

# HEADWAY

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### CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT ... ..	41	GENEVA PERSONALITIES.—II. THE DIRECTOR OF THE I.L.O. ... ..	48
WHAT THE LEAGUE COULD DO IN CHINA. By Professor Basil Williams and Professor William Wilson ... ..	44	THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL ... ..	49
LEAGUE ACTIVITIES TO-DAY ... ..	45	NEW FACES AT GENEVA ... ..	49
THE CHINESE PROBLEM ... ..	45	LEAGUE METHODS IN INDUSTRY ... ..	50
LABOUR AND THE LEFT. By Commander W. E. Arnold-Forster ... ..	46	GENEVA AND MR. COOLIDGE ... ..	51
THE CHILD AND THE LEAGUE. By Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett ... ..	47	A DISARMAMENT TREATY ... ..	52
DISARMAMENT PROGRESS ... ..	48	HOURS, HOURS AND HOURS ... ..	56
FRANCE'S POPULATION ... ..	48	IN THE HOUSE ... ..	56
		BOOKS WORTH READING ... ..	57
		READERS' VIEWS ... ..	58
		FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE ... ..	60

## MATTERS OF MOMENT

SINCE the last issue of HEADWAY went to press, the lengthy report of the Military, Naval and Air Experts who have been sitting for months past at Geneva to clear some part of the field for next year's Disarmament Conference, has become available. Taken as a whole, it is a document that gives more ground for hope than for despair. One conclusion that emerges quite definitely from it is that from the technical point of view, the drafting of a Disarmament Convention is in no way impracticable. The experts declare the thing can be done, though they are by no means in agreement as to the best way to do it. Consequently their report represents on many points nothing like unanimous conclusions. If it had been necessary to wait for that the Committee would probably be sitting this time next year. It does, however, provide abundant material for definite decisions by the Preparatory Commission, which meets this month, and which consists of politicians whose business it is to adjust the purely technical findings of the experts to the larger questions of international policy. The Preparatory Commission has before it a long and quite possibly a difficult session, but the fact that the task of framing an actual Disarmament Convention is now the immediate issue, is a welcome reminder that real progress is being made.

### China and Geneva

AT the moment of writing it is still entirely uncertain whether the question of China will be raised at this month's meeting of the League

of Nations Council. It does not appear on the agenda, but the Council is not in the habit of standing on formalities of procedure. It is quite certain that if either Sir Austen Chamberlain or Mr. Chu desired to discuss the Chinese situation, or any other Member of the Council desired to raise it, an opportunity would be found. A representative of the Cantonese has been recently at Geneva and made something of a mystery of his mission in the League town. Mr. Chu, moreover, has been claiming that he represents both North and South, but that does not appear to mean that he has been accredited to Geneva by the Cantonese, and the Northern Government he represents is one which Great Britain and various other Powers have not recognised. The whole situation, therefore, is in a fine confusion; but it is still possible that the League may have some part to play in straightening the tangle out.

### Trade Union Rights

A GOOD deal of interest attaches to the announcement that the question of "Freedom of Association" is to be one of the items on the Agenda of the next International Labour Conference which opens at Geneva in the latter part of May. The battle for the right of the workers to organise themselves in Trade Unions as they would was won generations since in Great Britain—though recent events will give the British delegates a special interest in the coming discussions—but countries exist in which it has not been won yet.

Certain social changes in countries of another class again have vitally affected the right of the workers to unite. The attitude of Italy, in particular, during the discussions at the coming Conference, must be problematic, the more so in view of the protests that have been raised by the workers' representatives at previous Conferences against the nomination of a delegate representing the Fascist Unions in Italy.

### Mr. Ford's Illusion

GREAT men sometimes suffer from singular aberrations. The following really fantastic statement, for example, is taken from Mr. Henry Ford's recent book, "To-day and To-morrow":—

"Two classes, the professional financier and the professional reformer, are the real menace to industry. These two classes, working either directly or through politicians, are in control of Europe and are responsible for its poverty. The League of Nations and all its adjuncts, such as the World Court, are in their control and under no system which they devise do the people have a chance. Especially are they opposed to any theory of industry which makes for the general welfare."

There is, to begin with, an astonishing omission here. It might have been supposed that if Mr. Ford was thinking of the League of Nations in relation to industry, he would have at least so much as mentioned the International Labour Organisation. Does he know of its existence? As for the League being under the control of the professional financier and the professional reformer, it would be interesting to know in which of these classes to place what are incontestably at present the three most prominent figures on the Council, Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann. As for the World Court, it is no more under any control at all, except that of its own judges, than the Supreme Court of the United States is.

### America Advertises

ASTRIKING advertisement, filling a space known technically as a half-double column on the finance page of *The Times*, on February 8, called emphatic attention to the desirability of America's joining the League of Nations in her own interests and for that reason alone. The advertisement is headed:—

THE COST OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

CAN AMERICAN INVESTORS AFFORD THEIR COUNTRY'S TWILIGHT-ZONE POSITION ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

and its letterpress concludes as follows:—

We believe to-day a preponderance of thinkers in high places consider the League the best hope and agency for world peace and goodwill. We believe Americans remain responsive to ethical and altruistic argument. But if self-interest must be a concomitant of action, then for the sake of and in the name of "dollars and cents" we suggest an accounting of cost, and an indictment against further delay in America joining the League of Nations.

The advertisement bears at its foot the name of Imbrie & Co., an important business firm of New York and Chicago.

### The Eight-Hour Day

THE attitude of Great Britain on the Eight-Hour Day—or, more accurately, the Forty-eight Hour Week—question is rapidly becoming a public scandal. It will be remembered—certainly by those who read the article on the subject by Lady Hall

in a recent issue of HEADWAY—that last year's conference between the Ministers of Labour of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Germany on the precise interpretation of the Washington Hours Convention resulted in complete agreement. That was understood to remove the last obstacle to ratification by all the States in question. Three of them have, indeed, taken definite steps in that direction. Belgium has ratified and had done with it. France (which already has an Eight Hours Act on the statute book) has carried through Chamber and Senate a Bill providing for ratification, with the quite reasonable proviso, "conditionally on ratification by Great Britain and Germany." Germany, on her part, has a Bill ready for presentation to the Reichstag, and it is believed that in this case, too, ratification will be made dependent on similar action being taken by Great Britain. In Great Britain alone is there neither Bill nor rumour of Bill. The British Government goes on resolutely doing nothing. Reference was made above to the Government's attitude. In actual fact it can hardly be said to have an attitude, for it has neither declared its intention to do anything nor its intention to do nothing. The one thing certain is that it is clinging resolutely to its position in the rear of an important progressive movement.

### Prayers for the League

THE new version of the Book of Common Prayer, drawn up by the House of Bishops, and now on sale in its provisional form, contains among the "Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings" a petition for the League of Nations. It is phrased as follows:—

20. FOR THE ASSEMBLY AND COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, TO BE READ DURING THEIR SESSIONS OR AT OTHER TIMES.

Let us pray for the Assembly of the League of Nations.  
V. He maketh wars to cease in all the world.

R. He breaketh the bow and knappeth the spear in sunder, and burneth the chariots in the fire.

O GOD, who art the lover of justice and peace; Give Thy grace, we humbly beseech Thee, to the Assembly (or Council) of the League of Nations; and so guide them by Thy Holy Spirit that by word and deed they may set forward Thy glory and peace and goodwill among men, through Jesus Christ our Lord.—AMEN.

It may be hoped that this prayer will be as widely used outside the Church of England as within it.

### Fixing Easter

ABILL to fix Easter for the Sunday immediately after the second Saturday in April was introduced in the House of Commons on February 21 by Mr. J. J. Withers, member for Cambridge University. The fate of private members' Bills is, of course, always extremely problematical, but this particular measure has been warmly blessed by a leading article in the *Times*, and commands support so wide and varied that there seems at least a possibility that it may be carried into law. That could hardly fail to stimulate other countries, Members of the League of Nations, to take similar action on the lines of the report of the League Committee which has recently been studying this subject.

### Backing Down

ALLETTER signed by Major J. W. Hills, M.P., Mr. George Barnes and Mr. E. L. Poulton (Representative of the Workers' Group on the

I.L.O.), draws attention to the very unsatisfactory action of the Government in the matter of the I.L.O. Convention prohibiting the use of white lead for internal painting, on the ground that it is admittedly injurious to the workmen who use it. The Convention took its present form actually as the result of the compromise suggested by one of the British delegation, Sir Thomas Legge, and was finally adopted unanimously, the British Government representatives, among others, voting for it. In spite of this the Government declined to enforce the prohibition as regards internal painting, and has carried instead a Bill imposing various safeguards, which, in the opinion of some house-decorators at any rate, are more objectionable than complete prohibition. Sir Thomas Legge, meanwhile, has resigned his post at the Home Office as a protest against the Government's action, and because he declines to take part in administering regulations in whose efficacy he does not believe. It will be noted that the first signatory of the letter, Major Hills, is politically a strong supporter of the Government.

### A Dispute and After

WHEN an international dispute is satisfactorily settled by the League of Nations, some legitimate curiosity sometimes exists as to the durability of the result arrived at. In that connection, the following extract from a recent issue of *The Times* has a certain interest:—

An official notification from Sofia that a Greek military aeroplane which lost its way in the fog and made a forced landing in Bulgarian territory near Petritch was allowed to proceed without inquiry has caused a favourable impression in Athens. The promptitude with which the Bulgarian Government accepted the Greek representative's explanations is regarded as symptomatic of improved relations between the two countries. The Greek Government will probably communicate its thanks to the Bulgarian Government.

The Greco-Bulgarian dispute, it will be remembered, was disposed of by the League of Nations in November, 1925, and it is worth observing that the town of Petritch, where the Greek aeroplane made its forced landing, was the very place that was bombarded by Greek aeroplanes during the fighting which almost led to open war in October, 1925.

### Knocking Barriers Down

TWO of the smaller States of Europe, Estonia and Latvia, have just given an admirable lead to the Economic Conference which is to meet in May by not merely lowering the tariff barriers in their common frontier but knocking them down flat—or, rather, agreeing to do so, for the actual process will take some little time to work out in detail. It is clear, for example, that it will not be enough to say that Latvian goods shall go duty-free into Estonia, and Estonian goods go duty free into Latvia. There must be a common tariff for all foreign goods entering both countries. Otherwise all imports would go into the country with the lower tariff, and then be carried duty free across the frontiers of the other State. A common tariff, therefore, is necessary, and since goods for Latvia may now be imported without difficulty through Estonia and vice versa, their proceeds of the duties on foreign goods entering the two countries must be pooled and then divided on an equitable basis.

All this will take time to work out, but the essential fact is that complete agreement on the basic principle has been reached. Estonia and Latvia, both of them, of course, Baltic maritime States which have broken off from Russia, have a long common tradition, and the step they have taken is easier, perhaps, than for any other pair of States in Europe. All the same it forms an important precedent, and the working out of the experiment will be followed with interest.

### The Science of Industry

AN important and interesting new institution, which will embody very largely ideas at present dominating American industrial circles, is about to be opened at Geneva, in unofficial connection with the International Labour Office. It is to be known as the Institute of the Scientific Organisation of Industry, and owes its existence to an agreement lately reached between the I.L.O., the Twentieth Century Fund of Boston and the International Committee of Scientific Management. Students of industrial development are well acquainted with what is known as the Taylor System in industry in the United States, the aim of those who pursue the Taylor method being to obtain the maximum of efficiency from manual workers while at the same time lightening the strain their work lays upon them. The new Institute will have behind it the financial support of Mr. Edward A. Filene, of Boston, whose interest both in industry and in the League of Nations is well known, and it will be controlled by a Committee on which the I.L.O. is represented by three members chosen from the Governmental, the Employers' and the Labour Groups respectively. The main purpose of the new body will be to collect and distribute all available information from different countries on every kind of question affecting the organisation of industry.

### The League's New Home

THE plans prepared by the architects of all States Members of the League for the competition for the designing of the new League Assembly Hall and Secretariat buildings are pouring into Geneva from all quarters of the compass. Those from the more distant countries have still to arrive, so that it is not yet possible to discover what the total number of competitors will be. Judging, however, from the receipts of plans up to date, it may be expected that between 300 and 400 altogether will arrive.

### Our Back Page

IT may have been assumed by some readers that the "Facts About the League" on the back page of HEADWAY appear in the same form every month. They do not. About half the page, containing the basic facts about the membership of the League, its principal organs and its main purpose, does appear without variation each month; the rest of the page is devoted to a rather fuller summary of the facts about some particular feature of the League: e.g., the Secretariat, the Permanent Court, the I.L.O. It is not for us to suggest that the page deserves attention at all; but it does not, on the other hand, deserve to be ignored merely on the false assumption that it never changes.

## WHAT THE LEAGUE COULD DO IN CHINA

By BASIL WILLIAMS, *Professor of History*, and WILLIAM WILSON, *Professor of Public Law, President and ex-President of the Edinburgh Branch of the League of Nations Union.*

[The case against an appeal to the League was stated in the last issue of HEADWAY. Prof. Basil Williams has been asked to put the opposite view, in accordance with the practice of HEADWAY to give both sides a hearing.]

THE chief arguments for not referring the difficulties in China to the League seem to be as follows:—

1. There is no single Government *de facto* in China, owing to the contention between the Cantonese Nationalists and the Peking administration, which do not recognise each other.

2. Important parties to any settlement that could be arranged are Soviet Russia and the United States, neither of which recognise the jurisdiction of the League.

Both these arguments, no doubt, are weighty; but they do not seem insurmountable. The second argument we would venture to dismiss summarily by the remark that it would be an almost equally good argument against any action that the League might take. Indeed, one of the chief reasons put forward, in slightly different forms, by both Russia and the U.S.A., against participation in the League is that it is a body quite unfitted from its composition to take account of any interests except those of the "Imperialist" nations which chiefly compose it. The best answer that supporters of the League could give to such a criticism would be to point to a serious contribution by the League towards the solution of a difficulty which threatens the peace of the whole world and affects world-wide interests.

### Need China Agree?

The first objection is certainly more serious. In the present condition of China, it is not easy to secure adequate representation of the Chinese point of view, since there are at least two Governments in the country. But, however much the Governments in China may disagree, they appear to be united on one thing, the determination to get rid of the special privileges, such as extra-territoriality, of Europeans in Chinese territory; and nothing seems more calculated to bring them together than the threat of armed forces from outside to keep the peace in China. It seems therefore conceivable that if the Chinese saw the League of Nations attempting an impartial inquiry into Sino-European disputes, the two parties in China might agree, for that purpose only, to present their case together. But even that would not be necessary. If the League acted at all, it would probably be not as a judicial tribunal, with all parties to the dispute formally appearing before it. The most promising method would seem to be under Article XI of the Covenant, whereby the League is bound to take action to obviate any threat of war, and to consider any circumstances reported to it by any member of the League as "affecting . . . the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends," and Article XV, whereby the Council is to inquire into all disputes not otherwise settled, and, if it fails, to bring the parties to agreement, to make a report on the merits of the case.

### A Pause for Reflection

If this procedure were adopted, of inquiry by an impartial commission of the League, composed, say, of men like Dr. Nansen, MM. Benes and Motta, and other such men with no special national interests in China, and of undoubted fairness, they would make their inquiries on the spot, taking the views of whomsoever they pleased, and not thereby recognising one Govern-

ment or the other to the detriment of its rival. The mere fact that such a commission, which would command respect from all parties, had been appointed by the League would in itself probably create a pause in movements towards a breach of the peace, and give all parties an opportunity of thinking out some method of avoiding extreme measures; while it is probable that such a commission might finally report in such a way as to save everybody's face and make an arrangement easier—all the more if the report had no binding force. Not compulsion, but reflection is the best solvent of the war-spirit.

It may be said that the proposals put forward with such patience and wisdom by Sir Austen Chamberlain should in themselves obviate war; and we agree that they could hardly, perhaps, be bettered for generosity and tactful presentment. Nevertheless, we still believe that a peaceful solution might be more easily attained through the intervention of the League of Nations.

### The League or Great Britain

In the first place, by a concatenation of circumstances dating from our first intercourse with China in the nineteenth century, Great Britain represents to China *par excellence* the unpopular aspect of European interference with her national integrity. Recent events have made such an impression distinctly unfair at the present day; but there it is, and it cannot be got over immediately. Moreover, though we have taken the lead in making proposals satisfactory to Chinese self-respect, we have also been almost forced, by the inaction of other Powers, into the position of making the stand for Europe in defence for the time being of European rights and concessions. For these reasons, it would probably be to the interest, not only of Great Britain herself, but also of a quick solution of the difficulties, if the lead now being taken by us in dealing with China were transferred to a body like the League, which represents the opinion of so large a part of the civilised world.

Secondly—and this we regard as by far the most important reason of all—in the interests of the League itself it is vital that the solution of difficulties so menacing to the peace of the world should be left to the League. After all, the League itself is still on trial. We are the last to deny that it has already accomplished much in preparing the ways of peace. But, except in the Italo-Greek dispute—and that largely owing to the accident that the Assembly happened to be then in session—the League has as yet done nothing *directly* to deal with a vital matter affecting the interests of one of the great Powers. Here is a great occasion for it to show its pacific power, and it is essential for the ultimate success of the League that it should never miss one of these opportunities. There are undoubted difficulties in leaving a settlement to the League; it might prove that they are insurmountable. But we believe that even failure by the League, after a serious attempt had been made, would hurt its prestige far less than entire dissociation from the present crisis. We as a nation have perhaps believed more consistently in the League than any other nation, and have done as much as any to make it a success. Here, we believe, is a great occasion for demonstrating our intense faith in its power and beneficence, an occasion, too, for increasing that power. Let us seize it.

## LEAGUE ACTIVITIES TO-DAY

### II.—REMOVING OBSTACLES TO BUSINESS

THE League of Nations is sometimes criticised as being idealistic rather than practical. There is no good reason why it should not be both, as, in fact, it is. No department of its activities is more solidly practical—so practical indeed that to some people it may seem merely dull—than that concerned with the prosaic, but fundamentally important, problems of Finance and Economics.

The section of the League Secretariat which deals with these subjects, under the singularly able directorship of Sir Arthur Salter, has its hands sufficiently full at present with a variety of activities, some of them of interest to the ordinary citizen, and some comprehended only by the merchant or financier. In the former category come the Reconstruction Schemes in Austria and Hungary. In both cases, as most people realise, the League of Nations' work by this time is almost finished. The League has done everything it set out to do. It has put both countries on their feet, and the support it extended so beneficially, for three years in the case of one and two in the other, can now be, and has in fact now been, withdrawn. There is, however, a skeleton organisation left to represent the League both at Vienna and at Buda-Pesth, for both Austria and Hungary are under pledge so to conduct their own financial business as to provide ample security for the investors who have lent them the money which made their recovery possible. Geneva, therefore, is responsible still for seeing that these pledges are duly honoured in the budgets of both countries year by year.

### Settling Refugees

With the Greek and Bulgarian Refugee Schemes, full particulars of which have been given in recent numbers of HEADWAY, Geneva is still more actively concerned. Both schemes are going forward satisfactorily. In Greece the greater part of the £10,000,000 originally subscribed for the settlement of the refugees from Asia Minor has now been spent, and it will almost certainly be necessary to raise a smaller supplementary loan, since a number of refugees entered Greece after the original plans had been drafted, and the £10,000,000 subscribed in the first instance was not sufficient to cover the needs of this second influx. The exact date at which this further loan will be issued depends primarily on financial and political conditions in Greece itself.

The Bulgarian Scheme is proceeding like the Greek. The loan issued for this purpose on the London market and elsewhere was very heavily over-subscribed, as is shewn by the fact that applicants in London for any amount up to £2,000 were only allotted £100, and applicants up to £5,000 only got £200. With a sum of £400,000 advanced for this particular purpose by the Bank of England, seed was bought and implements and draught cattle provided for those settlers who had been allotted land in time enough to get their autumn sowings done. Now the business of allotting further land to the refugees still waiting for it is going forward steadily, and everything suggests that the ultimate success of the Bulgarian scheme will be complete.

### Advice for the Asking

While the League is carrying through operations of this character in South-Eastern Europe, it is engaged simultaneously in ministering likewise to the stability of two small countries in North-Eastern Europe. One is Esthonia, the other the Free City of Danzig. The case of Esthonia is particularly interesting, for this small Baltic State has set an excellent example to some of its more important colleagues in the League by inviting the League to give it expert advice on certain

aspects of the conduct of its public finances. This has been done, and as a result of the advice thus applied for, given and subsequently adopted, a loan of not much more than £1,000,000 will be issued in the coming months to enable the proposals of the League experts to be carried out. In Danzig, where political rather than financial difficulties have stood in the way of the adoption of the League's proposals, it is hoped that the main obstacles will soon be out of the road, and that a loan can be floated in this case also under the auspices of the League, for the construction of various public works in the Free City.

### Taxes Twice Over

To return briefly to more technical, but not necessarily less valuable, activities of the League under this head, a really important step has been taken in the drafting by an expert committee of a Convention on the subject of double taxation. The importance of this is realised by the owners of shares in some concern in a foreign country, who have to bear not only the taxation of that country, but also British Income Tax on the dividends paid to its British shareholders. The latter have at present in most cases no redress, and simply continue to pay twice over. The whole question has now been probed to the depths by the League Committee, and a draft prepared of a treaty, which any two States can adopt between themselves, whereby the citizens holding investments in the other country would pay tax on the dividends not twice, but once. If such conventions are concluded in sufficient numbers between pairs of States, the day will no doubt come when they can be merged in a general international agreement.

Mention has been left to the last of what is, of course, at the present moment the chief of all the activities of the League in the sphere of hard business—namely, preparation for the International Economic Conference which opens at Geneva on May 4. That preparation has consisted not merely of detailed arrangements for the Conference itself, but of the production of a series of highly valuable memoranda on a wide variety of questions falling under the head of finance, economics, industry, labour, population problems, and so forth. The British delegates to the Economic Conference have just been appointed. They are: Sir Arthur Balfour, Mr. W. T. Layton (Editor of the *Economist*), Sir Max Muspratt, Sir Norman Hill, and Mr. Arthur Pugh (late Chairman of the Trade Union Congress).

## THE CHINESE PROBLEM

THE principal development in the Chinese situation since the last issue of HEADWAY appeared has been the despatch (on February 9) by the British Government of a Note to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, explaining the nature of the questions in dispute between Great Britain and China, and expressing regret that there seemed no opportunity for invoking the League of Nations with any prospect of success.

A few days previously the League of Nations Union had issued a reasoned statement, also embodying the conclusion that an appeal to the League would serve no good purpose as matters then stood, and on February 14 Prof. Gilbert Murray, addressing the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee at the House of Commons, gave reasons for believing that while the conduct of the negotiations with China through the medium of the League of Nations would be of great value, this could only be proposed with advantage if the Cantonese were known to be willing.

## LABOUR AND THE "LEFT"

BY COMMANDER W. E. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

[Holding, as they for the most part do, their own midway course, supporters of the League of Nations are sometimes attacked by the Right as being too idealistic or revolutionary, and by the Left as being too reactionary. Commander Arnold-Forster, a well-known member of the Labour Party, here discusses and criticises the attitude of some of his own associates towards the League.]

FOR some reason the cause of the League of Nations is making—so I believe—much too little headway amongst the forces of the Left. Let me hazard some candid suggestions as to the reasons for this.

### "The Capitalist League"

First, there exists, unfortunately, amongst the political forces of the Left a rather widespread belief that it is useless to waste time over a League that is simply an instrument of "Imperialism" or of "the capitalist system." First smash the capitalist system, defeat the Imperialists, and then, then, it will be possible to build up a new international order.

In one form or another that idea often crops up. The other day a Labour politician told me that he had never been able to take the League seriously. The League, he said, was like the Roman Church; you had to begin with faith. Another prominent figure said that arbitration and all that sort of thing left her perfectly cold; what was the use of tinkering with little devices for prevention of war without tackling the fundamental cause of war, economic Imperialism.

Personally, I think that is a sterile and stupid policy. Those giant abstractions, Imperialism and Capitalism, may, in fact, signify all that is war-breeding and infernal; I cannot discuss that here. But unless we believe that a fantastic world revolution is going to occur on Monday, we cannot wait till all these giants are dead. If we believe in mending rather than ending, if we choose the co-operative way rather than the militant communist way, we should lend a hand to the League, instead of idly chucking a brick at it. The forces of the Left may reasonably say, this League was born in sin, and is being atrociously badly brought up; but they cannot reasonably say, we don't care what becomes of the brat.

### "The Coercive League"

Secondly, there is a widespread feeling, not confined to the political Left, that the League is fatally compromised by the fact that in certain circumstances it countenances the use of force. Two distinct objections are sometimes confused. There is the objection that the Covenant does not wholly exclude the right of private war, and there is the objection that the Covenant does contemplate coercion of a Covenant-breaker. The first of these objections, which seems to have contributed a good deal to American distrust of the League, is one with which we can all sympathise. Indeed, the Union is committed to this view that the "gap in the Covenant" should be closed by acceptance of the principle of all-inclusive pacific settlement. The amendment of the Covenant on these lines is perfectly feasible, as the Geneva protocol showed.

But the second objection—that no international coercion is admissible, even for the constraint of a proven covenant-breaker—strikes at the root of the League system.

This objection is easy to respect when it comes from those who, on religious grounds, can accept without reserve the doctrine of absolute non-resistance. They leave aside the political problem. And the objection can be discussed to some purpose when it comes from those who, on technical grounds, believe an international sanction to be at present impracticable.

But too often the objection is based not on such grounds as these, but merely on a general sense that coercion, for whatever purpose, is extremely dangerous

and unpleasant. Of course it is. No one in their senses wants an international sanction *per se*. But what is the actual—not the Utopian, but the actual—alternative? If a breach of the covenanted peace does occur to-morrow—as it may—it will be resisted, whether we approve or not, either by national or by international means. And in that event we cannot simply wash our hands of the matter; we must either change or maintain our relations with the covenant-breaker, either embarrass or assist him in his offence.

I suggest, therefore, that one of our jobs is to help to clear up current confusion of thought on this subject. There is everything to be said for outlawry of aggressive war (I only wish our Government were not so backward in accepting the principle); but the phrase remains merely a comfortable incantation, merely "dope," if we do not offer—as we can—a workable definition of aggression, and do not face up to our responsibility for dealing with the offence, if committed.

### The Appeal to the Left

Let me suggest in conclusion what we might do to enlist more support from the Left. (I am expressing, of course, simply a personal opinion.)

Well, first, I suggest that we should be careful not to give grounds for the belief that when we look towards the League we see everything *couleur de rose*. A marvellous change has, indeed, begun to transform international relations in the few years since the League was born; but whilst we tell our neighbours of the League's successes and urge sceptical members of Parliament to go to Geneva and see for themselves, we must be careful not to exasperate our friends of the Left beyond endurance by being smug. After a good dose of Austrian reconstruction, or those Aaland Islands, or the Greco-Bulgarian quarrel, it is all the more important that the Union should frankly criticise—as it has done—the British delay in ratifying the Eight Hours Convention, or the British Note on Mandates. I could wish that HEADWAY had impressed upon its readers that three countries—Sweden, Switzerland and Holland—have offered to extend their arbitration treaties with us so as to cover all classes of dispute, and that all three offers have been refused, for reasons not yet disclosed. I was reassured by HEADWAY's criticism, guarded as it was, of Labour's cruiser programme and of the Conservatives' revival of the Singapore base; and I feel sure that the discreet, but pungent, criticism of British policy at Geneva in September, 1925, and March, 1926, could not have been avoided without injury to the Union's reputation for impartiality.

### The Need for Frankness

Not only should we be sufficiently frank in criticism ourselves where questions of principle are involved, we must be scrupulously honest in admitting whatever force there may be in criticisms by others. The Saar administration, the Eupen-Malmédy plebiscite, the occupation of Vilna, the shameful invasion of the Ruhr, the Syrian and Moroccan wars, the Wanhsien bombardment—in matters such as these we shall do grave disservice to the League's cause if we shut our minds to fair criticism of the League's record.

Above all let us do our utmost to get the League's case put before Labour, and Independent Labour, Parties, and let us welcome League supporters from those parties in all the Councils of the Union.

## THE CHILD AND THE LEAGUE THE SCHOOLS OF BRITAIN AND THE PEACE OF THE WORLD

By J. C. MAXWELL GARNETT, Sc.D., C.B.E.

A NOTABLE landmark in the movement for the education of the growing generation in the principles of international co-operation will be the National Conference shortly to take place between the central and local education authorities of Great Britain to discuss the best means of giving effect in this country to the recommendations of a League Committee of Experts (presided over by Professor Gilbert Murray) regarding "the instruction" of youth in the existence and ideals of the League of Nations.

The British Conference is to be confined to "the administrative authorities," and is not to include "teachers and voluntary associations." In other countries it may be possible to alter school curricula by the authority of the national government; but here in Britain there can be no universal or widespread change in education unless the teachers concerned, and particularly the headmasters and headmistresses of all the multifarious schools, are convinced that the change ought to be made, and unless school governors and administrative authorities are at least prepared to acquiesce.

### What the Conference Might Do

The power of the Conference may, therefore, be limited. On the other hand, its influence may turn out to be decisive. It can declare the substantial agreement of the Government and of the local authorities with the main lines of the experts' report. It can approve suggestions for persuading and preparing the teachers gradually to introduce into the schools of Britain such changes as will lead the next generation to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs. It might even pledge the central and local authorities to carry out their part of such a plan.

But the plan itself—the suggestions of which I have spoken—could hardly be formulated by the National Conference. It must be worked out at leisure beforehand and left to the Conference to amend and approve. And to the making of it must go all the best experience that has been accumulated in the seven years since the League began and since pioneer teachers first gave lessons on this latest international institution.

### The Film and the Slide

It is here that the League of Nations Union comes in. Its Education Committee, on which teachers' associations have always been represented, has made this field its own. To collect, synthesise and set forth the organised body of knowledge here in question; to discover its proper place in the curriculum; to experiment with the technique of teaching it, for example, with the aid of films; and to help teachers through summer schools, conferences, publications and personal advice—all this has been part of the Union's work for the past seven years. During that time the Union has arranged several hundred conferences of teachers, including summer schools at Geneva and Oxford and Cambridge, at which the subject of the League of Nations in the schools has been discussed in detail, and as a result of which the interest of tens of thousands of teachers has been aroused in the teaching of the principles of international co-operation. It has, during the same period, provided competent speakers to address several thousands of school meetings; it has prepared for teachers varied literature written by eminent historians, geographers and educationists;

it has provided them with the use of educational films and lantern slides and up-to-date wall map, posters and the like. This assistance has been very cordially welcomed by teachers generally. A few months ago the National Union of Teachers issued a circular to all its local associations suggesting that all teachers who desire to promote instruction in their schools on the work and aims of the League should obtain information from the League of Nations Union.

### History Lessons and the League

With this experience to guide it, and relying on the continued co-operation of the great associations of teachers, the Union has set out to prepare suggestions for the National Conference. They will treat of the content of the new study proposed by the League's experts. They will deal with its educational value in organising thought and in training character as well as in promoting world peace. They will speak of its connection with history, with geography and with other school subjects. They will concern out-of-school activities as well as lessons in the classroom. They will involve action by central and local education authorities. But they will never lose sight of the fact that nothing can be done except in so far as the teachers see the need for it and are ready to encourage it.

If the National Conference will approve these suggestions, they will gradually bear fruit in the schools of this country. After all, we like to think of ourselves as a practical people. And this new knowledge—of the League, of the Covenant and of international relations as they now are—is practically useful because the future of international relations so closely concerns every boy and girl in the modern world. Until the reign of law, to which we are accustomed in our own country, is established throughout our Great Society of interdependent nations, man's best work and highest endeavour may be rendered futile by the folly of war, and human life becomes again cheap and purposeless.

### The Reign of Law

But Governments alone cannot establish the reign of law throughout the world. That can only be done when the public opinion of this and other democratic countries understands the need for the world-wide reign of law and insistently demands that it be established and maintained by the several Governments co-operating in the League of Nations. Knowledge which leads to these results is practically useful to individual citizens, to their countries and to the world. On the other hand, no citizen can be expected to think or act reasonably on questions of foreign policy if he knows nothing of the growth of international interdependence during the last hundred years, or of his country's unprecedented obligations under the League's Covenant. To think and act as if things were not what they are generally leads to trouble; and the young people of to-day may lose civilisation itself if they grow up to think of the modern world as if it were the world of their grandfathers, of international anarchy between sovereign states, or of the history books that end with 1914.

Already those who are in close touch with the schools of Britain are aware of a marked change taking place in school teaching. The new generation is beginning to acquire a sense of international sympathy which in its turn will help to strengthen and perfect the League of Nations.

## DISARMAMENT PROGRESS

THE following developments in connection with preparations for the coming Disarmament Conference are of importance:—

**February 10.**—President Coolidge addressed to the Governments of Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy a Note proposing that the five Powers in question "empower their delegates at the forthcoming meeting of the Preparatory Commission at Geneva to negotiate and conclude at an early date an agreement further limiting naval armament, supplementing the Washington Treaty on that subject, and covering the classes of vessels not covered by that Treaty."

The classes covered by the Washington Treaty were "capital ships" (battleships and battle-cruisers) and aircraft carriers. The classes it is proposed to cover now are primarily cruisers, destroyers and submarines. The ratio of strengths agreed on at Washington for capital ships and aircraft carriers was 5, 5, 3, for Great Britain, the United States and Japan respectively, and 1.75 each for France and Italy. President Coolidge proposes to apply this ratio to the "other classes" of vessels of Great Britain, the United States and Japan, but is prepared to discuss modifications of it for France and Italy.

Mr. Coolidge's proposals have been welcomed with some reservations by Great Britain and Japan, but are disapproved and declined by France and Italy.

**February 9-12.**—A sub-committee sat at Brussels to consider the possibility of limiting a country's aircraft strength without interfering with legitimate civil aviation. Its main recommendations were that civil aviation should be as far as possible kept distinct from military, and that the use of military material in civil aircraft should be avoided, with a view to differentiating between the two types.

**February 16.**—A special sub-committee, consisting of Lord Cecil, M. de Brouckère (Belgium) and M. Titulesco (Rumania) met in London to discuss the measures that could be taken by the League Council under Art. XI of the Covenant to prevent a threatened outbreak of hostilities.

**February 21.**—A sub-committee began sittings at Geneva to discuss the drafting of a uniform model statement of the annual budgetary expenditure of different States on armaments.

**March 15.**—The Preparatory Commission meets at Geneva to prepare a draft convention on the reduction and limitation of armaments for the general Disarmament Conference.

## FRANCE'S POPULATION

THE League of Nations does not usually include prophecy in its field of activities, but in connection with the forthcoming Economic Conference it is obviously necessary to have some clear idea of what the population which buys and sells and consumes will be in, say, fifteen years' time. The League has, consequently, published an investigation by one of the foremost British statisticians, Professor Bowley, into the probable population of Europe and some other parts of the world in the year 1941.

The general conclusion reached by Dr. Bowley is that there will be a substantial increase in practically every country except France. The 1921 population of France (taking only those between the ages of 15 and 70) was 27,823,000. It is estimated that in 1931 that section of the population will have increased to 28,078,000, but will have decreased again by 1941 to 27,583,000. Since France's 1921 population for all ages is 38,798,000, it may be assumed that the total population in 1941 will be somewhere about 38,450,000.

## GENEVA PERSONALITIES

## II.—THE DIRECTOR OF THE I.L.O.

THERE is no more picturesque figure in the League of Nations Gallery than M. Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labour Office, and none with a more international experience and reputation.

The son of a baker at Campigny, he had a brilliant academic career. After three years at the Ecole Normale, he headed the examination list of Paris University; scholarships took him to Germany and Russia. Next came a period of journalism, under Jaurès, the famous French Socialist leader who was assassinated at the outbreak of war and whom M. Thomas was afterwards to succeed as Deputy for the Tarne. He became prominent in French politics in 1910; and during the European war, as the first French Minister of Munitions, became known throughout Europe. A student of the British Press of the period will find much about M. Albert Thomas, and many portraits of the flowing beard, whose impetuosity time has not curbed. In 1917 he was appointed French Ambassador at Petrograd, but only remained in the



M. Albert Thomas

post for a short time. He returned to France to champion the principles of the League of Nations. With such experience behind him, alike of politics, of industry and of diplomacy, his qualifications to become Director of the I.L.O. (he was appointed in 1919) seemed unrivalled.

As Director of the I.L.O. (ably and loyally helped by his British Deputy Director), he has created and inspired a remarkable machine. As an individual, he has played perhaps the foremost part in repelling the efforts of Moscow to dominate Labour in Europe. As an orator, he is second to none in France to-day, with a happy gift for bringing to his oratory a touch of intimacy and humour.

He is a man of endless energy—when the day's work of the Conference is at an end, and late into the night, M. Thomas is busily dictating to his team of secretaries. He is a reformer; he is ready to fight for peace and for justice—and he sees justice as the foundation-stone of peace. He has made and will make enemies—amongst those whose interests bar the way to progress. The number of his friends and admirers is and will always be far greater. And, as a matter of fact, even his enemies can't help liking him.

## THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL

THE Council of the League of Nations opens its forty-fourth session at Geneva on the seventh of this month, an interesting feature of its sittings being that the chair will be taken by Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister. The importance of the meeting will depend largely on whether the Chinese situation is discussed, and if so, how fully.

One question to be brought up at Geneva has caused grave difficulty between Germany and Poland, two nations which now sit side by side on the Council. This particular issue concerns German Minorities schools in the Polish portion of Upper Silesia. Under the Upper Silesian Convention, Germans have, of course, the right to send their children to German schools, and that right is contested by no one. In a large number of cases, however, children who speak either of the two languages, German and Polish, or even Polish only, are being sent by their parents for various reasons to German schools. The Polish Govern-

be presented to the Council twice a year. This will give an opportunity for representations to be made to those States which are impeding the operation of the effectiveness of a particular Convention by omitting to ratify it—provided, of course, that the Council does something more than merely leave the return lying on the table.

A third question to be considered is the relation of the Mandates Commission to the Mandatory Powers, which have now expressed their views on the Questionnaire which the Commission proposed to circulate regarding Mandate areas, and also on the advisability or otherwise of hearing petitioners from Mandate areas in person. It is certain that the decision of the Council will be against the latter course, and it may be expected that, in regard to the Questionnaire, the Commission would be requested to circulate it in a simplified and abbreviated form.

Far exceeding any other question in what is sometimes called "human interest," is the report of the special body of experts which has been investigating the

## NEW FACES AT GENEVA



The Marquis Paulucci



M. Sugimura

Three new Assistant-Secretary-Generals have taken up their duties at Geneva since the beginning of the present year. Herr Albert Dufour-Feronce, whose portrait was reproduced in the February issue of HEADWAY, fills a new office, created in consequence of Germany's entry into the League. M. Sugimura replaces Dr. Inazo Nitobe, who has returned to Japan, as Assistant-Secretary-General, and is also now head of the Political Section of the Secretariat in succession to M. Paul Mantoux. The Marquis Paulucci, till his appointment at Geneva Signor Mussolini's Chef de Cabinet, has taken the place of Signor Attilio, now Italian Ambassador to Brazil.

ment claims that this was never contemplated by the Convention, and insists that such children should go to Polish schools. The President of the Arbitral Tribunal, Dr. Calonder, has ruled in favour of the German claim, and against this ruling Poland is now appealing to the League.

Another entry of some importance on the Agenda concerns the ratification of League Conventions, a matter which was raised by Lord Cecil at the Assembly last September. The work of the League is gravely impeded by the indefensible delay of the majority of States in ratifying Conventions they have signed. The Council, which considered the matter after the Assembly, decided that a full report on ratifications to date should

Traffic in Women and Children. There can be little doubt that if this report is published, as it should be, it will bring to light facts more sensational than have even been imagined about the character and extent of a traffic the very existence of which has been hitherto shrouded in mystery. There is some fear that an attempt may be made to suppress the report on account of the unpalatable light in which it places certain States. Another report which has been anticipated with much interest is that of the Commission which visited Persia last year at the instance of the Persian Government to consider the possibility of substituting other crops in that country for the opium poppy.

## LEAGUE METHODS IN INDUSTRY

### MINIMUM WAGES AND PEACE BY AGREEMENT

A CONFERENCE, like a Committee, may not infrequently deserve the definition of the cynical Scot as "a noun of multitude, signifying many but not signifying much." The Conference organised by the League of Nations Union at the London School of Economics on the Minimum Wage and Conciliation in Industry from February 1 to 4, could not, by the most prejudiced observer, have been held to fall into this category. From the address which Sir William Beveridge, as the meeting's friendly host, delivered at the opening of the first session, to the remarkable symposium on Industrial Relations which took place on the final morning, and brought on to one platform, under the significant chairmanship of Lord Burnham (who has already three times acted as President of the International Labour Conference), such speakers as the Director of the International Labour Office, the General Secretary of the Trade Union Council, Mr. Charles Renold, as a progressive representative of employers, and "Major Astor, of *The Times*" (in these terms did the chairman introduce his brother magnate of the Press), the Conference was in practical touch with the purpose for which it had been called together.

#### Common Problems

This was twofold. The Conference was invited, first, to review from the national standpoint, in their relation alike to the past and the future, the subjects on the programme; and, in the second place, to relate this review to the consideration of international labour questions at Geneva. The double purpose was fulfilled. If national problems occupied the major portion of the three and a-half days' meetings, this was not only natural but wholesome, since the audience had to clear its mind on the industrial difficulties besetting the industrial life of Great Britain before it could usefully consider parallel movements towards the solution of similar problems in other countries of our interdependent industrial world. But the consciousness that national difficulties cannot be considered in isolation was maintained throughout the sittings of the Conference; the international note struck in the remarks of the first chairman sounded to the close of the proceedings. And this not only directly, as in the speeches of Mme Duchène and Dr. Margarete Wolff, who gave interesting expositions of the Minimum Wage Systems for home workers as they exist in France and Germany, or in the magnificent oration by which M. Albert Thomas profoundly stirred and moved the Conference, but indirectly in many other addresses and discussions.

#### Practical and Frank

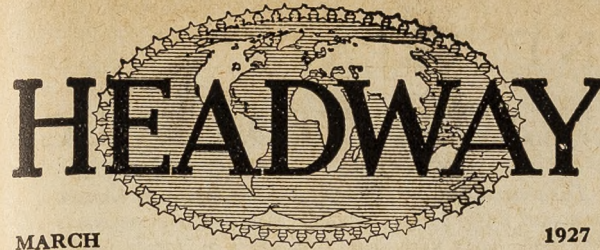
The practical quality of the discussions was remarkable. There was great freedom of speech; employers, trade unionists, economists, and social workers alike expressing their opinions with complete frankness in an atmosphere of remarkable good humour. The tonic of criticism was faithfully administered at every session. Even on the first morning, when the list of speakers

might have inspired some suspicion that we were to be treated to a chorus in praise of Trade Boards, Miss Ellen Wilkinson introduced a sharply questioning note which caused the stoutest supporters to look to their defences, and provoked from Professor Hobhouse one of the best and most vigorous speeches of the day. The same sense of reality was present when the work and future of Joint Industrial Councils came under review. Those who spoke, whether from the platform or the floor of the house, one and all knew from experience the inner life of Industrial Councils, their achievements and their failures, their strong and their weak points, and the fact of this intimate knowledge lent strong human interest to a subject which had it been discussed theoretically might have seemed dull to the general listener. On the third day Conciliation and Arbitration raised questions of the deepest interest, and the Organising Committee had apparently exercised peculiar care in providing us with appointed speakers specially fitted by experience to take large views of their subject.

With Sir William Mackenzie and Mr. Clynes as chairmen respectively of the morning and afternoon sessions, with Mr. W. L. Hichens, Mr. Arthur Pugh and Professor Henry Clay to discuss Arbitration from the employer's, the trade unionist's and the economist's point of view in turn, with the Master of Balliol to draw a profound and illuminating parallel between political and economic evolution, and Capt. Macmillan to present the views of the reforming Conservative member of Parliament, this day's doings furnished much food for present interest and subsequent reflection.

#### No Compulsion

The Conference was well attended throughout. At no time did the numbers present in the theatre of the London School of Economics fall below 250; for the most part they varied from 350 to 450. It was a welcome feature of the attendance that to a large extent the audience remained the same throughout, and this proof of interest in the proceedings has since been confirmed, not only by the wide publicity given to the meetings, but to the number of orders which have already been received for the report which is to be published. It is usually hard, in a Conference at which no resolutions are adopted, to determine with any certitude the general mind of the meeting. On this occasion, however, it was not difficult to "sense" strong opinions on several vital points which emerged in the course of discussion. First, an almost universal reprobation of any kind of compulsory arbitration scheme, or even Conciliation schemes, having in them an element of compulsion; secondly, a strong feeling among the workers, largely shared by other groups, that complete organisation is necessary to the successful working of such schemes; and, last, frank acceptance of the view that admission of the wage-earner in industry to knowledge of the facts and methods of the business is an essential preliminary to the attainment of peace.



## GENEVA AND MR. COOLIDGE

DISARMAMENT—the reduction and limitation of armaments—is, as Lord Cecil put it in a recent speech in the House of Lords, definitely "on the map." So far as Geneva is concerned, what may be termed the first half of the preparatory work is finished. The soldiers and sailors and airmen have thrashed out every conceivable detail and produced their report, not unanimous it is true, but sufficiently so to make their work a perfectly practical basis for the decisions the Preparatory Commission is to take when it assembles this month. The economists and financiers have tackled their end of the problem, and turned out a report which, unlike that of the soldiers, was completely unanimous. Another special sub-committee of experts has been dealing with the perplexing problem of the limitation of aircraft, and yet another has sat in London in the past month to discuss a question bearing directly on the feasibility of disarmament, concerning the steps the League of Nations might take—military, political, economic, financial—to avert a threatened war. The greater the confidence in the League's power to avert war, the more willing States will be to reduce even their defensive forces.

And now, with the ground thus cleared by the preliminary discussions of the experts, the Preparatory Commission, consisting of responsible politicians like Lord Cecil and M. Paul Boncour and Dr. Benes, is about to meet to draw the conclusions of the various sub-committees together and base on them a definite Disarmament Treaty, such as was signed on a very limited scale between five Powers only at Washington in 1922. The public, in this country at any rate, has been slow to realise that the apparently interminable disarmament discussions have actually got that far. Still less is there any clear conception of the form a general Disarmament Treaty should take. For that reason steps have been taken to lay before readers of HEADWAY the Treaty which appears on another page. Its author is one of the first half-dozen authorities in this country on the question of all-round disarmament, and his draft is the outcome of a close and detailed study of every phase of the disarmament discussions at Geneva for the past six years. While it is not to be supposed that the Treaty which finally emerges from a conference in which over fifty States will participate will correspond at all points with the present draft, it is hard to see how it can differ substantially from it. In all essentials this is how the thing must be done.

There is, of course, one notable omission in the draft as here presented. It contains no figures at all. Reference is repeatedly made to schedules attached to the treaty, which will show how many military effectives each State may maintain, how much money it may spend on its army and navy and air force, what part of its existing navy it may retain, what material and munitions it may keep in stock, and so forth. This clearly is the crux of the whole treaty. Yet it is clear that these figures cannot be put into the treaty at the present stage, and, if they could, a single issue of HEADWAY would hardly contain them, for separate figures must, of course, be prepared for each State signing the

treaty. How, it may be asked, are those figures to be arrived at in the end? Practically only in one way. No State can dictate to any other what armaments the latter shall maintain. Agreement must be reached at Geneva in 1928, as it was at Washington in 1921, by the free consent of the negotiating States.

In the first instance, that is to say, it must be for each State to declare what armament it considers it needs. That, it may be objected, means no disarmament at all, for each State will naturally say, as it is saying already, that the armaments it at present has are the minimum necessary for its safety. That is partly true, but two factors will, it may be hoped, work effectively in the right direction. In the first place, no State going to Geneva can quite forget that it is attending a conference called for the purpose, not of maintaining armaments, but of limiting and reducing them. Every State, therefore, can reasonably be pressed, and no doubt will be, to agree to some reduction, even if not a great one, of its present forces. Secondly, many States will be genuinely glad to reduce if only their neighbours will do the same, and, if the atmosphere of the conference is anything like what it should be, such reciprocity ought not to be hard to arrange. It must be remembered, moreover, that even if this first conference did no more than secure a general *limitation* of armaments, that would mean that the perilous armament race had ended. Reduction could then be tackled, as further reduction in any case will be, at another conference a few years later.

Into the midst of all these Geneva preparations President Coolidge has cast his unexpected proposal for the conclusion of an immediate agreement for naval limitation between the five chief naval Powers. Is the President's action to be welcomed or regretted? Is it going to help or to hinder? It is clearly waste of time to argue about that now. A new situation must be faced. The United States, of course, has been taking a full part in the Geneva discussions. Not only so, but Mr. Coolidge himself declares that his country will continue to take that full part to the end. He merely hopes to accelerate the proceedings, and to stop a shipbuilding competition which he believes imminent by pushing through a naval agreement between the chief maritime Powers in advance of the general treaty.

France, one of the four Powers approached by America, definitely disapproves of the idea, and she is on strong ground when she insists that the Geneva discussions, which have on the whole made satisfactory progress, shall be allowed to go on in the appointed way to the appointed end. That is certainly the line this country would have taken if Mr. Coolidge had not intervened. But he has intervened, and it is necessary to discover at once whether his proposal cannot be adopted and fitted in to the larger League scheme. This ought to be by no means impossible, though proper perspective must be maintained. The part is not larger or more important than the whole, and it would be a great mistake for anyone to talk as if it were.

As things stand there is little doubt that Great Britain and Japan, at any rate, will accept the American proposal to explore the possibility of concluding a preliminary agreement between themselves to extend the range of the Washington Treaty by applying it to other types. Whether an agreement so reached can be definite until the main conference has ended its labours is doubtful. Great Britain's security in Europe depends in part on her navy, and the American navy has no relation to that problem. It would be reasonable, therefore, to be assured of a due reduction of land and air armaments in Europe before final commitments are entered into with America at sea. But, subject to that, a naval agreement between America, Britain and Japan might give a valuable lead to the conference.

# A DISARMAMENT TREATY

## HOW THE NATIONS CAN AGREE TO REDUCE

*The League of Nations Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, when it meets at Geneva this month, is likely to proceed forthwith to the drafting of an actual Disarmament Treaty, which the Governments will have time to consider before the actual Conference takes place early next year. In order to clarify public discussion in the meantime, HEADWAY has invited a leading authority on the Armaments question, who has been intimately associated with the Geneva negotiations throughout, to prepare a model treaty based broadly on the various proposals discussed in League of Nations Committees in the past nine months. It professes to be no more than a skeleton, such as the Preparatory Commission is expected to draw up this month, leaving detailed figures to be filled in later. To fix for each nation the actual quota for its military effectives, its naval tonnage and air-force strength must be a matter of long and delicate negotiation.*

### THE MODEL TREATY

The Signatory States agree that :—

1. They will reduce and limit their national armaments in accordance with the provisions of the following Articles and Schedules.
2. Their national armaments shall in no circumstances whatever exceed the limits fixed herein without the concurrence of the Council.
3. The limits of armaments fixed herein and other parts of this Treaty shall be subject to revision at a General Disarmament Conference to be summoned not later than five years from the date of the entry into force of this Treaty.

#### LAND ARMAMENTS

1. The total effectives of their Land Forces stationed in the home territory shall not exceed the number specified for each of them in Schedule I. (The term effectives shall be understood to include all personnel in all ranks of every branch of the Army, including military depots, administrative services, training colleges, cadet schools, etc.)
2. The total effectives of State services organised on a military basis (such as armed Police Forces, Customs guards, forest guards, etc.) shall not exceed the number specified for each of them in Schedule II.
3. The total effectives of their Land Forces stationed in their Colonial possessions, Protectorates, and mandated areas shall not exceed the number specified in Schedule III.
4. The proportion of Officers to the total Effectives permitted under Schedule I to each Signatory State shall not exceed one-twentieth; of Non-commissioned Officers, one-fifteenth.
5. In Signatory States where the system of conscription prevails, the period of compulsory military service shall not exceed at most one year.
6. In Signatory States where the system of conscription prevails, refresher courses for trained reserves who have completed the period of active training specified in Article 5 above shall not exceed in length 20 days in the first year and 10 days in each subsequent year.
7. In Signatory States where the voluntary system prevails, refresher courses for trained reserves who have passed out of the active Army shall not exceed in length the periods laid down in the preceding Article for conscripted Armies.
8. In Signatory States where the voluntary system prevails, the total effectives of volunteer Militias and Territorial Armies shall not exceed the number specified for each of them in Schedule IV. The period of their annual training shall not exceed 30 days in any given year.
9. Civilians shall not be substituted for members of the Armed Forces now engaged in administrative work.



Lord Cecil and Dr. Loudon (Holland), Chairman of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference

10. The total weight of material of the following categories, measured in tons, shall not exceed the tonnage specified for each of them in Schedule V :—
  - (a) Artillery of all calibres, including sea-coast artillery, both in service and in reserve.
  - (b) Ammunition of all kinds, including both artillery and small-arm ammunition, both in service and in reserve.
11. The total number of Tanks, Armoured Cars and other armoured vehicles, both in service and in reserve, shall not exceed the numbers specified for each of them in Schedule VI.
12. No Tank shall exceed in weight X tons or carry a gun larger in calibre than Y mm.\*
13. The total number of machine-guns, rifles, carbines or other small-arms, both in service and in reserve, shall not exceed the following figures :—
 

Machine-guns : †X for every 1,000 effectives allowed to each Signatory State in accordance with Schedule I.  
Rifles or Carbines : †Y for every ditto.
14. The total Annual Expenditure on the equipment, maintenance and upkeep of their Land Forces, including the Auxiliary and other Forces mentioned in Articles 2 and 8, shall not exceed the sums specified for each of them in Schedule VII.
15. The total Annual Expenditure on the following chapters of their Annual Budgets for their Land Forces shall not exceed the sums specified in Schedule VIII for each of them for each chapter :—
  - (a) Maintenance of Effectives.
  - (b) Upkeep of material.
  - (c) Purchases and manufacture of new material.
  - (d) New construction of fortifications, depots and other military works.

#### NAVAL ARMAMENTS

1. The Signatory States may respectively retain the fighting ships of each of the following classes specified in Schedule IX :—
  - (a) Capital Ships.
  - (b) Aircraft Carriers.
  - (c) Cruisers.
  - (d) Destroyers.
  - (e) Submarines.‡
  - (f) Mine-layers.
2. They shall not increase in any way the existing displacement tonnage or armament of any of the fighting ships which they retain.
3. They shall abandon their respective ship-building programmes, and no new ships of the above-mentioned classes shall be constructed or acquired by any Signatory State except replacement tonnage as specified in Schedule X. No replacement tonnage shall in any case be laid down for a period of 15 years from the entry into force of the present Treaty.
4. The total replacement tonnage in each of the above-mentioned classes of fighting ships shall not exceed for each signatory state the tonnage specified in Schedule X.
5. No fighting ship exceeding the following limits of displacement tonnage shall be acquired by or constructed by, for, or within the jurisdiction of, any Signatory State :—
 

(a) Capital Ship	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15,000 tons.
(b) Aircraft carrier	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12,000 tons.
(c) Cruisers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,000 tons.
(d) Destroyers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,000 tons.
(e) Submarines	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	600 tons.
(f) Mine-layers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	600 tons.
6. No fighting ship constructed in replacement of existing units shall carry guns or torpedo-tubes in excess of the following calibres :—
 

	Guns.	Torpedo-tubes.
(a) Capital Ships	10 in.	16 in.
(b) Aircraft carriers	6 in.	16 in.
(c) Cruisers	6 in.	16 in.
(d) Destroyers	4 in.	16 in.
(e) Submarines‡	4 in.	16 in.
(f) Mine-layers	3 in.	—
7. The total weight of material in reserve of artillery and ammunition of all calibres, measured in tons, shall not exceed the tonnage specified for each Signatory State in Schedule XI.

\* It would, of course, be simpler and more effective to propose the total abolition of Tanks. The British Government, which has an advantage in Tanks, might perhaps profitably propose to accept this in exchange for the abolition of submarines.  
 † If these numbers X and Y are kept low, this is an effective limitation on the use at the outbreak of war of trained reserves.  
 ‡ If not abolished altogether.

8. The Signatory States will not dispose by gift, sale or any mode of transfer of any vessel of war in such manner that such vessel may become a vessel of war in the Navy of any foreign power.

9. The status quo at the time of the signing of the present Treaty with regard to all naval fortifications and naval bases shall be maintained.

(There would then follow Articles for the limitation of Naval Effectives, Naval Reserves and Naval Budgetary Appropriations which would be, *mutatis mutandis*, identical with Articles 1, 2, 4-9, 14, 15 of the Section on Land Armaments above.)

#### AERIAL ARMAMENTS

1. The total Effectives of their Air Forces stationed in the home territory, shall not exceed the number specified for each of them in Schedule XII. (The term effectives shall include all personnel of all ranks engaged in Aviation service, whether formally attached to Armies, Navies or Air Forces.)

2. The trained pilots in these Air Forces shall not exceed the number specified for each of them in Schedule XI. (Here would follow Articles concerning Air Reserves, etc., which, *mutatis mutandis*, would be identical with Articles 4-9 of the Section on Land Armaments above.)

3. The total Horse Power of all their assembled aircraft engines in service and in reserve in the following categories shall not exceed the totals specified for each Signatory State in Schedule XIV:—

- (a) Fighting Machines.
- (b) Bombing Machines.

4. The total volume of their Dirigibles (Lighter-than-Air Craft) in service and in reserve shall not exceed the volume specified for each of them in Schedule XV.

(Here would follow Articles concerning Budgetary Appropriations for Air Forces which, *mutatis mutandis*, would be identical with Articles 13-14 of the Section on Land Armaments above.)

5. They will not attach to subsidies to Commercial Aircraft Companies any conditions concerning the type or character of their aircraft, or the training of their personnel.

6. They will not give to the personnel of Commercial Aircraft Companies, and especially to civilian pilots of any category, any military training of any kind.

7. They will institute by a subsidiary agreement attached to this Treaty an international Combine or Combines of Commercial Aircraft Companies which shall conduct the operations of commercial aviation on an international basis.

#### CHEMICAL WARFARE

1. They will ratify or accede to the Geneva Protocol of 1925 concerning the use of chemical poisonous substances in war.

2. They will take the necessary measures to establish as a crime in common law and to punish with suitable penalties any exercises or training of military persons or civilians in the use of poison or bacteria, and in particular any exercises or training of air squadrons.

3. They will abolish all subsidies, both to official laboratories and to private institutions which permit researches in the matter of poisonous gas for purely military purposes.

4. They will institute by a subsidiary agreement attached hereto an agreement between the chemical industries and other respective countries which will *inter alia* provide for the rationing of manufacture of chemical substances which can be used in the manufacture of poisonous gases

#### GENERAL ARTICLES

1. The Signatory States will furnish to the Council of the League of Nations not later than June 1st each year statements both of their annual Budgetary Estimates for the current year and of their actual annual expenditure in the preceding year on their Land, Sea and Air Forces. These statements shall be drawn up in accordance with the Standard Model contained in Schedule XVI, and shall show both their total expenditure and their expenditure on each of the separate chapters mentioned in Articles 13, etc.

2. The Council of the League of Nations shall establish a Commission on Armament Budgets, consisting of experts qualified in matters relating to Military, Naval and Air Budgets. This Commission shall examine the annual statements furnished by the Signatory States in accordance with the preceding Article, and shall make to the Council any comments or observations thereon which it may think appropriate.

3. The Commission on Armament Budgets may advise the Council at any time that in consequence of—

- (a) Reduction of period of military service, abolition of conscription, or other similar change,
- (b) A technical invention of first-class importance,
- (c) A marked change in the value of money,
- (d) A marked change in the wage level,

the sums allowed to any State or States for Defence expenditure under Schedules VII, VIII, etc., should be revised.

4. If there should arise any dispute concerning the observance or execution of the terms of this Treaty the States Members of the League of Nations will facilitate any enquiry or investigation which the Council may decide by majority to be required.

5. This Treaty shall enter into force when it has been ratified by the States which have permanent seats on the Council of the League, by the United States of America and by 10 other Signatory States.

#### SCHEDULES

Here follow sixteen Schedules specifying the definite figures (for land forces, budget expenditure, artillery, etc.) for each State as indicated in the body of the Treaty.

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

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

"Your system of learning German cannot be beaten." (GC. 112.)

"I have started the Course (Spanish) and find it the best and most interesting I have ever tried." (S.P. 100.)

"It is a wonderful system you have for teaching languages. So extremely interesting, and the old-fashioned rules and regulations eliminated! I have learnt more (Italian) in these few short weeks than I ever learnt of French (by the old System) in several years. It is perfectly splendid and I have very much enjoyed the Course." (L.L. 103.)

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

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

"I have just returned from a visit to Spain, never having previously heard Spanish spoken. It says much for the perfection of your Guide to Pronunciation that I have not had to alter my ideas on Pronunciation in any particular, finding everything spoken just as I had imagined. My accent was also praised, in one case by a lawyer, who should be qualified to judge, and who impressed on me that he was not flattering me." (S.W. 372.)

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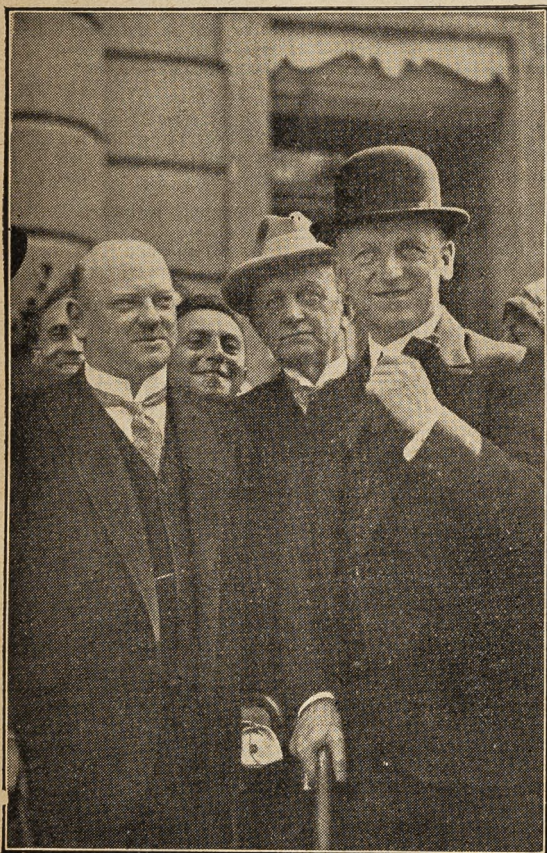
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## "HOURS": HOURS AND HOURS

IF you are thinking of congratulating anybody on his luck in being able to spend a few days' holiday in Geneva, you would be well advised not to try the experiment with any of the delegates who attended the last meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at the end of January. Even as an experiment in humour it would not appeal to men who had dealt with such a range of subjects, and who even had to devote their Sunday to discussions. The Geneva Press had something to say about this curious application of the principle of the Weekly Rest Day.

The Director's report to the Governing Body has the range if not the imposing bulk of his report to the Conference, and the Governing Body gives it the detailed attention it deserves. The question of ratification of the Washington Hours Convention was again in the



Dr. Stresemann (bareheaded), the German Foreign Minister, who is to preside at the League of Nations Council this month.

forefront. This time the Governing Body had before it the report of its own special committee which had met since the last session to discuss means of arriving at a general and final agreement on the solution of difficulties in the way of ratification. The employers explained their difficulties, and asked for more information. Mr. Poulton, speaking for the workers, was passionately emphatic in his criticism of delay, while Mr. Wolfe, the British Government delegate, somewhat surprised those who believed that the London Agreement had smoothed the way for ratification, at any rate, by the five States who reached it, by saying that the British Government needed additional information. The Director himself, summing up in his direct and lucid manner, said he was hopeful. Belgium, at any

rate, has ratified and now the French Senate has agreed to ratification provided Great Britain and Germany ratify as well.

### The Sailor's Day

The next important problem the Governing Body had to tackle was the question of a special Session of the Conference in 1928 to discuss the regulation of hours of work at sea. Hours again; and the Governing Body was obviously reluctant to give a final decision. Admittedly the subject is a very involved one, and liable to provoke the most heated controversy, but the Governing Body was somewhat awkwardly placed. It has a Joint Maritime Commission, comprising representatives of shipowners and seamen, whose function is to advise the Governing Body on maritime matters, and this had just resolved (though not by a large majority) to advise the Governing Body to hold such a session. On the other hand, the British Government was not at all favourable to the idea, and Mr. Wolfe protested against the suggestion that the Governing Body was automatically bound by the decision of a subordinate committee. So the compromise was reached that the subject should be provisionally placed on the agenda of a special Session of the Conference in 1928, and a final decision taken at the April meeting of the Governing Body. Thus there is time to think over Mr. Wolfe's solemn warning that by holding this Conference they would be undertaking a step the consequences of which would probably be disastrous.

Final decisions were also taken regarding the Conference of 1928. Its agenda, which obviously has to be arranged a long time ahead, to give the Office time to make a detailed survey of the world position regarding the subjects discussed. In order to avoid overloading the programme for this session—for a final decision has to be taken thereat on the subjects of freedom of association and minimum-wage-fixing machinery, which will be discussed at the next conference in May, 1927—and bearing in mind the possibility of a special maritime session as well, the Governing Body decided to place on the agenda one subject only, that of the prevention of industrial accidents, including those caused by the coupling of railway rolling-stock.

Great interest was shown in a report presented by the Deputy Director of the Office on his recent visit to the United States and Canada, during which he made a study of industrial conditions. The Governing Body thanked him for the valuable information he had obtained. His short report to the Governing Body has already aroused a good deal of interest in this country, and is to be followed by a longer study to be published by the Office.

## IN THE HOUSE

February 14.—The PRIME MINISTER (to various Members): "A proposal regarding a further limitation of naval armaments has been received from the United States Government, and is under earnest consideration. There will no doubt be a general desire to discuss the matter in the House of Commons."

February 16.—SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (to Mr. Dalton): "The Government has not yet taken a final decision on what concrete disarmament proposals it will lay before the forthcoming Disarmament Conference."

February 16.—MR. AMERY (to Mr. Pethick-Lawrence): "No misapprehension is likely to result from the fact that in maps issued by the Empire Marketing Board British Mandated Territories are depicted in the same colour as British possessions."

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

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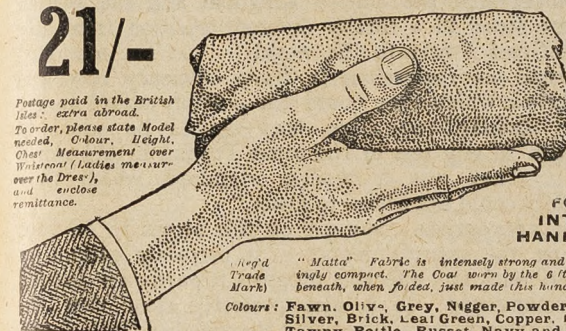
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## BOOKS WORTH READING

### THE RHINE IN HISTORY

The Struggle for the Rhine. By Hermann Stegemann. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.) Herr Stegemann has already produced a history of the Great War; this present work he describes as the logical completion of that history. We are not at all sure that logically it should not have preceded it, for the author here occupies himself with a sketch of two thousand years of history, from the days of Cæsar to the present time, and the Great War appears as the latest of those immemorial conflicts which have had the control of the Rhine as their object. The whole book is an interesting and careful study of this subject, treated as far as possible in isolation, and shewing the influence of geographical factors upon political history. The reason why we call attention to it in HEADWAY is that the Rhine has not changed its course; its possession is still of strategic and national importance, and as it has been the cause of past, so it may be the cause of future wars. "For our part," says Herr Stegemann, "we are convinced that the historic struggle for the Rhine is still far from being definitely decided."

Apart from its historical value, this book enables us to understand to some extent the German point of view to-day, since it must be remembered that the author is writing as a German for Germans. While many of his statements may appear questionable to English students, it is important for us to know in what direction the German mind is working. We may not agree with all his conclusions, as, for example, when he says that "France fought solely for mastery over the Rhine," but in saying this he tells us what is the current German belief. Again, he attributes to William II a persistent will to peace, although he points out that the "encircling" of Germany was due to the policy of an Emperor whose methods were "tortuous and incoherent," and whose utterances were "indiscreet and bombastic." This again is a commonplace of German thought to-day, and we must reckon with it.

What of the future? The Rhine basin is now far more valuable than in any previous generation; the production of potash, coal and iron, the network of railways and its shipping trade have given it an economic importance which, apart from all its sentimental associations, must dictate the policy of the future. Herr Stegemann seems to suggest that in French ambitions towards the Rhine there is a danger to Great Britain, and that on this account our policy should be linked with Germany rather than with that of France. He states as a "cardinal truth" that "if a nation at one and the same time possesses the Seine and the Rhone and controls the Rhine, it is ipso facto able to dominate Europe and menace Great Britain." The danger undoubtedly exists, but since the whole story goes to shew the futility of sectional alliances we believe that the real end of the struggle for the Rhine will be found in a scheme of economic co-operation produced by the forthcoming Economic Conference of the League. The book would have been improved by the provision of a map and a more competent translator; the one would help us to follow Herr Stegemann's history more easily, the other to understand what he really said. It is absurd to read twice of Bismarck's "geniality," when the author wishes to convey the idea that he was a man of genius.—H. W. F.

### PEACE IN INDUSTRY

Conciliation. By J. C. Maxwell Garnett. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd. 6d.) Copec is following up the work which it has already accomplished by producing a series of "Present Day Pamphlets" which are intended

"to provide food for thought and discussion" on current questions. Dr. Maxwell Garnett in the latest of this series fulfils this object in dealing with conciliation as it concerns both international and industrial affairs. Dr. Garnett draws attention to "the newest thing in machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes," the Permanent Conciliation Commissions. These Commissions which have now been established between thirty pairs of States have as their object the friendly discussion of disputes by the parties interested together with the aid of independent members, before the need arises of any reference to the World Court or the League Council. Dr. Garnett then suggests with considerable force that similar procedure should be adopted for the settlement of domestic industrial disputes. He sees, however, that the creation of machinery is not enough and pleads both for a far greater publicity of facts and for a change of mind which is essential to any change of law. Peace, either industrial or international, "will depend more upon a conciliatory spirit and a state of mind than upon any set of formal institutions." The pamphlet is most suggestive, and should be widely read.—H. W. F.

#### A LAW FOR STATES

**Justice Among Nations.** By H. G. Alexander. (Hogarth Press. 1s. net.) Mr. Alexander, delivering this the first "Merttens Lecture on War and Peace," endeavours, with considerable success, to show that President Wilson's "reign of law, based on the consent of the governed and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind," is actually making substantial progress in the world. He points with much force to the growing practice of international law-making under the auspices of the League of Nations, and dwells with emphasis on the effect the Permanent Court of International Justice has and will increasingly have in establishing a respect for law in the relationships between States. Combating the declaration of Sir Austen Chamberlain that it does not matter much whether we take our disputes to the League Council or the Permanent Court, Mr. Alexander writes: "It does matter very much. The decisions of the Hague Court are of binding force; the opinions of the League Council are not. And the League Council is open to political influence—as all the world knows after the shocking exhibition of last March. The Hague Court is not open to such influence. In short, the decisions of the Court are binding and impartial; the opinions of the League Council may be neither." That is rather an undue exaltation of the Court at the expense of the Council, but it is undoubtedly the case that the more nations get into the habit of referring to the Court cases suitable for the Court the better for the peace of the world.

#### THE I.L.O. AT HOME

**International Labour Office: Geneva, 1926** (1s). Letterpress and illustrations share the honours and the pages of this booklet, which officially describes the I.L.O. If its appearance suggests the product of a commercial house, that in itself is no condemnation, for the I.L.O. is concerned with almost every aspect of commerce, widely understood, and it is evidently following the example of big business in advertising its wares attractively. Its wares are good, and they deserve all the publicity they can obtain.

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### READERS' VIEWS EXPERTS AND MINISTERS

SIR,—In your comments on the views of the British experts as set forth in the report of the military sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission, you remark "it is well to remember that these views are simply the views of the experts, not of the Government." This suggests that you have overlooked the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty at Belfast, reported in the *Times* of January 22.

Sir James Craig, who presided, exhorted Mr. Bridgeman to "Go on, God bless you in your efforts to maintain in the highest state of efficiency, and in luxury if need be, that arm of the Services on which Britain is bound to depend." The First Lord, in reply, said "They would always be ready to consider any further limitations of armaments that might be agreed upon by the Powers, but they must also always remember that the United Kingdom and the British Empire stood in a totally different position from any other Great Power in the world. . . . The standard they had set themselves in Navy efficiency now was one below which they could not possibly afford to go. Their standard was that they should be equal in strength to any one of the other Powers in the world. . . . That was a modest standard which they certainly could not afford to lower."

The appropriate comment on this seems to be your own on the experts' report—"it certainly cannot be said to mark any effective progress towards a reduction of armaments." It is also perfectly clear that the British experts were expressing the views of the Government of which Mr. Bridgeman is a prominent member.—Yours, etc.,

University College of Wales, SYDNEY HERBERT,  
Aberystwyth.

[(1) The British experts may have been expressing the views of Bridgeman, but Mr. Bridgeman's views when it comes to the point may not be those of a majority of his colleagues. (2) The one-power standard insisted on by Mr. Bridgeman is quite compatible with an all-round reduction by international agreement.—ED., HEADWAY.]

#### LEAGUE POLICE

SIR,—The chief adverse criticism of the League of Nations has been that it has no force behind it to compel acceptance of its decisions, and the endeavours which have been made to remove this disability by enrolling the military forces of its individual members in its support have not had altogether happy results. The establishment of a force of League Police such as I contemplate would in a considerable measure meet this difficulty, and would be a living witness to all men of the reality of the League.

I would suggest a force, military in organisation but not in armament, made up of picked volunteers from all nations in the League; units to be national, but to be mixed to form international regiments or brigades; the force to have no connection with the ordinary military forces of the members of the League, and no unit to be trained or to serve in its own country. The duty of the League policeman would be to obey the orders of the League, and, when so instructed, to prevent aggression or to stand between would-be combatants at whatever cost to himself; in fact, to maintain the highest ideals of a police force.

In course of time the person of this international policeman would perhaps become as sacred as that of an ambassador. Stationed on the frontier of two disputing nations, with orders from the League to prevent violation of the same, and armed with a weapon effective up to the range of the next picquet, the League police-

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#### TOURS.

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

#### HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, &c.

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

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

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

man would perhaps be no material obstacle to an advancing army, but the knowledge of the would-be aggressor that he must incur the odium of massacring these guardians of the world's peace before he could reach his foe would at least be a strong deterrent to going to war.—Yours, etc.

Wimborne, Dorset.

NOMAD.

#### "LITHUANIAN TROUBLES"

SIR,—In your recent comment on "Lithuanian Troubles" you have been drawn into unintentional misrepresentation of Lithuanian policy in regard to the Niemen, more especially. The party directly responsible for "the killing of the timber trade" is Poland, not Lithuania, for the simple reason that Poland deliberately refrains from availing herself of the timber-floating regulations long ago adopted by Lithuania in fulfilment of her obligations arising out of the Memel Convention.

An explanation of this policy is not far to seek. By withholding timber from the Niemen, not only does Poland divert this traffic to the land route via Danzig, to the advantage of her own railways, but she simultaneously helps to foster the belief abroad, based upon ignorance, that Lithuania has created a situation which inconveniences British buyers of Polish timber. Poland's insistence that freedom to use the Niemen must be coupled with the establishment of diplomatic and consular relations between the two countries proves conclusively that from first to last in her attitude towards Lithuania she has been pursuing not economic, but political aims designed to extort from Lithuania virtual recognition and acceptance of the unlawful seizure of Vilna.—Yours, etc.,

E. J. HARRISON,  
London Representative of the Lithuanian  
Telegraph Agency "Elta."

10, Palace Gate, W.8.

#### WESTWARD HO!

SIR,—The announcement in HEADWAY of the plan of organizing conducted parties to visit America is one with which I am so heartily in accord that I cannot refrain from writing to express my enthusiasm.

Loyal Americans who love England cannot but deplore and be heartsick over the superficial irritations which continually arise and which, although not often of a serious nature, tend to give the man in the street an unfriendly attitude. One of the best ways of counteracting this unfortunate attitude is by personal contact, and there is no organization so rightly qualified as the League to organize these tours so that they will result in the greatest good.

I shall watch the development of this idea with great eagerness and wish I might do something to further its success.—Yours, etc.,

CAROLINE CURTIS BROWN,

The American Women's Club. President.

#### THE AUTHOR OF THE LEAGUE IDEA

SIR,—I noticed the other day in HEADWAY that the question was raised as to the name and date of the earliest originator of the idea of the League of Nations. It is, I think, not generally known that Mazzini not only had such a League profoundly at heart, but actually started it under the name of the International League, in union with some of the foremost Liberals of his day. Honour to whom honour is due, and there is little that is essential in the now familiar conception of the League that was not included in the great Italian's dream. I have been surprised, and indeed disappointed, that no mention has ever been made at Geneva of Mazzini's vision of the League, and of the actual establishment of it, as far as was then possible, nearly eighty years ago.—Yours, etc.,

Meadowland, Headington. EDYTH HINKLEY,  
Oxford.

## FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT WORKS

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

\* \* \* \*

The main organs of the League are—

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

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

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

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

The seat of the League is at Geneva.

\* \* \* \*

Side by side with the League itself, and as integral parts of it, there exist—

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

**The International Labour Organisation**, with its seat at Geneva.

The Permanent Court had, down to December, 1926, decided 7 cases and given 13 advisory opinions to the League Council.

\* \* \* \*

### THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

By Article XXIII of the Covenant, Members of the League undertake "to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend."

The International Labour Organisation exists to carry out this purpose. It consists of—

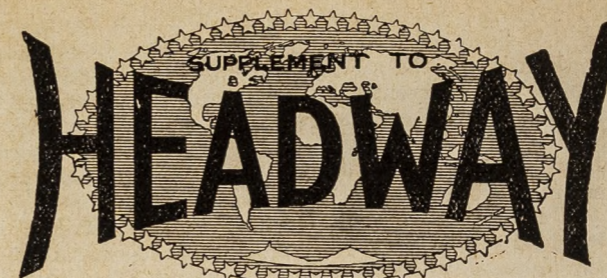
(1) **The General Conference**, meeting annually—four delegates from each State; two representing the Government and two representing the employers and the organised workers of the country respectively.

(2) **The Governing Body**, meeting quarterly or oftener—twelve representatives of Governments (the eight principal industrial States and four others chosen by the General Conference), and six employers' and six workers' representatives (chosen by the employers' and the workers' groups in the General Conference respectively).

(3) **The International Labour Office**, a permanent Secretariat of the Organisation at Geneva.

**International agreements** (either conventions or recommendations) on the regulation of labour conditions are adopted by the General Conference and sent to Governments to be embodied in the legislation of the respective countries. In the nine sessions of the General Conference so far held **24 conventions and 27 recommendations** have been adopted, on such questions as hours of labour, minimum age of children in industry, weekly rest in industry, workmen's compensation, &c.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



MARCH, 1927

### THE UNION'S POWER

THE following message has been received from Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, one of the Presidents of the League of Nations Union, regarding the Union Supplement to HEADWAY:—

Treasury Chambers,  
Whitehall, S.W.1,  
February 3, 1927.

May I offer to the League of Nations Union my congratulations on the Supplement to "Headway"? It is a most valuable development, and ought to increase the numbers and power of the Union very greatly, a result which is of the greatest importance. For the policy of a democratic system of Government must depend on popular support: The greater the strength of the League of Nations Union at home the more vigorous can be the League policy of the British Government at Geneva.

CECIL.

### GETTING IN THE SUBS.

THERE were 587,224 members of the Union at the end of last year, but of these only 279,990 had paid their subscriptions. This means—to adapt an American phrase—that we have not yet got a hundred per cent. membership. Rumour has it that not a few zealous Branch secretaries spend sleepless nights puzzling over the problem of how to "net" subscriptions from lax members. Eloquent appeals by presidents of local Branches are made from the platform of annual meetings, urging members to relieve their secretaries of this source of anxiety. Letters of appeal that lack nothing in either urgency or ingenuity are sent out by the score. Still the problem remains. Then the other day the welcome news reached headquarters that one Branch at least, having no less than a thousand members, had discovered the secret of securing a hundred per cent. membership. No sooner did this fact become known at headquarters than an S.O.S. was issued to the Branch in question to divulge this secret for the benefit of others who have been seeking in vain

for the solution. A noble response was made, and HEADWAY is now in the happy position of making these facts public for the first time.

The Branch in question is in Surrey, on the outer suburbs of London. Difficult though it may be to believe it, headquarters is able to vouch for the fact that last year they succeeded in collecting every one of their thousand subscriptions.

How do they do it? The Branch Secretary shall tell the story in his own words:—

"I find that the best way to collect the renewal subscriptions as they become due," he writes, "is to divide the work up into sections. I am in the fortunate position of having a very enthusiastic lady in charge of the collections, who has gathered round her a number of others, who each take a certain number of streets in their own districts. They are supplied with a small book with a stiff cover, each opening of which is allotted to a street, and ruled on the left-hand page with the number of the house—names of houses are hopeless from a collector's point of view—and the member's name. The right-hand page is ruled into columns, the first giving the month and amount of the subscriptions to be collected and the remaining ones being headed for each successive year. The word 'Paid' is written in these latter columns when the receipt has been given.

"We all meet at a fixed time on a certain day of the month at the house of our chief collector. Any alterations are then noted, and all monies collected are handed in and checked against the counterfoils, and a receipt given to each collector on the back of the last counterfoil paid in. These are then handed over to the treasurer by the chief collector, who obtains a receipt for the full amount. Once each year, about a month before our general meeting, all the collecting and receipt books are called in, and checked with my card index, to make sure that all the members' names are on the index as well as in the books. A note is made at the time of any outstanding subscription, and a special effort is then made by the collectors to get these in. This method has proved so successful that at our annual meeting I shall be in the proud position of reporting that all our renewal subscriptions have been paid, and a vote of thanks will be passed, and sent by letter to each of the ladies who have helped to achieve this result."

Such a record of achievement needs no comment.

### Paris Lunches

A series of lunches known as the International Lunches of the Friends of Peace is at present being held monthly in Paris at the Renaissance Club, 12, Rue de Poitiers. Any visitors to Paris who are interested in these lunches can obtain particulars from Miss Behrens, Lyceum Club, 17, Rue Bellechasse.

## AT HEADQUARTERS

CHINA held first place in the Executive's discussions this month. A considered statement of policy adopted on February 3 set out the facts of the case, explained the peculiar difficulties of League intervention, approved the British memorandum, and asked the Government to explain its whole position to Geneva and to declare its willingness to use the good offices of the League. This, it will be remembered, the Government did on February 10. Of the many Branch resolutions on China received by the Executive, one at least contained another specific proposal which was the subject of a subsequent decision of the Cabinet—the Edinburgh Branch's suggestion of Hong-Kong as the destination of the main body of the Shanghai Defence Force.

Discussion on President Coolidge's new naval disarmament project led to the conclusion that the proposal was to be welcomed, but that it must be kept in its right relation to the larger Geneva discussions.

The General Council in December left to the Executive a formidable legacy of resolutions on foreign policy—arbitration, disarmament, the ratification of the Washington Hours Convention and the Traffic in Arms Convention, and Mandates administration. Upon all these subjects, as well as China, Sir Austen Chamberlain arranged to receive a deputation from the Executive (February 22).

Among other decisions relating to international affairs, the Committee requested Professor Murray to furnish the Union's speakers with a peaceful armament to combat certain shallow and mischievous attacks in this country upon the United States; resolved to join the British-Armenian Committees in asking the Government to make a grant for the settlement of Armenian refugees in Syria—for which the French Government have promised liberal aid; and, on the proposal of the Penal Reform Sub-committee, resolved to ask the Federation of League of Nations Societies, at its next Plenary Congress at Dresden, to call for the framing by the League Assembly of an international convention "upon the conditions to be observed in all civilised countries in the treatment of persons under arrest or in captivity."

Among questions concerning the Union's policy in this country, the Executive have taken stock of all the various bodies in Great Britain mainly or wholly engaged in work for international peace. There is not a little overlapping; but the Executive, feeling that the Union's character differentiates it from all these smaller or sectional bodies, has adopted a rather clearer rule than has obtained in the past for co-operation with any of them. As a really representative, national body existing to strengthen the League of Nations, it will participate in joint activities only if it has enough control of them to ensure that they result in an increase of public support for the League.

The vexed question of HEADWAY advertisements was referred by the General Council to the Committee. It has now closed its consideration of the matter and concluded that no rigid rule differentiating between acceptable and unacceptable advertisements can be adopted. Newspaper proprietors are never assumed to share opinions expressed in advertisement columns; on this understanding every advertisement not illegal or immoral will be admitted by the Editor, unless the Executive itself decide to exclude it.

Two new advisory committees of the Executive—on publicity and on the opium question—have held their first meetings in the past month. The new committee for an educational campaign upon armaments reduction has also got to work and will have the assistance of a new department at headquarters. All the standing committees have started well with their year's work.

## THE TRIP TO AMERICA

A NUMBER of inquiries about the Union's trip to the United States at Easter have already been received at headquarters.

The return ocean voyage will cost £38 and will occupy a month, allowing 13 days in America. The complete tour will cost £63. This will include ocean return trip in tourist third-class cabin on White Star liners; railroad transportation (including sleeping-berths for night journey) to Baltimore, or Philadelphia, Washington and Boston; rooms at hotels; and sight-seeing in the cities named. The "tourist" quarters have nothing in common with "steerage," with which one has come to associate third-class ocean travel. The "tourist thirds" afford solid comfort, excellent food, and congenial company. This new form of travel has been specially created to meet the requirements of teachers, students and the professional classes generally. It has been recognised that travel may be of great value to such people, but usually economy is a matter of some consideration with them.

Those interested in the present trip should make application at once, a deposit of £10 being required with each request for reservation. Enrolments will be accepted either for the ocean voyage alone or for the complete tour, but those taking the ocean voyage and requiring introductions and assistance in America will be asked to pay a further fee of £2 2s. All inquiries and applications should be addressed to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. A printed leaflet, giving full particulars, is available.

In the January HEADWAY, under the heading "A Trip to America," it was stated that Mr. Frank Bustard was willing to give lantern lectures to Branches on "America and the League" without fee, provided his out-of-pocket expenses were met. This should be corrected. Mr. Bustard charges neither fee nor expenses.

## A League School Magazine

CONGRATULATIONS to the pioneers of the Union's Junior Branch at the Hull Grammar School, who have achieved the distinction of producing the first school magazine entirely devoted to news of the League of Nations and the activities of the Branch. It is a splendid example which might well be followed by schools.

Meanwhile we continue to receive copies of school magazines containing references to the League. One in particular, *The Mouthpiece*, from the Percy Road Boys Elementary School, Kilburn, deserves special praise. In addition to an excellent report of an address on the League given on Armistice Day by a Union speaker, it contains the story of the Christ of the Andes, and under the heading "Something to Think about the Great War," are given some striking figures of the cost of the war in lives and money. Considering the average age of the contributors, we cannot imagine a better production.

## Six New Scottish Branches

Six new Branches have been formed in Scotland as a result of a "big push" organised by the Glasgow and West of Scotland District Council. One of these is at Tighnabruaich, where a Branch was formed in the early days of the Union, but which survived for only a short time. We hope other defunct branches will take courage from this fact and make a fresh start.

The "big push" also included a great Mass Meeting of Girl Guides, Girls' Guildry, Girls' Auxiliary and Girls' Guilds addressed by Dame Rachel Crowley at the end of February.

## The Union's Party to the I.L.O. Conference

This year, as in the past, the Union is organising a party from this country to attend the Sessions of the Conference of the International Labour Organisation. The party will leave London on May 28, members enrolling either for one week, ten days or a fortnight. The party will include members of Employers' Organisations, of Trade Unions, members of the Union and others interested in international labour organisation.

## News from Paris

Members who have English friends living in Paris may like to remind them that there is a Branch of the Union there. An interesting debate on the competence of the League to prevent war was recently organised by the Branch, the chair being taken by Major-General Clive, Military Attache to the British Embassy. By a large majority the motion in favour of the League's competence was carried.

## Dr. Norwood and Young People

Two thousand young people belonging to the Boys' Brigade, Boy Scouts, Guides and Girls' Guildry were present at a meeting in Dundee addressed by Dr. Norwood. The meeting was presided over by Sir Alexander Spence, the local clergy and ministers supporting him on the platform.

A united service on Sunday evening at the Queen's Theatre, South Shields, attracted fifteen hundred people to hear Dr. Norwood. The Mayor read the lessons, and ministers of all denominations gave their enthusiastic support.

Dr. Norwood's meeting in Glasgow is pronounced to have been one of the finest ever held in Glasgow. St. Andrew's Hall was filled to overflowing, and a crowded overflow meeting was held in the Berkeley Hall. It is estimated that about 5,000 people heard Dr. Norwood on that evening, and over 600 new members were enrolled.

## New Union Publications

The latest publications issued by the Union include:—  
"The I.L.O. Record in 1926" (No. 208, 6d.). This, as its title indicates, gives the story of what the I.L.O. has accomplished during the past year.

"The Empire and the League" (No. 209, 2d.), contains speeches made by Viscount Grey, Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, Rt. Hon. S. M. Bruce, Viscount Cecil, Rt. Hon. J. G. Coates and the Hon. A. B. Morine, at a dinner given by the Union to members of the Imperial Conference.

"Disarmament" (No. 210, 3d.) gives in brief compass the complete story of the League's activities as regards disarmament. The Union's pamphlet on "Armaments," mentioned last month, gives, on the other hand, the League's more recent activities only.

"Why British Employers Should Support the I.L.O." (2s. 6d. per 100) is a leaflet which Branches may find of use during campaigns.

## An International Teachers' Conference

"What Schools can do for Peace" is the subject to be discussed at a Conference which is meeting at Prague on April 18 and 19 under the auspices of the International Bureau of Education (Geneva). Reports will be given as to what has already been done by schools towards promoting world brotherhood, and the difficulties that have been met with. There will also be discussion of practical suggestions for encouraging correspondence between schools in different countries, for international camps, study tours and exchanges of teachers and scholars.

The Conference has been planned chiefly, though not exclusively, for elementary and secondary-school teachers. Further particulars can be obtained from the Bureau, 4, Rue Charles Bonnet, Geneva.

## A Model League Committee

Model Assemblies are very popular with many schools where there are Junior Branches. Some schools, how-

ever, feel that a Model Assembly is too ambitious, and to them may be commended the method adopted by the Plumstead Secondary School for Girls of holding a model League Committee. The Committee selected was that on Child Welfare, the members reporting conditions in their respective countries, and a "representative" from the International Labour Organisation explaining the relations between the League and the I.L.O.

## A League Exhibit

Branches are constantly inquiring for something in the nature of a League appeal that will catch the eye. Headquarters are glad to be able to let such Branches know that there is now available an exhibit on the organisation and work of the League of Nations, in the form of a series of pictorial charts and diagrams, which should do much to meet this need. The exhibit has been prepared by the Information Section of the League of Nations and each complete set consists of 28 charts. Each chart is 25 in. by 17½ in. and is suitably illustrated and contains descriptive matter telling the essential facts about the League. The price of the set is 5s. (post free, 5s. 6d.), obtainable from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

## The Legion Helps the Union

Close co-operation between the British Legion and the Union is the subject of comment in the Report of the North Eastern Area Council of the Legion. The Legion is represented on the Tyne District Council of the Union by the Organising Secretary of the Legion for this area. Not only so, but the Legion sent two representatives to the Geneva Institute last year. Members of the Union, on their side, have had the opportunity of learning about F.I.D.A.C. and its work through Legion speakers who visited some of the Branches. These happy relations between the two organisations should be an encouragement to other District Councils.

## The Membership of the Union

In the February Supplement it was stated that, after deducting those known to have died or resigned, the total number of persons who had joined the Union by December 31, 1926, was 587,224. The following table shows how many of these were in England, Scotland, Wales and Monmouthshire and the percentage of subscriptions actually paid in 1926:—

	Total on 31.12.26.	Percentage of payments in 1926.
England ... ..	517,720	49
Scotland ... ..	28,477	59
Wales and Monmouthshire...	36,263	38

The figures for the English "Regions" are as follows:—

	Total on 31.12.26.	Percentage of payments in 1926.
"South-Eastern" (Kent, Surrey, Sussex) ... ..	43,401	54
"South-Western" (Cornwall, Devon, Gloucester, Somerset, Wilts) ... ..	48,720	52
"Metropolitan" (London, Middlesex, and parts of Essex, Herts, Kent and Surrey) ... ..	105,842	50
"North-Eastern" (Lincs and Yorks) ... ..	68,889	50
"Eastern" (Beds, Cambs, Essex, Herts, Hunts, Norfolk, Suffolk) ... ..	36,266	50
"North-Western" (Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmorland) ... ..	78,353	48
"Southern" (Berks, Bucks, Hants, Oxon) ... ..	36,123	48
"West Midland" (Hereford, Salop, Stafford, Warwick, Worcester) ... ..	36,888	45
"Northern" (Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland) ... ..	23,973	45
"East Midland" (Derby, Leicester, Northants, Notts, Rutland) ... ..	39,265	39

**New Corporate Members**

The following have been admitted to corporate membership since the last list was published :—

BARNET: New Barnet Liberal Association. BRADFORD: Central Hall Mission; Dirkhill Primitive Methodist Church. DESBOROUGH: Parish Church. DONCASTER: Educational Committee of Co-operative Society, Ltd. EDGASTON: Wycliffe Baptist Church. EDMONTON: St. James' Church, Upper Edmonton. HECKMONDWIKE: George Street Congregational Church. HUCKNALL: Primitive Methodist Church. LEYLAND: Wesley Guild. LIVERSEDGE: Christian Meeting Room. LONDON—KENSINGTON: Women's Liberal Association, N. Kensington; LEWISHAM: Christ Church, Lee; STOKE NEWINGTON: St. Matthias' Church; WOOLWICH: Eltham Park Baptist Church; Free Church Council. LONGTON: Women's Co-operative Guild. MANCHESTER: Manley Park Wesleyan Church, Whalley Range. NEWPORT PAGNELL: Congregational Church Men's Meeting. REIGATE: Wesleyan Church. SOUTHGATE: Christ Church with St. Andrews. TONBRIDGE: Sisterhood. WARRINGTON: Teachers' Association.

**The Council's Vote**

There is an encouragingly long list of Branches which have completed their Council's Vote Quota for 1926 since the February *Supplement* went to press. The list is as follows :—

Astwood Bank, Bradninch, Bradford, Beaulieu, Brighton, Brize Norton, Barrow-in-Furness, Berkhamsted, Barnet, Birmingham, Broadstairs, Bishop Stortford, Basset, Castleford, Chalford, Chandlers Ford, Cottenham, Clifton, Cirencester, Carlisle, Chorley, Christchurch, Calstock, Colwall, Chichester, Colchester, Diss, Dunmow, Dulverton, Dewsbury, Dedham, Essex, Eastleigh, Faringdon, Grimsby, Grange-over-Sands, High Wycombe, Huntingdon, Headingley Hill Cong. Church, Halifax, Hastings, Hereford, Hull, Harehills Lane (Leeds), Holt, Heathfield, Helston, Henleaze, Hillhouse Cong. Church (Huddersfield), Hither Green, Ipswich, Iping, Kettering, Keswick, Kidderminster, Keynsham, Little Baddow, Longridge, Letchworth, Littlehampton, Lyme Regis, Lincoln Training College, Leamington, Malvern, Mansfield, Marlow, Northampton, North Staffordshire, Nailsworth, Oxted and Limpsfield, Oundle, Princes Risborough, Portsmouth, Petersfield, Queen Street (Sheffield), Romsey, Redland, Reigate, Radlett, Swanage, Sheffield, Sevenoaks, St. Albans, Stroud, Sutton-on-Sea, Sedgley, Salisbury, Salem Cong. Church (Leeds), Trinity (Leeds), Thrapston, Teignmouth, Taunton, Uffculme (1926 and 1927), Ulverston, Upminster, Wellingborough, Week St. Mary, Worcester, Watford, Windermere, Withersea, Wells, Worthing, Whitstable, Worcestershire.

**WELSH NOTES**

The quarterly meeting of the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council was held at Shrewsbury, Mr. David Davies, M.P., in the chair. After a discussion upon a definite objective for 1927 it was unanimously decided that work in Wales for this year should be concentrated upon Arbitration, and all Branches will be asked to undertake activities in order to make 1927 "An Arbitration Year."

\* \* \*

Resolutions dealing with Arbitration, Reduction of Armaments, proposed World Economic Conference and the recommendations of the Sub-committee of Experts with reference to the League and Education were discussed and agreed upon.

\* \* \*

The situation in China was also considered, and a resolution was passed commending the efforts made by the Government to ensure peace by negotiation, and urging that these efforts be continued. The desirability was emphasised that, should negotiations break down, the whole question be referred to the League of Nations.

\* \* \*

Dr. Norwood's meetings at Newtown and Llandudno were an unqualified success, hundreds being turned away. His campaign in Wales for peace has been marked by great enthusiasm. The Executive Committee at Shrewsbury expressed its warmest appreciation of Dr. Norwood's great services and a resolution of deep gratitude was enthusiastically adopted.

Following upon an address given by Mr. Tom Gillinder, Headquarters, to the Welsh I.L.P. Annual Conference last year, a series of meetings throughout South Wales has been organised with the trade unions, labour parties, co-operative guilds, and I.L.P. branches, which will occupy Mr. Gillinder's services until the end of May. The meetings already addressed have displayed keen interest.

**OVERSEAS NOTES****Canada**

The Westside Okanagan Farmers' Institute, in response to the appeal published in the December Bulletin of the League of Nations Society in Canada for one hundred thousand subscribers, passed a resolution at its Annual Meeting warmly commending the League of Nations Society and providing for six monthly Bulletins to be sent to the Institute for circulation among its members.

The Vancouver Branch has been very active during January in helping to secure two thousand associate members as its quota towards the one hundred thousand asked for by the President of the Society from the people of Canada in 1927.

**India**

At a meeting of the Amritsar Branch of the Indian League of Nations Society, held on January 19, addressed by Mr. G. R. Sethi, B.A., and presided over by Mr. L. Kesho Ram, M.L.C., resolutions were passed urging the claims of India for a seat on the Council of the League and the employment of more Indians on the staff of the Secretariat.

**Japan**

The International Economic Conference which is due to meet on May 4 at Geneva, has been attracting considerable attention in Japan, and the League of Nations Association has recently set up a committee to study the questions that are likely to come up for consideration at the conference. Representatives of the largest industrial and commercial concerns and some of the best known economists were present at the initial meeting of the Committee.

**France**

Mr. Henry A. Hering, who recently went to the Riviera for a holiday, has been devoting a great deal of time and energy to organizing and addressing League of Nations Union meetings at various places along the coast. His efforts, which have been greatly appreciated, have included meetings at Cannes, Bordighera, Mentone, San Remo and Alassio. At Mentone and Alassio, as a result of Mr. Hering's speeches, it is proposed to form Branches of the Union. (These Branches would come under the rules laid down by the Executive Committee of the Union governing the formation of Union Branches in foreign countries.) The thanks of the Union are due to Mr. Hering, and to those who helped him in the organisation of his meetings.

**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: Freecat Knights, London.

Telephone: Sloane 6161.

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