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MATTERS OF MOMENT

ONE of the most important measures in the direction of disarmament (that is to say, in the direction of the reduction of armaments), so far as Europe is concerned, is the proposed reduction of military service in France from eighteen months to twelve. Considerable importance, therefore, attaches to the recent controversy between the Army Committee of the Chamber and M. Painlevé, the Minister of War, on the question of when this reform shall be introduced. The step itself means less than might appear, for it is part of a process of increasing the professional element in the French army and reducing the conscripted element, a change which will not of necessity—will not, indeed, in all probability—diminish the efficiency of the army as a military weapon. The dispute between the Minister and the Army Committee arose from the fact that the former is not prepared to reduce the term of military service till the professional section of the army has reached a total of 106,000, while the Army Committee, consisting of Members of Parliament who realise the electoral value of a definite reduction in the term of service, insisted that the new régime should begin in May, 1929, the conscripts called up then being released in May of the following year. A compromise was finally reached in the Chamber whereby the date will be

November, 1929, instead of May, and provision for a prolongation of service in case of emergency is conceded.

America's Navy

THE final decision regarding the new navy law in the United States has still to be taken, but it is already perfectly clear that the big navy faction is having everything its own way. Even though we have to wait a little longer for precision regarding the final figures, there seems no doubt that the United States is to possess by the end of 1933, or earlier, a cruiser tonnage of at least 570,000. It is, of course, open to the United States to build 5,700,000 if she chooses. Nothing this country can say or do will prevent her. But it is worth while pointing out that if the proposals put forward by the American delegation at Geneva had been accepted by Great Britain, as they would certainly have been by Japan, a maximum limit of 300,000 tons would have been fixed for the United States, and the delegation announced that if any lower figure were preferred they would welcome that. This does not mean that America bears no share of the responsibility for the failure at Geneva. She bears a very large share, through her rejection of the admirable British proposal for the reduction of the maximum size of ships and guns. But it remains true all the same that it was the British refusal to accept the limitations that America herself proposed, which enables the latter to decide to increase her

cruiser tonnage to approximately double the maximum she suggested at Geneva. As to how far the reasons for that rejection were justified controversy will no doubt continue. It is enough here simply to state facts. Meanwhile, the extremely satisfactory decision of the British Government to postpone, or abandon altogether, the construction of yet a third large cruiser puts America's inflated programme in a still more unfavourable light.

Law, not War

IT is reported that Greece has given her adherence to the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which means that she joins the circle of States which agree that in the case of any purely legal dispute (*e.g.*, a dispute about questions of fact or involving international law between any two of their number) they will always refer such a case to the Court for decision. States which, like Great Britain, have not signed this Clause give no general undertaking to accept the jurisdiction of the Court, but are free to decide in regard to each particular case whether they are willing to send it to the Court or not. Greece is the 28th State to accept the Optional Clause, though of this number several have signed and not yet ratified. The actual number of ratifications is 20, so that the Clause is operative between that number of States. More important, however, than Greece's action is the news that Germany, which signed the Clause during the Assembly last September, is apparently about to ratify, a Bill for that purpose having been presented to the Reichstag. Germany will then be the first Great Power to give full recognition to the jurisdiction of the Court, and she deserves full credit for her leadership. France may be expected to follow as soon as her elections are out of the way.

Austria's Progress

THERE is no sounder or better informed authority on business and financial affairs in another country than Mr. O. S. Philpotts, the Commercial Secretary of the British Legation at Vienna. Special importance, therefore, attaches to what Mr. Philpotts has to say on the progress Austria is continuing to make on the basis laid down so well by the League of Nations loan and the financial principles prescribed for Austria's guidance by the League Financial Committee. "The improvement since the League of Nations took the country in hand," says Mr. Philpotts, "has been so great that every year the pessimists have said 'too good to last,' and yet every year the revenue has continued to increase and substantial working surpluses have been attained . . . The Austrian currency has now been stable for nearly five years. During the fourteen months ending last October Austria has shown that it can itself now maintain the value of the schilling without the assistance of outside control, although the country still has the advantage of the moral support and advice of the League in various ways. The report from which these extracts are taken mentions, it is satisfactory to note, that "the United Kingdom appears to have obtained its share of the increased Austrian import trade in 1927," a clear indication of the indirect benefits conferred

on this country by the League reconstruction schemes—not only in Austria.

Educating Our Rulers

IT is sometimes asked, and very properly, what steps are taken in this country to keep the League of Nations well before the attention of Members of Parliament. In point of fact a good deal is constantly being done, particularly in connection with by-elections. At the recent crop of elections, for example, the regular procedure has been followed. The local branch of the League of Nations Union, working in consultation with Headquarters, approaches all the candidates standing, urges their cordial support of the League, brings before them any issues which may seem to call for special attention at the moment, and in most cases invites them all to appear in the course of the election on a common platform to state their views publicly regarding the League, the meeting being organised by the Union, and conducted, of course, on a most strictly non-party basis. Such meetings as this, were organised, for example, at Bristol and Northampton by-elections and were, as almost always, extremely successful. Apart from their immediate object they serve the purpose of arousing local interest in League efforts generally. The result of this kind of activity is that the great majority of candidates definitely pledge themselves to the support of the League in their election addresses, and very few of those who omit to do that go through the election without declaring themselves firm believers in League ideals.

South of Texas

TWO or three circumstances are conspiring to attract attention to South America in its relation to the League of Nations. One is the Pan-American Conference at Havana, attended by representatives of most States of the American continent other than Canada. The majority of these are members of the League of Nations and there always exists, though kept discreetly in the background, the possibility of the development of some purely American organisation which might in some aspects appear as a rival of the League. But at the present moment the most important question for Geneva so far as Latin-America is concerned has regard to the respective intentions of the Argentine Republic and Brazil. Señor Gallardo, the Argentine Foreign Minister, is at present travelling in Europe and has conveyed the impression, in various conversations he has had, that the return of the Argentine to full collaboration with the League is imminent. The move has been expected for some time and has been rather long in developing, but there appears now to be a really definite prospect that a full Argentine delegation will take its place at the next Assembly. Brazil, of course, is still technically a member of the League, but its two years' notice will expire in the course of 1928. If, therefore, its decision is to be revoked action must be taken fairly quickly. In this case the optimistic rumours are connected with the visit of Mr. Lloyd George to South America, the former Prime Minister having apparently urged Brazil to resume her place at Geneva and found a favourable reception for his counsel.

Setting Free the Slaves

SLAVERY has become much more a matter of international concern since the League Convention on the subject was signed in 1926. Echoes of activity in that connection are continually being heard from various quarters. The Government of Burma, for example, continuing its admirable activity for the suppression of slavery, is still sending periodic expeditions into remote regions to reason with the chiefs and, if necessary, compel them to abolish the status of slavery. Particulars of yet one more of such expeditions have been published in the press within the last few weeks. Meanwhile conditions in Abyssinia continue to cause anxiety, and rather serious friction has arisen between the government of that country and the British Legation at its capital Addis Ababa, by reason of the objections taken to remarks made by the Oriental Secretary of the Legation on the subject of slavery in Abyssinia. Whatever the rights and wrongs of this particular case, it serves to bring the question of slavery in Abyssinia again to the forefront and to emphasise again the contrast between the hopes aroused by Abyssinia's promises when she entered the League and the actual conditions existing in the country.

The End of Military Control

WITHIN the last month M. Briand, acting on behalf of the Council of Ambassadors (which still exists, though more in the background than formerly), has written to the Secretary-General of the League to inform him that Allied military control in Bulgaria is at an end and that the League Council is, therefore, responsible henceforward for seeing that the military conditions of the Treaty of Neuilly are duly observed. That means that Allied military control is now a thing of the past in all four ex-enemy countries in Europe—Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. For it is substituted no continuous League control, but it is always open to the League Council, acting by a majority vote, to initiate an inquiry into any definite complaint brought before it at any time of non-observance of the Treaty conditions by any one of the four States in question. There seems some prospect that a complaint will at the next Council meeting be made against Hungary by certain neighbour States, in respect of two wagons of machine-guns recently discovered at the Hungarian border station of St. Gotthard and suspected of being in process of import into Hungary, contrary to the terms of the Treaty.

Penetrating Africa

ONE of the essential conditions of the effective development of the League of Nations is that the British Dominions and Dependencies should gradually acquire the same knowledge of, and belief in, the League of Nations as happily exists now in Great Britain. That is not always easy for them. They are remote from Geneva and from London and their sources of information are very different from those with which Great Britain is so well supplied. A good deal of value, therefore, as well as a good deal of interest, attaches to the news service which has recently been developed through the League of Nations Union. As result, primarily,

of a tour of a member of the Union in South and East Africa, numbers of papers on that continent have become interested in the League, and at the present moment 71 articles are regularly despatched monthly by the Union's Press service, to papers in different parts of Africa. They are being gladly accepted and printed, and letters of appreciation are constantly being received. This does not, of course, mean 71 distinct articles, as the same article can quite well be sent to different papers published in centres thousands of miles apart. The articles themselves present, in attractive and intelligible language, facts about the current activities of the League, and so considerable an output is only possible thanks to the help of a number of voluntary writers.

Changes in the Saar

ONE task the League Council will have to discharge at its meeting next month is the appointment of a new member of the Saar Valley Governing Commission to take the place of M. Lambert, the Belgian member of the Commission, who is resigning. If, as is to be anticipated, M. Lambert is replaced by a citizen of some country neutral in the war, this will bring to an end the alleged French predominance on the Commission, which has caused such grave discontent. For six years the French member of the Commission, M. Rault, was President, and he could always count, first of all, on the Belgian and Danish members (for the Dane was a Parisian resident of long standing), and then on the Belgian and Czech, to support him in case of need against the Canadian and the Saarois member, thus securing a majority of three to two. Now the Commission will consist, presumably, of Sir Ernest Wilton, the Chairman, who is British, M. Morize (French), M. Vezensky (Czech), Herr Kossmann (Saarois), and a fifth member to be appointed. It should be said at once that M. Lambert, who has had charge of posts and railways and has for the most part stuck closely to these technical tasks, has done his work admirably.

The Poles and the Liths

THE partial settlement reached between Poland and Lithuania at the League Council meeting in December has already carried matters rather further than was expected. Not merely has the "state of war" between the two countries disappeared, but there have been certain definite open indications of the change. The first Polish journalist, for example, has been allowed to go to Kovno, the Lithuanian capital, and send messages from there. The opening of negotiations on various other subjects, notably the general opening of the frontier, is impending, but the preliminary moves are dragging out unnecessarily and there appears to be little doubt that the Lithuanian Prime Minister, M. Voldemaras, is hanging things up intentionally. It may be that his public opinion is harder to handle than he expected, but it seems, in any case, to be only a question of time. Having receded so far from an untenable position, Lithuania cannot seriously intend at this juncture to maintain the stone wall between herself and Poland when all the world is expecting her to pull it down.

THE NEXT WAR'S PERILS IS THE BRITISH NAVY OUT OF DATE?

By PROF. P. J. NOEL-BAKER

WHAT is "security"? For France it is freedom from invasion from across the Rhine. For Germany it is freedom from invasion from across the Rhine. For Jugo-Slavia it is freedom from the fear that Italy will destroy "the territorial integrity and the existing political independence" of her neighbour, Albania. For Great Britain it is not such things as these. It is freedom from starvation. It is the maintenance of supplies of food and raw materials from overseas. What has Lord Jellicoe told us? Upon the safety of our sea communications "depends not only our prosperity, but also the actual lives of a large proportion of the inhabitants. . . . Four out of five of our loaves, and most of the raw materials for manufacture, must come to us by sea." If our merchant ships do not discharge their cargoes on our quays, in two months we are on the verge of national starvation.

The Submarine Menace

What are the dangers to our "security," to these sea communications upon which we so inexorably depend? In the last war they were the cruisers, the armed "raiders," the submarines of the German fleet. In spite of an inferiority of about one to fifty, the cruisers and the armed "raiders" did immense destruction to our merchant ships before they were themselves destroyed. The submarines in 1917 almost brought us to our knees; they were only mastered, an American admiral has told us, when the Allies had more than one hundred surface vessels in pursuit of every submarine which Germany sent out. These cruisers, raiders, submarines were at one time a deadly menace. But they were child's play compared to the menace that now exists. That menace lies in the power of aircraft to strike at merchant shipping on the seas, at the docks, without which merchant shipping cannot discharge its cargoes, at the surface warships by which merchant shipping has hitherto been convoyed and protected.

Is Our Food Safe?

It is six months since General Groves, Director of Air Operations in 1918, told us that all surface craft within five hundred miles of hostile shores would be within reach of attack by shore-based aeroplanes, and that "we can no longer command the narrow seas and home-waters of Europe, nor can we ensure, as in the past, the safe passage of our shipping through the Mediterranean." We have now in support of his contention a remarkable book published by a naval writer, Mr. E. F. Spanner.* Mr. Spanner is a retired member of the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors, a member of the Institution of Naval Architects . . . Naval Architect Assessor to the Board of Trade, inventor of the duct keel system of ship construction, the "soft-ended ship," the "Spanner strain-indicator," etc., etc. In short, he is a "technical expert" of more than usual eminence. And he has written this book to prove that the British Navy can no longer safeguard the ocean trade routes as they have done in the past. With a wealth of argument and illustration—not from peace manoeuvres, but from actual fighting—he shows that battleships have always had the utmost difficulty in hitting hostile vessels at the enormous ranges at which sea fighting is carried on; that their broadsides can be avoided by skilful manoeuvring; that the naval gun, even in fine weather and with a calm sea, scores hits in battle with one to five per cent. of its projectiles at most. Thus, even in "two-dimensional" shooting

* "Armaments and the Non-Combatant." By E. F. Spanner. (Williams & Norgate. 12s. 6d.)

and against slow-moving targets it cannot claim to be a "weapon of precision." How infinitely less, therefore, he contends, can it be expected that it will score any high percentage of hits against the immensely speedy aircraft that can now attack it with bombs and torpedoes. The idea that battleships can be defended by anti-aircraft guns he attacks with venomous contempt, and to the lay reader his case against it looks unanswerably good. And if not even battleships, he asks, can stand up to aircraft, what chance can there be for merchant shipping? And even without destroying a single merchant ship, he holds, enemy aircraft could absolutely blockade and starve the British Isles. They could do so by smashing the docks, without which the cargoes in our merchant shipping cannot be discharged. Look, dear reader, at Mr. Spanner's map of London's docks, read his account of the chaos and confusion which one well-directed bomb on the lock gates of the Victoria Docks would create, and decide for yourself, on this new basis, what is the real menace to the safety of our land.

The Case for Striking First

Mr. Spanner, then, is an ardent advocate of international disarmament without delay? Not at all. Like so many eminent technicians, while on his job he is a realist of the blood-and-iron school, in politics he remains incurably romantic. He is certain that "it is impossible" (his italics) "effectively to limit armaments" by an international agreement. His reasons? Because he is certain "there has never existed, at any time, a really honest desire among professional fighting forces for any agreement." Therefore every Disarmament Treaty must be, like the Washington Naval Convention, "a vexatious code of abstract rules which must be circumvented in spirit"; and we are better, he incisively concludes, "without any such agreements of entirely fictitious value."

What, then, is his solution? Everyone has guessed it—air supremacy. More and better aircraft than any other Power; aircraft in every naval base; aircraft in every ship of war; aircraft in merchant vessels. "The frontiers of England are the aerodromes of the enemy. We must be within striking distance of them five minutes before war breaks out" (my italics).

Bombing and Chivalry

But do not misunderstand poor Mr. Spanner. He is not for unrestricted aerial warfare in the next great conflict that is sure to come. On the contrary, he is violently against it. He thinks it absolutely vital to maintain in modern warfare a traditional "chivalry" that would permit the bombing of women in munition factories, but not in their homes a hundred yards away. Shooting must be confined to targets that are "legitimate"—aerodromes, railway stations, arsenals, munition factories, merchant ships, or docks. He even hopes that Britain may have a foe who would "even go so far as to warn his enemy as to the points against which his operations were to be directed, in order that they might be evacuated by non-combatants."

But, alas, his vision of future warfare in the air, attractive though it is, will hardly do. Air supremacy, if we allowed our Budget for defence to be indefinitely expanded, might bring us power of the old-world kind. Security is the one thing it could never bring. Mr. Spanner has made his case too well for us to be in doubt on that. Suppose a hostile neighbour adopted Mr. Spanner's principles; suppose, "five minutes before war breaks out," it was within striking distance of our aerodromes—and of our docks; suppose its blows were struck

before a single British 'plane was in the air; what margin of supremacy must we have to be safe against a menace such as that?

There is only one way to national security in the modern world. It is by the abolition both of armaments and war. No realist can come to any different conclusion. Mr. Spanner, as a realist, has made an invaluable contribution to the argument which the British people, if they want security, must understand and master. In

gratitude for the service he has rendered, let me end by citing, with warm agreement, the last sentence of his book:—

"WORLD PEACE WILL BE APPRECIABLY NEARER TO ATTAINMENT WHEN NON-COMBATANTS INTEREST THEMSELVES INTELLIGENTLY IN THE ACTUAL TECHNICAL PROBLEMS AND ACTIVITIES OF OUR FIGHTING SERVICES."

WORK FOR THE LEAGUE IN FRANCE MOBILISING OPINION ACROSS THE CHANNEL

By CATHERINE PAUL-BONCOUR

Mlle. Paul-Boncour is a daughter of the brilliant orator who has represented France at the League Assembly and Council since 1924, and is herself a keen worker in the League movement in France.

FRENCH organisations working for the League are in many respects different from the similar groups in other countries. There is no single centralized Union as in Great Britain. The French are individualists, and to enrol their membership in nation-wide, unified movement "does not pay." Each category of French people insists on its own ways and methods. Therefore, although the League idea appeals to practically all classes, special groups had to be created and maintained, more or less independent of each other, even if they keep the same purpose of informing the public about League activities and promoting the League's aims.

The oldest group is the *Association Française pour la Société des Nations*. It was formed under the auspices of Léon Bourgeois, and its president is M. Paul Appell, France's foremost mathematician, and a highly-respected figure in scholarly circles. The nucleus of the Association was made of the veterans of pacifism.

A considerable help was brought to them by the ex-service men, fighters in the war of 1914-18. The *Union Fédérale des Muilés*, including well over 300,000 members, joined early after the armistice in the task of supporting the League idea in France, "so that our children should not see again the things we had to go through."

Linking the Groups

Other groups of varying importance also worked for the League, all being linked in a "Federation" which represents French societies in all international meetings and dealings, and is affiliated to the International Union of League of Nations Societies in Brussels. The President of the French Federation is M. Aulard, a prominent historian.

Then arose, in 1923, the *Groupement Universitaire*, founded by students, which took up its part with a strikingly enterprising spirit, and rejuvenated the whole movement. In the meantime the need for co-ordination began to make itself felt.

Accordingly, after the 1923 Assembly a "*Comité d'Action*" was created, between the Association, the ex-service men and the *Universitaires*, in order to secure that co-ordination, collect funds, organise joint manifestations, etc. Its services proved more and more valuable, until early in 1927 its management was entrusted to M. Jacques Seydoux, a man of high energy and ability, who had just retired from the diplomatic career, where he enjoyed undisputed international authority, being, among other achievements, one of the promoters of the Dawes plan and of the diplomatic efforts that led to the Locarno treaties.

A Spear-Head

By now all the serious and active groups engaged on League of Nations information or propaganda have become affiliated to the *Comité d'Action*. It should be emphasised that in spite of the variety of groups, a

very sincere spirit of harmony prevails among them. It is almost certain that rivalries and divergencies of method would have badly split and weakened these energies, had they tried to merge at any cost into one single unified society.

It is probably just as well that women's organisations, for instance, should have their own League activity (which proved most efficient), that Labour groups should study the League and the I.L.O. without interference from outside, and that church organisations should do the same in their own way and according to their special preoccupations.

The *Comité d'Action* tries to encourage every separate manifestation of interest in the League, and issues a periodical bulletin as a supplement to the excellent weekly magazine, "*l'Europe Nouvelle*" (which also publishes League news and has devoted several special numbers to League activities).

In addition, the political and economical weekly "*Pax*" gives important developments on international news and on the manifestations of French League of Nations groups. Jacques Seydoux is the editor of this paper.

Keeping Touch

The work done by the Associations would not be complete if it did not keep in touch with similar groups abroad. One aspect of the task for those who work for peace should consist in maintaining a regular contact with opinions in other countries. For instance, French associations have cordial relations with the Paris branch of the British League of Nations Union, whose Secretary-General, Mrs. Atherton-Smith, organised several Franco-British meetings, and was present at the annual assembly of the *Association française*. A few words she said at the lunch which followed, were greatly appreciated.

Foreign speakers are often invited by the Association, and expose their own views, or ideas prevalent in their countries, in regard to League of Nations activities. Of these meetings, followed with attention in Paris, the first was when Viscount Cecil came to Paris in 1923, the last was when M. de Brouckère, of Belgium, exposed his country's thesis on the composition of the Council a few weeks ago.

It seems that as the work of the League will develop, opinions in the respective countries might crystallise in different ways in regard to the League itself, its mission, its possibilities. There is a danger in too much ignorance of each other's ideas about League problems, just as there is danger in several governments keeping different interpretations of a given treaty, for instance. The task of mutual explanation between public opinions is likely to become one of the most important aspects of the work of Unions in the various countries. It certainly can help the League in its task.

THE I.L.O. IN 1927

A BETTER WORLD FOR THE WORKER

By LADY HALL

WHEN the time comes to sum up the value and progress of an institution there is a tendency to look too much to visible results. To say, for example, "The International Labour Organisation has had a good year, the Conference adopted four draft Conventions," is to ignore much of its most valuable, if less showy, work.



M. Albert Thomas
Director of the I.L.O.

We are inclined to depreciate each succeeding Conference by comparing it with the Washington Conference of 1919. We forget that the 1919 Conference was the first, and that the draft Conventions then adopted were a "clearing of the decks" that laid down a preliminary standard of labour conditions approximating as a rule to those prevailing in the more

advanced countries. It is clear that as Conference succeeds Conference, and as the more elementary reforms get dealt with, the opportunity of further action to raise the standard of labour conditions throughout the world will become less frequent and more spaced out in time.

Actually, however, in 1927 two draft Conventions of importance were adopted. Both Conventions related to insurance against sickness of workers in industry, in commerce and domestic service in the one case, and in agriculture in the other. The country ratifying undertakes to set up a compulsory system of sickness insurance, the scope of which shall not be less than that laid down in the Convention. Ratifying States which comprise large sparsely populated areas, where the organisation of sickness insurance would be impracticable, are allowed to make exception of such areas. In Europe only Finland could avail itself of this clause. The passing of these Conventions affords very good evidence of the progress the international idea has been making. It is hardly conceivable that Conventions providing for the compulsory sickness insurance of the great majority of the world's workers would have been accepted by the Conference even a few years ago. One can imagine the objections that would have been raised even in 1919.

The Right to Combine

This was indeed a remarkable achievement for the 1927 Conference, about which so many people have been pessimistic because the representatives of both employers and workers took exception to the questionnaire on "The Freedom of Association," and refused to have the subject placed on the agenda for next year.

In the present unstable political situation it is unlikely that any convention defining "freedom of association" would have found favour with Governments, employers and workers alike. Meantime, it has helped everyone to ventilate the position and ascertain where the difficulties lie, against the day when in a more conciliatory atmosphere some agreement can be reached.

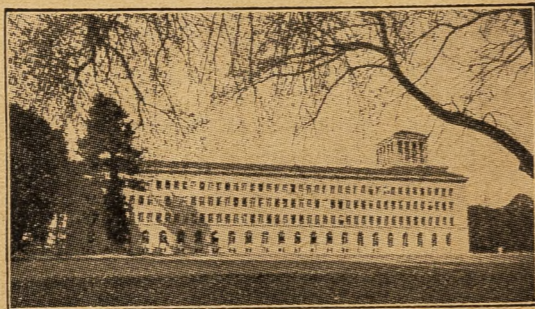
The questionnaire on the machinery for fixing mini-

mum wages met with a happier result, for it was accepted by the full Conference, which decided to consider the question finally at this year's Conference.

But the Conference, with its crop of Conventions, is only one part of the work of the I.L.O. At least as important is the continuous function of providing the world with a survey of labour conditions in different countries, and an informed study of the social changes in operation which may bear upon international agreements or regulations. In addition to the regular publications, such as the *International Labour Review*, *Labour and Industrial Information* and the Legislative Series (containing the texts of the labour laws passed in each country during the current year), there have been a number of extremely valuable reports in 1927. Two call for particular mention—one a survey of industrial conditions in the United States, by Mr. H. B. Butler, C.B., the Deputy Director; and the other a study of Trade Union conditions in Russia. In the latter we have at last reliable information, so unbiassed that both the opponents of the Soviet system and leaders of the Bolsheviks themselves have quoted from its pages.

Protecting the Native

Then there is the question of Native Labour, with which Mr. Grimshaw and his department are con-



International Labour Office

cerned. The Committee of Experts has met, and includes such well-known figures in the British Empire as Sir Frederick (now Lord) Lugard, Mr. Taberer and Sir Selwyn Fremantle. Already the Committee has formulated certain rigid conditions for the regulation of forced labour, but have affirmed that the ultimate aim must be the suppression of all forms of forced labour. This matter will be one of the items on the agenda of the 1929 Conference.

It is only possible in a short article to indicate the main activities upon which the I.L.O. was engaged in 1927, but perhaps enough has been said to show the wide field covered by the I.L.O. and the importance and complexity of the problems it tackles. Perhaps the chief testimony to the value of the research work done by it is the ever-increasing manner in which it is being utilised by economists, students of social questions and Government departments of all countries. Its value has long been known to those specially in touch with Geneva, but it has now become almost impossible to open any report of social investigation without finding a reference to the I.L.O. as the chief source of information.

THE PATH TO GENEVA

HOW TO GO AND WHAT TO SEE

By AN OLD PATHFINDER

YOU get to Geneva by Paris. That sounds simple enough, but there is an art of travelling, as there is of most other achievements or amusements. The art consists of getting the maximum of comfort with the minimum of expense. The cheapest way to go is to find someone else to pay for you. It is an excellent plan, for example, to get appointed delegate of the League for Opposing International Co-operation (a most opulent body), and sent out to discover all that is wrong with Geneva.

But if it comes to the worst and you have to pay your own expenses take a second-class ticket. You can always mount upwards in case of need by a series of supplements to first-class, couchette, wagon-lit. And travel light. The supreme advantage of registering what you can, and reducing the rest to what you carry yourself is that (1) you save a fee for a porter at Dover, (2) you save a fee for a porter at Calais, together with a vociferous controversy ranging between the lower limit of 5 francs and the higher of 10, (3) instead of searching desperately and long in the Customs Hall for a bandit in porter's clothing labelled 26r, and laden with three other people's baggage besides your own, you push in early, say in confident Parisian French "Reeang do too," acquire the magic chalk-mark, and proceed (literary for "go") to the platform in time to choose an eligible corner seat in a still empty train.

But What About Lunch?

Yes, you observe, but there's no point in that if you have a seat booked in advance, as every prudent traveller has. True. Incontestably true. But what about that luncheon car, with the gentleman outside in the nice neat brown uniform dispensing little pink or purple tickets marked "Premier service," or "Deuxième," or even "Troisième." Have you ever crossed by the 11 o'clock service from Victoria, got hung up in the Customs at Calais, scrambled for your seat, then remembered the lunch problem, snatched one of the few tickets remaining for the third service, and found yourself ending your midday meal at something nearer five o'clock than four? If you have you won't despise my advice. Of course, you may possibly be the kind of person who can eat on the boat. In that case we live in different worlds, and had better drop the subject forthwith.

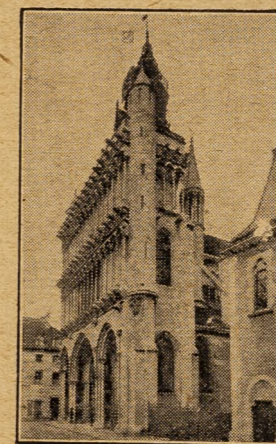
Well, so far you have got to Calais. . . . And now you have got to Paris. In the interval you have had lunch—pointing rather helplessly to the cheese you want, because you didn't know one of them was called Port-Salut and the other demi-sel—and studied meticulously that absorbing publication "La Semaine à Paris," which you found on the seat, bursting with information about all the enticing entertainments you might have patronised if only you hadn't had to get to the Gare de Lyon by 8.50, or so much earlier as is prudent when a comfortable place for a night journey is in question.

. . . . And now you are actually at the Gare de Lyon. That surprises you a good deal, because the first hundred yards of the taxi-drive from the Gare du Nord had been more than enough to convince you that sudden death in five minutes was irrevocably writ for you by fate. . . . And now you are upstairs in the buffet. Take the 17 francs table d'hôte. It's cheaper in the end and quicker, and involves less mental wear and tear than choosing. As you go down pick up a half-bottle of Evian at the buvette below—with a spare cork to replace the capsule. You can get very thirsty in the course of a hot night.

Now for the crux, the Rubicon, the Valley of Decision. Are you going to get through with your second-class reservations (that word to show I have travelled in America) or can comfort be bought only for higher fares? All you want of course, is a side to yourself. Given that, second is as good as first. The best way is to make at once for the garde-place man, trying to look as much like a 10-franc note as you can. There are ways of doing things. As to what they are I have nothing to say. If the initiated grow too numerous initiation is worth nothing.

Dijon by Night

Well, anyhow, now you are off. . . . And now you are at Dijon. You can't fail to realise that. French trains have their virtues—at least I suppose so; hardly anything in creation is irredeemably evil—but their starting and stopping is calculated to dislocate limbs. Dijon comes about one in the morning—a depressing hour—and there is something a little eerie in the long-drawn familiar dirge, "Dijon, dix minutes d'arrêt" ("Dijon, stop here 10 minutes"), sounding down the deserted platform. That may be Dijon to you for years, a shattering, shivering check to the train's progress;



Notre Dame, Dijon

glimpses of rows of dim lights; an illuminated buffet two platforms away standing out amid darkened offices right and left; engines clanking to and fro; and always that haunting dirge "Dijon, dix minutes d'arrêt."

And then one fine day you take to motoring to Geneva instead, and you discover that Dijon isn't merely a railway station after all. You park your car in the Place d'Armes; and you lunch at the Trois Faisans (unless you are the Rolls Royce and Hotel Cloche d'Or type); and you look at the cathedral; and you hunt out the little 12th century church that the

Germans made a stable in 1870; and you revel with a kind of perverted æsthetics in the rows of gargoyles on l'Eglise de Notre Dame, and think how like they are to all the friends you hate most. And then you catch sight of something that looks like a station. Yes by Jupiter, and it is a station. There are engines and sidings and signals and a bridge. And, by Jupiter's wife, there's only one thing it can be, Dijon Station itself. But seen that way it's a spurious, unreal affair. Dijon station hasn't really got an outside. And Dijon station and sunlight have nothing in common. Forget that. Wipe it out. The only Dijon for the traveller to Geneva is the Dijon of the midnight hours, the Dijon of rain and darkness and lamps glimmering under black vaults, the Dijon supremely of "Dix minutes d'arrêt."

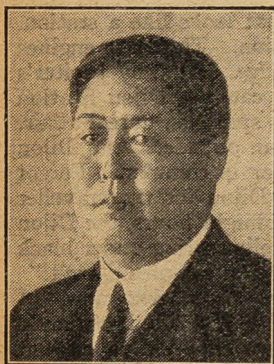
But enough. . . . you are at Culoz now. I could tell you things about Culoz if I liked, but we'd better get on. A carriage or two come off to be sent on to Chambéry or Aix or Modane. Never mind them. They won't be missed. . . . And now Bellegarde, and the end of France. That means more Customs. It used to mean turning out before seven to plunge down an underground passage and up into an elongated sheep-pen ending in a gendarme and a chaste little sentry-box, in which you gave confidential assur-

ances about your non-possession of thousands and thousands of French francs which you might have been trying to smuggle out. And then the baggage. And then the passports. And then some coffee. They do it rather better now. You can stay in the train for your passport and hand baggage, and only get out if you really need coffee or—and I think I had better mention this—if you think registered luggage is all important. The rule about registered luggage is simple. If you decide to sit tight in the train they will have taken the luggage to the Customs hall, and left it there, because you didn't turn up with your key to help them look inside it. You can then come back again from Geneva to-morrow to fetch it. If, on the other hand, you go to the Customs hall to find it they will infallibly have left it in the train. The only third possibility is that one porter will have decided it ought to go to the Customs, and accordingly wheeled it there, and another have decided it oughtn't, and wheeled it back again.

However, you get somehow to Geneva, which is the main consideration after all. . . . Well, well, so this is Geneva. Precisely; Geneva it is. . . . And now you are at the hotel you have chosen. You have had a bath if you are that kind. You have shaved if you are that sex. You have breakfasted if you like two in a day, or didn't have one after all at Bellegarde. You are ready, in a word, for the adventure of discovering the League of Nations. This is a moment in your life. It is probably a moment with an adjective, which I leave it to you to supply. I can't tell you how to get to the Secretariat, because I don't know where you want to get there from. But walk in the right direction and in time you will arrive.

Be Transatlantic

Do you want directions in deportment? There is only one necessary. Be British and you will find your reception formal. Be French and you will find it unenthusiastic. Be Abyssinian and you will stir no more than a mildish interest. But widen your hat brim, nasalise your accents, remark that you have lost your grip (or alternatively that you have just recovered from grip), observe that you came in the trolley-car and slipped on the sidewalk, mention that you have a small inquiry to make and that you are sure there is someone there who knows the thing from A to Zee, and every hand will clasp yours, every door will be flung open, every meal during your stay in Geneva will have to be triplicated that you may give satisfaction to some fraction at least of your insistent would-be hosts. For America is going to be brought into the League of Nations through the attentions shown to the 0000000001 of her population who visit Geneva every year.



M. Sugimura

Well, now I have done almost all I can for you. But perhaps while we are waiting in the lobby (they haven't fully realised your nationality yet) I could point out one or two personalities to you. (It is a tremendous thing when a person acquires an -ality.) That astonishingly stalwart Japanese just coming through the doorway? Ah, that is M. Yotaro Sugimura, one of the Assistant Secretaries-Generals (very well, Secretaries-General, if you like), and head of the Political Section of the Secretariat. He and his department keep their eyes on most things of importance going on anywhere, and when a dispute of any kind is brought before the League they are the people that handle it. M. Sugimura learned something about

international co-operation at the Washington Naval Conference in 1921, when he was secretary of his country's delegation, and something—a good deal, in fact—about the League of Nations as secretary of the Japanese League Bureau in Europe. Now, like the rest of his Geneva colleagues, he is an international, instead of a national, official.

Interested? Good. Well, you'll see all the crowd if you wait here long enough. They all come dropping in a bit before and after ten. That? Aha, that's Sir Eric Drummond himself. You don't want me to tell you about him anyway—except one thing perhaps, that no one has ever found a Frenchman or a German or a Uruguayan or a Siamese or a New Zealander or a Czech, or anyone from any other odd corner of the earth, who doesn't agree that the best thing that can happen to the Secretariat is for Sir Eric to stay anchored to it till he drops into his dotage.



Herr Dufour-Feronce

And that's—ah, you know Dufour already, do you? Yes, of course, at the London Embassy. Well, he did a good job in London and he's doing a very good one at Geneva. So are all the Germans there for that matter, as everyone knew they would. There are two or three nations that turn out singularly competent civil servants. The British is one and the German is another. Herr Dufour, being an Assistant Secretary like Sugimura, ranks first of the Secretariat Germans. Among other things he runs Intellectual Co-operation. Not very startling work, but the real job of an Assistant-Secretary-General is to keep in more or less informal touch with the Government of his country, not to push their ideas on the League, but to push League ideas on them. Avenol does the same for France. There he is, by the way, getting out of his car. He's a financier really—had a lot to do with the Reparations discussions when he was a French



The League Secretariat

Government official. Now he's concerned mainly with economic and financial questions at Geneva—Austria and Hungary and Greece and all that sort of thing.

Of course, that's Sir Arthur Salter's job as well, Salter's much more than Avenol's for that matter, because Salter actually runs the Financial and Economic Section. He also, incidentally, runs a Fiat car of some antiquity and incredible vigour. When he happened one day to meet a local magnate belonging to a village between his house and the Secretariat he was warmly assured:

"Ah, monsieur, I am so delighted to meet you in person. So far you have been merely a passing flash." Fortunately for the financial stability of various European countries, Sir Arthur has found time to flash to Vienna and Budapest and Athens and Sofia and other capitals.

Well, here's the attendant ready to take you upstairs. But stop a minute and let me tell you about those two men before you go. Ah, yes, and the lady. You know



Dame Rachel Crowdy

all about her, of course—Dame Rachel Crowdy. She ran V.A.D.s in France, the St. John's and Red Cross ones, and she runs the Social Section of the League Secretariat now—mainly Opium Traffic and Women and Children. She's the only woman head of a Section at all, and that section creates more interest in the League in some circles than any other. It was out of it that the reports on the Traffic in Women and Children came, and it's doing solid, quiet, humanitarian work all the time.

Now about the two men. The short, dark one with spectacles is Rajchman, the head of the Health Section, and the other, tanned and a bit grizzled, is one of his right-hand men, Norman White. White's an Englishman, Rajchman's a Pole. White specialises in epidemics, Rajchman touches every branch of health work. The section itself is a marvel of activity, and one of the best advertising agents the League has got, not by what it says, but by what it does.

Must you go up? All right, push along. I've put you wise quite enough. You must find out the rest for yourself. See Colban. He'll tell you all about disarmament. And Catastini about mandates. And Comert about how they spoon-feed the Press—extraordinarily efficiently too. But if you want to see the one indispensable man on the premises you'll have to come downstairs again. He runs the bank in the corner between the staircase and the lift. They could get on without any of the others, but never without him.

FIVE HA'PENNIES

A 2½d. stamp is an interesting little bit of paper considering what it does. I mean, of course, on a foreign letter. It will carry a communication to France or to Mexico or to China or to Madagascar. The letter goes, and presumably someone pays for its transport. But who? and how? and when was it all arranged?

To answer these questions means going in some detail into the history of the Universal Postal Union, and on the whole the excursion is worth making. The adventure, moreover, is simple, because the whole story has just been written concisely and attractively by Mr. J. F. Sly, of Harvard, and published as one of the 5-cent pamphlets of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The interest of the Postal Union lies in its universality and its success in producing order out of chaos. Till it was formed the problem of foreign postage was as baffling as the problem of bimetalism. You could send a foreign letter, in many cases, by any one of four or five different routes and the cost varied according to the route taken. For example, a letter from the

United States to Australia might go by any one of six different ways, and for each half-ounce of its weight might pay either 5 cents, or 33, or 45, or 55, or 60, or 102. Letters from Prussia to the United States cost, if sent via Hamburg, 65 pfennig (say 6½d.), or if despatched via Great Britain (there was only one boat a week from Hamburg), 120 pfennig (1s.).

Now a 2½d. stamp does everything, and all the elaborate international account-keeping necessitated by the division of the cost of transit across intermediate countries is abolished. To-day every country keeps its twopence-halfpennies and pays for the transit of all the mail it sends out to another country. When, for instance, you send a letter from London to Mr. Henry Ford in Detroit, or to Miss Pickford at Hollywood, the British Government keeps the payment you make for the stamp (a three-halfpenny stamp in this case, by special arrangement between Britain and the United States) and pays the Cunard or the White Star line so much for carrying your letter (with a few score of thousands of others) across the Atlantic, after which the United States Government carries it to the State of Michigan or the State of California, and delivers it, for nothing.

All this happened, and the 2½d. stamp means what it does mean, because the nations had the sense, rather more than fifty years ago, to get together and make



An International Coupon—exchangeable in any country for the stamp needed for a foreign letter

reasonable arrangements about foreign letters instead of going on in the old costly, inconvenient way for ever, and the reason Mr. Sly has written, and the Carnegie Foundation has published, the story of the Universal Postal Union is that the Universal Postal Union was the first really comprehensive international organisation.

It has, moreover, a special interest in these League of Nations days, for the League, it will be remembered, adopted, to begin with, the Postal Union's scale of contributions. The Union maintains a bureau at Berne and the nations subscribe in differing proportions for its upkeep. That scale was very useful to the League till it had worked out one of its own. Also the Postal Union's statutes embody the principle of compulsory arbitration—an early example of that much-contested principle. No State, it is true, would be likely to go to war over a 2½d. stamp and its consequences, but the insertion of a compulsory arbitration provision in an international convention as long ago as 1874 is a matter of some interest all the same.

Mr. D. Campbell Lee, 1, Brick Court, Middle Temple, E.C.4, would be grateful to any reader who could enable him to obtain a copy of General Smuts' "Suggestions for a League of Nations," published by Hodder & Stoughton, in 1918.

LEAGUE PIONEERS

THE name, at any rate, of Jean-Jacques Rousseau is known to most readers of HEADWAY, particularly to any who have visited Geneva, where he lived. Rousseau's chief works were produced in the generation before the French Revolution. In his *Emile* he taught the world how to bring up its children; in his *Social Contract* he taught the world how a nation should be organised; and in a remarkable little essay almost forgotten, so much so that up to a few weeks ago no translation of it was in existence in English, he taught the world how to live without war. The lesson remains still unlearned, and nothing is more striking than to compare Rousseau's dream of an international society with the ideals and the practical embodiment of those ideals found in the League of Nations Covenant to-day. On paper, at any rate, Rousseau in 1760 was not far behind the political leaders of the world in 1920.

Valuable as is the translation of Rousseau's Essay on *Perpetual Peace*, translated by Miss Edith Nuttall and published (at 6s.) by Mr. Cobden-Sanderson, one of the most interesting passages in the volume occurs, not in the essay itself, but in an introduction contributed by Mr. Lowes Dickinson. He refers, appropriately enough, to a still earlier scheme, that formulated by William Penn as far back as 1693. Penn, who anticipated the League Covenant in all essentials, foreshadowed "a sovereign, or imperial Dyet, parliament, or state of Europe"; and peaceable Quaker though he was, he made no mistake about his Article XVI principle, continuing to the effect that "if any of the sovereignties that constitute these imperial states shall refuse to submit their claims or pretensions to them, or to abide and perform the judgment thereof, and seek their remedy by arms, or delay their compliance beyond the time prefix in their resolutions, all the other sovereignties united as one strength, shall compel the submission and performance of the sentence with damages to the suffering party, and charges to the sovereignties, that obliged their submission."

But let us come to Rousseau himself. His scheme for the world, or rather for Europe, based as it was on an earlier project of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, was to be formulated in a charter of five articles.

By the first, "the contracting sovereigns shall establish amongst themselves a perpetual and irrevocable alliance, and name plenipotentiaries to hold in some fixed place a permanent Diet or Congress, where the differences of contracting parties would be regulated and settled by way of arbitration or judicial decisions."

The second specified the procedure for the Conference.

By the third, anticipating remarkably Article X of the Covenant, "the Confederation shall guarantee to its members the possession and government of all the states each of them controls at the moment . . . no member being permitted under any pretext whatsoever to take the law into his own hands, or take up arms against his fellow members."

By the fourth, anticipating equally strikingly Article XVI, "any Ally guilty of infringing the Treaty is to be put under the ban of Europe, and proclaimed a common enemy. . . . It shall be agreed also, by the same article, that the states shall arm and act together offensively and conjointly, and at the common expense against any state under the ban of Europe, until it shall have laid down its arms, carried out the sentences and rulings of the Congress, repaired the wrongs, refunded the costs, and even given compensation for any warlike preparations it may have made contrary to the Treaty."

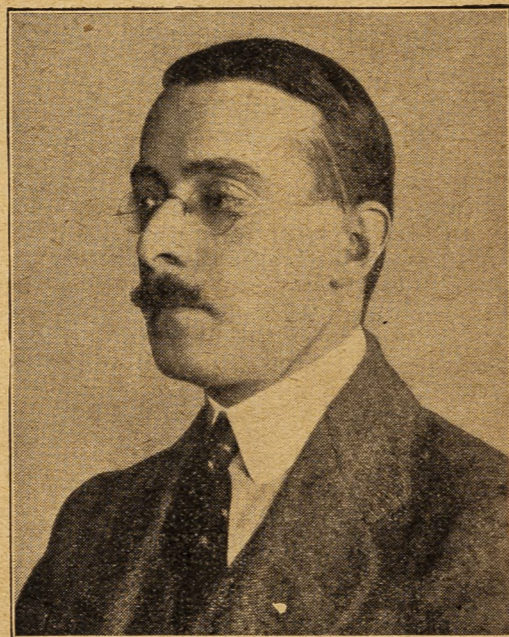
Such were the ideas of this singularly enlightened writer in the year when George III of England came to the throne. How far have we travelled in 168 years?

GENEVA PERSONALITIES

XIII.—M. PIERRE COMERT

M. COMERT is less widely known to the general public, in proportion to the value of the work he does, than almost any other senior official of the League. For M. Comert's business is not with the public itself, but with the men who give the public news.

One thing in which the League of Nations differs sharply from the average national Foreign Office—at any rate from the Foreign Offices of ten years ago—is that while the latter try, or tried, to give the newspapers the minimum of information, the League tries to give them the maximum. And it is M. Comert who is primarily responsible for seeing that that is done. As head of the Information Section at the Secretariat he has the organisation of all Press services in his hands, and it is a commonplace among journalists familiar with other international conferences that nowhere are the arrangements made to facilitate the journalist's work comparable with those prevailing at Geneva.



M. Pierre Comert

M. Comert would be the last man to claim the whole credit for that. His able staff, American, English, German, Chinese, Dutch, and Heaven knows what, all share it with him to the full. But M. Comert directs the whole machine, and as the first Director of the Information Section he has rendered the League invaluable service in so ordering things that from the very week the Secretariat established itself at Geneva every journalist who went there once determined to go again. The growth in the importance of the League itself has no doubt most to do with the steady increase in the number of resident correspondents, and the remarkable temporary influx on such occasions as Council meetings, but the efforts of M. Comert and his staff have contributed not a little.

As an experienced Pressman—he was formerly Berlin correspondent of *Le Temps*—M. Comert knows all the technicalities of the trade. A Frenchman himself, he acquainted himself with Germany as a journalist and with England as a French officer stationed in London during the war for liaison purposes.

HEADWAY

FEBRUARY

1928

WHICH PEDAL?

THE metaphor of the brake and the accelerator has been used more than once in connection with the League of Nations, and it is serviceable enough to make it certain that it will be used more than once again. There are the two pedals side by side, a matter of a couple of inches or so apart. Press one and the car gathers speed. Press the other and it at once slackens down. Press either too hard at the wrong moment and disaster may result.

You can press—that is to say, a Government can press—either pedal in regard to the League of Nations. The League can be driven forward or it can be held back. And here, again, an excess of either method means that the League will suffer. The right speed has to be decided on and maintained. But, of course, there will be differences of opinion as to what that speed should be. There notoriously are. There are differences on the subject between different Governments at Geneva, and there are differences at home as to the line a particular Government should take.

In this country at this moment the existence of differences of this kind is undeniable. There are differences about the general question of speed, and differences about certain particular and important questions. This is a matter on which Sir Austen Chamberlain has just been developing very interesting views before the Birmingham University League of Nations Union. The League, the Foreign Secretary suggests, as he has done several times before, has, on the whole, more to fear from enthusiasts who want to press it on too fast than from sceptics and cynics who refuse to take it seriously at all. The accelerator pedal is the danger, not the brake.

There is obviously a great deal of truth in this. Insist on going too fast and you may wreck the whole machine, whether it be a League of Nations or a motor car. And, after all, even if you do make the mistake of going slower than you need, no great harm, it is contended, can come of that. The argument is plausible—but not quite so plausible as it might have seemed if the Thames had not happened to overflow its banks in the last month. Apply the argument there. Don't be in too much hurry to build up your embankments. Don't let enthusiasts carry you away. Much better go slowly. More haste, less speed. It pays better in the end to take it quietly. All of which is perfectly true, unless by some misfortune another flood comes whilst the taking-it-quietly process is going on.

And let there be no mistake about it. What the League of Nations exists for is to build up dykes and dams against war. The flood has come once and very nearly submerged us. We escaped and we have a breathing-space for throwing up our defences. A good beginning has been made. The peril of war is substantially less with a League of Nations in being than it was before. But it has not been dispelled. The menace remains. The defences are not high enough and not strong enough. The work must not be rushed

so that it is impetuously and inefficiently done. But still less is it a case for standing back and admiring the foundations and assuring one another there is plenty of time.

That is why those may be wrong after all who think the danger comes from the enthusiasts rather than the cynics. Enthusiasm and decision and pertinacity are essential, and all of them will be damped down if the cry becomes universal that the League must, above all things, go slow. That is true of the different schools of thought within an individual nation, and it is equally, or still more, true of the different schools of thought at Geneva. The British Government has just issued a Note on arbitration and security calculated to strike dismay into the delegate of any other country bent on carrying the League forward in those fields. It is a serious responsibility to have taken, and the grounds for thus thrusting the brake on must be examined.

There are two lines of advance which have commended themselves as practical and valuable to most States at Geneva and to a large section—probably the largest section—of opinion in this country. One is that any and every dispute of a definitely legal character between States should be referred for a final and binding decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. The second is that all other disputes should be referred for final and binding decisions to some form of arbitration, or at any rate settled without war. There is nothing idealistic or unpractical about either of these courses. France and Germany have agreed to both of them as between themselves. Germany has signed and is in process of ratifying the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court, thereby pledging herself to accept its decision as binding in a dispute with any other State that will do the same. France has a proposal to the same effect before her Parliament. Italy has concluded "all-in" arbitration treaties for the peaceful settlement of every kind of dispute with various countries.

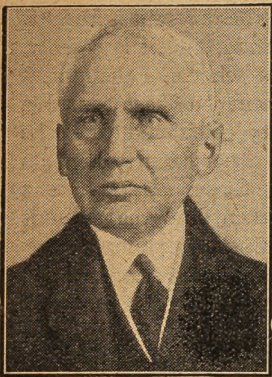
The British Government, in its Note, deals with both these lines of advance, and in either case confines itself to a flat negative. It will not sign the Optional Clause of the Court, as Germany and a score of other States have done. It will not conclude "all-in" arbitration treaties, as Germany and France and Italy and numbers of other States have done. The reasons are varied, and some of them strange. The British Government would, apparently, not pledge itself always to accept the Court's findings (in legal cases) in disputes with certain States, but it is implied that it would in disputes with certain others—though, in fact, it never has given this pledge in regard to any State in the world. As for an "all-in" arbitration treaty, Great Britain will not sign one because it is feared that public opinion would not be willing to carry out the obligation when the time came. Why France and Germany and Italy should have felt their own public opinion more dependable is not clear.

To put the matter briefly, there is at Geneva what may be termed a "Continental" thesis, to the effect that, if States will undertake to settle all disputes peacefully—legal ones before the Court and the rest by arbitration—war can be considered abolished and armaments substantially reduced. Great Britain's answer to that is, "We will not undertake to send legal cases to the Court, and we will not undertake to send the others to arbitration." There is not much doubt which pedal is in action there, and that large body of public opinion which wants a little less brake has itself to blame if it does not find ways of expressing its views.

THE BAN ON WAR

WHAT KELLOGG AND BRIAND ARE DISCUSSING

THE discussions between Mr. Kellogg, the American Secretary of State (i.e., Foreign Minister) and M. Briand, Foreign Minister of France, regarding the conclusion of Arbitration Treaties between those two countries and others, have naturally excited widespread interest. The negotiations, such as they are, however, have been difficult to follow, for Mr. Kellogg's original suggestions regarding the outlawry of war were vague, and in addition the situation has been confused by the fact that two separate treaties are under discussion and the distinction between the two has not always been preserved in the numerous newspaper articles on the subject.



Mr. Kellogg

Before, therefore, views of any value on the discussions can be formulated, it is necessary to understand precisely what the proposals under the consideration of the two Governments, and, indeed, of many others, are. In the first place, a treaty, commonly known as the Root Treaty, first concluded in 1908 and since three times renewed, has to be renewed yet once again in its original or a revised form in February. That treaty was concluded between the United States and France, but another similar treaty exists between the United States and Great Britain, and that, too, has to be renewed in June. So, similarly, a little later in the year, has a like treaty between the United States and Japan. It is of some importance whether the treaty shall, in fact, be renewed in its existing form or whether it shall be brought into line with the ideas and practices of to-day. It is a treaty of very limited character. It provides that purely legal (or justiciable) questions in dispute between the two countries shall be submitted to the so-called Court of Arbitration at the Hague (not, of course, the Permanent Court of International Justice, which had not been thought of when the treaty was originally signed). Questions, however, involving what are known as vital interests or national honour are not affected by the treaty at all.

"Vital Interest"

Mr. Kellogg proposes, when the treaty is renewed, to widen its scope in certain respects. The "vital interest and national honour" qualification, it is stated, will be dropped if the Americans have their way, and there will be excluded from the operation of the treaty only (a) questions of domestic jurisdiction, (b) questions involving some third Power, and (c) questions covered by the Monroe Doctrine. These proposals need not be discussed here. They are, in the first instance, questions between the United States and France, though the same ground will have to be covered in discussions between the United States and Great Britain when the British-American Treaty of 1908 comes under discussion. If it is true that America is really willing to submit to arbitration questions involving national honour and vital interests, that represents a notable step forward, and it is significant that the British Government, in its recent Note on Arbitration, has made a move in the same direction.

Now, let us leave the question of the revision of the 1908 Treaty. Much more interesting and possibly more important is the separate, but accompanying, proposal, emanating also from the State Department at

Washington, that a general treaty open to the signature of all the nations of the world should be negotiated, having for its object the prohibition of resort to war for the settlement of any international dispute. That suggestion must be read in the light of the history behind it. It dates back to a curious episode in which M. Briand, Foreign Minister of France, was the leading figure. As far back as April, 1927, in an interview with an American journalist, M. Briand discussing Franco-American relations in general terms, made the apparently almost casual observation that, "if there were need of it between the two great democracies in order to give high testimony to their desire for peace and to furnish a solemn example to other peoples, France would be willing to enter into an engagement with America mutually outlawing war." That suggestion, which, apparently to the surprise of M. Briand himself, was taken up by certain public men in the United States, and diplomatic conversations between the two countries were informally opened up through the medium of their respective Ambassadors.

A Debate by Notes

The outcome can most simply be presented in chronological form:—

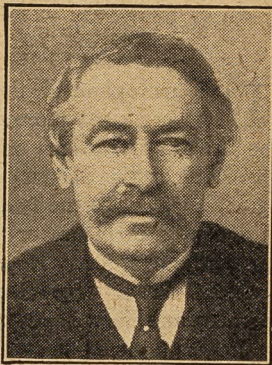
June, 1927.—M. Briand proposes a Treaty between France and the United States, whereby the two countries (a) "condemn recourse to war and renounce it respectively as an instrument of their national policy towards one another," and (b) agree that all disputes between them, "of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be," shall be settled only by pacific means.

December, 1927.—Mr. Kellogg proposes to M. Briand that France and the United States should concert together "with a view to the conclusion of a Treaty among the principal Powers of the world, open to signature by all nations, condemning war and renouncing it as an instrument of national policy in favour of the pacific settlement of international disputes."

(It will be observed that France's proposal was merely for an agreement between France and the United States and that war was to be renounced not as an instrument of national policy generally, but as an instrument of the national policy of those two countries towards each other. It can be understood that France might be willing to make a treaty of this kind with the United States when she would hesitate to do so with other countries with whom her relations might not be so happy or so secure.)

January 5, 1928.—M. Briand replies, approving the procedure suggested by Mr. Kellogg, but suggesting that "it would be an advantage to confirm that procedure by the immediate signatures of France and the United States." M. Briand declares that France is ready to join in submitting for the approval of all nations an agreement, to be signed beforehand by France and the United States, binding the signatories to refrain from any war of aggression and to settle all disputes by pacific means.

(This modifies the American suggestion in that it stipulates that the agreement shall be signed beforehand by



M. Briand

France and the United States and not by all States simultaneously, and limits the wars that are denounced to wars of aggression.)

January 11, 1928.—Mr. Kellogg replies to M. Briand, taking exception to the proposal that France and the United States shall sign in advance of other Powers and dissenting from the suggestion that only wars of aggression shall be denounced and not war in general. He proposes that, if France accepts the American view, the two countries shall establish communication with Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan.

(Mr. Kellogg's repeated references to the denunciation of "war as an instrument of national policy" leaves the door, so far, open for the possibility that he would be willing to tolerate it as an instrument of international policy, i.e., as employed by the League of Nations against a violator of the Covenant, which is a consideration which clearly lay uppermost in M. Briand's mind.)

January 20, 1928.—M. Briand points out that France's original proposal was for a bilateral treaty between the two countries; that a multilateral treaty may be desirable but is quite a different matter; that members of the League of Nations are bound by special obligations, and that in September they agreed to condemn all wars of aggression as an international crime, and declared in favour of peaceful means of settlement for differences of any nature between states. France would still be willing to conclude a multilateral pact, but only one which took due account of these considerations. France is always ready to associate itself "with any declaration having for its object the denunciation of war as a crime and the institution of international sanctions calculated to prevent and repress it."

(While the French Note formally leaves it open to the United States to suggest a method of reconciling its own views with those of the French Government and embodying them in a treaty, it seems unlikely that the proposal will be further pursued.)

COMING EVENTS

FEBRUARY 6.—Preparatory Commission for Conference on Codification of International Law. (The business of the Committee is to prepare conventions on the three subjects with which the Codification Conference in 1929 is to deal, namely: Territorial Waters, Nationality and Responsibility of States for crimes committed on their territory against foreigners.)

FEBRUARY 20.—Committee on Arbitration and Security. (To discuss the whole arbitration and security problem. A sub-Committee to prepare for the full Committee meeting met at Prague on January 26 under the Presidency of Dr. Benes.)

FEBRUARY 27.—Financial Committee. (To discuss among other things proposals for a Portuguese and a further Bulgarian loan.)

MARCH 5.—49th Session of the Council.

MARCH 12.—Committee on Traffic in Women and Children. (To discuss questions arising out of the Report of the Experts on the traffic in women and children and the possible extension of the investigation to countries not so far dealt with.)

MARCH 15.—Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. (To consider the second reading of the draft Disarmament Convention and to consider M. Litvinoff's proposals.)

MARCH 19.—Child Welfare Committee.

MARCH 23.—Economic Committee.

All at Geneva.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND ARBITRATION

THE British Government sent to Geneva its views on security and arbitration in time to be considered by the rapporteurs of these questions, who were meeting Dr. Benes, the Chairman of the whole Committee, at Prague on January 26, in preparation for the meeting of the Committee itself at Geneva on February 20.

The British Note confines itself to restating the position of the British Government as it has been stated at different times before. Very briefly it may be summarised as follows:—

1. Arbitration treaties depend on means of enforcement and the time is not ripe for enacting measures of enforcement yet.

2. Such treaties are only of value so far as public opinion can be relied on to accept decisions given under them.

3. The practice of inserting in arbitration treaties reservations regarding "vital interests, honour, independence and the interests of third States" might be reconsidered, but matters falling within national sovereignty must remain excluded.

4. All future treaties should include a clause providing that any question of their interpretation should go to the Permanent Court.

5. As regards justiciable (legal) cases, Great Britain still refuses to sign the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court. As regards non-justiciable cases, Great Britain is against all-in arbitration treaties, holding that "a procedure of conciliation is in such cases all that is at present possible." This procedure, of course, is not binding.

6. The Locarno Treaties, with their strictly limited and local obligations, are described as "the ideal type of security agreement."

7. The British Government accepts the interpretation of Article X of the Covenant given (with one dissentient vote, that of Persia) by the Fourth Assembly, to the effect that the Council, in recommending military measures in defence of a State whose territorial integrity and political independence had been violated, should take account of the geographical situation and special conditions of States from whom help might be sought and that it should be for the constitutional authorities of each State to decide what military help should be given.

8. Obligations under Article XVI are defined in the terms of the Locarno declaration that each State should co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant "to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account."

In the final paragraph the Government repeats its objection to what it calls the application of hard-and-fast rules to the interpretation of articles of the Covenant. The upshot of the Note is that Great Britain refuses to undertake to send legal cases always to the Court and refuses to undertake to submit non-legal cases always to arbitration.

Simultaneously the Swedish Government, supported, it is understood, by the Norwegian, has sent in proposals aiming at the peaceful settlement of all disputes without exception, on lines closely following those laid down in the arbitration and conciliation agreements concluded at Locarno. It points out that as things are if a dispute is being handled by the Council and the Council fails to reach unanimity, there is nothing to prevent the parties concerned from going to war.

AFTER SIX YEARS

WHAT GREAT BRITAIN HAS DONE AND MIGHT DO

JUST six years ago, in January, 1922, the Council of the League of Nations Union met at Birmingham and adopted unanimously, on the motion of Lord Robert Cecil, as he then was, a series of resolutions embodying the programme which the Council desired to see the



The Prime Minister

Secretary has more than once made an explicit declaration to this effect, and it was repeated in the King's Speech in December.

(b) Make it an avowed part of British policy to extend the Membership of the League, so as to include as soon as possible the United States, Germany and Russia.

British influence played a large part in concluding the Locarno Agreements which brought Germany into the League. It has always been an avowed part of British policy to bring in the United States, which is, in fact, collaborating practically with a large number of League organs. It cannot, on the other hand, be said to be so far an avowed part of British policy to bring Russia in, though Russia is now taking part in the work of the Disarmament Commission, and sent delegates to the Economic Conference last year.

(c) Take all possible measures to increase the authority of the meetings of the Council and Assembly. For this purpose—

(i) The Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary should attend important meetings of the Council, and the Foreign Office should be the Department charged with the carrying out of the League policy of the Government.

This is now the case.

(ii) The British Delegates at the Assembly should be a Minister of the Crown—e.g., the Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, as the case might require—who should give the British vote, and two others approved by Parliament to represent the public opinion of the country. There should also be two or, perhaps, three substitutes also representative of public opinion. At least one of the two representatives should be a representative of wage-earners, and at least one of the representatives or substitutes should be a woman.

The British delegates at the Assembly consist regularly of the Foreign Minister, supported generally by another Cabinet Minister and one or more junior Ministers, and one of the substitute delegates is always a woman. The delegation has not so far included representatives of public opinion (except once when Professor Gilbert Murray was appointed by the Labour

Government in 1924) or any representative of the wage-earners.

(iii) The British Government should also urge that in accordance with the spirit of Article 7 of the Covenant all important Commissions and Committees of the League, including the Temporary Mixed Commission dealing with Disarmament, should include women amongst their members.

Only comparatively few League Commissions, e.g., those on Mandates, Child Welfare and Traffic in Women and Children, include a woman.

(2) The limitation of armaments contemplated by Article 8 should be pressed forward. In order to reassure those States who are reluctant to limit their armaments for fear of attack by their neighbours, a joint and several defensive alliance, open to all members of the League, as well as to Germany, Russia and the United States, on condition that armaments are reduced to an agreed level, should be proposed.

The limitation of armaments is being pressed forward with qualified success. Attempts to create joint and several defensive alliances open to all members of the League were attempted through the Treaty of Mutual Assistance in 1923 and the Geneva Protocol of 1924, but came to nothing. The Locarno Agreement of 1925 embodies this principle on a limited scale.

(3) The provisions of the various treaties designed for the protection of racial, linguistic and religious minorities should be made effective, and the necessary steps for this purpose should be pressed on the Council and Assembly of the League.

A complete mechanism for the operation of these treaties has been worked out, but it can hardly be claimed that the results are entirely satisfactory as yet.

(4) The mandatory system should be forthwith brought into full operation in Africa and provisionally in Asia.

This has been done.

(5) We should offer to make large concessions as to our claims for reparations and to cancel Allied debts, provided our Allies would agree that the amount of reparations to be paid by Germany and the method of payment should be determined by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Great Britain, in 1922, offered to cancel her claims for all debts and reparations in excess of the sum Great Britain had to pay to America. The League of Nations has not been brought into the reparations question at all, apart from the fact that under the League's reconstruction schemes for Austria and Bulgaria the reparations payments of those countries were suspended altogether for 20 years, and in the case of the Hungarian scheme they were almost wholly suspended.

It will be seen, therefore, that marked progress has been made, but that much yet remains to be done, even within the four quarters of the Union's limited programme for 1922. The verdict justified by the facts is that they give sufficient encouragement to impel League supporters to fresh effort.



Viscount Cecil

ARMS AND THE WORKER
DOES REDUCTION MEAN UNEMPLOYMENT?

THE question constantly asked in regard to proposals for the reduction of armaments is: What would be the effect on unemployment if the Army and Navy and Air Force were reduced by a considerable number of men and corresponding reductions took place in dockyards and private yards and factories engaged on munitions of one kind and another?

The question is important and demands a clear answer. There is, to begin with, no doubt that even a partial measure of disarmament—and only partial and gradual measures are seriously contemplated—would result in unemployment in war industries unless scientific steps were taken to transfer the labour thus displaced to some productive trade.

There are plenty of precedents for that. The advent of the motor meant, inevitably, unemployment among the drivers of all kinds of horse-drawn vehicles, though many of them were able to adapt themselves to the new conditions. But no one would use that as an argument against mechanical traction. The introduction of machinery in the cotton mills a century ago produced temporary unemployment, but it was, of course, of enormous economic advantage to the whole nation. So it must be with the armament trades. But any government agreeing to the reduction of armaments should be called on to shoulder the responsibility for making due provision for the absorption of the labour displaced.

Save Here, Spend There

The essential point to remember is that all the money spent on whatever armaments it was decided to dispense with would still be available for one purpose or another. To take an extreme and quite fantastic case, it would be possible to go on paying the same wages to the men engaged in war industries and leave them sitting idle. But obviously that would not happen. The money saved would be spent in other ways. The natural result would be for taxation to be reduced, which would mean a general stimulus to industry all round. The individual taxpayer, instead of handing over money to be spent on battleships and field guns would keep that amount in his pocket for buying more boots and shoes or more clothes or more motor-cars, or even more books, or for spending on railway travel and so forth.

In all these ways an increased demand for commodities would be created and increased employment would, therefore, follow. It is quite true that a man who had been making armour-plate could not, perhaps, make boots and shoes, though he might be able to make parts of motor-cars. The process of transfer of labour would admittedly not be easy in all cases, and here and there able-bodied men might have to be given generous pensions, or even paid full wages for the time till they could find employment suited to them.

But short views must not be taken of a question like this. Means could be found well enough for tiding over an interval of a few years. The adjustment would come then by the fact that fewer youths would enter the war-supplying trades and more of them would enter what may be termed productive industries, the demand for the production of such industries being, as has been shown, considerably greater owing to the fact that the taxpayer, not having to devote his money to armaments, would have more to spend on other things.

But it does not follow that all the money saved from reduced armaments would go to relieve taxation. It might well be that the State itself would use part of the

money for carrying out necessary enterprises, such as improved housing schemes. It has been calculated that the cost of a single modern battleship, such as the "Nelson" or "Rodney"—£7,000,000—would pay for building 14,000 much-needed houses for the working classes. The construction of additional houses to that extent would mean so much more demand for all labour connected with the building industry. Or some part of the money might go to develop social services which would improve the national health and make less demand on hospitals and medical relief in later years.

Careful Planning

All that would happen almost automatically, but it is not contemplated that the readjustment of labour resultant on a reduction of armaments should be left to work itself out by mere automatic processes. It is to be expected that the Government would put as much thought and energy into the process of "changing over" to peace conditions as it does in maintaining preparations for war. There are plenty of illustrations of that. The way in which Krupps' factory at Essen, for example, has abandoned its war production and devoted itself wholly to the construction of machinery and other requirements of industry is worth careful study in this connection. All public bodies, moreover, particularly municipalities, might be expected to accelerate temporarily any works they had in prospect which would give employment to the kind of labour displaced as a result of partial and gradual disarmament.

All these possibilities could be developed, but enough has, perhaps, been said to indicate that a reduction of armaments, though manifestly and inevitably it would have its temporary effect on the labour market, just as any new labour-saving invention has, would in the end and after no long period, make for increased employment, not reduced.

CECIL PEACE PRIZE

A PRIZE of £100 is offered yearly for an essay on some subject connected with the maintenance of international peace, and having some bearing on the principles or work of the League of Nations.

It is open to all students, without distinction of sex or nationality, of any university or university college in Great Britain or Northern Ireland, who have not yet taken their degree or attained the age of 25 years. The subject for the year 1928 is:—

"HOW FAR CAN INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION (IN THE WIDEST SENSE OF THE WORD) BE MADE A COMPLETE SUBSTITUTE FOR WAR?"

The essay must be sent in to the Secretary, Universities Bureau of the British Empire, 50, Russell Square, London, W.C.1, so as to arrive on or before November 1, 1928. Each essay must be headed with a motto and accompanied by a sealed envelope having the motto outside, and the name and address and the university or college of the candidate inside, together with a note of his university standing.

Any candidate who wishes his essay returned should enclose inside the sealed envelope another envelope adequately stamped and addressed to himself, in which his essay may be returned to him.

There is no limit of length prescribed, but it is suggested that a length of 10,000 to 12,000 words would generally be sufficient. Essays should be typewritten.

BOOKS WORTH READING

OUTLAWING WAR

The Outlawry of War. By Dr. C. C. Morrison. (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d. net.)

This volume, which appears opportunely in Great Britain at the moment when the Kellogg-Briand "outlawry of war" proposals are under full discussion, may be taken no doubt as the authentic mouthpiece of the outlawry of war movement in the United States. Dr. Morrison is in the closest touch with Mr. Salmon Levinson, the originator of the movement in question, and also with Senator Borah, whose 1923 resolution before the Senate is quoted *in extenso*.

As a statement of the position adopted by this particular group in the United States the book is of interest, though it irritates perpetually by the rather characteristic assumption of superior wisdom and of a rather Christian pity for those who differ from the author. The essential doctrine at the centre of the book is a general treaty for the abolition of war and refusal to consider any combined action to defend this agreement against States which may violate it. There is also to be evolved without delay and as if by magic a complete system of international law, covering the whole field of possible relationships between nations, and administered by a new International Court or even, if the worst came to the worst, by an adaptation of the existing Court at The Hague.

Dr. Morrison includes a final chapter discussing the Briand proposal, and emphasising his thesis that there must be no talk of any defence or enforcement of the agreement when once reached, and arguing that to include any mechanism for this purpose "would be to clutter up and strangle the whole simple, epoch-making avowal that in no event will either nation ever resort to war or the use of force against the other." Dr. Morrison is mistaken in thinking that such a declaration to-day would be epoch-making. The declaration was, in fact, made more than two years ago at Locarno, between two nations far more in danger of going to war with one another than ever France and the United States are likely to be. At Locarno, moreover, the contracting parties had the wisdom to combine with their declaration a practical and businesslike arrangement for the settlement of their disputes by pacific means. But Dr. Morrison and his friends will have nothing of that. Such machinery would merely "clutter up" their epoch-making avowal. Dr. Morrison's book makes it a little clearer to understand Mr. Kellogg's Note—and M. Briand's hesitations with regard to it.—H. W. H.

THE CHILD IN THE MILL

Humanity and Labour in China. By Dame Adelaide Anderson. (Student Christian Movement, 10s. 6d.)

Factory conditions in China have been from the first one of the gravest problems confronting the I.L.O., low standards of labour in the East being so direct a menace to the improvement of conditions in the West. Dame Adelaide Anderson's book is, however, the first authoritative account of the attempt to introduce labour legislation into China during the years following the creation of the I.L.O., together with a vivid description of conditions as they actually exist in the factories, foreign and Chinese, visited by her in her capacity as investigator for the National Christian Council of China, member of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai, and of the British Government's China Indemnity Committee. It should be invaluable to speakers on the I.L.O. because it is unbiassed, up-to-date, comprehensive and based on a lifetime's experience of factory inspection in this and other countries. The

many prejudiced accounts of Chinese labour conditions made on political platforms during the last year or so make such a corrective necessary.

Dame Adelaide stresses the absolute necessity of labour legislation for China in her own interests and those of the world at large, but points out such overwhelming difficulties as the intense poverty of the people, the system of child-labour already in force in China, the lack of organisation or education of the workers, the presence of foreign settlements, the absence of a central government to promulgate or enforce legislation, and the absolute insecurity of life throughout the country. But, as she points out, the industrial system has sprung up in China after much trial of the system elsewhere, "and, finally, since 1919, under the influence of international conventions for 'securing and maintaining fair and humane conditions of labour,' with the scientific experience of every other industrial country made available by the I.L.O. The book gives an account of the efforts made to reach the standard of these international labour conventions, in particular the promulgation of decrees by the Chinese Government in 1923, by the Governor of Hong-Kong in 1922, and the report of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai in 1924. It deals further with the position of trade unionism in China and other social problems of more general social interest. The bibliography and the summaries of labour legislation provided in the appendix should make the book valuable to study-circle teachers.—A. R.

THE EMPIRE PUZZLE

The British Commonwealth of Nations. By A. Lawrence Lowell and H. Duncan Hall. (World Peace Foundation, 20 cents.)

When two writers as well informed as the President of Harvard and Mr. Duncan Hall set out to explain to American readers what the British Empire is, it is pretty certain that British readers equally will find light cast on a good many points they have never quite understood themselves. The need for light is exemplified by the fact that even the two writers of this booklet are not completely agreed on certain points, President Lowell, for example, stating that Canada has not ratified the Treaty of Lausanne, while Mr. Hall writes as if he considered she had. Both dwell instructively on the position of the British Dominions in the League of Nations

CONCENTRATED HISTORY

Marten & Carter's Histories Book IV: The Latest Age. (Blackwell, 3s.)

This is one of the liveliest and most interesting school histories in existence. It is necessarily on a small scale, since it covers the period from the beginning of all things to 1927 in four comparatively modest volumes. The last chapter of the last volume consists of three pages and a few lines on the League of Nations. Not much in the way of detail can be expected in that space, but the right impression is created and no criticism is called for, apart from the fact that the date of the "Peace of Versailles" is given as 1918 instead of 1919.

Messrs. Benn are publishing early this month at 6s., under the title "Human Merchandise," a book by Mr. H. Wilson Harris on the traffic in women and children, based on the recent League of Nations' inquiry. The book consists of full digests of the reports on each of the 28 countries visited by the League investigators, together with chapters on the conditions which make the traffic possible, and a discussion of the means of counteracting it.

THE MOST INTERESTING WAY OF LEARNING A LANGUAGE

WHAT READERS SAY OF THE NEW PELMAN METHOD OF LEARNING FRENCH, ITALIAN, SPANISH AND GERMAN

EVERYONE who has adopted the new Pelman method of learning French, Italian, Spanish and German agrees that it is not only the "best" but is also the easiest and most interesting way of mastering a Foreign Language that has ever been invented.

This is very important, because there is no doubt that one of the reasons why so many people fail to learn a Foreign Language is that after a few lessons they begin to lose interest and are bored by the pages and pages of grammatical rules and exceptions that they are usually required to learn before they are brought into contact with the language itself.

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This makes this method extremely interesting, as the following letters, from readers who have adopted it, indicate:—

"My progress in the French Course has been most satisfactory. I cannot speak too highly of your excellent and fascinating method of teaching." (B. 195)

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

"Having reached this stage in my course, I feel I must say how interesting the study of the Spanish language is made. How many students of the language (learning in the 'old' way) can say with truth that it fascinates them, and that they cannot leave it, but want to know what is coming in the next few pages? Very few, I am sure. The ease with which the new words are acquired is no small characteristic of the Pelman method. They seem to 'stick' without any conscious effort. In short, the course is 'great'!" (S.W. 190)

"I can say with confidence that the claim made by the Institute as to the value of the course in German is not exaggerated. The interest of the study is maintained throughout." (G.S. 270)

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

Hundreds of similar letters could be quoted, and many others will be found in the printed description of this

method which any reader can obtain to day, free of cost, by writing for it to the address printed below.

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READERS' VIEWS

"ANGLO-SAXON SHIPS"

SIR,—I have read with much interest the leading article "Anglo-Saxon Ships" in the January HEADWAY, and find myself in complete agreement with the greater part of it. There is, however, a suggestion in the closing paragraph which I submit calls for consideration. You say that

"It would probably be much easier to get America to consent to maintain neutrality, in the League sense, in the case of a League war if, at the same time, Great Britain and other naval powers would accept the contention, for which America has invariably stood, that private property ought to be immune from capture at sea."

We ought certainly to be ready to go to great lengths to remove possible causes of trouble with America, and I do not doubt that a large section of public opinion in America would welcome an agreement with Great Britain providing for the immunity of private property from capture at sea. It may also be true that such an agreement would facilitate an understanding with the United States regarding her attitude in the event of a League blockade.

But is this principle really sound? Would it not, in fact, crash into ruin at the first test? It rests on the assumption that, under the conditions of war between organised modern states, it is still possible to distinguish effectively between state and private property, between civil and military supplies. And the experience of the last war has shown that that is an impossible enterprise. The Germans, like ourselves, were driven at a very early stage to recognise its futility. Sir Edward Grey pointed this out with devastating clarity to the Americans as early as February, 1915; Ludendorff came to the same conclusion. Imports by private traders served exactly the same function in the economy of the state as imports in the name of the state itself; and food supplies imported for the civil population merely released equivalent supplies for the soldier in the field.

I suggest, therefore, that if we want to meet the Americans it is no good trying to go back to the old American formula of Freedom of the Seas. The worst thing we could do would be to sell them a pup. I suggest that the proper course is not to go backwards, but to go forward to that other American formula, the second of President Wilson's fourteen points—viz., that the high seas should only be closed "by international action for the enforcement of international covenants." In other words, we should renounce the right of private blockade and private war. We should be the more ready to do that since private blockade has now been shown to be a weapon far less divisible, far more detested, and far less technically practicable than was formerly supposed. But for the League, and for the League only, we should retain the widest rights of blockade—such rights, in fact, as are implicit in Article XVI of the Covenant.

It would be of immense value to the world's peace if the Americans would give some assurance, however guarded, as to their non-co-operation with a proven aggressor. If we want to offer them a quid pro quo, let us offer something real and technically sound, not something that we have ourselves exposed as unsubstantial.—Yours, etc.,

January 20.

W. ARNOLD FORSTER.

"A LEAGUE OF RELIGIONS"?

SIR,—It seems a pity that apparently nothing has yet evolved as regards the Rev. H. W. Fox's suggestion that there should be set up at the League of Nations a commission on religious co-operation. In a letter to HEADWAY, he remarks that non-Christians are in some

cases at the present time drawing so close to Christianity, and are so full of its spirit, that we might feel assured of their hearty co-operation. He also quotes the speech of H.H. the Maharajah of Alwar at the League of Nations Union Dinner, October 25, 1923: "There is an Empire which exists to-day that is greater than the greatest that has ever existed before—an Empire that was founded on the higher principles of justice, an Empire that rules the hearts of a large portion of humanity. It is the living Empire of your great prophet, Jesus Christ. What is the lesson that he taught? He lived for a great principle, and He sacrificed everything, including Himself, in order that humanity may march to a higher plane for a definite purpose."

Again, the King of Afghanistan, when addressing 50,000 Moslems at Bombay, made his chief point that of *religious toleration*, and that if they respected other religions, their own would also be respected. Even if the time is not yet ripe for a commission, the League of Nations, by passing a resolution, could, through the various representatives, make a direct appeal to the religious bodies of their respective countries, asking them to perpetuate Armistice Day as a special day of prayer for the League of Nations and the abolition of war. This would at least put the League on a spiritual basis.—Yours, etc.,

Berkhamsted.

A. H. SMITH-DORRIEN

January 13.

Rear-Admiral.

LITVINOFF'S PLAN

SIR,—Will you kindly allow me to say that I was glad to see the letter of "Isabel Ashley" in the January, 1928, issue of HEADWAY. I was lately told by an agent of the League of Nations Union that the difficulty in the way of world disarmament was that Russia was not a member of the League of Nations, and might keep a large army. Now Russia has sent a representative to Geneva, and has offered to totally disarm. That difficulty is therefore removed. What need we wait for now?

We hear a great deal from distinguished speakers for the League of Nations Union and others about the "will to peace" and "security," but how can the nations of the world prove their "will to peace" more sincerely than by totally disarming, and how can "security" be more satisfactorily attained than by the same means? There cannot be war without arms. On the other hand, if armies are kept for "security" or for arbitration, or for "defensive" purposes, what is to prevent such armies from taking the offensive if desired?

I hope that the sanctions in the League of Nations itself will not be allowed to stand in the way of acceptance of the multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war proposed by Mr. Kellogg. Is it too much to expect that the Christian churches will take the matter up, and help to secure that peace of the world?—Yours, etc.,

Kent,

"IS IT PEACE?"

January 20.

AMERICA EXPLAINS

SIR,—In all the references to the American Navy—present and planned—no mention is made of the following points:—

(1) At the extreme ranges at which future naval engagements will be fought (if Jutland, Coronel and the Falkland Islands are taken as safe guides), the British have a considerable advantage over the existing battleships of the American Navy.

(2) As far as modern cruisers are concerned, the advantage of the British is some 150 per cent. over

that of the American on either a broadside basis of comparison or even on a crude tonnage basis, taking range of fire into account.

(3) The ships proposed will not be all afloat for nine years, and British shipyards can build ships faster than those of any other nation. The proposed ships, however, do not begin to equal the British tonnage.—Yours, etc.,

W. N. UDALS.

Detroit, Michigan.

December 26, 1927.

THE WHITES IN KENYA

SIR,—After reading Mr. A. G. Church's review of "Kenya From Within," in this month's issue of HEADWAY, I cannot help feeling that the book must convey an unjust impression of the white settlers in the colony. He mentions "the prevailing atmosphere of intolerance, of hate of Indian and disdain of African, which pervades each European home." Having recently seen, in the Nakuru, Kericho and Nyeri districts, with what confidence the natives come to the white bwana for all kinds of advice, for medicine and bandages, for a new football or for a ride in his car, I know there are at least some European homes which this atmosphere does not pervade. The evil that men do in East Africa is given a great deal of publicity, while the good is almost invariably interred with their bones.—Yours, etc.,

Stoke-on-Trent.

RUTH ANSTEY.

January 13.

MISAPPREHENSIONS

SIR,—I read in the papers the other day that a punitive expedition had been arranged against some rebel tribe in Iraq; this expedition was led by several Britons. It does seem to me extraordinary that a body like the League should sanction such barbarous methods. If the Wahabis, etc., do not wish to pay tribute to Feisal, why should they? By supporting Feisal we support one who wishes to impose his rule on those who are unwilling to receive it. And we use European ammunition against these patriots! This does not seem like "sacred trust."

Again, the League is, unfortunately, getting dominated by "big finance." I do not object to these financiers helping the League, but to their domination of it. Sir Otto Niemeyer and his friends' behaviour in the recent Bulgarian loan negotiations showed this. These men use the League, while pretending excellent pacifist beliefs, as a means of obtaining their own selfish ends.—Yours, etc.,

Ealing,

TERENCE WHITE.

January 18.

(1) There is no question of the Wahabis paying tribute to Feisal. The attack was an attack on Iraq from outside.

(2) The action of Sir Otto Niemeyer and his colleagues in laying down sound conditions for the proposed Bulgarian loan was in the best interests of everyone concerned, including unquestionably Bulgaria herself.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

RAISING THE WIND

SIR,—Branches making a special effort to increase membership should previously invite well-to-do supporters to make a sporting offer of one penny for each new member obtained within a certain time. Some persons will gladly do this who would refuse a subscription of (say) £1.—Yours, etc.,

Norfolk.

D. A. BARKER.

A QUESTION OF NAME

SIR,—I am glad to see Mr. Charles Marlan's letter on the above subject, as I have always felt that the name of the paper was unfortunate as it failed to give any indication that the paper was connected with the League of Nations. It would be a distinct advantage

if anyone looking for a paper with League news should be able to pick out the paper without any previous knowledge. Of the names suggested in his letter, it seems to me that "The League of Nations Review" would best fulfil the purposes of a descriptive name.—Yours, etc.,

ROBERT BIRD.

Bridge of Weir.

SIR,—Seeing the title HEADWAY is criticised in this month's issue by a correspondent, would like to testify that many members think it very appropriate. I would much regret any change. It is usually a mistake to alter a title to which the public have become accustomed, especially in favour of a longer one.—Yours, etc.,

Hants,

A. E. HARRINGTON.

MORAL DISARMAMENT

IN order to emphasise the special appeal which the Movement for Disarmament should make to the Christian conscience, a great Demonstration will be held in the Albert Hall, London, at eight o'clock on February 27. The Chairman will be the Bishop of Winchester, and the speakers will be Sir Josiah Stamp, the Reverend J. D. Jones of Bournemouth, the Very Reverend Bede Jarrett, the well-known Roman Catholic preacher, and the Rev. H. R. L. Sheppard, the former Vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Full particulars and tickets of admission may be obtained from the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

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FLEETWAY PRESS LTD., 3-9, Dane Street, High Holborn,
London, W.C.1.

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.

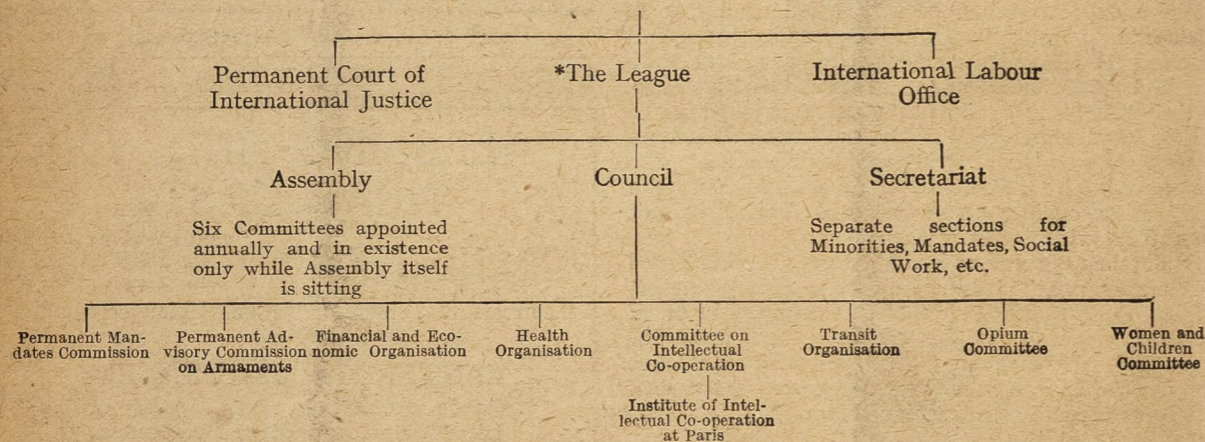
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The main organs of the League are—

- (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 14 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 seat of the League is at Geneva.

* * * *

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS



*Note.—There is an unfortunate lack of a word to denote the League as distinct from the Permanent Court and the International Labour Office. Both of these are in reality integral parts of the whole League of Nations.

* * * *

Side by side with the League itself, there exist—

The Permanent Court of International Justice, with its seat at The Hague; and
The International Labour Organisation, with its seat at Geneva.

The Permanent Court had, down to January, 1928, decided 11 cases and given 14 advisory opinions to the League Council.

The International Labour Organisation exists to improve conditions of labour throughout the world. It operates through—

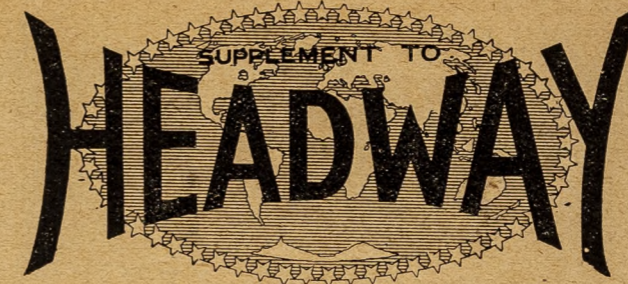
The General Conference, meeting annually.

The Governing Body, meeting quarterly or oftener.

The International Labour Office at Geneva (corresponding to the League Secretariat).

Down to January, 1928, the International Labour Conferences had adopted 26 conventions and 28 "recommendations" on conditions of labour in different countries.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



FEBRUARY, 1928

MORE FOUNDATION MEMBERS

By VISCOUNT CECIL

THE League of Nations Union has been in existence for some eight or nine years. During that time it has grown from being a small society with a few hundred members to its present size with upwards of 650,000 members, divided into 2,557 branches and spread over the whole country. It has, indeed, become an institution of national importance and international reputation. Coincidentally with its growth numerically and in influence, its activities have enormously increased. Over 3,500 meetings are held in connection with the Union every year. Its organ, HEADWAY, has a circulation of about 90,000. Several millions of pamphlets and leaflets have been issued. An enormous correspondence is carried on by Headquarters. A nationwide organisation is maintained with an army of organisers and speakers—most of whom, indeed, give their services for nothing beyond their bare expenses, though some have to be paid.

All this costs money—far less, indeed, than the amount spent on a party political organisation, but still running into thousands of pounds. Up till now we have been financed very largely by the generous gifts of rich and patriotic supporters. We are profoundly grateful to them. We recognise that without their help we should perhaps never have got going, and we certainly hope that we may count in some measure on their assistance in the future. For do not let us imagine that our work is over, or nearly over. The League is established, it has done, and is doing, admirable work. But its most vital tasks are still to come. Disarmament, security, arbitration represent only three stages to its final goal—the abolition of war and, it may be, the "federation of the world." In any case, it has many decades of activity before it. During that time if it is not to decay it must continue to grow, for that is the law of human organisms, and without instructed public opinion its growth is impossible.

There are, then, many years of effort and usefulness before the League of Nations Union. Can we hope to depend throughout that period on the generosity of a relatively small number of rich supporters? Clearly not; we must broaden the basis of our finance. That is why I venture to appeal for a great increase in the number of Foundation Members—members who subscribe not less than £1 a year. Three-and-sixpenny and our shilling members are very desirable and important politically, but financially they do not contribute much,

if anything, to the central organisation of the Union beyond the expense which their membership causes, including the literature which they receive.

It is out of the larger subscriptions and donations that the central organisation is carried on.

If each branch will secure a number of voluntary workers, each worker will be furnished with a booklet containing six Foundation Membership forms. They will be asked to try to secure at least six Foundation Members each during the next 12 months—an average of one new member in two months. This should be within the power of a great number. It is the greatest work that individuals can do for the movement at the present time, and I earnestly trust that there may be a ready and willing response. The booklets in question will be supplied on application to the Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

In conclusion, may I express the hope that everyone who reads this Article and can afford to become a Foundation Member will do so, and that all speakers at meetings will emphasize this appeal?

HOW TO INCREASE MEMBERSHIP

IN the above article Lord Cecil has shown how essential it is that the membership, especially the Foundation Membership, of the Union should be expanded. Several branches have recently achieved notable success in this direction by means of house-to-house canvassing. The Sheringham Branch, for instance, has recently *doubled its membership* by this means. Twelve voluntary canvassers visited some 1,200 houses in the district. At each house where immediate success was not achieved the person seen was asked to read "Organising Peace," or "Twenty-one Reasons Why You Should Join the League of Nations Union," and (if, as was generally the case, it was the lady of the house) to show it to her husband. The house was then visited a second time about a week later in the evening, when it was likely that the husband would be at home. In this way 400 new members were obtained. The greatest importance attaches to this *second* visit, after the distribution of "Organising Peace," or some other pamphlet of a general nature, at the first visit.

MR. SMITH, YET AGAIN

MR. SMITH is irrepresible. He bounces up at the most unexpected moments and in the most unexpected places; he seems to have developed a real "thirst"—no other word can describe it—for the Union and its machinations. He had exhausted all the pamphlets he got last time, and craved for more. So he came back to No. 15, Grosvenor Crescent to find the painters in; that was most inconvenient; he hates spring-cleaning at any season of the year, and the smell of paint is odious at any time. He thought he'd go home. But just as he was about to leave, his desire unrequited, he heard that as the Union had extended its activities in connection with the Campaign for International Disarmament, so it had had to provide further accommodation, and that that had been found on the ground floor of No. 13. Mr. Smith was delighted; there was a chance to quench his thirst. He entered No. 13; he liked its clean entrance (No. 15 will compete soon), he loved its warm air (No. 13 has central heating), but more, he sensed the Union atmosphere. On the first door on the left was the word "Welcome"; the word was magic. He walked in, without knocking, and found the Secretary of the Welcome Committee endeavouring to get London hostesses to give entertainment for overseas visitors, and fixing up receptions, etc., for distinguished continentals. He was surprised to know that in 1927 about 50 persons had been so placed and that 12 receptions had been arranged. He was pleased that it sought to make friends of overseas visitors. The Union was a really wonderful organisation.

Then he had a shock! All the good impressions he had already formed about the Union nearly evaporated into thin air. He walked into another room, and heard that the department was concerned with the work of the International Labour Org— His informant could get no further. Mr. Smith had seen red. "What, Labour? International Labour? Third International? Why, you're Bolsheviks!" The atmosphere got still warmer. The doors were barred and bolted. Mr. Smith could not, must not escape with that misunderstanding. Soon he realised that he had jumped to a too hasty conclusion, and learnt that the Department was the Industrial Department; that its work was concerned with getting both sides of industry—employers and workers—behind the whole work of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation; that the President of the Committee was the Viscount Burnham, G.C.M.G., C.H., recently appointed a member of the Statutory Commission for India; and its Chairman Alderman Ben Turner, this year's Chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress; that it had been responsible for the holding of two remarkable conferences during the course of the year, that on arbitration and conciliation in February and on the World Economic Conference in December; that these conferences had been attended by representative employers and workers, members of local authorities, chambers of commerce, rotary clubs, members of trades and labour councils from all over the country. Mr. Smith was becoming more cool, more calm and more collected. The bright red was toning down to a very pale pink. He approved, after some talk, of the Union's policy regarding the Washington Hours Convention and the White Lead Convention, and took away some pamphlets and memoranda dealing with the whole of the activities of the I.L.O., and will undoubtedly become one of the Union's greatest exponents of this side of the League's work. He apologised most abjectly for the heat generated in the earlier moments of his visit.

He wanted to see the other sections of the Union's work at No. 13, but it was getting late. But he'll come back—oh, yes; there's no doubt that he'll come back.—D. H. M.

COME TO THE ALBERT HALL

Owing to extreme pressure of work consequent upon the recent happenings in connection with the new Prayer Book, it is regretted that the Archbishop of Canterbury will be unable to preside at the mass meeting which is to take place on February 27 at the Albert Hall, commencing at 8 p.m., as previously announced. The Bishop of Winchester has kindly consented to take the chair, and the principal speakers will be the Rev. H. R. L. Sheppard, Dr. J. D. Jones, The Rev. Bede Jarrett, and Sir Josiah Stamp. It is earnestly hoped that as many members of the Union as possible will take steps to see that both they and their friends make a point of attending this meeting. The subject will be "The Christian Church and International Disarmament." It is for the Church of Christ to lead people to rely more upon the "organised collective action of the League of Nations" (to quote the League's last Assembly) so that "every State should be sure of not having to provide unaided for its security by means of its own armaments" and so that the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth may no longer be hindered by the menace of war. A clear statement of Christian opinion on this great issue is the purpose of the Albert Hall meeting.

Admission will be free by ticket obtainable from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. A few numbered and reserved seats are available at 5s. and 2s. 6d. each. Parties organised by schools and churches will be accommodated at 1s. per seat. Posters and handbills can also be obtained from the same address.

NOTES FROM WALES

Welsh branches, adult and junior, continue their campaign, and the prospects for 1928 are good. Numerous meetings are being held throughout Wales and Monmouthshire on "Arbitration, Security and International Disarmament." On January 17, Mr. David Davies, M.P., Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council, who is untiring in his efforts for the cause of the League, both in this country and abroad, invited the chairmen and secretaries of all adult branches in Montgomeryshire to a conference at his Llandinam residence, with a view to uniting and improving the organisation of the Union in the county and the drafting of a vigorous programme of activities. Mr. E. H. Jones, son of the late Sir Henry Jones, very generously gave a week to a tour of meetings in some of the most important centres of South Wales on behalf of the Union. Commencing with meetings at Llandaff and Cardiff on Monday, January 16, he continued his campaign at Briton Ferry, Pontardulais, Brynamman and Llanelly, at all of which places crowded audiences welcomed him. The afternoons of most of the days he devoted to addressing schools in the respective areas. Mr. E. H. Jones is the author of the well-known book "The Road to Endor," and is the editor of *The Welsh Outlook*. At the time of going to press arrangements for Lord Cecil's visit to Merthyr Tydfil and the University College, Cardiff, on Wednesday and Thursday, January 25 and 26, are practically complete. The Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, M.A., President of the Welsh National Council, is, we are glad to say, making good progress towards complete recovery after his recent serious illness. A steady response comes from the churches of Wales and Monmouthshire to the Christmas Appeal of the Welsh Council for a special collection or a donation towards its missionary and educational work. The churches of Wales have always supported the Union loyally and generously, and it is earnestly hoped that those churches which have not yet sent in their donations this year will do so as early as they conveniently can.

Mr. E. M. Field

The St. John's Wood Branch has sustained a great loss in the death of its chairman, Mr. E. M. Field, who died after a short illness on November 20. Mr. Field, who was a scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, and a Gaisford Prizeman, served the Board of Education for over 40 years. He took a great interest in the work of the Union, and had been for over two years chairman of the local Branch, frequently acting as delegate to the Council, giving sincere and wholehearted service.

"Uncle Anyhow"

Alfred Sutro's play "Uncle Anyhow" was recently produced at the Sutton Town Hall, by Mrs. Clayton Morris and her company, on behalf of the Sutton Coldfield District Council. This venture was most successful, and performances were given on the evenings of October 27, 28 and 29. The net proceeds amounted to about £45. The Inland Revenue authorities are generally kind enough to grant total exemption from entertainment tax for performances of this kind, the proceeds of which are devoted to Union funds.

More Music

In a recent issue of HEADWAY mention was made of the fact that several composers had written League of Nations songs and anthems. Another noteworthy composition is a song entitled "A Call to the Nations," by Mr. H. W. Valentine. Copies of this song can be obtained (price 2s.) from Headquarters.

Branches and Headquarters

An Interim Annual Report will be circulated at the end of this month. This report deals mainly with the activities of Headquarters in 1927. Any Branch Secretaries or others who are desirous of learning more about Headquarters, and seeing for themselves the details of its organisation, will be welcomed if they will call at Headquarters by arrangement, when all facilities will be given them for seeing the various sections at work.

League of Nations Charts

The series of League of Nations Charts issued by Headquarters have been arranged and set up with cloth backs by the Dundee Branch. This Branch will be pleased to loan this special set to other Branches at a cost of 10s. per period.

From Occident to Orient

We have been successful, through the columns of HEADWAY Supplement, in putting several members of the League of Nations Societies in the various countries in touch with one another, and in many cases a useful and interesting correspondence has ensued. Mr. W. B. Peter Fernando, of Ceylon (a business man), is desirous of obtaining a correspondent in this country, preferably a young man engaged in business. Would any reader interested in opening a correspondence of this kind apply to the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W., for further particulars.

A League of Nations Celebration

Dr. F. H. Hayward is repeating the League of Nations Celebration, given by him last June at the Crystal Palace, at the Northern Polytechnic Hall, at 7.30 p.m., on March 12. There will be music—vocal and otherwise—recitations, etc., and it is hoped that many members of the Union will find it possible to attend. Admission will be free by ticket, obtainable from the Central Library, Islington, N.

I.L.O.—A Model Meeting

It will interest Branch Secretaries to know that the Industrial Advisory Committee has prepared a memorandum containing suggestions for a model meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. These suggestions facilitate the organisation of such a function by a branch secretary,

for the memorandum contains outlines of speeches by Government, Employer and Worker delegates represented on the Governing Body, and in many cases gives references to different documents from which fuller speeches might be developed. The memorandum may be obtained from Headquarters on application.

A Year's Work

A few impressions of the year's work obtained by one of the Union's regular speakers may be of interest. The average size of small meetings throughout the country appears to have increased from about 20—30 to 50—60. Organisers of meetings, however, generally tend to exaggerate the size of expected audiences. The number of large meetings has increased, and the number of questions asked at these meetings has increased. The questions most frequently asked are: "Why does not America join the League?" "What about Russia?" "What do you think of the Russian Disarmament proposals?" "Why does Great Britain not sign the Optional Clause?" and "Why do we not ratify the Eight Hours Convention?"

Drawing-room meetings are to be encouraged. Audiences at these meetings usually number from 50 to 120, and many people who will go to a drawing-room meeting will not go to an ordinary public meeting. These meetings are admirable for getting new people in touch with the Union.

Children's meetings, that is, both school and mass meetings, are increasing in number.

Towards the end of 1927, Mr. Frederick Whelen, the speaker in question, spoke for the Union for the 2,500th time.

At Oxford

The activities of the Oxford Branch in connection with the International Disarmament Campaign opened with a letter which appeared in the public Press, setting forth the aims of the Union's campaign. This letter was signed by the Mayor, the Member of Parliament, the prospective parliamentary candidates, the Wardens and Principals of various colleges, and other notable people. An extensive programme of meetings of divers types is arranged, and will be carried out before the summer. Well done, Oxford, and good luck go with you!

A Scottish Tour

The Rev. H. S. McClelland is undertaking an extensive tour on behalf of the Glasgow and West of Scotland district. He will speak chiefly on International Disarmament. His itinerary will be as follows:—

Dunoon, February 6; Rothesay Branch, February 7; Millport Branch, February 8; Tighnabruach Branch, February 9; Tarbert, February 10; Ardrishaig, February 11; Mid Argyle Pulpits, February 12; Loch Gilthead, February 13; Inverary, February 14; Oban, February 15; Fort William, February 16; Biggar, February 17.

His campaign will follow up Lord Cecil's great meeting on International Disarmament, which is to be held at St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on February 2nd.

Mr. McClelland is Minister of Trinity Church, Claremont Street, Glasgow, and has had a distinguished career. He is also an author of note. We owe a debt to Mr. McClelland's congregation for their kindness in releasing him from his church for this period and to Mr. McClelland for the useful work he is doing.

To Canada

Colonel David Carnegie is leaving for Canada at the end of this month. During his stay in that country he will address branch meetings of the Canadian League of Nations Society at St. John's, N.B., Halifax, N.S., Moncton, Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, London, Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary and Edmonton. His subject will be International Disarmament.

Continued on page iv.

OVERSEAS NOTES

Canada

Sir Herbert Ames completed his six weeks tour under the auspices of the Association of Canadian Clubs at Vancouver, on December 8. He delivered in all 72 addresses to Canadian Clubs, universities and schools, and created a widespread interest in Western Canada on the place of Canada in the League of Nations.

Ireland

Concord, the organ of the League of Nations Society in Ireland, states that meetings on behalf of the League of Nations have been more numerous and better attended than in previous years. Lectures have been delivered not only at Dublin but also at Clontarf, Croom (Co. Limerick), Listowel (Co. Kerry), Rathmines, Rathgar, Sandymount, Waterford and Wicklow. A debate was also held with the Blackrock Debating Society on the motion: "That National Ideals are incompatible with World Peace."

France

The Paris Branch of the Union reports the following important steps that have been taken by France and Germany with regard to the education of young people in the work and objects of the League of Nations:—

(1) *France*.—The "Conseil National des Femmes Françaises" (The National Council of French Women) organised a competition among the third-year pupil teachers of the Ecoles Normales on the best method of instructing children in the work of the League of Nations. The two most successful competitors received a bursary enabling them to spend a fortnight in Geneva during the VIIIth Assembly of the League of Nations. A similar competition will be organised by the "Conseil National des Femmes Françaises" in 1928.

(2) *Germany*.—Dr. Becker, the Prussian Minister of Education, has issued an order that, since the entry of Germany into the League, instruction of school children in League matters shall be further promoted, and it shall be made a part of the education curriculum of all the primary and secondary schools, in the higher grades of educational institutions in the pedagogic academies and among the junior grades of secondary school teachers.

On December 16 MM. Maurette, Vasseur and Dr. Riedelberg spoke on "Certain Important Aspects of the International Economic Conference." The meeting, which was organised by the Paris Branch, was held at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and Sir John Fischer Williams, British Legal Adviser to the Reparations Commission, was in the chair.

It is regretted that an omission was made in the last Overseas Notes under the heading of France. The debate which took place at the Sorbonne on November 16 was held under the auspices of the Paris Branch of the League of Nations Union and the Association *France-Grande Bretagne*.

Holland

On the first Wednesday of every month the Dutch League of Nations Society organises an "association lunch," at which a speaker deals with some recent event connected with the League. The lunches take place at the Restaurant Anjema, 12, Lange Vijverberg, The Hague, at 1 p.m. The Dutch Society would welcome any members of the Union resident in or visiting The Hague who would like to attend any of the lunches.

Danzig

News has been received from Danzig that a League of Nations Society was formed there on December 16. The object of the Society is to promote and further the ideals of the League of Nations in the Free City of Danzig, and to work in close co-operation with the League of Nations Societies in other countries. The first meeting of the Society will be held in Danzig on February 13, at 6 p.m.

NOTES AND NEWS—continued from page iii.

Nottingham Federal Council

The newly-established Nottingham Federal Council held a mass meeting of 2,300 members in the Albert Hall, Nottingham, on Friday, January 20, presided over by the Lord Lieutenant of the County, His Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G. The collection of over £37 was a record one.

Rotary and the Union

Delegates from a hundred Rotary Clubs were present with representatives of the Union at a special conference held at the Hotel Cecil on January 19. As an outcome of the morning session, Rotary Clubs throughout the country will be asked to use their influence in favour of teaching about the League in the schools. At luncheon and at the afternoon sessions speeches on International Disarmament were made by Sir Donald Maclean, Mr. R. S. Hudson, M.P., and Sir Arthur Haworth.

At the Schoolboys' Own Exhibition

Sir Benjamin Gott, in opening the Schoolboys' Own Exhibition on January 7, at the Royal Horticultural Hall, made the following statement, which will be of interest to readers: "We welcome the participation of the League of Nations Union, because education must fail unless it brings about a spirit of international, as well as industrial, peace."

The Council's Vote

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

Allerton, Elewbury, Bury St. Edmunds, Bournemouth District, Budleigh Salterton, Barrow-in-Furness, Bedford, Burgess Hill, Basset, Berwick, Braintree, Batley, Bishop Auckland, Bideford, Bognor, Broadstone, Bishopston, Burnham-on-Sea, Barton-on-Humber, St. Mark's Baptist Chapel, Bristol, Corsham (also 1926), Chichester, Cambridge Town, Chandler's Ford, Chipping Norton, Chesham, Chelmsford, Canterbury, Dunmow, East of Scotland District, Frizinghall, Bradford, Grange-over-Sands, Great Marlowe, Gledholt West, Huddersfield, Great Yarmouth, Gillingham, Dorset, Hillside C.C., Huddersfield, Headington, Hastings, Hereford, Howe, Hartlepool West, Hemel Hempstead, Harrogate, Jersey, Keighley, Kickley Lonsdale, Knaresborough, Harehills Lane, Leeds, Louth, Lauceston, Lancaster, Trinity C.C., Leeds, Trinity Chapel, Tempest Road, Leeds, Milford-on-Sea, Mansfield, Portland, Parkstone, Quenborough, Rotherfield, St. Anne's-on-Sea, Shanklin, Sutton District, Broompark C.C., Sheffield, Southend, Scotland, North and N.E., Thornaby-on-Tees, Totteridge, Totnes, Truro, Wick, Winford, Withernsea, Westgate-on-Sea, Wakefield, Worthing, Woodbridge, Wolverton, Wells, Yelverton.

L.N.U. MEMBERS

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

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,224
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	...	665,022

On January 1, 1928 there were 2,557 Branches, 518 Junior Branches, 130 Districts, 2,415 Corporate Members and 386 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

Foundation membership, *HEADWAY*, and pamphlets *a* 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: Freema 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., 1 Richmond Terrace, Park Place, Cardiff.