meetings is the broad survey of international affairs. Even more important, however, is the steady work of study and investigation groups on particular problems. Stimulating schemes of work have been prepared by Headquarters on "The Problem of Pacifism," "International Disarmament" and "The Work of the League's Economic Conference." Each branch is free to use its own initiative in the choice of subjects, and the branch at the College of Technology, Manchester, is preparing a report of considerable interest on the possibility of inspecting and controlling internationally potential manufacture of war material.

Other branches, in preparation for a British-American Conference which it is hoped to hold this summer, are studying such questions as the freedom of the seas, the outlawry of war, the codification of international law and international naval disarmament.

The presence of 2,500 foreign students in London enables this work to be carried out much more effectively. To inaugurate the third year's work of the London International Assembly, the Welcome Committee of the Union arranged on February 8 a great reception at University College, to which all these students were invited, and at which 57 nations were represented. The Assembly will have at work throughout the year at least six commissions, and will debate upon their reports on "The present status of Egypt, India and Iraq," "Recommendations for Security against War," "Economic Causes of War," and "The Ethical Basis of International Peace."

In the international field one of the most interesting students' meetings this winter has been that of the Council of the International Universities League of Nations Federation at Belgrade. The absence of representatives from some of the Balkan Groups showed the bitterness of feeling which has still to be overcome and the vast field of work before the Federation; but the participation for the first time of Italian students was a fact of great significance. It is encouraging to

learn that new national groups have been formed also in Holland and Paraguay.

It may interest organisers of the Union's work to know that we are preparing a panel of speakers, from vice-chancellors to undergraduates, in each university, qualified to speak on international affairs, and that a large number of these have already expressed their willingness to take part in the Union's Campaign for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments by International Agreement.

"FOUNDATION BUILDERS"

LORD GREY recently said: "I want to emphasise that the importance and necessity for the League of Nations Union increases and does not decrease as a League of Nations policy makes progress in Europe." This means that the need for a well organised and active League of Nations Union will be even more necessary in five years hence than it is to-day. Activities, however, cost money. The Union (both Branches and Headquarters) is very active at the moment but is living from hand to mouth financially. It cannot afford to put aside money to form a "sinking fund," and hence expansion and even continuance of the Union's present programme is a matter of the greatest uncertainty.

As Lord Cecil has pointed out in his article in the last issue of the Supplement, there is only one way to ensure financial stability both to Branches and Headquarters, and that is to base the Union on a minimum of 100,000 Foundation Members.

There are without doubt 100,000 and more people in the British Isles who would willingly subscribe £1 a year to enable the activities of the Union to proceed unhampered in the future. The difficulty is to get at these people by a personal appeal.

A voluntary organisation has been formed under the title of "Foundation Builders" to bring about the desideratum asked for by Lord Cecil and hoped for by all supporters of the Union. There are many who could help in their spare time, and no greater service could be rendered to the Union at the present moment. Volunteers are urgently needed and anyone willing to help either by becoming a foundation Member or by persuading others to do so, is asked to communicate with The Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, who will furnish full particulars and special literature to be used for the purpose. Please mark your letters "Foundation Builders."

NOTES AND NEWS

Distinguished Service

Mr. Everitt Reid, one of the Union's speakers, impressed with the need for Foundation Members, obtained, on his own initiative, a personal letter from Lord Cecil. With the aid of this letter and his own perseverance, he has been able to enrol sixteen Foundation Members in a fortnight. This achievement speaks for itself, and it is to be hoped that many other earnest supporters of the Union will take steps to help in this all important work.

Steady Progress

The East and West Clandon Branch has succeeded in approximately doubling its membership during the past year. Several meetings have been held, and a reading and study circle is meeting fortnightly.

Dancing at St. Albans

The St. Albans Branch recently organised a successful dance which was held in the Town Hall on January 27. The guests (numbering about 160) were received by Admiral and Mrs. J. D. Allen.

The Pipe Line

An interesting article under the title "Peace on Earth" appeared in a recent issue of "The Pipe Line," which is the House Magazine of the Shell Group of Oil Companies. The last part of this article deals with a notable happening at No. 16, Finsbury Circus, one of the offices of Shell-Mex, Ltd., and runs as follows:—

"With the consent of the authorities and of the head of each department, members of the staff were invited to become members of the City of London Branch of the League of Nations Union. No pressure was brought to bear on any one, no propaganda work of any kind was attempted. Nothing more was done than the giving of a definite opportunity to express their sympathies. It was not a case of collecting money, for the subscription asked was only a shilling. Had there been anything in the shape of propaganda it is probable that many more would have joined. As it was, the result was a spontaneous expression of the opinion of the 'man in the street.' A hundred and seventy-two became members of the City of London Branch. The method adopted was to pass round a foolscap sheet for signature, at the head of which was a short explanatory statement. These sheets were returned, with the subscription, to the acting secretary, a formal acknowledgment of the subscription being sent later to every member by Major Lawrence Wright, the Secretary of the City of London Branch."

It is to be hoped that many other offices throughout the country can be persuaded to follow this splendid lead.

Schools in Toronto

It is interesting to note that the Toronto "Star" of December 7 last reports a recommendation made by Chief Inspector Moshier to the effect that the Preamble to the Covenant, published by the League of Nations Union, should be added to the Daily Register for use in the Public Schools.

Elgin, plus Six Hundred

Great stress has recently been laid in these pages on the importance of house-to-house canvassing as a method of increasing branch membership. It is interesting and gratifying to hear that the house-to-house canvass organised by the Elgin Branch resulted in a net increase to the membership roll of over 600.

Conference on Migration and Accident Prevention

As in past years, in order to focus public attention on matters which ultimately come up for consideration to the International Labour Conference, the Union is holding a Conference at the London School of Economics during April 17, 18 and 19 next, to consider the two subjects of Migration and Accident Prevention. The latter subject is one with which the International Labour Conference will deal this year. The first two days will be devoted to Migration, and the different sessions will deal with its Economic and Social Aspects, Protection of Migrants before and during the journey, the rôle of Voluntary Organisations, Assisted Migration, and Migration from the International Standpoint. Already Mr. Sidney Webb, Professor Carr-Saunders, Mr. C. W. G. Eady of the Ministry of Labour, Miss Gladys Pott (Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women), Commissioner D. C. Lamb (Salvation Army), Lord Lovat (Parliamentary Under-Secretary Dominion Office), Mr. Terence Macnaghton (Colonial Office), Mr. Bruce Walker (Director of Migration and Colonization of the Canadian High Commissioner's Office), Lieut.-Colonel C. H. E. Manning (Australian Migration and Settlement Office) and Miss Margaret Bondfield have promised to speak.

The two sessions on the last day will be concerned with Industrial Accident Prevention and Workmen's Compensation respectively, and Sir Henry Slesser and Dr. Charles Myers (Director, National Institute of Industrial Psychology) have promised to speak. There will also be speakers from the Home Office and the "Safety First" Organisation. Members of the Union are urged to apply for tickets (which are free) for this Conference at the earliest possible moment.

Come to Geneva in June

An opportunity is again afforded by the Union to those interested in International Labour problems to visit Geneva this year during the meetings of the International Labour Conference. Last year the party consisted of over 70 representative employers, trade unionists, members of the Union, and social workers. Evidence as to the success of the party has come from many quarters. It is a unique opportunity to combine a holiday with facilities for studying League problems first hand. Exceptional arrangements are offered to the Union's party for attending sessions of the Conference and its Commissions, and lectures by experts of the International Labour Office are arranged. The programme also includes visits to the offices of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office. The main subjects with which the 1928 session of the International Labour Conference will deal are Methods of Fixing Minimum Wages and Prevention of Industrial Accidents.

The party, however, does not consist entirely of work, for opportunities are taken for the arranging of excursions to the many delightful places in and around Geneva, which include Chamonix (for Mont Blanc), a lake excursion to Montreux, or a visit to Annecy or Mont Salève. The party will leave London on the morning of June 9, and the cost for one week's stay, returning from Geneva on the evening of Saturday, June 16, is ten guineas, or for ten days (leaving on the following Tuesday evening) twelve guineas. Further particulars can be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent; but those who intend to join the party are requested to apply as soon as possible, since accommodation is limited.

The Army and the League

A meeting of the officers and non-commissioned officers of the 2nd Battalion of the Hampshire Regiment was recently held at Crownhill Barracks, Devon, at which Major J. C. Field-Richards delivered an excellent speech. The interest shown in the League and the Union was very encouraging, and the Commanding Officer of this battalion has decided that in future the men's reading room should be supplied with literature relating to the activities of the League and the work of the Union.

The 1928 Festival of Youth

The London Regional Federation has fixed Saturday, June 2, for the Second Festival of Youth. It will be remembered that last year's event was a signal success, drawing no less than 30,000 people to the Crystal Palace. The International items were of particular significance, and created wide interest. The main features of last year's event are to be retained, including the Athletic Meetings, Juvenile Choir of 5,000, International Displays, closing with the Massed Gathering in the Centre Transept at 6 p.m. (instead of 7.45 p.m. as on the last occasion). It is computed that 20,000 people were present at this evening meeting last year, and with an improved programme, both as regards the International Contingents and Community Singing on a large scale, it is expected that this attendance will be exceeded. Lord Cecil will be the principal speaker at this meeting.

Application forms for the various Competitions (which this year include Athletics, League of Nations Fancy Costume Designing, and a Poster Competition, in addition to the Elocution and Essay Competitions), together with all inquiries, should be addressed to the General Secretary (Mr. H. F. Orpen), League of Nations Union Festival Headquarters, Crystal Palace, S.E.19.

It is hoped that all Branches will reserve this date, particularly in view of the Union's policy to foster the interest of Youth in the League of Nations.

Continued on page iv.

OVERSEAS NOTES

The International Federation

The spring meetings of the Executive Committee and of the four Permanent Committees of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will be held in Brussels from March 14 to 17. Reports will be received from the various societies on the educational work they have accomplished during the winter, and among the most important subjects which are likely to come up for discussion are International Disarmament, the Ratification of Conventions, Traffic in Women and Children, and matters relating to the Protection of Minorities.

The first number of the Minorities Bulletin, which is issued so far only in French, has just been published. The Bulletin, which the Federation hopes to publish six times a year, will contain articles on minority questions and reports on the position of minorities in various states, as well as summaries of the petitions sent to the League of Nations for the redress of grievances and of the replies made. The editorial work is being undertaken by Sir Willoughby Dickinson (Chairman of the Federation's Minorities Committee), Professor Ernest Bovet (Secretary-General of the Swiss League of Nations Society) and Professor Th. Ruysen (Secretary-General of the Federation). The annual subscription is 1s. 8d. As the Bulletin can only survive independently if at least 400 subscriptions are received regularly, it is hoped that readers who are interested in minority questions will subscribe. Subscriptions can be sent either to the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, or to Professor Th. Ruysen, 1, Avenue de la Toison d'Or, Brussels.

Canada

The Toronto Home and School Council, with the approval of the Board of Education, are offering four medals, two silver and two bronze, to the children in the junior and senior fourth classes of the Toronto Public Schools for an essay on the League of Nations. The essays, which are to be written in school between March 5 and March 16, are then to be sent to the Chief Inspector's Office in Toronto, where they will be examined by judges chosen by the Home and School Council.

U.S.A.

The annual meeting of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association was held at the Hotel Astor, New York, on January 3. The morning session of the annual meeting was presided over by Mrs. J. J. Laidlaw, and at the afternoon session, at which Mr. Charles H. Strong presided, Professor J. T. Shotwell discussed the significance of the Burton and Capper resolutions, and the meeting voted that the Association should support these resolutions. Mr. Theodore F. Marburg also spoke on the activities of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. The annual dinner was held in the evening. Addresses were given by Mr. Yusuke Tsurumi on "The Japanese Attitude toward the Disarmament Programme of the League of Nations," and by Don Salvador de Madariaga on "Disarmament: Obstacles, Results, Prospects."

Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger, the Secretary of the Illinois Branch of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, in an article in *League of Nations News*, the official organ of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, on "Changing League Sentiment in Mid-West," says that during the past twelve months sentiment concerning the League of Nations in the mid-west has swung from indifference or opposition to a healthy interest. Business men as well as the farmers are becoming increasingly interested in the economic work of the League.

NOTES AND NEWS—continued from page 44.

Busy Scotland

On February 2, 5,000 people crowded to St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, to hear Lord Cecil, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mr. Duff Cooper, and Major Dudgeon. The Earl of Home presided in the Grand Hall, and Miss Eunice G. Murray in the Berkeley Hall, where Professor Delisle Burns and Professor Bowman also spoke. For the overflow meeting the Berkeley Hall was taxed to its limits.

Tremendous enthusiasm for the cause of International Disarmament has been aroused by Lord Cecil's visit—at the meeting six hundred new members joined the Union, and there was a large response to the appeal for signatures to the "Forms of Undertaking."

Four new branches have been established in the West of Scotland since January 1—in Dumfries, Troon, Dumbarton and Dunoon.

Lord Cecil in Wales

On Wednesday, January 25, Lord Cecil visited Merthyr Tydfil. A Civic Reception was held at the Town Hall in the afternoon, and in the evening Lord Cecil addressed a crowded public meeting at the Miners' Hall on "International Disarmament." He was given a very warm welcome, and his visit has been of the greatest help to the work of the Welsh League of Nations Union.

We are glad to hear that the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, President of the Welsh National Council, has now recovered from his serious illness.

The Council's Vote

The following is a list of Branches which have recently completed their quotas to the Council's Vote for 1927:—

Brill, Bishop's Stortford, Barnstaple, Bucklebury, Beverley, Bungay, Barnoldswick, Barldon, Bridgewater, Bexhill, Batley, Beccles, Westgate Toller Lane U.M.C.Bch., Bradford, Chislehurst, Chandlers Ford, Chinnor, Crossley Hall, Chippenham, Danbury, Dewsbury, Exeter, Framlingham, Fleet, Fishponds, Faversham, Praddon, Queens & District, Gelsland, Greystoke, Grimsby, High Wycombe, Hook Norton, Horsham, Hove, Henleaze, King's Sutton, Kidderminster, Knaresborough, Leiston, Trinity C.C., Leeds, Newport, Salop, Northam, Oxford Federation, Ongar, Purley, Paignton, Painswick, Penn, Paulton, Radlett, Roche, Reigate, Romsey, Ramsgate, Runcorn, Skipton, Staple Hill, Sheffield, S. Westmorland District, Saffron Walden, Teignmouth, Thundersley, Weylingde, Woodstock, Watchet, Wantage, Witney, Windsor, Winchester, Whitstable, Weymouth.

L.N.U. MEMBERS

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

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,224
Feb. 18, 1928	...	...	...	...	672,792

On February 18, 1928, there were 2,601 Branches, 539 Junior Branches, 130 Districts, 2,471 Corporate Members and 395 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

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

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

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