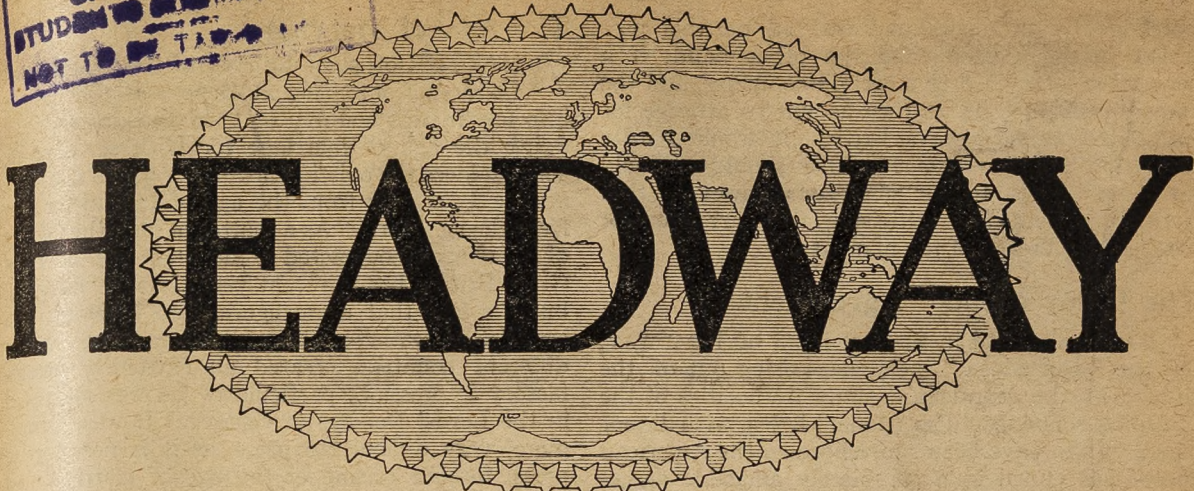


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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

BY the time this issue of HEADWAY is in the hands of its readers votes will have been cast, results will have been declared, and a new Government of some complexion or other may or may not be in sight. Up to within a week of the poll, at any rate, the election was, by general consent, one of the dullest on record and one of the most uncertain in its probable outcome. So far each party has tried to concentrate attention on particular issues, and with varying success. One issue, however, has been kept steadily before candidates, even if candidates were not disposed to keep it steadily before themselves. That is the position of this country as a member of the League of Nations. Some account is given in another column of the steps taken by supporters of the League in the different constituencies to elicit the views of their respective candidates regarding the League, and to impress on those candidates the importance large numbers of their prospective constituents attach to the question. It may be claimed with justice that this important piece of work has been carried out more thoroughly in 1929 than at any previous Election. As a consequence in a field in which much is unpredictable this, at least, may be not merely predicted but asserted with confidence, that the new House, whatever its predominant political colour, will contain a vast majority of members pledged to give earnest and consistent support to the League.

But that, of course, is not enough. It does not argue undue cynicism to observe that Election pledges are like the platform of an omnibus, something to get in on, not to travel on. It remains for voters, once their member is elected, to see that he travels on his pledges, not merely gets in on them.

The Dead Sea Salts

AN interesting question is raised by the announcement in the House of Commons, just before its Dissolution, of the terms of the concession granted by the Palestine and Transjordan Governments to a company which is to exploit the riches of the Dead Sea, consisting of highly valuable chemical deposits. Mr. Amery stated that it was the intention of the chief concessionaires, Major Tulloch and Mr. Novomeysky, that the chairman of the company should always be a British subject, and that British subjects, or British subjects and Palestinian citizens together, should form the majority of the board of directors of the company. Does this conflict with the provision in the Palestine Mandate that there should be "no discrimination" in this mandated area "against the mandatories of any State Member of the League as compared with those of the mandatory or any other foreign state in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation?" It certainly would conflict with it if it could be shown that the British or

Palestine Governments had insisted on this provision being inserted. On the other hand, if a concession is granted to a certain company, and the company chooses on its own account to arrange for its control to be always British, it would hardly seem that the Government either should or could interfere. It is to be observed, however, that German papers are criticising the arrangement reached as a breach of the mandate.

The "I'm Alone" Agreement

AS was predicted in the last issue of HEADWAY, the "I'm Alone" incident—arising out of the sinking by the American customs authorities of the Canadian schooner "I'm Alone," laden with liquor which was to have been run ashore on the American coast—has ended in a completely amicable agreement between the United States and the Canadian Governments to submit the matter to the decision of a commission of two, appointed under the provisions of the Treaty signed between Canada and the United States in the year 1924 regarding action by the latter country under its prohibition laws. The Commissioner nominated by the United States Government is the late Secretary of State, Mr. F. B. Kellogg—obviously an admirable choice. The Canadian Commissioner had not, at the time of writing, been appointed. The effect on public opinion in both countries of the certainty that the matter would be peacefully settled is remarkable, and is striking evidence of the fact that the value of arbitration lies, not merely in the actual settlement it achieves, but in the atmosphere of calm created by the fact that war is known to be out of question.

Laws for the World

A GREAT deal is heard, and quite rightly, about the necessity of compiling one agreed code of international law for the whole world. That result, unfortunately, can only be achieved by a long series of short steps. One such step was taken last month, when the League Committee appointed for the purpose put the final touches on its preparations for the conference to be held at The Hague in 1930, to codify the more or less recognised law of to-day on three particular questions (nationality, territorial waters, responsibility of States for crimes against foreigners on their territory). The thoroughness with which the work is being done explains the time it takes. First, it was decided to undertake the task of codification; secondly, a committee was appointed to decide what questions seemed most ripe for national agreement; thirdly, another committee was appointed to ascertain what the views of different governments on a selected three of these questions was, and try and frame a common text on the basis of the governments' replies. It is this stage which has now been reached. Thirty governments have replied to a questionnaire addressed to them on the three subjects specified. Their replies have been duly digested, and the material thus prepared will be laid before next year's conference, the exact date of which is to be fixed by the League Council. Between now and then the governments of the world will have leisure to consider the final result of the Committee's labours and prepare instructions for their delegates.

The Age of Marriage

A MATTER of some interest to the Women and Children Committee at Geneva is the passage into law in this country of Lord Buckmaster's Bill fixing the age of marriage for both sexes at 16. This replaces the existing law under which marriages are legal for girls from the age of 12 and for boys from the age of 14. As a matter of fact, the number of marriages contracted under the age of 16 in Great Britain has in recent years been infinitesimal, but the fact that these figures had to be given in any list of statistics showing the marriage ages in different countries created an extremely unsatisfactory impression, particularly (as was mentioned in the Lords' Debate) at Geneva. It was, furthermore, very difficult to press, as it is necessary to press, for the raising of the age of marriage in a country like India so long as the marriage age of girls in this country was 12. Lord Buckmaster is to be congratulated on his success. His Bill was referred to a House of Lords Committee, which approved it in essentials and amended it (for the better) in certain particulars, after which it passed through its remaining stage, first, in the Lords, and then in the Commons, with almost incredible speed. The effect is the removal of a stain which was, it is true, more a stain in appearance than in reality, but a stain none the less. There can be no doubt that public opinion at Geneva had a good deal to do with the change.

Britain and Chemical War

HEADWAY having several times commented on the fact that Great Britain was the only Great Power in Europe to refrain from signing the Geneva Protocol on Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare, it is satisfactory now to record the fact that Lord Cushendun, during the recent sitting of the Preparatory Commission, announced Great Britain's signature, subject to certain reservations, and with the proviso that if an enemy employed this mode of warfare against British troops the latter would be free to retaliate in kind. The United States is now the only non-signatory among the Great Powers, which is a little surprising in view of the part the American Government took in drafting the Protocol in the first instance.

Mr. Baldwin's Slip

MR. BALDWIN, in replying in the middle of May to a manifesto on peace presented to him over a number of distinguished signatures, made a curious slip. He said, "As regards the proposal that agreement should be made with other States to settle all disputes by peaceful means, I am to point out that in the Kellogg Pact we have undertaken this obligation versus the world already." This, of course, is not the case. Under the Kellogg Pact we have not undertaken to settle disputes at all; we have only undertaken that if we do settle them it shall be by peaceful means. We are quite free, if it suits our purpose, merely to let them drift. So is any strong State in conflict with a weak State. That is a decisive argument for contracting binding agreements to settle all disputes either through the Permanent Court or arbitration or some other peaceful means.

Real Disarmament

SOME particulars are given in another column of this issue of the Danish proposals for complete disarmament. This is not the first time that Denmark has moved in that direction, but on this occasion there seems every prospect that the project will be carried through both Chambers and pass into law. In that case Denmark will present to the world the first example of a totally and voluntarily disarmed state. There is a good deal more sound sense in the Danish policy than might appear at first sight. It is obvious that so small a country could not, in any case, defend itself against attack from a powerful neighbour, and must, therefore, rely on the League Covenant for security. It will still be fully entitled to do that as far as external attack is concerned. As regards the protection of its own frontiers from minor disturbances and the policing of its territorial waters adequate provision is to be made under the new scheme, though the small establishment to be maintained for that purpose is not to be of a military character. Danish co-operation in any measures the League might initiate under Art. XVI of the Covenant can clearly be counted on as it always could.

Judges and Justice

THE Permanent Court of International Justice opened a special session on May 15, when Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, former Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and later Secretary of State, took his seat on the Bench for the first time. The most notable feature of the occasion, however, was the tribute paid by the President of the Court, Dr. Anzilotti, to Lord Finlay, the British member of the Bench, who had died since the Court last sat. Dr. Anzilotti made one particularly striking observation. "Lord Finlay," he said, "did not hesitate to vote against the views put forward by his Government's representatives when he was convinced that right lay on the other side. I remember that on one of the occasions to which I refer I with other judges voted in favour of the British Government's contentions, whereas Lord Finlay voted against." Precisely the same could be said of the former French member of the Court, Dr. Weiss, who died some months before Lord Finlay, for he also voted without hesitation on occasion against France in a case in which she was concerned before the Court. These facts are worth recalling in view of the opinion regretfully expressed by a leading British jurist some ten years ago that an international court was not a practical proposition because judges would never vote against their own country.

Canada and the Optional Clause

CANADA'S position in regard to the signature of the Optional Clause has now been clearly defined by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, who stated in the Canadian House of Commons on May 7, that Canada was anxious to sign the Optional Clause, but did not intend to do so without a previous conference with other members of the Empire. He added that such an opportunity would be provided at the next Imperial Conference (in 1930), but that it was quite possible that the matter might

be settled by correspondence before then. The position pretty clearly is that if Great Britain is at last willing to sign the Clause, with or without certain reservations, the rest of the Dominions will follow suit, for it is hardly likely that Australia, the only member of the Commonwealth which has any misgivings on the subject, will stand out alone.

Two Thousand Treaties

THE League of Nations passed a notable milestone in one department when, at the end of April, the number of international treaties registered with the League reached the substantial number of 2,000. This means, in fact, that Article 18 of the Covenant, providing for the registration and publication of treaties, with the addition that treaties shall not be considered binding unless registered, is being faithfully observed by League members. It means, moreover, rather more than that. For by another article of the Covenant States members of the League undertake to contract no treaty inconsistent with the Covenant, and though the League's Secretariat has no power to refuse to register a treaty even though it considers that the treaty does not conform with the Covenant in all respects, the publicity thus given to treaties makes it certain that the Press, at any rate, would fasten on an agreement against which this kind of criticism could be made. It may be added that it is a matter of great convenience to all students of international affairs to have a complete set of international treaties from 1920 onwards available in the convenient and accessible form which they have assumed in the League's Treaty Series.

Armament Costs

AS was observed in the last issue of HEADWAY figures regarding armaments costs in the Budget are so complicated and elusive that some special mystery seems to attach to them. This is due in part to the fact that the figures, as introduced into Parliament, represent merely estimates for the coming year, and the closed accounts may show that those estimates have been exceeded or the reverse. We are, therefore, on the only safe ground when we confine ourselves to the figures for the last year regarding which absolutely closed and balanced accounts are available. The last such year at the present moment is that which ended on March 31, 1928. A Treasury return in respect of that twelve months period shows the expenditure for the three fighting services to have been as follows:—

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-------------|
| Navy | ... | ... | ... | £58,911,894 |
| Army | ... | ... | ... | £44,240,138 |
| Air Force | ... | ... | ... | £15,400,096 |

making a total of £118,552,128. The same return quotes the expenditure under the Board of Education vote as £42,042,891. That is only mentioned here in order to sound a note of caution. It would be entirely unjust to draw a comparison between an armament expenditure of £118,552,128 and an education expenditure of £42,000,000, for a large proportion of the actual expenditure on education in Great Britain comes out of local rates, and this sum of £42,000,000 represents merely the contribution made by the Exchequer. The fighting service estimates for 1929-30 are a little over £112,000,000.

THE MONTH IN BRIEF

DISARMAMENT—WORLD - LAW - CHILD PROTECTION

MUCH the most important event of the past month, so far as the League of Nations is concerned, has been the conclusion of the **sittings of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference**. The results of the Commission's work must be viewed with mingled feelings. As regards naval disarmament, definite progress was not, indeed, achieved, but clearly foreshadowed, as a result of a striking speech made by the American delegate, Mr. Hugh Gibson, who extended, on President Hoover's behalf, an invitation to all the chief naval powers to resume serious discussion of naval reduction on a basis which Mr. Gibson indicated. These conversations will take place between now and the next meeting of the Commission, which is likely to be in or about November.

As regards land armaments no progress of any value was achieved, various proposals, including a rather idealistic Chinese one for the total abolition of conscription, being successively rejected. It was agreed that the period of conscription service in different countries should be limited—not necessarily reduced—and that full publicity should be given to details of national expenditure on munitions. Apart from that no advance in the matter of land armaments was achieved.

Great Britain in the course of the Commission's sittings announced that she was ratifying, subject to certain quite reasonable reservations, the Protocol for the Prohibition of Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare. The main satisfaction to be derived from the meeting of the Commission as a whole was that a general hope was entertained that the next meeting in the latter part of the year will be the final one, and that the full International Conference will meet in the year 1930.

Many other League Committees have held Sessions in May. **The Conference called to draft a Convention on the subject of Counterfeiting Currency** succeeded in its object and the Convention was signed by a number of States.

The Child Welfare Committee and the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children both held their annual meetings and discussed in particular the treatment of the illegitimate child in different countries, and the question of the abolition of licensed houses. There seemed reason to believe that the expert enquiry into the Traffic in Women and Children conducted a few years ago in Europe, America and parts of Africa would shortly be extended to other parts of the world.

The Committee on the Codification of International Law completed its preparation for next year's Conference at The Hague, having examined replies from over thirty Governments and studied over 450 Conventions bearing on the three questions (nationality, territorial waters and the responsibility of States for crimes committed on their territories against foreigners), regarding which, it is hoped, the Convention will frame a definite code.

The newly-created **Central Opium Board** held its second session, the first one having been little more than formal. This time arrangements regarding the Secretariat of the Board were discussed, and the main lines of its future activity laid down.

The Committee of Three, consisting of Sir Austen Chamberlain, Señor Quiñones de Leon and M. Adatci appointed to examine the **whole question of minority procedure**, met in private in London for several days. They considered the various suggestions put forward during the discussion on the subject at the last meeting

of the League Council, together with various communications received from Governments and certain private organisations. Their findings will be laid before the full Council meeting in committee, at Madrid early this month.

The Health Committee also met in May, the principal item on its agenda being the establishment of a health service in Greece, more fully discussed in another column of this issue. In addition, the work of the Epidemiological Intelligence Bureau at Singapore and reports on cancer, education in hygiene and preventive medicine, and other questions were before the Committee.

On May 6 the **Economic Consultative Committee** opened its annual session. It had to recognise that the progress in the direction of lowering of tariffs urged by the Economic Conference of 1927 had not fulfilled hopes. Various resolutions on the lines of those already adopted by the Economic Conference and by the Committee itself in its previous meetings were passed.

The Universal Postal Union, which is of interest as one of the oldest and most comprehensive international organisations, held its **Congress in London** for the first time to discuss various questions relating to the improvement of the postal services of the world.

The International Federation of League of Nations Societies held its **13th Congress at Madrid** in the fourth week of May. Count Bernstorff (Germany), in his presidential address, dealt mainly with the questions of disarmament and minorities.

During the whole of the month the **experts on the Reparations question** were in session in Paris, endeavouring to draft proposals to be substituted for the existing Dawes scheme, future payments under which were believed to be beyond Germany's capacity of payment. Difficulties were caused by a suggestion that Great Britain should forgo part of her receipts for the benefit of other Allied countries, but as HEADWAY went to press a final settlement appeared to be in sight.

COMING EVENTS

MAY 30.—I.L.O. Conference opens. Geneva.

JUNE 6.—Council meets in Committee to consider Minorities question. Madrid.

JUNE 10.—55th Meeting of League Council. Madrid.

JUNE 17.—Permanent Mandates Commission. Geneva.

SEPTEMBER 2.—10th Assembly of the League opens. Geneva.

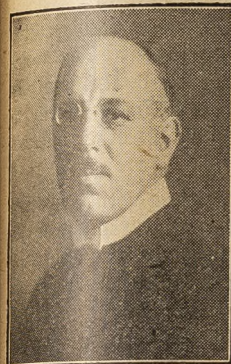
One of the most important developments of recent months, and one which will be welcomed by all readers of HEADWAY in particular, is the increase of space given to League matters in the London Press and the weekly reviews. It is invidious to make distinctions, but all who feel the need of sound information that they may follow fully the life of the League of Nations, must be particularly grateful to the editor of *The Spectator* for making a "League page" a regular weekly feature of his well-informed review. Readers of HEADWAY who are members of the League of Nations Union can always obtain from their Branch Secretaries information regarding special subscription rates to *The Spectator*.

THE LEAGUE AND CHINA

NEW LINKS BETWEEN NANKING AND GENEVA

BY M. JOSEPH AVENOL, Assistant Secretary-General of the League of Nations
[M. Avenol, who has recently returned from his important mission to China, has prepared this statement of the situation for HEADWAY.]

AN original member of the League of Nations, China had been passing through a difficult period at Geneva in recent years, when she was represented by the Peking Government, which was growing weaker every day. Her representatives found themselves in an embarrassing situation. They received scanty instructions from their Government, and they were conscious of being closely watched by the members of the Nationalist Party, whose victorious armies were moving northwards. Last year this situation underwent radical transformation. Delegates of the Nanking Government took their seats for the first time in the Geneva Assembly. There could be no more striking *de facto* recognition



M. Avenol

of the Chinese Government. Nevertheless, China failed by few votes to secure re-election to the Council, and in consequence the new collaboration between Nanking and Geneva was threatened by grave misunderstandings at the outset.

It was at that moment that the idea of a League Mission to China took place. There was a clear case for profiting by the advent of a single Government to power to carry out a recommendation of the First Assembly, which had encouraged the Secretary-General or the Deputy Secretary-General to preserve contact with countries at a distance from Geneva. The Chinese Government gave it to be understood that it looked with favour on the idea of this visit, which was thereupon definitely decided on, and since Sir Eric Drummond was unable to leave Geneva at that moment, I set out for Nanking at the beginning of last December.

The League Mission in China lasted two months. Its most important features were a week's visit to the Nanking Government, and (in addition to a stay of about a fortnight at Shanghai, where, also, valuable contacts could be established with representatives of the Central Government) visits to the provincial governments of Kwangtung (Canton), Chekiang (Hangchow), Hupeh (Hankow), Hopé (Peking) and Manchuria (Mukden).

It is at Nanking that the members of the Government and the most influential figures in the Kuomintang Party are to be found. This latter party is exercising control during the period of the Chinese revolution known as "political tutelage," the educative period foreseen by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the party. Its members, like those of the Government, are for the most part young men who have played a great rôle in the Chinese Revolution—such, for example, as General Chiang Kai-shek, President of the National Government; former associates of Sun Yat-sen like Mr. Hu Han-min, one of the most conspicuous figures in the Kuomintang; Chinese who have studied abroad in European and American Universities, like Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Wang Chung-hui, a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and most of the present Ministers.

The first point in their programme, apart from the reconstruction of China, the adaptation of this age-old civilisation to contemporary progress, is the creation of Chinese unity—of that national conscience which Sun Yat-sen strove to awaken and stimulate. This new-found national sentiment is strengthening, or even creating, Chinese unity; but in this period of re-organisation the administrative authority of the Central Government, as it develops, encounters numerous obstacles in the provinces. In spite of the progress already realised, the independence of the principal generals remains an abnormal element in the situation. Much time, much patience and much perseverance will be needed to enable the Central Government, with the instruments at its disposal, to exercise its proper functions in all their fullness.

At present one of the questions which most agitates this new national opinion is that of the status of foreigners in China. It would be deplorable if China were driven to consider her external relations only in this aspect. If, as may be hoped, she takes advantage of her situation as a member of the League of Nations she will be able to find in the form of active co-operation the foreign policy fitting for a great nation whose reconstruction can only be ensured through harmonious and friendly relations.

That co-operation may assume many shapes. The meetings of the League offer all Governments, standing on a footing of the strictest juridical equality, an opportunity of making their position frankly known to all members of the League. It is for that reason of the highest importance that China should be represented in these meetings by responsible delegates in direct contact with the National Government. She suffered long under the régime of Peking from this lack of contact between her representatives and the central administrations. In the same way it is easy to realise the advantage to be derived from the presence of Chinese delegates of the necessary competence in those technical committees which furnish members of the League with such abundant opportunities of valuable co-operation.

The mission to the Nanking Government will, it may be hoped, result in the first place in the despatch to Geneva of delegates qualified to speak in the name of this vast and rich country. If the next Assembly, moreover, should decide on the establishment in China of an information bureau similar to those which already exist in other countries it would unquestionably do a great service. A direct contact with the Chinese Press would thus be established, and no one knows better than the League of Nations Union the importance of the exercising of a continuous influence on public opinion.

I should add that this regular co-operation between China and the League of Nations may be a factor of the first importance for the good relations of the peoples bordering on the Pacific. There is no cause of real political friction between the great human agglomerations established on the shores of that ocean. It is to be hoped that *economic* competition will not arise to disturb these harmonious relations. In that regard there could be no better guarantee than the existence of the League, whose invariable method, whenever it finds itself faced with problems of a technical character, is to handle them with complete impartiality, eliminating from them any political factors calculated to militate against an objective examination of the questions at issue.

MR. WELLS' WISDOM RIGHT AND WRONG ROADS TO WORLD PEACE

YOU may agree with Mr. H. G. Wells or disagree with him, but you can never seriously pretend that he is not worth reading. A brief reference was made in last month's HEADWAY to the lecture Mr. Wells lately delivered in the German Reichstag under the title of "The Common Sense of World Peace."



Mr. H. G. Wells

The lecture has now been reprinted in full by the Hogarth Press (2s. 6d.). Its main thesis is the contention which Mr. Wells has long endeavoured to drive home by word and writing, that the only hope for the world is some form of federation capable of imposing a check on those unbridled nationalisms which, throughout the ages, have so gravely threatened peace.

But important as that argument is, the main value of Mr. Wells' book for a good many readers lies rather in various scattered observations which crystallize a thought in a dozen words or a dozen lines, but often provide sufficient food for reflection to last a dozen hours. For example:—

"We who write and think and talk have to remember and remind the rest of the world continually that the desire for peace will no more give us peace by itself than the concentration of the mind upon hunger will nourish the body."

"A great number of things that are being done and displayed and glorified as peace-seeking efforts are in actual fact rather step-like gestures than actual steps, and are taking us very little nearer, or no nearer at all, to our goal. A large part of our peace advocates are marking time—with great enthusiasm and pride and dignity, I admit—but marking time."

"A few weeks ago by the same postal delivery I received (1) an eloquent sermon from a religious minister in Kalamazoo, Michigan, hailing the Kellogg Pact as the dawn of a new age for mankind, and (2) a letter from a religious minister also, an old friend, who is now a pastor of an Episcopalian congregation in Texas, telling me that both the little boys I remembered when he was my neighbour in Essex were now grown up and doing very well, one in the artillery and the other in the Gas Warfare Department at Washington."

"On the day when a man—with a ton of goods—can travel from Cardiff to Vladivostock or from Moscow to San Francisco, as he can travel now from San Francisco to New York, without a passport and without a customs examination and without seeing a single battleship on the sea, a single soldier in uniform, or a single war-plane in the air—the chief structures of a 'World Pax' will exist. And, until he can do that, the great peace will still be unachieved."

"We need a history teaching that, instead of training us to dwell upon and carry on the conflicts and resentments of yesterday and to-day, points and leads us on to the great possibilities of the collective human future."

"It is not merely a new teaching we need, it is the suppression of an old and deadly teaching. We have to get rid of nationalist teaching and teachers everywhere. In the cause of world peace the tolerance of the wrong kind of teaching and the failure to defend the right kind of teaching is a crime."

"If our mental background and our political methods are to be made over from a competitive nationalism to a World Pax, there must be a world-organised movement to bring it about, essentially religious and essentially new, existing primarily to bring it about and distracted by no other interests from this devotion."

Mr. Wells faces the future neither with confidence nor with despair. He sees potential wars ready to break out the world over. If they do break out they may, as he says, waste the world for a thousand years. That, in Mr. Wells' view, can only be forestalled if what he describes as "peace by coalescence" instead of "peace by treaty" is achieved in time. "We may," he says, "win yet in our war to end war," and the declaration gains interest from the fact that he claims to have been the coiner of the phrase "the war to end war" in 1914.

THE LEAGUE'S NEW HOME

M. JOSEPH VAGO, the architect of the League of Nations' new buildings, writing in the French paper *Pax*, gives some interesting particulars of the edifice whose foundation-stone is to be laid in the course of the next Assembly in September.

There are to be three separate blocks of buildings, one consisting of the Assembly Hall and Committee rooms, one of the Secretariat block, and one of the Rockefeller Library. Accommodation will be planned on a generous scale. The Secretariat will, of course, consist mainly of offices, but there will be one room sufficient for an audience of 500, and other smaller rooms for the League Council and Committees. The International Library will be planned in the first instance for 1,000,000 volumes, but provisions will be made for extensions. It will contain reading rooms, lecture halls and rooms for students.

As for the Assembly Hall, it is designed to hold 2,700 persons, and round it will be grouped 60 spacious offices for the different delegations, and ample accommodation for the League staff. The first gallery will hold 600 journalists, and the second gallery about 1,000 of the general public. Probably arrangements will be made to shut off part of the Hall for gatherings of moderate size which it is desired to hold there. Loud speakers will be installed, and the interesting experiment carried out last year at the International Labour Conference, whereby translations were made by telephone straight into the delegates' ears in three or four different languages at once, have led to the decision that permanent fittings for this purpose shall be installed in the new Hall.

These particulars merely provide glimpses into a still rather distant future, for though, as has been stated, the foundation-stone of the new buildings is to be laid this September, it is likely to be over two years before any one of them is ready for occupation.

THE LEAGUE AND THE CHILD CARE OF THE COMING GENERATION

By S. J. WARNER

THERE are two reasons why those organs of the League of Nations concerned particularly with the welfare of women and children should be given more publicity than they often get in this country. One reason is the intrinsic importance of the work they are doing. The other is the interest that work arouses among large sections of readers and listeners whom recitals of the political and economic activities of the League leave indifferent or bored.

That is why it may be worth while for an eye-witness of the recent meetings of the allied League committees on Child Welfare and the Traffic in Women and Children to give some account through HEADWAY of what took place there. The Child Welfare Committee's work consists largely of the collection of information from which the Governments of all countries can profit. Most of the problems it handles are not international in the strict sense. They consist, that is to say, of questions each country must settle for itself, not by agreement with other countries; but the effect of ascertaining how different countries deal with the same problem is to stimulate the less enlightened and progressive to follow the example of the more advanced.

Nobody's Child.

Take, for example, the case of the illegitimate child. That clearly has to be dealt with by each country on its own lines; but it is extremely valuable to come to a decision as to what the best lines are, though the question is obviously complicated to some extent by religious considerations, Catholic countries, for example, taking a rather more severe view of illegitimacy than others. In order to ascertain what existing practice is regarding provision for the welfare of illegitimate children a questionnaire was circulated to Governments, no fewer than 37 of whom sent replies.

The statements embodied in them showed considerable difference in the legislation of the different countries. At one extreme were those in which the illegitimate child seemed to be in all verity *filius nullius*, while, at the other, were those in which he appeared to receive all, or almost all, the rights to maintenance and education, even to inheritance, of a legitimate child.

This is not a question on which an international committee can reach a conclusive decision. But the fact of illegitimacy has been shown to have a definite connection with many of the causes of child delinquency. For this reason alone, without taking into consideration questions of justice or humanity, all countries interested in their future citizens should consider how far the Child Welfare Committee's principle of "What is best for the Child" can be made the basis of legislation concerning illegitimacy.

The Committee decided to keep this question on its agenda, and urged that "in all questions of protection and assistance the illegitimate child should be treated as well as the legitimate child, due respect being paid to the rights of the family."

Artistes Abroad

The work of the eighth session of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee was uneventful, but satisfactory. Owing to a long agenda consideration of many subjects had to be deferred to a future session. Among these were the Employment of Women in the Police, the Registration of Foreign Prostitutes, and the Methods for the Protection of Young Women

Artistes on Tour Abroad. This last subject is of particular interest to British people, because it was stated last year between 400 and 500 English women go abroad annually to take part in concert parties, cabaret shows, or as dancers, etc. The Variety Artists' Federation of this country has done much to show by what means women in these professions can be safeguarded against the danger of becoming victims of the traffic.

The question of the extension of the Experts' Inquiry was on the agenda, and it was agreed that the experts should go to countries which had not been visited previously, and in particular to countries of the Far East. It was also agreed that it would be probably desirable to include among the experts persons with special knowledge of the conditions of the East, and of its religious customs. Both the delegates of Japan and of the British Empire welcomed this extension of inquiry, which, however, cannot take place until funds are forthcoming.

The Licensed House

The committee was unable to pursue the consideration of the resolution which had been passed by the Assembly in 1926, and by which it was requested to examine the desirability of recommending to all Governments the abolition of the Licensed House System. The reason for this lay in the fact that only two Governments, the British Empire and Denmark, had sent in the required information concerning the measures which they had taken to maintain public order and protect public health after they had abolished the houses.

During the session the Committee was informed that Bulgaria and Hungary had recently abolished licensed houses, and that the departmental assemblies of four prefectures in Japan had reached a similar decision. The Japanese delegate reported also that a bill recommending abolition for the whole country had been discussed in the Japanese Parliament, and was now in the hands of a Parliamentary Committee.

The Real Criminal

The discussion of the document containing the information concerning the laws which deal with the *souteneur* was short, but effective. The Committee seemed unanimous in agreeing that the activities of the *souteneur*, or middleman, form the keystone of the traffic. As a result of the study of the document the Committee passed a draft resolution drawing the attention of Governments to the importance of ensuring that legislation and its application is effective in bringing the *souteneur* to justice. The resolution also drew their attention to the need for powers for the prompt arrest of *souteneurs* or of persons suspected of being *souteneurs*, and of inflicting penalties suitable to their national and international activities.

This brief summary of the recommendations of this Commission may help to show readers of HEADWAY how its work brings the pressure of public opinion to bear on the necessity for combating those social evils. Just as the League's political activities endeavour to prevent humanity from being maimed and disabled by future wars, so do its social activities endeavour to rescue humanity from the evils of its own frailties, and from being maimed and disabled as the result of them. War is not the only method by which lives can be wasted.

DEFENDERS OF ARMIES ALL ROADS TO REDUCTION BLOCKED

THE League of Nations Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference ended its Sixth Session on May 6, and adjourned with the idea of meeting again some time in the autumn. Between now and then the principal naval Powers will engage, with the full approval of the Commission, in conversations among themselves, with a view to reaching some agreement on the principles of naval reduction. If they are successful in this, the Commission, at its autumn meeting, will take their conclusions as basis for its discussion of the naval clauses of the Draft Disarmament Convention, with the hope that the Convention can then and there be put into final shape so as to permit of the holding of the International Disarmament Conference some time in 1930.

Hoover's Effort

The recent meeting was encouraging in some aspects, and depressing in others. The naval discussions justify considerable hope for the future. The military discussions justify nothing but profound concern. For the new prospects of a naval agreement now unexpectedly opened up the main credit must go to one man, President Hoover, who appears to have decided, the moment he assumed office, that the time was ripe for one further resolute attempt to bring a naval agreement into being. Mr. Gibson's proposals, coming with all the authority of Mr. Hoover behind them, were cordially received by the British delegate, Lord Cushendun, and the welcome he accorded has since been emphasised in public statements by Mr. Baldwin and Sir Austen Chamberlain. Details still remain to be arranged, but the great service Mr. Hoover has done is to put the disarmament question in a political setting, and if the Cabinets and Parliaments of the two countries are in earnest about naval reduction, naval reduction can and will be achieved.

There the matter of ships may be left for the moment, in the knowledge that solid progress is in prospect. In the case of land armies, not only has no progress been achieved, not only is no progress in prospect, but the lines of advance which seemed open have been definitely and decisively closed. At no time since disarmament has been under discussion at Geneva has the outlook been more sombre.

Men, Material, Money

It is an accepted principle that to make the reduction of land armies effective there must be at the same time a decrease of money, material and men. What has been the result of the Preparatory Commission's negotiations under each of these heads? With regard to men the French thesis whereby trained reserves, *i.e.*, the whole of the able-bodied male population which has received its training under the conscription system, shall be left out of account in reckoning military strength, has been accepted unreservedly by Great Britain and the United States—which means that it is useless for anyone else to oppose it.

It is quite true that so long as there is a conscription system there must be trained reserves, but if the conscription countries are to have this immense reservoir at their disposal, it is reasonable, at least, that they should make far-reaching concessions in respect of other elements of their military strength. They have, in fact, made none at all. A resolution in favour of the limitation of the period of conscription service has been carried, but it is not stipulated that the limitation shall represent a reduction on the existing period in any country, and there is very little prospect that it will be.

All the resolution means, therefore, is that the conscription period shall not at a future date be increased to beyond its present figure.

The proposal for the direct limitation of material, *i.e.*, numbers of guns, tanks, machine-guns, etc., was turned decisively down, on the ground that this would involve control and inspection, and sovereign States would not agree to that. Here again, as almost all along the line, the limitations imposed on Germany as a basis for a corresponding disarmament by the Allied Powers are being refused out of hand by the Allies themselves. Limitation by money has not yet been discussed in its broadest aspect, but Great Britain has already made it known that she would not agree to a limitation of general military budget expenditure. The French did, at the recent meeting, propose as a compromise the limitation of material by cost, *i.e.*, limitation of the money spent on actual military material. That, however, was refused flatly by Mr. Gibson on behalf of the United States on what he described as constitutional and other grounds. All that has been agreed on is publicity for such expenditure—not limitation.

Less Than Nothing

The net result is, that so far as the military clauses of the draft Convention are concerned, a good deal less than nothing has been achieved. Less than nothing because, until the Commission got to grips with the question, it was permissible to hope that agreement on certain vital points might be achieved. Now it is impossible to hope, or at any rate, to expect, any limitation of either material or money. Germany is compelled by Treaty to limit her army to 100,000 long-service men. France is at present maintaining, outside her conscript army altogether, a long-service professional army which at present numbers about 235,000 and will, according to the War Minister, M. Painlevé, reach a total of about 370,000 in the course of next year. In addition to that she has her annual conscript contingent of between 230,000 and 240,000 men, and on top of that again, there is a considerable body of coloured troops serving within the confines of European France.

The armies of Italy, of Poland, of Czechoslovakia, of Roumania and of Yugoslavia are all of them formidable, and no formula of reduction applicable to them has been agreed on by the Preparatory Commission. But France, with military forces such as have been described, with her troops still in occupation of the Rhineland (there is, it is true, a detachment of British troops there also, but that is only because the Germans would rather have French and British than French alone) must unquestionably bear the major responsibility for the refusal to redeem Europe from militarism. In spite of the disarmament of Germany and her entry into the League, in spite of the guarantees of the League Covenant, in spite of the guarantees of Locarno, in spite of the Kellogg Pact, France apparently insists that considerations of security do not admit of her reducing her military forces by another man.

Germany's Rights

There can be only one end to this. Germany has claimed publicly that if the Allies do not carry out their part of the disarmament agreement clearly implied in the Treaty of Versailles, she will be entitled to re-arm, and as prominent a Frenchman as M. Paul-Boncour has admitted publicly that that claim is justified, not only on moral, but on legal grounds.

It is a depressing business to dwell on the complete failure of the Preparatory Commission to reach any

agreement of any value on the subject of military disarmament, but it is better to face the facts than to cherish empty illusions. Count Bernstorff has declared his intention of raising these issues again at the Disarmament Conference itself, no matter what formulae of compromise or evasion the Preparatory Commission itself may have put on paper. He will be perfectly justified in doing so, and the public opinion of the world, apart from the half-dozen countries with large armies, will be with him.

DENMARK TO DISARM

THE advent to power of a Socialist-Radical Government in Denmark, as the result of the recent general election in that country, has concentrated all attention once more on the scheme for the total disarmament of Denmark.

Since the election was fought mainly on that issue there can be no question that the new Government will proceed without delay to carry its plan into effect. Last time the attempt was made a Bill carried in the Lower House was defeated in the Upper, but this time there appears to be a general expectation that the Bill will pass both Houses, and also survive the plebiscite to which it is likely to be subjected before it becomes actual law. The Foreign Minister in the new Government, Dr. P. Munch, who is well known at Geneva, where he has frequently represented his country, is the chief advocate of the disarmament scheme.

Denmark's present forces, according to the last edition of the League's Armaments Year Book, consist of a standing army of about 9,000, and a navy of five coast defence ships, three small cruisers, 23 torpedo boats and 16 submarines, with a personnel of about 4,000 officers and men. There is a flying service, with a personnel of 95, attached to the army.

Exit Army and Navy

Under the new disarmament plan the army and navy, as such, will disappear, being replaced by a constabulary force on the frontiers and a few vessels for the protection of fisheries and the policing of Danish territorial waters. Conscription will be abolished, and all fortifications destroyed. The constabulary will consist of 1,600 men chosen by lot from volunteers willing and fit to serve. The State Marine will be composed of six fishery inspection ships, 24 small police-boats, some mine-layers (for the defence of the Great Belt in case of need) and 12 seaplanes. The annual cost is estimated to be some 18,000,000 kroner, against a present expenditure of 44,000,000, but not much attention is paid to the financial side of the change. The Ministry of War and Marine will, of course, be abolished, the constabulary and State Marine being placed directly under the Prime Minister.

It is to be noted that Denmark's immediate neighbours, Norway and Sweden, view the new departure with no cordiality, considering that Denmark is weakening the whole Scandinavian defence system. The argument is further heard in some quarters that the Danish Government's plans actually run counter to the Covenant, in that Denmark will no longer have sufficient forces to enable her to carry out her international obligations. The Danish Government can reasonably answer to that that her army and navy at the best were so small as to be incapable of action outside the frontiers, and there is every reason to suppose that the country is still prepared to co-operate to the limits of its ability in facing any emergency that may arise under Article 16 of the Covenant. It has been generally assumed at Geneva that no country should be called on to maintain, against possible international needs, forces which it does not consider itself to require for its own defence.

THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL

THE League of Nations Council is meeting this month at Madrid. Seeing that the Council met in December at Lugano, this tendency to forsake Geneva might seem a little alarming. There were, however, special reasons for going to Lugano in that Dr. Stresemann's presence was earnestly desired, and his doctor had forbidden him to attend a session at Geneva at that moment.

Grounds for a meeting at Madrid are more difficult to discover, apart from the fact that the Spanish Government was anxious to celebrate its decision not to leave the League after all by entertaining the Council under its own roof, and no one quite liked to decline the invitation. There is, in fact, nearly everything to be said against these excursions from Geneva, which the Assembly has definitely deprecated in a formal resolution. All that can be said for them is that it may be a good advertisement for the League to hold a meeting occasionally in a foreign capital. Anyhow, in a foreign capital this month's meeting is, for better or worse, to be held. The President of the Council this time is M. Adachi, the Japanese Ambassador in Paris. The business does not promise to be of the first importance, apart from the minority problem, which, after extensive consideration first by a sub-committee of three and then by a Committee of the whole Council, is to come before the Council itself for final decision.

Bricks and Mortar

Another question of a different order on which a final decision will, it is hoped, be taken is the new Assembly Hall Secretariat and International Library, the finished plans of which are expected to be ready by the time the Council meets. If they are there should be nothing to prevent the foundation stone of the new building being laid during the coming Assembly.

A series of entries on the agenda deals in one way or another with the development of international law. There is the Codification Conference to be held next year at The Hague. There is a report on the larger question of wholesale codification. There is a report on the Revision of the Statutes of the Permanent Court, and another on the steps to be taken to facilitate the entry of the United States of America into membership of the Court. The ground in all these cases has been worked over by committees, but it will be left for the Council to take final decisions.

Other People's Papers

An interesting question of a different character is a proposal coming from the Transit Organisation that a Conference should be called "to examine customs, rail and postal questions connected with the transport of newspapers and periodicals." Everything that makes for a fuller interchange of thought between different countries is to be welcomed, and anything a conference could achieve to abolish existing obstacles to the introduction of foreign papers into different countries will be so much to the good.

There is also the usual wearisome set of complaints either from Poles or from Germans in Upper Silesia, a good sample of which is entry (c) on the list:

Petition from M. Juljusz Jacek, dated December 31, 1928, relating to the terms used by Police officer Krosnik in the café belonging to Madame Helena Kucharczykova at Dziergowitz, German Upper Silesia.

It is wholly improper that the Council's time should be wasted over trivialities of this sort. The only hope is that if enough of them accumulate the thing will become intolerable, and some new and better arrangement be evolved.

THE LABOUR FORUM SHOULD THE NATIVE WORKER BE PROTECTED?

THE International Labour Conference, quite apart from its other merits, is setting an example to the world in the way international gatherings should be conducted. As readers of HEADWAY know, the Conference last year carried through with considerable success an interesting experiment in simultaneous translation. Interpreters into different languages spoke at the same moment into a microphone communicated with ear-phones attached to the desk of each delegation, so that delegates, by pressing the appropriate button, might take their choice of any one of two or three languages which were, so to speak, on offer. This year, it is expected, the delegates will be reached through the medium of the eye as well as the ear, for it is intended to throw on a screen the text of various resolutions and amendments under discussion from time to time.

But that, after all, is a matter of method rather than of substance. The substance of the International Labour Conference which begins, or rather will by this time have begun, on May 30, is of considerable importance. The fact that the date chosen happens to be that of the polling in Great Britain was, of course, an accident. The International Labour Conference was fixed long before the Election was, and in any case distractions in one country out of over fifty could not be a determining factor.

Coloured Labour

The most interesting item on the Conference agenda is undoubtedly the question of forced labour, for it opens up the whole vast issue of the contact between white and coloured people throughout most of the continent of Africa, and in various other regions of the world. This is a field in which the Labour Organisation will, no doubt, need to move slowly, but it is a notable fact that a move should have been made in this direction at all. At the Conference organised by the League of Nations Union at the School of Economics last March it was shown how keenly alive British opinion, at least, is to the importance of the question. In accordance with the common procedure of the organisation a general discussion this year will be followed, or, so it is hoped, by the adoption of a Convention on the subject at the Conference of 1930.

The Docker's Danger

Two other subjects have already been discussed, and are, therefore, ripe for some form of agreement this year. One is the general question of the prevention of industrial accidents, and the other the special case of accidents occurring in the loading and unloading of ships. This opens up a series of obscure by-ways of interest. Most Londoners living west of Ludgate Circus know little of the prosaic perils of a docker's life, and one rather unexpected suggestion, to the effect that heavy packages carried on shipboard should have their weight marked clearly on them, might save numbers of able-bodied men in ports the world over from physical injuries involving, in the mass, a vast amount of unnecessary suffering and loss of earning capacity. This is essentially one of the points it occurs to few people to think of, but which, in fact, may be of vital consequence to a wage-earner and the family dependent on him.

Thirdly, the Conference is going to talk about the thorny question of the hours of work of salaried employees. There is a world of social distinction, as everyone knows, between salaries and wages, and all sorts of other shades of difference between various sections of the salaried classes. The problem, for example, of the man behind the counter is by no means the same as the problem of the clerk at the desk, and it is a question

whether it is possible to draft a convention beneficial to both these classes and to others.

Last of all, the Conference proposes to discuss in a broad way (that is to say, without proposing any immediate action) the whole question of unemployment in its international aspect. The Labour Office at Geneva has prepared an important report on the subject, and other League reports, such as that on the recent investigation into the coal industry, will clearly come into the picture. It is difficult to foresee what precise lines this discussion will take, but it is obvious that it might turn out to be of the highest importance.

"A WORLD-WIDE LEAGUE"

IN the course of last month the British public found itself licking new and unusual and rather ugly postage stamps bearing, in addition to the head of King George V, the legend, "Postal Union Congress, London, 1929." So staid an institution as the British Post Office does not lightly burst into these sudden celebrations. This is, however, the first occasion on which the Universal Postal Union has held its Congress (which takes place every five or six years) in Great Britain, and that courtesy paid to our country after 55 years was held sufficiently noteworthy to justify the Post Office in thus departing from its normal habits.

In point of fact the Universal Postal Union has an interest going beyond its intrinsic importance, for it is, as *The Times* observes in a leading article on the subject, "the first working example of a world-wide League of Nations." It would seem, indeed, at first sight to be even wider than the world, for its London Congress was said to be attended by representatives of over 80 countries, whereas there are normally supposed to be only some 60 odd independent countries in the world. The explanation of the apparent excess, no doubt, lies in the fact that many countries which are not independent, e.g., various British Crown Colonies, have their own Post Office and their own stamps.

HEADWAY published in the course of last year some interesting particulars about the origin of the Postal Union and some examples of the charges (e.g., 5s. for a letter from London to Bulgaria) levied before the Union itself, with its uniform rates, came into being. That fortunate development took place as long ago as 1874, some 46 years, therefore, before the League of Nations took shape. Comparisons between the Postal Union, with its useful but strictly limited functions, and the League, with its multifarious and ever increasing activities, must not, of course, be pressed too far. Nevertheless the Union has its place, and an important one, in the record of the endeavours exerted by the individual nations to establish a world-wide co-operation in different fields.

Incidentally, the Postal Union has a further interest for the League of Nations, in that the League, like other international bodies, took the scale of subscriptions paid by each individual State to the Postal Union as the basis for the assessment for contributions to the funds of the League. The arrangement, it is true, did not last long. The sum needed to maintain the Postal Union's Headquarters at Berne was trifling, and the contribution of each country was, therefore, so small that no country troubled itself much about the strict equity of the assessment. In the case of the League of Nations, with a budget of about £1,000,000, the case was different, and after the Third Assembly the Postal Union's scale was replaced by one drafted by a special committee, and giving more general satisfaction than the borrowed Postal Union's scale had done.

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TEN YEARS

WE shall soon be celebrating the tenth birthday of the League of Nations. The exact moment is relatively immaterial. Ten years ago this month—on June 28, 1919—the Treaty of Versailles, with the Covenant of the League constituting its first chapter, was signed. Ten years ago next January the Treaty came into force and the League into being. Next September the Tenth Assembly of the League will meet at Geneva, and the occasion is to be celebrated by the laying of the foundation-stone of the League's new—and, it may be hoped, enduring—home.

Dates, of course, are only dates, and their use in this connection is to arrest our thoughts and remind us of what a few of us might otherwise forget. The tenth year, the tenth mile accomplished. In a sense that is simply a register of time or space, like the change of figure on a speedometer dial. But the speedometer dial, after all, calls to mind not merely the last milestone reached, but the stretch of miles lying between that last milestone and the starting-point. So it is with the League's first decade. It is nothing for a man or an institution to have got to the end of ten years of existence. What matters is what he—or it—has got into those ten years.

And what has the League got into its first decade? It would be easy, and for some purposes it would be useful, to draw up what may be termed a catalogue of achievement—so many countries' finances reconstructed; so many wars averted or actually arrested; so many international disputes settled; such and such benefits conferred on mankind in the field of health, or social reform, or drug traffic, or transit. Even as it stands, such a catalogue would be impressive. "Even as it stands"—because by the nature of things it can never be complete. The real proof of the League's value is not the list of wars it has stopped, but the list of wars that were, so to speak, strangled not at birth but long before. So long before, indeed, that they were never more than dim possibilities, for the reason—and the sole reason—that a League of Nations was in existence at Geneva.

We are celebrating ten years of a League in action. Let us not forget that we can be celebrating at the same time, if we choose to think of it, ten years of a warless Balkans. The one is beyond question a direct consequence of the other. No one with the smallest knowledge of recent European history, no one with the slightest understanding of the causes of quarrel between the various States juxtaposed in that turbulent peninsula—Bulgaria and Greece, Yugoslavia and Albania, with Rumania half in and half out—can doubt for a moment that war would again and again have broken out in the Balkans, and perhaps spread from there once more to all Europe, but for a League sufficiently authoritative to control, at any rate, those secondary States. If visible proof of that be needed, it can be supplied readily enough in the two familiar cases—Yugoslavia's move against Albania in 1921, and Greece's move against Bulgaria in 1925—when the sparks of war did actually fly skyward till the League swiftly stamped them out before the conflagration could spread.

But, on the whole, attention should be centred at the end of ten years, not so much on what the League has done and is doing, as on what the League stands for and is. You can look at it in different ways. It is an invaluable piece of international mechanism. It is a unique international forum. It stands alone as a meeting-place for the world's statesmen. But it is something more than all that. In a sense, it belongs not to the diplomats, but to the peoples—or, rather, it belongs only to the diplomats because it belongs first to the peoples. It belongs to the peoples because what the League stands for fundamentally is a new outlook on international relations. Diplomacy has been revolutionised, values have been radically changed, because, the world over, men and women were convinced instinctively after the war that the old ways were bad, and new and better ways must be found. Values have been radically changed in the sense that the idea of war has gone down in the scale and the idea of peaceful settlement has gone up. To-day if ever the word war is uttered, there is uttered immediately after it—so immediately that the two ejaculations are almost simultaneous—Geneva. That does not mean that the League is a panacea. It does not mean that we can be certain that the League, as it exists to-day, could stop any and every war that broke out. No one but a blind optimist would speak with assurance as to that. But it does mean that there exists in the world at last a rallying-point for the forces of peace. Not merely for those who simply desire peace without knowing how to work for it, but a rallying-point where statesmen resolved to maintain peace, because they represent peoples determined that peace shall be maintained, can gather and set in motion machinery carefully and prudently planned, and whose efficiency has been tested more than once on a small scale against the day—if that day ever comes—when it may be necessary to put it into operation on a great scale.

That is much to have accomplished, for this particular need of the world had never been satisfied till ten years ago. But ten years is but a moment in the life of nations, and it is likely to be but a moment in the life of the League. No more than foundations have been laid. No more than a glimpse of what may be has been gained. The quickest way to kill the League is to be content with the League as it is. No ground for such content exists. The League is incomplete, and disastrously so as long as certain great nations stand outside it. It has failed so far over some of its chief tasks, notably disarmament and, to a less degree, the destruction of tariff barriers. It is hampered and handicapped at every turn because national jealousies, national suspicions, national antagonisms, still riot unchecked. The promise of the desired harvest is there, but the harvest still remains to be reaped. How the League will develop no man is far-sighted enough to know with any certainty. What the League needs most to-day is not so much enthusiasm as hard thinking. There is room, it is true, for all kinds of support, and those who stand firmly by the League as a great ideal can do it service equally with those who feel it their task to work out the practical lines of the League's development. Sooner or later, no doubt, the bonds between its members will be drawn closer on the lines of a federation, but as much harm might be done by moving too fast in that direction as by moving too slowly. There are some developments that must not be forced. In this case we may well rest content that, as the League reaches and passes its tenth milestone, it can count a daily increasing number of men and women in every country who can give it a service of mind as well as heart, a service based on instructed knowledge as well as on undimmed enthusiasm.

THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS

VI.—FIGHTING THE DRUG SMUGGLERS

THE negro play "Porgy," lately staged in London, turns largely on the effects of the "happy dust"—cocaine—pressed by one of the villains of the piece on the heroine. But how did the villain get the "happy dust"? Possession of cocaine, except by chemists, doctors and dentists, for strictly medical purposes, is illegal, and convictions for such illicit possession of cocaine and other narcotic drugs are constantly being reported in the papers.

That very fact in itself is sufficient proof that the illicit traffic exists. Smuggling, moreover, of drugs so valuable that the material for hundreds or thousands of doses can be concealed in hollow shoe-heels, or a

opium, which causes the chief trouble. That is produced on a substantial scale only in China, India, Persia, Turkey and, to a very small extent, in Jugoslavia. If the governments of all those countries would undertake to suppress the growth of the opium-poppy, except for the small quantity needed for legitimate medical purposes, then there would be nothing left over for illicit consumption in the form of smoking or of manufactured drugs like morphia. (Cocaine does not come from the opium-poppy, but from the coca-plant, which grows in South America and elsewhere.)

The thing can be done. China practically stamped out poppy-growing throughout her vast dominions



A Malayan Opium Den

cripple's crutches, or the posts of an apparently ordinary bedstead, is comparatively easy and singularly lucrative. Consequently, the police of a particular city—London, Paris, Berlin—have to confess that, left to themselves, they can never stamp the traffic out. The drug, or its raw material, has to be controlled at a much earlier stage, and as the process may concern several countries—the country where the plant from which the drug is manufactured grows, the country where it is turned into its finished form, the country where it is sold by chemists and others—the League of Nations has undertaken to organise this control.

Where Opium Grows

That is a pretty difficult matter, and no one would claim that the control is successful yet. It would be, no doubt, if all the countries concerned were willing and able to do what they ought to do. Take, for example,

for a year or so in the early days of the Republic. India has got the growth completely under control. But Turkey is not a member of the League, and considers herself bound by no engagements in the matter of opium; Persia has made no very strenuous—or, at any rate, no very successful—endeavours so far to stamp out the highly lucrative smuggling trade through the Persian Gulf; while the civil war in China has ended for the time being any serious attempt at the suppression of poppy-growing in that country.

The Drug Factories

For the present, therefore, we have to face the fact that there is, and will be for some time, a very serious leakage from the poppy-growing countries. In the East it means that smoking-opium is passing into places like the Straits Settlements, and the smuggling of it cannot be effectively checked. The League is just

sending a special commission out to these Eastern countries to see what can be done about that. In the West the danger is different. There it is the manufactured drug—morphine or heroin or cocaine—that gets smuggled and peddled illegally. The only way of dealing with that is by keeping the strictest observation at all frontiers and ports, and also by watching as closely as possible the factories where the drugs are actually made. There are less than thirty of these in the whole world, so that it ought to be no impossible matter to control them if the different governments did their duty. One of the League's tasks is to keep them up to it. In its Opium Committee's last report, there were printed, for all the world to see, the names of four firms, one Dutch, one German, one French, one Swiss, which were constantly found associated with the illicit traffic. When a British firm was found guilty of irregularities a few years ago, the Government promptly took away its licence.

The Need for Tact

But at the very best control of drug production and drug consumption must be a haphazard business, unless you know how much each country is manufacturing or importing, and how much it really needs for the purposes drugs can be legitimately used for—i.e., for medical and scientific requirements. If you really did know how much each individual country was actually getting and how much it ought to be getting, it would be easy enough to see at once what countries were getting too much, and take steps accordingly.

Can the League do that? No one knows yet, for it is only just getting this new plan to work. A body called the Opium Central Board has been set up, which met for the first time in earnest (the first meeting it actually held was largely formal) last month. It has eight members. None of them represent governments or has any connection with governments, and they have been appointed solely on account of their expert knowledge. The Chairman is an Englishman, Mr. Lyall, who has had long experience in the Customs service in China.

When this new Central Board is under way, with a permanent secretariat at Geneva, receiving statistics from all countries, checking them and docketing them up, comparing what a country says it requires with what that country actually appears to be getting, then it will be possible to fight the opium evil with new weapons. But what, someone may very reasonably ask, are those weapons? The only one that really matters is publicity. Countries like less and less to be exposed before the world as evildoers. Even if they are, in fact, trying to dodge an obligation, they always take good care that no one knows it.

Keeping Control

That is where the value of the Opium Board's work will come in. To begin with, it will, in case of need, challenge a country's estimate of its own needs, which may in some cases be put much too high. If—to go on to the next stage—it is able to show that the total of opium, or opium products, going in to that country is more than the country is entitled, on its own showing, to have, then the attention of the government of the country in question will be officially called to the fact. If that does not produce the desired effect, the matter can be raised in the League Council, which would mean a degree of publicity from which most governments would shrink unless they had a complete answer to the Control Board's criticisms—which they could not have, or they would have made it when the matter was first raised privately.

The new Board is no more than an experiment. It may succeed or it may not. The difficulty of stopping

the smuggling of something so easily concealed as morphia or heroin or cocaine is demonstrated clearly enough by the comparative ease with which bulky objects, like bottles of liquor, are smuggled into the United States. But the only hope is in League action, for unless all the nations work together and set standards of vigilance which no self-respecting government can afford to ignore, the drug evil will continue to riot unchecked. Great Britain, it is fair to claim, is doing everything that can reasonably be expected of her. As to the position in some of our Asiatic dependencies, where a large part of the revenue is derived from an opium monopoly run by the Government, there is, perhaps, more room for reform.

TARIFF BARS

THE annual meeting of the League of Nations Economic Consultative Committee is always an important affair, because the Committee constitutes practically a miniature version of the World Economic Conference, which sat in 1927. It is composed of representatives from all countries in the League and two or three outside, including the United States and Russia, and it passes in review the general economic situation in the world as it sees it, particularly in relation to tariffs.

This year's meeting could not be regarded as wholly encouraging. It was presided over as usual by M. Theunis, a former Prime Minister of Belgium, who, in his closing speech, took the attitude that the Committee was being brought nearer to realities in discovering the many difficulties which stood in the way of the realisation of its ideals—namely, a general reduction of tariff barriers the world over. The report presented to the Committee had shown that progress in this direction had been on the whole disappointing, though it was quite clear that it would have been more disappointing still but for the influence the World Conference and the Consultative Committee had exerted.

The Australian delegate, Mr. F. L. Macdougall, urged that the whole credit of the League was at stake in this matter, and the Labour member of the British delegation, Mr. Pugh, also urged, from the workers' point of view, the need for compliance on the part of the Governments with the recommendations of the Economic Conference. Another member of the British delegation, Mr. G. A. Mitchell, Chairman of the British Association of Chambers of Commerce, also took a prominent part in the discussions. One passage in the report to the Committee is of special interest to this country, for it is observed that "the uncertainty regarding the direction of fiscal policy in Great Britain, whose market is of great importance to Europe as well as overseas, is at the moment a factor tending to create apprehension in Europe."

On the other hand, Great Britain was one of the only two States which have so far ratified the League Convention on the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions, and an earnest appeal was made to other Governments to follow suit in order that the Convention might enter into early operation.

One of the more interesting features of this and previous meetings of the Committee is the unexpected prominence assumed by agriculture, and it is clear that some arrangement must be made for increasing collaboration between the League Economic Section and the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome.

A SECRETIVE TRIO CRACKING THE MINORITIES NUT

FEW League committees have aroused more interest and produced less information than the body consisting of Sir Austen Chamberlain, Señor Quiñones de Leon and M. Adatci, which met in London last month to study the whole question of the League's handling of the minority problem.

The interest was due to the fact that minority populations in Europe are estimated to number anything between 20 and 30 millions—and this takes account only of the minorities protected by special treaties, leaving out of the reckoning those which have nothing more definite to rely on than the goodwill of the Government of the country in which they live. The lack of information seems to have aroused some protests not quite reasonable. The three formed a sub-committee, which was merely preparing a report of proposals for a committee consisting of all members of the League Council, and since even this latter body is to meet in

taking the line that, while they had been compelled to grant minorities certain special rights, no one could compel them to go any farther, and the League had much better not try.

Germany's Proposals

On the other side, the German Government, which is particularly interested, because there are considerable German minorities in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries, had definite proposals to make. In particular it wanted to secure much more publicity for the handling of individual minority complaints by the League. It wanted to get the whole machinery moving faster, and it was in favour of the creation of a Permanent Minorities Commission to specialise in these questions, and to deal, in the first instance, with any complaints received. These proposals, it will be observed, follow closely the lines of the speech of the



Señor Quiñones de Leon



Sir Austen Chamberlain



M. Adatci

private, it was obviously impossible for the smaller sub-committee to make its findings public.

What Can the League Do?

Under the circumstances the chief effect of the meeting of the three was to whet curiosity. Here were three men, one an Anglo-Saxon, one a Latin, and one an Asiatic, discussing the daily lot of some 25,000,000 people of various nationalities living under Governments different in race, different in language and very often different in religion from their own. How can the League assure to the 25,000,000 the right to use their own language, to worship according to their own religion, to have their children taught in their own schools, even though the effect of this is to maintain a kind of separation in countries where the Government wants to weld the whole population into a common whole?

Advice Gratis

No one knows what fresh light the three have been able to cast on this problem, but, at any rate, they suffered from no lack of suggestions. These rained in on them from both sides. The minorities had their own clear idea of what the League should do, and the Governments that are bound by treaty to grant minorities certain rights had clear ideas of what the League should not do. Five of these latter, Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece, put in a common memorandum drawn up by that accomplished jurist, M. Politis, who has often represented Greece at the League Assembly. The main purpose of this was to hold the League back, the States concerned

German Foreign Minister, Dr. Stresemann, at the League Council meeting in March.

The Minorities' View

In addition to this a body called the European Congress of Minorities, which has, as a rule, adopted a very reasonable attitude on the subject, put in a report which follows pretty much the same lines as the German official memorandum, but adds the suggestion that the League should use all possible pressure to induce States which have minorities within their borders, but which are not bound by any minority treaty, to observe at least as high a standard in their treatment of minorities as though they were so bound.

The position at the present moment is that the whole minority question, which leaped into prominence as a result of the slight fracas between Dr. Stresemann, of Germany, and M. Zaleski, of Poland, at the League Council meeting at Lugano in December, and was then discussed at length at the following Council meeting in December at Geneva, will now, after having been exhaustively considered by the sub-committee of three, occupy the foremost place on the agenda of the coming Council meeting at Madrid on June 10. One word of caution should be added. It would be a profound mistake to expect any far-reaching proposals resulting in radical changes in procedure. There is no room for that. The only real solution of the minorities problem lies with Governments themselves. The League's powers in the matter are limited. It can, no doubt, improve its procedure in some respects, but to do that will not affect the situation fundamentally.

GENEVA AND THE RHONDDA CAN THE LEAGUE HELP BRITISH MINERS?

THERE is no very obvious connection between the Lord Mayor's Relief Fund and the League of Nations. But many things which are not obvious exist none the less, and a report the League's Economic Committee has just issued on the coal industry throughout the world may well pave the way to action that will directly affect, it may be hoped for the better, the coal industry in Great Britain.

One of the main effects of the report on the ordinary reader is to make him realise how extraordinarily little he knew, or troubled to know, about coal. What countries, for example, export coal? Only four in the whole world, to any extent worth discussing. These four are the United States, Great Britain, Germany and Poland. But the coal problem as it has to be studied at Geneva concerns really only three of the four. The United States exports comparatively little, and of that little nearly the whole goes to Canada, practically none at all coming, at normal times, to Europe. Consequently, if anything is wrong with the international trade in coal in Europe, it is conditions in Great Britain, Germany and Poland that have to be considered.

Kinds of Coal

Perhaps a small reminder may be opportune here. Coal, for purposes of these discussions, is not what the average ordinary citizen burns in his grate—that represents a very small proportion of the output—but what the great factories burn in their furnaces, or ships or railways use to drive their engines. Now, the first thing that emerges about coal is that the world demand for it is no longer expanding as it did. The increase in the last fifteen years is no more than the *annual* increase used to be down to 1913. The demand, in other words, is very nearly stationary. The reason for that is pretty clear. The vast disorganisation of the war and lesser disorganisations like the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923, or the British coal stoppage of 1925-6, have brought other forms of energy into fashion, notably oil and electricity, generated from water-power. At the same time, countries usually dependent on imported coal found it necessary at these times of difficulty to develop their own mines, even if the coal they produced was not as good and not as cheap as what normally came in from abroad. Spain is a case in point, and Spain having developed her own industry promptly proceeded to protect it by imposing a series of restrictions on the import of that foreign coal on which, in the past, she had depended. Spain, therefore, very largely coaled herself instead of being coaled by Great Britain.

More Than We Need

Altogether, it emerges from the League's enquiries that the coal mines of Europe to-day could produce, as they stand, perhaps 25 per cent. more coal than anyone wants. That means, of course, a tremendous scramble for markets. The producing countries, having large stocks of coal to sell, have to find someone to buy them, and in order to secure purchasers, they must, if possible, undersell their competitors. How can they do that? Mainly by various forms of artificial stimulus, which only make the disorganisation of the industry worse. The British Government, for example, subsidised the mining industry of Great Britain in 1925, to the tune of £23,000,000. In other countries—such as Poland—the Government railways carry export coal to the ports at abnormally cheap rates, in order to enable it to compete in foreign markets with rival coal from some

other country. As this kind of indirect assistance to the industry can be increased or diminished at any moment, the result is complete uncertainty and instability, resulting in rising and falling unemployment in the countries most affected.

Unfortunately, it is one thing to get into the kind of mess in which the coal industry finds itself, and another thing to get out of it. The present report, none the less, does deal with the question of remedies. The Coal Committee met two sets of experts, one representing employers and one miners, while the interests of the consumers were adequately voiced. The first proposal that emerged was a series of international agreements between the producing countries, involving some fair allocation of markets, and fixation of prices, as has already been carried out quite successfully by the Steel Cartel, in which several Continental countries are associated.

Britain the Obstacle

But there is one vital difficulty about that, and our own country is mainly responsible for it. Obviously, if it is to be agreed that Great Britain shall export a fixed number of million tons a year, say 90,000,000, it will be necessary to allocate that amount among the different collieries of the country. In Germany that could be done easily enough, for the coal industry is so completely organised that a process of this kind would be taken as a matter of course. In Great Britain at present no such organisation exists, and it could not be improvised in a day or a year.

Another proposal was that, as the World Economic Conference advised, all artificial stimuli, like subsidies on exports or restrictions on imports, be abolished. The effect of that would be, of course, to increase unemployment temporarily, at any rate in countries where prosperity is artificially fostered by these interferences. Such an abolition of interferences must, no doubt, be part and parcel of the final settlement, but it was agreed at Geneva that it could not suffice by itself, for the fact would still remain that more coal is being produced, or could be produced, than consumers are demanding.

The League Pegs Away

We are, therefore, thrown back on some kind of international agreement, which would tend to keep prices stable and employment steady. The adoption of such a plan would involve one obvious danger, namely, that the interests of the consumers should be forgotten. A price that satisfied the mineowner and ensured a good wage for the miner might mean unreasonably high prices to people who merely used coal. A suggested remedy for that was full publicity as to all conditions, principally costs, and the maintenance of a permanent committee on which consumers would have appropriate representation.

The League has by no means finished with the coal industry yet. It has, in fact, only just begun. This particular report was under discussion at the annual sittings of the Economic Consultative Committee last month, and the investigations thus hopefully initiated are to be carried forward. The result will be awaited with much interest. We live in an age of great combines, national and international, and the mysterious word, rationalisation, is written across the heavens. The coal trade will have to organise, and organise internationally, and the League of Nations is rendering it considerable service in bringing it to the point.

THE LEAGUE AND ALCOHOL

THE League of Nations is getting mixed up with alcohol in one or two rather interesting ways. A resolution of the last Assembly definitely started the ball rolling. After animated discussions, in which the delegates from wine-producing countries resisted any such action at all, a compromise was reached whereby the Health Committee was asked to collect full statistical information regarding "alcoholism considered as a consequence of the use of alcohol," and in particular regarding the deleterious effects of alcohol of bad quality. Wine, beer and cider were, however, to be excluded from the inquiry.

The discussions on this subject, as embodied in the last report of the Health Committee, just to hand, make interesting reading. It was pointed out by more than one speaker that since a great many people who suffer from alcoholism drink wine and beer and possibly cider as well as spirits, it was going to be singularly difficult to discover how much of their malady was due to the particular liquors which the Committee was permitted to deal with, and how much to those to which it was not.

Certain countries, of course, have a special interest in the question, and not unnaturally the representative of the United States took an early part in the discussions, observing that as a result of prohibition a great deal of evidence was available as to the deleterious effects of the bootleg liquor illicitly produced and consumed. Prohibition indeed appears to provide some of the best examples on record of the deleterious effects of bad alcohol. Other speakers questioned the possibility of acquiring reliable statistical information on the subject at all, but to that it was replied that the records of mental asylums provided data of considerable value in one field, for a large proportion of mental diseases was definitely traceable to alcoholism.

Defenders of Wine.

The Committee had some difficulty in deciding how to proceed, but someone made the happy suggestion that presumably the countries that proposed the inquiry had some clear idea as to how it should be handled, and the Medical Director was, therefore, instructed to ascertain their views on the subject. That process is now being carried out.

At the same moment a note of alarm has been sounded in another quarter. Early last month an article appeared in the *Observer*, under the heading, "Liquor and the League—A Menace," the menace consisting of the fact that the Office International du Vin, or International Wine Office, was said to be considering an application to the League Secretariat to be placed under the authority of the League of Nations under the conditions laid down in Article 24 of the Covenant.

Article 24, it may be observed, stipulates that "there shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League." The International Wine Office itself consists of the representatives of a certain number of Governments, primarily, of course, those interested in the production of wine. France, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Italy and Czechoslovakia are among the members, but "observers" have also attended at different times from countries like Germany, Australia and Soviet Russia.

The objects of the Office are said to be to prove that the consumption of wine is not unwholesome, to protect the technical names of certain wines, to guarantee certain standards of purity and authenticity of origin, to take

suitable measures to prevent fraud, etc. The Office definitely claims that it is combating alcoholism by promoting the consumption of wine (as opposed to liquor with higher alcoholic content)—and good wine at that. If it should finally decide to send in its application, an interesting discussion may be looked for, in which representatives of those countries which produce wine and those which do not will not necessarily see eye to eye.

M.P.'s AND THE LEAGUE

HEADWAY has more than once urged the electors of this country to take advantage of the opportunity provided them by the General Election to satisfy themselves that candidates of all parties who were soliciting their votes had a clear understanding of the work of the League of Nations, and were prepared to give it their support. It is satisfactory to be able to record that thanks largely to the initiative taken by the League of Nations Union Executive Committee the League has been brought prominently before candidates in practically every constituency in the United Kingdom.

One result of this has been that British policy in regard to the League has been more fully discussed in the Press of the country in the last month than at any previous time. To begin with, the Statement on International Policy, approved by the General Council of the League of Nations Union and already published in HEADWAY, was sent to every important daily and weekly newspaper in Great Britain, and appeared in full or in summarised form in most of them. In addition to that the views of the various candidates before whom the Statement was laid were published in the local Press in due course.

The main facts regarding action taken in the constituencies as a result of the Union's initiative are as follows:—

In all but three of the 541 constituencies in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, and, so far as information has reached us, in the 74 Divisions of Scotland, individual electors or groups of electors—often acting through the Branch organisations of the Union—laid the Statement before Parliamentary Candidates, asking for their views for publication. In very few cases did candidates decline to express their opinion on the pretext that the Statement was a "questionnaire." The majority of those who replied accepted the Policy contained in the Statement, and those who did not in many cases wrote long and carefully reasoned comments upon it.

Mr. Baldwin's reply to the Union was published *in extenso* in *The Times*. While recalling the objections of his Government to signing the Optional Clause, because of the supposed divided views of the Dominions, and to the ratification of the Hours Convention, because of the difficulties outlined by the Minister of Labour at Geneva, the Prime Minister accepted and endorsed the main purposes of the Union Memorandum, repeating his Guildhall declaration:—

"In spirit every nation that signs the Kellogg Pact has got to keep it before its mind whenever it examines its own armament: whenever it prepares estimates of its own armaments it must realise what the implications of that Pact are."

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Lloyd George declared themselves in complete agreement with the proposals contained in the Statement.

HEADWAY has to be sent to press before the result of the Election can be known; but it is already safe to say that a considerable majority of those who will compose the new Parliament, whatever their party, stand more fully committed to a progressive League policy and have a greater understanding of the immediate issues confronting the League than their predecessors.

"TWO MONTHS AGO I KNEW NO FRENCH."

Interesting Letter from Reader who has Adopted the New Pelman Method of Learning Languages.

An interesting tribute to the efficacy of the new Pelman method of learning French, Spanish, German and Italian without using English has just been received in the shape of a letter from a reader who is taking the Pelman French Course. It runs as follows:—

"It is, perhaps, even yet too early to review your Course as a whole, yet it would be unfair not to take this occasion of appraising it. In place of generalisations, let me take my own experience.

"Quite recently an odd volume of Boursault's comedies, written under the blaze of Molière's sun, and therefore not read much now, came into my hands. A vastly entertaining volume of Dumas, dated 1866, came from the same library. I read its 200 odd pages in a couple of days, averaging 25 pages an hour. My dictionary was useful but once in three pages or so.

"Two months ago I knew no French, and now I can pen the above. After saying that, I do not think a formal compliment is necessary."

This letter is typical of the many hundreds received from men and women who are learning French, Italian, Spanish or German by this new method.

This method enables you to learn French in French, German in German, Italian in Italian and Spanish in Spanish, thus avoiding any translation from one language into another.

It enables you to think in the particular language you are learning.

It enables you to learn a Foreign Language without spending months in a preliminary struggle with a mass of dull and difficult grammatical rules and exceptions. It introduces you to the language itself straight away and you pick up the grammar almost unconsciously as you go along.

There are no vocabularies to be committed to memory, parrot fashion. You learn the words you need by actually using them, and so that they remain in your mind without effort.

There are no classes to attend. The new method enables you to learn a Foreign Language in your spare-time, in your own home, and in about one-half the usual period.

Here are a few further examples of letters received from readers who have adopted this method.

"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." (G.P. 136.)

"I was able to pass London Matriculation (taking Spanish) last June with minimum labour and no drudgery, although I was always reckoned a 'dud' at languages." (S.B. 373.)

"Last year I found your French Course of the greatest possible assistance during a visit to France, unaccompanied, and out of hearing of the English tongue." (G.O. 106.)

"I have found the Italian Course as interesting and absorbing as the French Course. I am more than satisfied with the progress made, and consider your Course is excellent." (I.B. 202.)

The new Pelman method of learning languages is described in a small book entitled, "The Gift of Tongues." There are four different editions of this book, one

for each language—French, German, Italian and Spanish.

You can have any one of these, free of cost, by writing for it to-day to the Pelman Institute (Languages Dept.), 114, Pelman House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1. When writing be sure you state which one of the four you want and it will be sent to you by return, free. Call or write to-day.

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INSTEAD OF WAR

ROUNDING OFF THE KELLOGG PACT

THE development of universal arbitration is making progress. It will be remembered that at the last Assembly of the League of Nations a document known as the General Act was framed and the accession of all States which saw fit to accede was invited. Those States which did accede would form a gradually increasing group between whom the peaceful settlement of every class of dispute would henceforward be assured. Two States, Belgium and Sweden, have now acceded—Sweden only to two parts of the Act out of three—and a third, France, is in process of doing so. The formation of the group has, therefore, now begun. Other accessions may be expected to follow shortly.

The object of the General Act was to weld together in a single document several separate types of arbitration treaty that had been prepared by the League in the preceding year. It consisted of three main provisions. By the first signatory States undertook to submit any kind of dispute to a process of conciliation, i.e., friendly discussion with or without the assistance of some third party. By the second they agreed that if this failed they would, if it were a justiciable dispute (a dispute about "rights") submit it to the Permanent Court and accept the Court's judgment as final. By the third they agreed that if it were a dispute not falling within the Court's jurisdiction they would submit it to arbitration and accept the arbitral tribunal's judgment as final.

Belgium as Pioneer

States could accede to the whole of the Act or only to certain parts of it, and they could sign with or without reservations. Belgium has signed without any reservations at all and M. Hymans, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his speech in the Senate dwelt on the value of the General Act as completing the engagement taken by signatories of the Kellogg Pact. The Kellogg Pact, it will be remembered, simply laid it down that States shall not seek the settlement of their disputes except by peaceful means, but it does not lay down what those means shall be, nor even insist that States settle disputes at all, so long as they refrain from going to war about them. "States," said M. Hymans, "will have in future to have recourse to peaceful means, but the Kellogg Pact does not specify them, while the Act lays them down. The Pact and the Act form a whole. The Act is technically the complement of the Pact for the Renunciation of War."

With all due respect to Belgium and Sweden the accession of a Great Power like France is a more important event. The Bill authorising accession is not passed into law yet, but there appears to be no doubt that it will be. France is acceding to all parts of the Act, but with certain reservations, one of them designed to exclude disputes concerning claims that may infringe existing treaties, on the ground that the revision of treaties is provided for by another process, in Article 19 of the Covenant.

The Bill laid before the French Chamber discusses the General Act at length, and states definitely that once France has acceded to the General Act she will have bound herself to compulsory peaceful settlement of all disputes with any State that may in its turn accede.

"The obligation is of universal scope," says the Government's explanation to the Chamber, "for once you have authorised our accession and notified the Secretary-General of the League of Nations it is no longer in our power to limit the extent of its consequence. Any State which signs this Act will in its turn enjoy in regard to ourselves both the rights and obligations of arbitration, and just as we shall

be able to summon it to settle disputes between us by arbitration so it may summon us to do the same. The obligation moreover is of a comprehensive nature in the second place, since it does not concern only one or other category of disputes, but—with the reservations mentioned and which are directed only to safeguarding the right to resort to other and parallel pacific procedure—all disputes that may arise."

Act and Optional Clause

It will be observed that accession to the first section of the General Act is equivalent to the signature of the Optional Clause of the Court Statutes with, however, this difference, that to sign the Clause itself means accepting the jurisdiction of the Court in disputes with any other State that has signed the Clause, whereas accession to the General Act means accepting the Court's jurisdiction in disputes with any other State that has acceded to the Act. The latter is at present much the smaller number of the two.

The late British Government never liked the General Act, and said so at Geneva last year. It is to be noted, however, that one of the two Opposition parties in its Election Statement in last month's HEADWAY definitely undertook to sign the General Act, while the Statement of the other party suggests that it also would be prepared to do the same. At any rate, whatever action Great Britain may take, it is of some importance that there is being built up, side by side with the group of States which have agreed always to refer to the Court (if either party desires it) all legal disputes with one another, a second group prepared to accept finally the peaceful settlement of all non-legal as well as legal disputes they may be mutually engaged in.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Toryism and the People, 1832-1846.** By Richard Hill. (Constable. 10s. 6d.)
- Combed Out.** By F. A. Voigt. (Cape. 3s. 6d.)
- The Missionary's Job.** By Godfrey Phillips. (Edinburgh House Press. 1s.)
- The Headway Histories.** By F. W. Tickner, D.Litt., B.Sc. (University of London Press, Ltd. 1s. 10d. and 2s.)
- War in World History.** By Andrew Reid Cowan. (Longmans, Green. 6s.)
- Les Effets Economiques et Sociaux de la Guerre en Grece.** By André Andreades. (Humphrey Milford. 8s. 6d.)
- Nationality: Its Nature and Problems.** By Bernard Joseph. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)
- A Woman of India.** By G. S. Dutt. (Hogarth Press. 4s. 6d.)
- Die Volkerbundsatzung.** By Dr. Hans Wehberg. (Hensel & Co.)
- The Further Side of No-Man's Land.** By V. W. W. S. Purcell. (Dent. 7s. 6d.)
- Danger Zones of Europe.** By John S. Stephens. (Hogarth Press. Cloth, 2s.; Paper, 1s.)
- Dreiser Looks at Russia.** By Theodore Dreiser. (Constable. 5s.)
- Speech Training in the School.** By Marjorie Gullan. (Evans. 1s. 6d.)

GREECE'S HEALTH

THE story of what the League of Nations is doing for Greece in the matter of public health is well worth studying. Some particulars of the earlier phases of this enterprise were given in the January HEADWAY, after the application of the Greek Government for assistance had come before the League Council at its Lugano meeting. Further progress was reported at the meeting of the League Health Committee last month, when a report was received from the doctors who had been sent to Greece by the League to make a preliminary study of the situation, among whom, it may be mentioned, was Sir George Buchanan, of the British Ministry of Health.

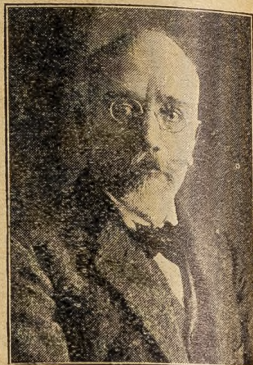
The investigation was thorough and the Commission spoke plainly about what it found. Such health organisation as there is in Greece is declared wholly unsatisfactory. The training of the medical profession is poor and standards low, even (it is added) in the matter of curative medicine, to say nothing of what is intrinsically more important, the art of prevention of disease. The strictures that apply to doctors apply equally to hospital nurses, health visitors and midwives, regarding whom, it is stated, that "the opportunities and the nature of the training given at the one training centre at Athens are lamentable."

Starting Fresh

These conclusions are the result of intensive study in three or four typical localities, and it is only fair to the Greek authorities to say that they fully recognise the shortcomings of their country. They pointed out, indeed, when application was first made to the League, that the Greek Government had been so completely preoccupied, first, with twelve years of war, and then with the deluge of refugees, that the important business of reorganising health services had to be left over altogether for the moment. The verdict of the League doctors is that what is wanted is not reorganisation, but the destruction of such services as exist, and the construction of a health organisation from the foundation. A whole series of practical proposals to that end has been put forward. The first thing, of course, is to secure a supply of medical officers sufficiently trained in modern methods of preventing disease and in modern methods of hygiene generally. For that purpose it is proposed that a training school shall be set up at Athens with professors drawn from abroad. These will, no doubt, be recommended to the Greek Government by the League. At the same time selected Greek medical officers will have their experience broadened through study tours abroad arranged by the League. Thus gradually there will be produced a flow of Greek doctors capable of building up the medical service their country requires.

Building by Degrees

The idea is to begin with a completely efficient service in selected areas, gradually multiplying and extending these areas as the supply of medical officers increases, till eventually, perhaps by 1933, a national



M. Venizelos.

The Longevity of Annuitants

To buy an Annuity from the Sun Life of Canada seems tantamount to taking a new lease of life. Witness the following list of Annuitants over the age of 90 who died last year:—

| AGE AT DEATH | COST OF ANNUITY | TOTAL RECEIVED BY ANNUITANT |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 104 | £150 0 0 | £458 12 11 |
| 101 | 211 9 2 | 770 4 8 |
| 99 | 964 15 4 | 2,125 0 0 |
| 96 | 200 0 0 | 594 16 0 |
| 96 | 1,000 0 0 | 2,362 4 0 |
| 96 | 795 15 0 | 1,748 6 8 |
| 91 | 3,476 0 0 | 10,032 4 0 |
| 91 | 1,000 0 0 | 2,508 16 0 |

These Annuitants lived until last year, some of them having been in receipt of a guaranteed income for life for over 30 years. The income they enjoyed was much larger than would have been received from ordinary investments, and enabled them to procure the greater comforts and attention so vital to the later years of life. Still living and enjoying the benefits of a larger and guaranteed Income for life are hundreds of aged Annuitants of the Sun Life of Canada. They have not a moment's anxiety about their incomes; they know that, whatever happens, the Sun of Canada, the great Company with Government-supervised Assets exceeding £100,000,000, will not fail them. This is the leading Company for Annuities, and it offers a combination of advantages unobtainable elsewhere, including *better terms in cases of impaired health*. All classes of Annuities—Immediate, Deferred, Joint Life and Educational.

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By H. G. MASSINGHAM

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A NUMBER OF EMPLOYERS HAVE PRESENTED EACH OF THEIR EMPLOYEES WITH A COPY. HAVE YOU?

HOLIDAY CENTRES.

HUMANITARIANS' HOLIDAY CENTRES, 1929.—SOUTHBOURNE-ON-SEA, HANTS (Aug. 2nd to Sep. 7th). Large Mansion to accommodate 100 guests. Several acres beautiful grounds. Tennis, Croquet, Dancing, Lectures, Concerts. HARCOMBE, UPLYME, SOUTH DEVON (July 27th to Aug. 31st). 600 ft. above the sea-level. Glorious landscape and sea views. Tennis, Dancing, Lectures, Concerts. Members of L. of N., 10% reduction.—Illustrated Prospectus from Mr. F. de V. Summers, 32, Sackville St., London, W.1.

health service covering the whole of Greece has been evolved. This, of course, will cost money. It will increase the existing health budget in Greece by at least a third, but the Government is fully prepared for this expenditure, and has, in fact, adopted the League Health Committee's proposals *in toto*.

Not very surprisingly, perhaps, it appears that Greek doctors themselves are viewing the intervention of the League with some jealousy. At any rate the Greek Prime Minister, M. Venizelos, is reported to have spoken as follows:—

"In the application of its health programme I know that the Government will encounter sharp opposition on the part of the doctors, whose interests will, I suppose, be prejudiced by the improvement of the health of the people. We have already had signs of this opposition, although the report of the health advisers is not yet published. I foresee that this medical opposition will be more serious than any the Government has hitherto had to face, or any others they are likely to have to face, in the general execution of their programme. This opposition on the part of the medical world, no doubt with certain exceptions, is prompted by both material and moral motives, for it must be admitted that the foreign advisers in the course of their inquiry into our sanitary conditions failed to establish contact with the Greek scientists and specialists in the neighbourhoods they visited. But the responsibility for that rests not with the foreign advisers, but with us, who failed to put them in contact with these local authorities."

Better Health, Better Pay

A member of his audience then observed that the doctors would, in fact, lose nothing in consequence of this inquiry into public health, because it would mean an increase in the means of the citizen, which would permit him when ill to call a doctor whenever he needed him and pay him on an adequate scale, which did not happen as things were. M. Venizelos said that was a just comment, and expressed the hope that doctors disposed to oppose the plan would rise to a higher level, and realise the importance of the question which involved the whole future of the race.

All this health programme, of course, is from one point of view largely practical. There is, however, another aspect worth consideration. The League of Nations has many functions, but in no way can it prove its value to the world better than by giving this kind of practical assistance to a member State with some special need to be met. In one case it may be the organisation of the national finances, in another the organisation of the national health services, in another advice (through the I.L.O.) on labour legislation. The essential fact is that in all such cases and others like them, the League is fulfilling one of the fundamental purposes of its founders in gathering to it, as it were, the best knowledge and experience of all the nations of the world, and placing that invaluable store at the disposal of any single nation that desires to draw on it.

EDUCATIONAL.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

LEAKEY'S INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO, 4d., of all booksellers or British Esperanto Assn., 142, High Holborn, W.C.1.

BOOKS WORTH READING

THE CLAIM OF THE NATIVE
The Mandates System in Relation to Africa and the Pacific Islands. By Elizabeth van Maanen-Helmer. (P. S. King. 15s.)

This is a good book, and one badly needed. For as Miss van Maanen-Helmer says: "There are two primary essentials for the mandates system; the first is that the Commission should know as much as possible about the territories the administration of which it is supervising, the second is that the general public should know as much as possible about the workings of the mandates system."

It is hard for the general public to know about something buried beneath a monstrous pile of technical documents; and we shall all be grateful for a book which sifts and arranges their substance. The author knows her documents backwards. The chapters on the organisation and competence of the Mandates Commission could hardly be bettered, as witness the fair and clear account of the "questionnaire" controversy. All this part of the book applies to the mandates system as a whole, and should be read by those interested in any territory, whether A, B, or C.

The account of the effects of the system in B and C territories perhaps shows less realistic knowledge. The chapter called "The Mandated Territories and the Mandatory Powers" gives a pleasant but not quite justified impression that all's for the best in the best of all mandated areas. But when Miss van Maanen-Helmer comes to "More Science in Colonial Government" she has some shrewd observations on liquor traffic and labour; and the chapter on "Well-being and Development" faces squarely the problems of depopulation and the impact of European demand on native races. This is well illustrated by quotations showing the rather wobbly labour policy of the Tanganyika Government. The account of the South-West African administration justly says: "The policy of encouraging a race comprising about 14 per cent. of the population to rely for their existence on the labour of a race comprising nearly 86 per cent. and of encouraging the 86 per cent. to believe that their highest future lies in such labour with its accruing 'dignity' seems scarcely inspired with a desire to carry out the obligations of the mandates system."

One other passage emphasising the difficulty of the decisions the Mandates Commission often has to make is worth quoting:

"What," asks the author, "does the moral well-being and social progress of the natives consist in? One is reminded of the discussions of the Greek Philosophers about what is the perfect Good. Is a native of the tropics better off if he entertains his friends at home with a phonograph and calls on them in an automobile? Is he morally higher if he has one wife instead of two? Traders, with an eye to new markets and cheap labour, consider that the native should be encouraged to feel new wants—for cotton clothing, umbrellas, top-hats. Anthropologists, with an eye to preserving the subject of their research in an undisturbed state, think the natives should be left to develop their own culture uninterrupted and with the least possible contact with European culture. Between these two extremes are all sorts of other people—missionaries, philanthropists, big-game hunters, each having his own ideas about native welfare. Above them all, and attempting to harmonise them and bring them into line, is the Government."

On the whole the author is optimistic about the mandates system, and this in spite of a high valuation of its responsibilities. The packed information of the book is used to illustrate her ideas. Many of these are the accepted doctrines of progress, some are controversial, but mandates is a controversial subject—fortunately. Only controversial subjects are alive.

MUST WAR CONTINUE?

The International Community and the Right of War. By Luigi Sturzo. (Allen & Unwin. 10s.)

The Church and War. By Franziskus Stratmann, O.P. (Sheed & Ward. 5s.)

Don Sturzo, formerly the organiser and leader of the Partito Popolare in Italy, is one of those many anti-Fascist politicians who find it impossible or inadvisable to remain in Italy at the present time. He is, therefore, living at present in Great Britain, and has devoted himself of late to the study rather of world politics than of the politics of his own country.

The main theme of Don Sturzo's latest book is similar in some respects to that of Señor Madariaga's "Disarmament," reviewed in last month's HEADWAY. Both the Spanish and the Italian writer insist that the idea of a world-community must be made not merely an idea but a reality. Señor Madariaga contended that it is only in a world-community acting as such that conditions can be created which will make disarmament possible. Don Sturzo, following much the same line, draws a distinction between an international organisation in which war in certain circumstances is legitimate, and a world organisation in which it is always illegitimate, apart, of course, from the use of force in the last resort by the community itself against one of its members which goes to war in violation of its pledges.

The bulk of Don Sturzo's book centres, naturally enough, round the League of Nations, which he finds insufficient and relatively impotent at present, but containing within it the nucleus of that world-community without whose operation what he terms "the eliminability of war" is impossible. The book contains too much solid thought to make it entirely easy reading, but to those who believe in solid thought as a basis for serious action it may be confidently commended.

Father Stratmann, like Don Sturzo, is a Roman Catholic, but unlike the Italian priest-politician, approaches the question of war from the purely religious and Catholic standpoint. His conclusion, nevertheless, is broadly the same, that there must be a larger patriotism than a purely national one. "The Christian's love for his country should take the second place, subordinate to his love for the Kingdom of God," and, as the writer shows, the Kingdom of God can have no bounds short of the limits of all of humanity.

READERS' VIEWS

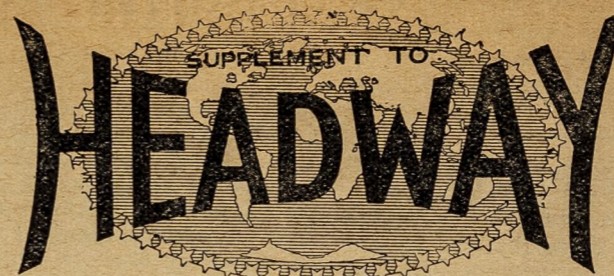
"EAT MORE SUGAR"

SIR,—I don't understand the argument under the above heading on page 82 of HEADWAY for May. You say "there is not much room for Government action" just after saying that "one way of increasing the consumption of sugar is to reduce the tax on it." Now taxation, as we all know, is the monopoly of all Governments, and to reduce taxation is the best and simplest way to increase consumption. Nor would our Government lose much, if anything, by reducing the tax, if our poorer fellow-subjects were enabled to eat, say, 3 lbs. of sugar where they only eat two at present. It seems absolutely wicked to limit the production of such excellent food. Tea is certainly not good, and people are none the better for drinking more of it, yet our Government gave up £60,000 a year on tea, the tax on which hurt nobody.—Yours, etc.,

J. B. PENNINGTON.

["Not much room" is not the same thing as "not any room."—Ed., HEADWAY.]

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



JUNE, 1929

PAYING FOR PROGRESS

MANY of our members pay only one shilling a year—only one penny a month—and for some of them that is as much as they can reasonably afford. But how many of them could manage to pay much more! Only the other day the Secretary of the Union received the following letter from a member of many years standing:

"I have received an appeal from the League of Nations Union, in which they appear to desire more than the 2s. 6d. or 3s. 6d. for which I have received application annually. I have often wondered how the funds of the Union were maintained, and it strikes me that collectors sometimes do not realise the importance of collecting all they can, although I am still in the dark as to the importance of this. However, I have pleasure in enclosing banker's order for a guinea per annum as a mark of my esteem for the work the League and you are doing."

At the present time Foundation Members, who subscribe £1 a year or more to the Union, number only some 12,000 out of the 770,000 members of the Union. One out of every ten members of the Union is probably in the position of the writer of the above letter. If they could only be made to realise that Foundation Membership is the financial basis of the Union's whole enterprise, the number of Foundation Members would rapidly rise to the neighbourhood of 100,000. Then the issue would no longer be doubtful. H.M. Government in Great Britain, who have constantly declared their policy to be based on loyal co-operation with the League of Nations, would be able to make the League an effective reality. At present the process of supporting the League cannot always be carried through without some apparent, though not on a long view real, sacrifices of special national interest. The unpreparedness of public opinion to acquiesce in such sacrifices obstructs the Government. To remove that obstruction by educating public opinion about the League is a high service to the country, to the Empire and to the world. It is for that that the League of Nations Union has received its Royal Charter. But the Union will only be able to render this high service if it receives adequate financial support, especially from Foundation Members.

Ten years ago this month the Covenant of the League of Nations was signed at Paris. The Union, a little older than the League, celebrated its tenth birthday last October. The report which the General Council will receive from the Executive Committee at the annual meeting in Brighton at the end of this month shows that the Union is making steady progress towards the objects set forth in its Royal Charter. Its progress is, however, hindered and its work restricted by lack of funds. In 1928 the income fell short of the expenditure by approximately 12 per cent. (£3,845); and, despite the continued need and growing opportunities for the Union's work, it will have to be curtailed in the immediate future unless the Union's members increase their annual subscriptions wherever they can afford to do so.

But some are already subscribing as much as they can. They want to be sure that the best use is being made of their money. Is one shilling (or three-and-

sixpence) a year too high a price to pay? What happens to your shilling (or three-and-sixpence)? Threepence out of the shilling (or three-halfpence out of the three-and-sixpence) goes to the Headquarters of the Union. The staff is not enormous, but it has a great deal to do.

What do you get in return? You do not pay your money for the sake of entertainment, but because you want something done for the cause in which you are interested. The central office is the spear-head of the organisation, or, if you like, it is the power-house upon which the activity of the whole organisation depends. When, for example, a deputation from the Union goes to see the Prime Minister; when a millionaire saves the Union from bankruptcy and enables its beneficent work to continue; when the President of the Board of Education puts an account of the League of Nations into the official "Suggestions" for teachers; when representatives of practically every branch of the teaching profession throughout the country sign a DECLARATION in favour of teaching the aims and work of the League in all the schools of Britain; when practically every candidate for Parliament receives a statement which not only makes him think about some aspects of a League of Nations policy, but also tells him what the representatives of three-quarters of a million of his fellow-countrymen think about them; when the Churches, the Women's Institutes, the Co-operative Societies, declare for the League of Nations, and begin to persuade their members individually; or when 200 provincial newspapers print a weekly article on the League; or when League of Nations Societies in more than 30 other countries follow a British lead in educating and organising their own public opinion in favour of the League—do you suppose all this happens of its own accord?

As for the rest of your subscription, it goes to your Branch (except so much as pays for League of Nations literature supplied to you). All the work of your local committee is voluntary; it meets perhaps once a month in premises which are lent to it, and arranges meetings and other activities in your neighbourhood. Actually of your shilling, ninepence (or of your three-and-sixpence, tenpence-halfpenny) goes to your local Branch, and this pays for tickets, cards, advertisements and so on.

To sum up, by becoming a member of the Union, even if he subscribes no more than one shilling a year:—

1. The ordinary citizen does his duty and seizes his opportunity to help in getting rid of war. Since some people will neither read nor hear about the League, the personal persuasion of one citizen by another is the only means to persuade the whole public to support the League of Nations.
2. His name helps, since the number of paying members of the Union is the most readily available measure of the support on which the Government can rely when in doubt concerning the preparedness of public opinion for some new act of international co-operation.
3. His money helps both to prepare public opinion and to keep Government informed of the extent to which public opinion has already been prepared.

Thus, the greatest task of our time—one of the greatest of all time—belongs, so far as this country is concerned, not chiefly to Governments and personages, but to ordinary citizens, members of the League of Nations Union.

A YEAR IN PARIS

THE annual report of the Paris Section of the League of Nations Union shows that the Section has arranged for six lectures since last November on the following subjects: The Preservation of Racial and National Culture; Nationalism and Internationalism; The Renaissance of the European Conscience; Democracy and the Post-War World; The American and European Financial Situation; and The Monroe Doctrine and its Effect on World Peace and Disarmament. The continued hospitality of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation is greatly appreciated, and warm thanks are due to the Director, M. Luchaire, and to the Deputy Director, Professor Zimmern, for their valuable contributions to the Section's Lectures.

Under the auspices of the Section, a Committee, formed of men of high literary and intellectual standing, meet monthly to discuss current questions of international importance which are of too controversial a nature to be debated in a public assembly. The Committee is composed of British, French, Americans and Germans.

Educational meetings and debates have been held from time to time during the winter months. On March 4, at the Foyer International des Etudiantes, the League of Nations film, entitled "The World War and After," was shown to 200 young people, representing 17 different nationalities, and was much appreciated. The Section has also obtained a new Photoscope film on the activities of the League, the best of its kind yet published. This was exhibited on April 16 to an English-speaking group of students. Instruction has been given in the Pax Game, by means of which the technique is organised without effort, forming a basis of further study.

Through the intermediary of the Paris Section, "Mondover" (Educational Advisers in Paris) has been put in direct contact with Professor Zimmern and the Geneva School of International Study. The Managing Director arranged for a party of 32 English teachers to visit Geneva in August and September, 1928. This experiment was so successful that arrangements are being made for another group to visit Geneva this year.

Sixty-nine new members and associates have been enrolled since June 1, 1928, making a total of 195 members.

Now that Whitsun is past, and we have had a foretaste of what a sunny holiday may be like, may we remind our readers that for sunshine Geneva is unsurpassed? There are still a few vacancies in the holiday-course parties which the Union is organising to go to Geneva in August. Failing being able to attend one or other of these, an Assembly trip at the beginning of September is a holiday of peculiar interest. Comparatively few people in this country have seen the League actually at work. To have done so adds zest to all that may be read about Geneva thereafter. Full particulars can be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

NOTES AND NEWS

The General Council

The attention of all members of the Union is drawn to the fact that the Tenth Annual Meeting of the General Council will be held at Brighton on June 27, 28 and 29, 1929. The Sussex Federation hope to have a list of hotels and boarding houses in Brighton available at an early date, copies will be sent free on application to the Honorary General Secretary, Mr. J. A. Trevelyan Leak, 68, Compton Road, Brighton. It is hoped that a limited amount of private hospitality will be available. Delegates and members of the Council wishing to avail themselves of this are invited to apply direct to Mr. Trevelyan Leak as soon as possible.

From all Points of the Compass

Branch reports are still finding their way to Headquarters. *Lyme Regis* had a successful year, during which five meetings and a garden party were organised. One of these meetings was in the nature of an interesting experiment, which might well be followed by other branches. Eight members of the Branch undertook to speak for not more than ten minutes each on subjects selected by themselves. The result was an unqualified success. The fact that lots were drawn for the order of speaking added spice to the proceedings. The *Beckenham Branch* recently held its annual meeting, at which Miss Currey delivered an address on current affairs. The *Leamington Branch* reports an increased membership, the 700 mark having now been passed. This increase is attributed mainly to the excellent work done during a canvass organised under the chairmanship of Major Glover. Several successful functions were organised during the year including a garden party, a united service and the exhibition of one of the Union's films, the number present at the last-named being well over 1,000. The *Lozells Branch* has experienced a year of steady progress. The *Wolverton (Bucks) Branch* has had a successful year, 138 new members having been enrolled during the year; of a total membership of nearly 500, all but 10 paid their subscriptions. The *Purley Branch* reports a year of active work, the membership having increased from 755 to 809. A feature of the work of this Branch is the series of informal gatherings held under the guidance of the chairman, at which a selected speaker gives a short address, and a discussion follows. Over 100 members attended the annual meeting of the *Heywood (Lancs) Branch*, and the annual report tells of several successful functions. A park demonstration and flag day held last summer was an unqualified success. Forty-two new members have been enrolled during the year.

Making History at Swindon

Reports have come in of successful meetings held in many parts of the country at which the parliamentary candidates for the division have spoken on the same platform under the auspices of the Union. Considerations of space forbid mention of all these meetings, but our attention has been drawn to a remarkably successful meeting of this nature held at Swindon. This meeting was attended by the three parliamentary candidates, Dr. C. Addison (Lab.), Mr. F. F. Thornborough (Lib.), and Sir Reginald Mitchell Banks, K.C. (Con.), and the chair was taken by the Mayor, Councillor G. F. Stevens. Each candidate expressed himself heartily in favour of the League of Nations, and some interesting speeches were made. The local paper remarked that "the Swindon Branch of the League of Nations Union made history when at a meeting at the Mechanics Institution speeches were delivered from the same platform by the Conservative member for the division and the prospective candidates of the other political parties. The

meeting was unique in the annals of Swindon, for never before had the local party opponents appeared together on a public platform."

Lord Cecil at Nottingham

Lord Cecil and Mr. Arthur Hayday, M.P., were the chief speakers at a Conference on "International Disarmament," held in Nottingham last month. Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P., presided, and was supported by many of the leading people in the county, including eight of the local parliamentary candidates. The audience included nearly 60 clergymen and ministers, officers, speakers and workers from 20 of the Union's branches, together with delegates from 199 other organisations.

International Federation

By the time these words appear in print the Thirtieth Plenary Congress of the International Federation, which is meeting at Madrid from May 20 until the 24th, will be over. A full account of the Congress will, it is hoped, appear in the next number of HEADWAY.

A New President

The London Regional Federation counts itself fortunate in its new President, Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe, who delivered his Presidential address at the Annual Meeting of the Federal Council on April 23. Admiral Drury-Lowe, who has long been a member of the Executive Committee of the L.N.U., is well known throughout the country for his unflinching energy and work for the Union both on and off the platform.

News from South Africa

The Annual Report of the Cape Town League of Nations Union shows that its membership now stands at 237. Three churches have joined the branch this year as corporate members, and there are now ten Junior branches. The Union has arranged for 57 members to carry on foreign correspondence, and has, further, issued a pamphlet on the work of the different departments of the League.

A Two-headed God

The *Algemeen Handelsblad* reports a meeting held at The Hague on March 15, at which Professor Walther Schücking addressed the League of Nations Association on "The Future of the League." He compared the League to the two-headed god Janus, trying at the same time to keep peace and to maintain the conditions laid down by the Peace Treaties of 1918. The latter task he thought was impossible, as the League must move with the times. He emphasised the responsibility of each nation, saying that any individual withholding support must cripple terribly the authority of the whole. Professor Schücking also lectured at Leiden on the vast future development of international law and the Court of Arbitration.

Five Hundred Children Compete for Essay Prize

Over 500 children recently competed in a Secondary School Prize Essay Competition organised by the Woking Branch. The paper was set by Mr. H. D. Watson, President of the Guildford Branch, who also judged the essays sent in. The standard of the question paper was remarkably high. The questions included the following: "Explain the constitution and composition of the Council of the League of Nations, and say how far it is correct to call it 'The Cabinet of the League'"; "The Covenant states the first aim of the League to be 'to promote international co-operation.' Give three instances of the carrying out of this aim."; "Explain by what methods the Covenant seeks to prevent war breaking out between two States Members of the League"; "Some people say, 'The only League of Nations we believe in is the British Empire.' Do you agree with the word 'only'? Give reasons for or against."

San Domingo Schools

The *Listen Diaro*, of San Domingo, has published an editorial on a pamphlet dealing with subjects of League instruction in the schools. The article points out that this education is most important if the anti-League propaganda is to be defeated.

The Council's Vote

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

1928.—Armley, Daventry, Diss, Eynsford, Farnborough, Frome, Niton, Prospect.

1929.—Burford, Barton Hill, Bunbury, Cropredy, Diss, Hartest, Helston, Hilton, Huddersfield (Gledholt Wesleyan), Hesse, Longworth, Scunthorpe, St. Agnes, Skelsmergh, Stanford-in-the-Vale, W. Cranmore, Wrabness.

The Union in India

The annual meeting of the Delhi Branch of the Indian League of Nations Union was held on March 25, the Commander-in-Chief (Sir William Birdwood), Sir George Schuster, Sir John Thompson and the Nawab Akbar Khan being present. Sir William Birdwood, who presided, described the work of the League during the year, and said that he regarded it as highly satisfactory. He thought that the activity of the Health and Child Welfare Organizations should make a special appeal to the population of India. He pointed out that India was very fully represented at Geneva, both in the Secretariat and in the International Labour Office, and that the League of Nations Union had the most important task of creating public opinion in India in favour of the League. For this reason, he was very pleased to see an increase in the membership of the Union. Sir George Schuster reminded the audience of the splendid financial achievements of the League in Austria-Hungary and Dr. Pilai spoke on the work of the International Labour Office. The Secretary of the Delhi Branch, the Reverend J. C. Chatterjee, is to be congratulated on the success of the meeting and of the whole year's work.

Gifts at Ealing

In past years the Ealing Branch have supplemented their funds by the proceeds of a fancy dress ball or a whist drive. This year the Branch took a new line and arranged a gift day. The Chairman attended the Branch Office from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. on a Saturday, and received gifts from members and others. This proved a distinct success as a means of raising funds, over £79 having been received. In the course of the day more than 80 new members were enrolled, and many members who were in arrear with their subscriptions made amends. The Ealing Branch deserves hearty congratulations for its enterprise.

Retford High School Debate

The Retford High School Junior Branch recently held a debate, the motion being "That the League of Nations Does not Justify its Existence." Over 200 girls and 12 members of the staff were present. Some of the young speakers delivered excellent addresses, and great interest was shown in the points which arose. The motion was defeated by 74 votes.

Rotary and the Union

It is interesting to learn that *all* members of the Berwick Rotary Club are also members of the League of Nations Union. May other Rotary Clubs follow this admirable example!

To Hatfield

The London Regional Federation is arranging for an excursion to Hatfield, which will take place on Saturday, July 13 next. The tickets will be 4s. od. each, including return fare from King's Cross, a visit to Hatfield Park and House and tea. Full particulars and tickets may be obtained on application to the London Regional Federation, 43, Russell Square, W.C.1.

Edinburgh Branch

In order to ascertain the views of the Edinburgh Parliamentary candidates on such subjects as Disarmament, the Optional Clause, the Freedom of the Seas, and General Arbitration Treaties, a public meeting was held in the Central Hall, Tollcross, on Friday, May 17. Eleven of the candidates representing the three political parties gave short addresses. The Rt. Hon. Lord Polwarth took the chair. Judging from the large attendance this meeting aroused great interest. A number of new members were secured.

The attention of all Edinburgh and East of Scotland members is drawn to the Rally to Dundas Castle, South Queensferry, on Saturday, July 6. Tickets, 3s. 6d. each, may be had from the office, 34, Shandwick Place and early application is desirable.

Women's Institutes and the Union

The annual general meeting of Women's Institutes took place in London during May. A special resolution was passed calling attention to the work of the League. It read as follows:—

"That this meeting, recognising the great need for mobilising public opinion against the acceptance of war as a necessity, and the important part that women can take in doing so, urges every Women's Institute to study the work of the League of Nations and to consider how best to further the cause of world peace."

A rider was added suggesting that if an Institute in a village in which no branch of the Union exists proposes to have a speaker to address it on the League, the meeting should be an open one.

Country branches have a great opportunity to make the League known in the villages in their area. We trust they will not be slow to seize the opportunity thus offered and fix up for their speaking members to do a tour during the coming winter.

Forthcoming Meetings

- June 19.—Heathfield. Lord Lytton.
June 22.—Lavenham. Lord Iddesleigh.
June 29.—Bristol (Ashton Park). Lord Lytton.

A Thank Offering.

Lord Cecil has received the following letter from Alderman H. E. Davis, J.P. It explains itself.

DEAR LORD CECIL,—As you know, in what I think I may claim as a singularly crowded life, I have always taken the deepest personal interest in the work for world peace for which the League of Nations Union is doing so much. That interest has connected itself in my mind in the past week with the moving and impressive message addressed by His Majesty the King to his people throughout the Empire on St. George's Day, and in particular with the hope expressed by the King in that message, "That the national anxieties of all the peoples of the world should be felt as a common source of human sympathy and a common claim on human friendship." Reflecting on these notable words both Mrs. Davis and I have felt that no better thank-offering for His Majesty's recovery could be made, and no better way found of furthering the realisation of his own desires, than by doing what is possible to assist the practical and organised work for peace which the League of Nations is doing for the world and the League of Nations Union is effectively furthering in this country. With a view, therefore, to securing the continuance of the cause which His gracious Majesty has shown he has so much at heart, exemplified by his recent message to the League of Nations Union, I have much pleasure in sending you, as its President, a cheque for one hundred guineas in the hope that this gift may stimulate others to take like action, and so serve as a permanent memorial of a nation's gratitude.—I am, Yours very truly,

H. E. DAVIS,
Alderman, J.P.

May 12, 1929.

South Australia

The report of the South Australian Branch of the Union has just been received from the Secretary, Miss Constance Berry. A large number of activities have been undertaken, the most important of which were in the schools. An Essay Competition, in which prizes to the value of £43 were given, had for a subject, "The League of Nations and Human Happiness." The championship prize was divided between E. J. Sugg and D. M. Peek, both of the Adelaide High School. On Armistice Day 15,000 Sunday school teachers had a special set of lessons in their hands.

As the Secretary says in her letter to us: "The work among the schools and Sunday schools has in itself been worth the time and expense, and those members of our executive who were responsible for correcting the essays and compiling the lessons for Armistice Sunday feel amply repaid for their effort."

Other activities of the Branch included regular weekly luncheons, at which addresses were given on many aspects of the League as well as pressing international problems. Several public meetings were also held.

Welsh Notes

At the time of writing the Eighth Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council is in progress at Wrexham, Denbighshire; there is a record attendance of Branch representatives and the prospects for the Conference are excellent. It is hoped to give a brief account of the proceedings in the July HEADWAY. During the Conference the result of the 1929 Geneva Scholarships Examination organised by the Welsh Council will be published.

On Saturday, May 18—Goodwill Day—the World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales was broadcast for the eighth year in succession and numerous replies from abroad are already arriving.

A large number of centres in Wales and Monmouthshire chose May 18 as their "Daffodil Day" in aid of the funds of the Welsh League of Nations Union. Every effort is being made to ensure that a "Daffodil Day" be organised in every town and village throughout the Principality before the end of the summer.

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

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| Jan. 1, 1919 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,841 |
| Jan. 1, 1920 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10,000 |
| Jan. 1, 1921 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 60,000 |
| Jan. 1, 1922 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 150,031 |
| Jan. 1, 1923 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 230,456 |
| Jan. 1, 1924 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 333,455 |
| Jan. 1, 1925 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 432,478 |
| Jan. 1, 1926 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 512,310 |
| Jan. 1, 1927 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 587,221 |
| Jan. 1, 1928 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 665,022 |
| May 17, 1929 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 776,109 |

On May 17th, 1929, there were 2,814 Branches, 694 Junior Branches, 135 Districts, 2,910 Corporate Members and 503 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

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

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

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