



HEADWAY

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE First Lord of the Admiralty in introducing the Navy Estimates last month pointed out that they were not only £1,435,000 less than in 1928 but £1,250,000 less than in 1924. That not very considerable reduction is undoubtedly satisfactory so far as it goes, though it will be observed that the official figures entirely bear out the contention that between 1924 and 1928 the cost of the Navy had actually increased even without taking into account the fall in the purchasing power of money. Since the Government has been criticised in the past for its excessive naval expenditure, it is only just to recognise that there is this year a certain reduction, though it may be hoped that the value of the Kellogg Pact is not to be measured simply by this comparatively trifling decrease. The figures themselves can be made the target of argument, but the most important point in the discussion in the House was made by Sir Edward Hilton Young, who urged that since old conceptions of warfare and particularly distinction between public and private property had disappeared, it was necessary to define afresh the purposes for which the Navy was required. That is sound sense, and it is hoped that the suggestion may receive the attention it deserves.

Another Naval Race

WE have heard a good deal in the course of recent disarmament discussions about the French army. Now it appears we are to hear something of that country's navy as well. The debate in the French Senate on the introduction of the naval estimates was illuminating. The rapporteur of the estimates produced three reasons why France must push ahead with new naval construction. One reason was the extremely formidable character of the 10,000-ton cruiser under construction in Germany, the first of four or five on the same model. The second reason was Italy's declared intention to have a navy as large as that of France, which would mean that unless France withdrew all her vessels from her North Sea and Atlantic waters, she would be in a serious inferiority in the Mediterranean. The third reason, oddly enough, was the limitation of the larger sized submarines provided for in the Anglo-French Naval Compromise, which was regarded by the Senator in question as an attempt to limit an arm to which France attaches great importance. All this is singularly discouraging, for it seems to point to a new race in European naval armaments, and the

introducer of the naval estimates actually admitted as much—which is of no peculiarly happy omen for the meeting of the Preparatory Commission at Geneva this month.

The 48-Hours Week

NOTHING could be more profoundly unsatisfactory than the situation in which the future of the Washington Hours Convention has been left after the British Minister of Labour's first visit to Geneva. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland went there, as described in another column, to persuade his colleagues on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to agree to the British proposal for the revision of the Convention. In that he signally failed. The employers' group, it is true, were with him, but the workers' group was solidly hostile, and of the Government representatives apparently only the Swedish was prepared to give anything like unqualified support. The French, German and Spanish Governments have ratified the Convention conditionally on Great Britain doing so, and they were naturally all of them averse to the idea of revising it now that it has been accepted by them and others in its present form. The Governments of these important industrial States, it may be observed, appear to find none of the difficulties in the Convention which the present British Government has discovered. The fact referred to by the British employers' representatives at Geneva that thirty-six States have taken no steps towards ratification is, in part, at any rate, explained by Great Britain's abstention. If this country ratified, which would make the ratification of other countries like France, Germany and Spain operative, considerable pressure would be brought to bear on the States still hanging back.

More Cheeseparing

IT might have been supposed that the British Government, having considered it necessary to refuse its assent to one of the most important Conventions the I.L.O. has ever negotiated, would studiously avoid other actions calculated to call its loyalty to the Organisation into question. But quite the contrary. In the words of *The Times* report, "criticism of the budget of the International Labour Office by the delegate of the British Government (which is something in the nature of an annual event) occupied a great part of the time of the final sitting of the Governing Body." Unfortunately this is, as *The Times* says, an annual event. The trouble this year was that the budget of the Labour Office for 1930 shows an increase of £8,600. The increase falling on Great Britain will, therefore, be under £900. The total amount paid by Great Britain towards the Labour Office budget will be about £33,000, which Mr. Poulton, the British workers' delegate, observed was just about £3,000 less than the British Ministry of Labour spends on its telephone system alone. Mr. Wolfe, the British Government delegate, was careful to explain that the action he was taking in declining to vote in favour of the budget was based solely on grounds of economy, and not on any political considerations.

It seems to take singularly small account of psychological considerations. It is satisfactory, however, to observe that the only two Dominion Governments represented on the Governing Body, those of Canada and India, both voted in favour of the budget, together with the representatives of every other Government present.

What the League May Do

M. TITULESCO, who is Rumanian Minister in London and former Foreign Minister of his country, has made a slight departure from diplomatic procedure in addressing a public conference in Paris on the subject of minorities. There is nothing much to deplore in that, and the opinions expressed by the lecturer are of some interest, though they have aroused adverse comments in some quarters. The main purport of M. Titulesco's argument was that the League is in reality not permitted by the Covenant to undertake the duties it is discharging in regard to minorities. That is an extremely interesting point. The Covenant, of course, makes no specific reference to minorities. Any action the League is taking in this matter is based on separate minority treaties between certain individual European States and the Allied Powers. The League Council, at the beginning of its career, had to decide whether it would consent to discharge these duties, and it decided with some reluctance that it would. M. Titulesco appears to think that in so doing it went beyond its powers. That, of course, raises the question of whether the League is entitled to take any action not definitely contemplated by the Covenant. If it is not, then it was fairly clearly outside its province in taking in hand the reconstruction of Austria and Hungary. At the same time M. Titulesco is no doubt right in saying that much of the procedure agreed on between the Council and the States bound by minority treaties was only possible because the States agreed to it and that no change in that procedure could be made without their agreeing to that as well—all of which goes to show what a singularly complex business the guaranteeing of minorities is.

A Geneva Agreement

A CONVENTION was signed between Greece and Yugoslavia in an hotel sitting-room at Geneva on March 17 settling the conditions under which Yugoslavia is to be allowed to use the Greek port of Salonika on the Ægean. Without going into details unduly, there are two aspects of this event which are worth noting. The first is as to the nature of the agreement itself. Yugoslavia is a large country with no outlet southwards to the sea, although a large part of her commerce flows that way. It is extremely satisfactory that after long discussions arrangements should have been made entirely agreeable to both countries for the use of a special section of the port of Salonika by Yugoslav traders. All necessary arrangements have also been made for uninterrupted railway communication between Salonika and Yugoslavia. The second point of interest is that, though these two countries lie actually next door to one another, the agreement between them was signed neither at Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia, nor at Athens, the capital of Greece, but at Geneva, the seat of the League of

Nations, whither the Foreign Minister of Greece and the acting Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia had gone in connection with the minorities discussions at the Council meeting last month. Once again the Geneva atmosphere has proved to have a certain efficacy not discovered in equal degree in other regions.

The New Slaughter

THE following extract is from the new volume of Mr. Winston Churchill's war memories. It indicates, among other things, what a former War Minister thinks of war:—

"The disproportion between the quarrels of nations and the suffering which fighting out those quarrels involves; the poor and barren prizes which reward sublime endeavour on the battlefield; the fleeting triumphs of war; the long, slow rebuilding; the awful risks so hardily run; the doom missed by a hair's breadth, by the spin of a coin, by the accident of an accident—all this should make the prevention of another great war the main preoccupation of mankind. It has at least been stripped of glitter and glamour. No more may Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon lead armies to victory, ride their horses on the field of battle, sharing the perils of their soldiers and deciding the fate of empires by the resolves and gestures of a few intense hours. For the future they will sit surrounded by clerks in offices, as safe, as quiet and as dreary as Government Departments, while the fighting men in scores of thousands are slaughtered or stifled over the telephone by machinery. We have seen the last of the great commanders. Perhaps they were extinct before Armageddon began. Next time the competition may be to kill women and children, and the civil population generally, and victory will give herself in sorry nuptials to the diligent hero who organises it on the largest scale."

Bolivia and Paraguay

THE Bolivia-Paraguay episode has fortunately ceased to be an episode in the ordinary sense of the term. The immediate dispute is at an end, and on that point the mediation of the Pan-American Conference has been accepted by both parties. That refers only to the actual outbreak. Meanwhile there remains the original trouble, the disputed frontier, regarding which Bolivia has suggested recourse to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Paraguay has neither accepted nor rejected that suggestion, feeling apparently that it is just as well to get the immediate question settled first, and go on to the more remote controversy afterwards. Information that has reached Geneva in the course of the last week or two makes it abundantly clear that the action of the League in the whole matter, so far from being resented in responsible quarters in the United States, was, in fact, warmly welcomed. Since the League Covenant was the only document signed and ratified by both parties which bound them to refrain from sudden war the League had a peculiar duty in the matter. That has been fully recognised in the United States, and the action taken at Lugano appears to be one of the factors which are conspiring to produce an attitude of increased benevolence towards Geneva in that country.

The League and China

A CURIOUS and obviously unfounded rumour gained currency in Geneva during the course of last month, that China was proposing to withdraw from the League, a speech to that effect being attributed to the Chinese Minister of Railways. Whether such a speech was ever made it is difficult to discover. What is certain is that M. Avenol, the Deputy Secretary-General of the League, who has been in China on a special League mission, has cabled back entirely satisfactory reports of the interviews he has had with leading members of the Government. What is a good deal more significant, the Chinese Government has invited Dr. Rajchman, the Director of the Health Section of the League Secretariat, to serve as one of a committee of three (the other two being an Englishman and an American) to advise the Ministry of Health on the organisation of a National Health Service. The Council immediately agreed to the acceptance of the invitation by the medical director, and Dr. Rajchman expects to make his first visit to China directly after the June Council meeting. The possibilities arising out of such an appointment are considerable, and it is to be hoped they will develop in the normal way. It may be added that the appointment as general political adviser of the Chinese Government of so firm a believer in the League of Nations as Sir Frederick Whyte is another event of definitely good omen.

France and Arbitration

A BILL authorising the acceptance by France of the "General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Differences" adopted by the League Assembly last September has just been laid before the French Chamber. If France does sign and ratify the Act she will be the first Great Power to do so, though she has in fact been forestalled by a lesser State, Rumania. The importance of France's action lies in the fact that signature of this Act carries with it not only extensive arbitration pledges but also acceptance of the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice. France, it will be remembered, signed the Optional Clause in 1924 conditionally on the Geneva Protocol coming into operation, and since the Protocol fell to the ground no further action has been taken. The step now contemplated by France, combined with the initiative taken by Canada, makes it the more necessary for the British Government to indicate whether on reconsideration it is prepared to sign the Optional Clause.

Books on the League

IT is a notable fact that a volume giving title of books on the League of Nations contained in the League Secretariat at Geneva has just been published, and runs, without its index, to 224 pages. It is true that this list contains pamphlets as well as bound volumes, some of them very slender pamphlets. On the other hand, formidable as it is, the list is not quite complete. Considering that the League has not yet been in existence ten years, its output is a remarkable record.

THE MONTH IN BRIEF

PRES. HOOVER, LEAGUE COUNCIL, U.S.A. AND COURT

THE most important event in the early days of March was the inauguration of Mr. Hoover as thirty-first President of the United States. President Hoover's notable inaugural address is dealt with in another column. It is sufficient to say here that its dominating note, so far as the foreign relations of the United States are concerned, is a desire to co-operate to the full with the rest of the world, short of actual entry into the League of Nations, an expression of confidence in the possibility of America's association with the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the renewal of an offer, unobtrusive but definite, for the limitation of armaments. Mr. Hoover has chosen as his Secretary of State or Foreign Minister Mr. H. L. Stimson, of whose general views regarding international affairs little is known, but who is said to have been warmly recommended for the post by Mr. C. E. Hughes, a Judge of the Permanent Court, and Mr. Elihu Root, a strong supporter of the League, though not necessarily of America's formal association with it.

From March 4-9 the League of Nations Council was in session at Geneva. The principal subjects with which it dealt were the treatment of minorities, a note from the United States regarding that country's assumption of membership of the Permanent Court, and a scheme for the financial assistance of States threatened with attack. Sir Austen Chamberlain was present as British representative, together with the Foreign Ministers of France and Germany and several other countries. As usual a number of routine questions of varying degrees of importance were dealt with.

Immediately after the Council ended there was an important meeting of a League Committee appointed to revise the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice, presided over by Signor Scialoja, of Italy, and with Sir Cecil Hurst as British representative. The Committee cordially approved of the formula brought over by Mr. Elihu Root, as basis for America's entry into the Court, and it proposed various changes designed to increase the Court's general efficiency, notably an increase in the number of judges from eleven to fifteen and the lengthening out of the sessions so that they cover practically the whole year, instead of beginning on June 15.

In the same week in which this Committee met the Governing Body of the International Labour Office listened to a statement by the British Minister of Labour, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, regarding Great Britain's reasons for demanding a revision of the Washington Hours Convention of 1919. Though Sir Arthur was supported by a majority of Governmental representatives, the workers and a certain number of Government delegates were against him, and the proposal to refer the question of revision to a sub-committee was defeated. The employers' representatives abstained from voting.

The British Government also passed various strictures in regard to a small increase in the I.L.O. financial estimates for the coming year, but they found no support from any other Government, and were heavily defeated. The Governing Body decided to create a permanent committee at the Labour Office to deal with the question of immigration.

Ratifications of the Kellogg Pact have been carried out by various Governments, but the Pact itself is not yet actually in force, since this does not happen until

all the original fourteen signatories have ratified, and of these Japan is still delaying. But there is no question at all that she proposes to ratify at an early date.

A Bill authorising the signature by France of the "General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," drafted by the League Assembly last September, has been laid before the French Chamber.

WARFARE BY GAS

IT is interesting to observe that Germany is apparently about to ratify the agreement known as the Geneva Gas Warfare Protocol, which was adopted by the Conference on the Traffic in Arms in 1925.

When Herr von Schubert, the head of the German Foreign Office, got back to Berlin after the League Council meeting last month he discussed this matter with the Foreign Office Committee of the Reichstag, and reminded the Committee that the Protocol had been signed by 38 countries, and ratified by Belgium, France, Italy, Soviet Russia and four other Powers—of which it may be added Great Britain is not one. He pointed out that it was extremely desirable that Germany should ratify before the meeting of the Preparatory Committee in April, and also before the Conference of the International Red Cross Committee the same month, since that Committee was to discuss measures of protection against gas warfare. The full Reichstag approved the Bill for ratification on March 21st.

The Protocol itself recalls the fact that "the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and of all analogous liquids, materials or other devices has been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilised world," and goes on to declare that "the High Contracting Parties so far as they are not already parties to treaties prohibiting such use accept this prohibition, agree to extend this prohibition to bacteriological methods of warfare, and agree to be bound as between themselves according to the terms of this declaration."

Great Britain, it may be observed, is bound by the Hague Convention to avoid the use of poison gases in war, but not the practice of bacteriological warfare. The Hague Convention was, of course, disregarded in the last war by all countries.

COMING EVENTS

APRIL 4.—Meeting of Experts on Sugar Question.

APRIL 8.—League Economic Committee.

APRIL 12.—Child Welfare Committee.

APRIL 15.—Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

APRIL 19.—Traffic in Women and Children Committee.

MAY 6.—Economic Consultative Committee.
(All at Geneva.)

This year's Unity History School, so long associated with the name of Mr. F. S. Marvin, is to be held at Danzig from July 30 to August 6. The cost varies from £21 to £23 according to route. Admiral Allen is among the lecturers. Further particulars may be obtained from Mrs. Innes, 29, High Oaks Road, Welwyn Garden City.

THE NATIVE AND THE MOTOR

IT is an odd thing that the Council of the League of Nations should occupy itself for even so much as sixty seconds on the problem of whether the natives of South-West Africa are civilised enough to drive motor-cars.

But many strange fish swim into the Council's net, and the very fact that the Council should have its attention called to the would-be (but can't-be) negro chauffeurs in the area in question is evidence of the seriousness with which the League takes its mandate responsibilities. For it is, of course, only because South-West Africa is a mandate territory that this question ever arose. The Council had before it the report of the last meeting of the Permanent Mandates Commission, and that Commission had been concerned about the Union of South Africa's Colour Bar Act, which enables natives to be shut out of any skilled employment in order that the field may be left open for white men.

Now what South Africa does is South Africa's business and no one else's. The Mandates Commission, therefore, had nothing to say about that. But that sort of legislation could not be allowed in a mandate area, where the rights of the native are much more jealously guarded. At first there was some impression that this was happening, and when the South African representative before the Commission explained that while the Colour Bar Act did not apply to South-West Africa, the natives in that territory were in fact debarred from driving locomotives or motor-cars, the Commission shook its head and suggested in a report to the Council that this looked very much like the colour bar after all.

Fortunately the Council itself had not to go far into the matter, for a further letter from the South-West African administrator explained that the native was kept out of this kind of job, not in order to give the white man employment, but because it was thought that car-driving or engine-driving by the native in his present stage of civilisation was altogether too wanton a gamble in human life. And with that the Council was content.

There were other points on which various British mandate areas left the Mandates Commission not entirely satisfied. In Togoland the increase in liquor imports was noted with some emphasis. The same applies to South-West Africa, regarding which the explanation is offered that the growing prosperity of the territory and the development of transport facilities make for the increased consumption of liquor.

Another aspect of life in mandate areas is raised by a Japanese reply to certain comments made by the Mandates Commission on education facilities for children in the Caroline Islands in the South Pacific, which Japan holds under mandate. The Commission thought not enough children between 8 and 11 were attending school, and the Japanese representative replied that attending school in the Caroline Islands is not as simple as it sounds. The islands are numerous, and like many other islands elsewhere, they are surrounded by water. Some of them are too small and too remote to have schools of their own, but the situation was being met by the establishment of a certain number of boarding schools in certain centres. A description of these Etons and Roedeans of the South Seas would be singularly interesting.

While these various details are all taken from the report which the Mandates Commission presented to the League Council and which the League Council duly considered, it must not be supposed that the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and Germany and France and other countries devoted long hours to the problem of

what is likely to happen to pedestrians when South-West African natives take to driving motor-cars. The report was in fact summed up fully by the Finnish Foreign Minister, M. Procopé, and then approved without discussion. But it is a striking testimony to the thoroughness of the mandate system that the weak points in the administrations of each mandate area, trifling though some of them seem, should be so vigilantly sought out by the Mandates Commission and in due course reported to the Council.

THE LEAGUE AS BUILDER

WHILE the League of Nations steadily pursues its routine business in different spheres—political, humanitarian, economic and the rest—certain aspects of its own working mechanism demand attention from time to time. Happily they are receiving it. The necessity for a proper Assembly Hall is only emphasised afresh by every additional annual convocation of the Assembly in the grossly unsuitable building at present utilised for the purpose. Fortunately, after many delays the contract with the architects who have been collaborating in the preparation of the plans for the new Secretariat, the new Assembly Hall and the new Rockefeller Library, on the site provided by the Swiss authorities in the Park Ariana at Geneva, was signed during the recent Council, and the representative of Venezuela brought forward a resolution regarding the ceremonies which he thought would be appropriate on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone.

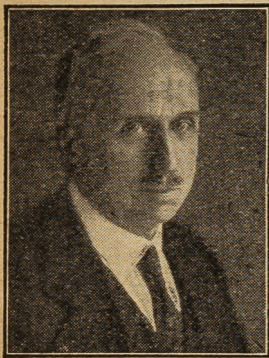
The League will celebrate its tenth birthday in January of next year, and it has always been thought fitting that this historic landmark should be commemorated in some fitting way. Since two celebrations within four months are hardly to be contemplated, it will probably be decided to concentrate on the Tenth Assembly of the League next September, during which the foundation stone of the new buildings will be laid. As M. Zumeta, the delegate in question, stated last month, "the initial step in the definite installation of the League of Nations in buildings suited to its character and its work is a notable event, and we ought to mark our sense of its importance. It has for the nations of the world a certain symbolic character and should be celebrated with a solemnity and ceremony appropriate to the occasion."

The Council was in general accord on this point and also on an interesting addition made by the Venezuelan delegate in the shape of a suggestion that the ceremony in September should be announced to the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, with the idea, no doubt, that that body or its constituent societies (of which the League of Nations Union is the British representative) should be directly represented.

The Council also had before it the long-discussed question of a League wireless station, needed particularly for immediate communication with all States Members of the League in time of crisis. The matter moves slowly, for there have been both legal and technical difficulties in the way. It was reported, however, at the March Council meeting that the former at any rate had been disposed of after negotiations between the League's legal adviser and the Swiss authorities. The principle, therefore, of a special station for the League's use may be regarded as established, but it is not yet certain whether the station will be the League's own property or whether the more economical course will be taken of concluding arrangements whereby a Swiss station can be taken over by the League for its use at a moment's notice. In either event it seems clear that whatever provision the League may need for wireless communication is virtually secured.

THE MARCH COUNCIL TEN FOREIGN MINISTERS AT GENEVA

HAVING passed its half-century a year ago, the League Council last month reached its fifty-fourth meeting, which was held once more at Geneva after the temporary migration to Lugano. Unfortunately as some think, another migration is expected in June, as the Spanish Government has urged the Council to come and meet at Madrid, and the Council has accepted with some enthusiasm.



Signor Scialoja.

The Chairman at the March meeting was Signor Scialoja, the Italian representative, and the usual array of Foreign Ministers was in attendance. Among the members of the Council itself were included as usual Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann, M. Zaleski of Poland, and M. Procopé of Finland. Others who appeared from time to time at the table or in the vicinity were M. Walko of Hungary, M. Motta of Switzerland, M. Bouroff of Bulgaria, M. Kaphandoros of Greece, and M. Kumanuds, the acting Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia. The two latter had arranged among other things to sign at Geneva the long-deferred agreement with their two countries regarding the use of the Greek port of Salonika by Yugoslavia—another illustration of the value of Geneva as a clearing-house for international agreements.

Certain of the more important tasks before the Council are dealt with in special articles on other pages. Notable among these are (1) the consideration of the question of minorities, including both the principles on which the treaties for the protection of minorities rest and the procedure for the guarantee of this protection by the League; and (2) the proposals designed to facilitate the entry of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Money or Arms?

Among other items on the agenda one of the most important, and in its way one of the most interesting, was the now familiar plan to enable the League to organise financial assistance for a State threatened with external attack. This is, so to speak, the other side of the idea that the League ought to take action—economic and financial, and if necessary military—against an aggressor. To approach the problem in the other way, and give positive help to the State that seems in danger, is likely to be much simpler and much cheaper, and may well be quite as effective. For, as was pointed out by M. Briand and others, the fact that in the case of a certain dispute the League showed itself ready to throw its financial weight in favour of one of the disputants would be a grave warning to the other of the unwisdom of pressing its quarrel to extremes.

The plan itself is necessarily technical, but it has received the full approval not only of the League's highly experienced Financial Committee but of Foreign Ministers like Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand. The essence of it is the proposal, not that States Members of the League should themselves lend money to the countries threatened, but that they should give their individual guarantees (within certain fixed limits) to a loan which that country would raise in the ordinary way from investors of the world. In most cases the guaranteeing States would rarely be called on to make

any actual payment at all, any more than the States which guaranteed the Austrian loan in 1922 have ever had to do. But the existence of the guarantee would make all the difference to the State in need. With it the loan could be raised. Without it the possibilities of that would be small. The origin of the proposal, it may be added, was the argument that a weak State was bound to build up considerable stocks of munitions in peace time because if ever it were threatened with war its financial credit would be shattered and it would be able to buy no munitions for self-defence from other countries. The purpose of the financial assistance scheme was, therefore, to make the permanent maintenance of heavy munition stocks unnecessary.

Sugar and Coal

The Council talked a little about coal, which is at present the subject of an important League investigation. As everyone knows, the coal industry throughout the world is suffering from over-production, and consequent cut-throat competition in different markets. The ultimate aim of the League is to try and work out some plan whereby a proper relation between production and consumption can be established, and the markets of the world to some extent apportioned among the producing nations that can supply them best. The problem is, of course, intensely complex, but a sub-Committee of the Economic Committee is hard at work on it and has already had useful discussions with employers, workers and consumers respectively. Sir Austen Chamberlain took the opportunity of emphasising the importance Great Britain in particular attaches to this undertaking. Sugar stands more or less in the same category, in that there is over-production and competition for markets, and the situation is a little complicated by a further competition between cane sugar and beet. At the Council table the Cuban representative had a word to say for cane—for Cuba is the greatest producer of cane sugar—and the Italian manifested a not unnatural interest in beet.

Slapped Faces

Various little conferences on different technical questions were arranged, the most important being that on the Codification of International Law, which it was decided for various reasons should meet in the spring of 1930 rather than the autumn of 1929. The Mandates Commission report (referred to on another page) was considered and approved, and a certain number of complaints from Upper Silesia were rapidly disposed of. Many of them were frankly trivial. Usually it is the Germans who are criticising the Poles. This time the Poles put in some criticisms on their own account. German teachers, it was alleged, had been slapping the faces of Polish children because they declined to talk German in the playground. And, in another case, a German railway official declined to issue tickets to a Polish-speaking woman until she asked for them in German. These were petty affairs that were soon brushed aside. More serious was the complaint raised by the German Government of the arrest by the Polish authorities of Dr. Ullitz, the Secretary-General of the principal German organisation in Polish Silesia, on a charge of having assisted Polish citizens to escape military service. To the German protests the Polish Foreign Minister, M. Zaleski, replied that this was a perfectly straightforward piece of legal procedure, and the Polish Government could not interfere with it. Dr. Stresemann, on his part, had to be content with this, but he insisted on the

importance he attached to the incident, and reserved the right to reopen the question later when the results of the legal proceedings were known. All this is primarily important as showing how tense Polish and German relations still are. The League serves to some extent as safety-valve, but it is manifestly unsatisfactory that so much bad feeling should need to find this way of escape.

Britain and Iraq

A report from the League Opium Committee, dealing with most of the questions dealt with in last month's HEADWAY, was considered, and the inquiry into opium smoking in the Far East proposed by the British Government was finally approved, the necessary money having been scraped together with some difficulty.

AMERICA'S APPROACH

PRESIDENT HOOVER ON ARMAMENTS AND PEACE

ON March 4 Mr. Herbert Hoover was inaugurated President of the United States, having been elected to that position by the largest majority in the history of the country. That alone was sufficient to invest the occasion with a peculiar importance.



Pres. Hoover

With the sections of President Hoover's inaugural address devoted to internal problems readers of HEADWAY have no special concern. With those portions devoted to America's foreign relations they have, as students of international affairs, a very special concern indeed. It is worth while quoting or summarising the salient passages here.

Essentially a business man himself, Mr. Hoover realises to the full the dependence of prosperity on peace. "The United States," he declared, "fully accepts the profound truth that our own progress, prosperity and peace are interlocked with the progress, prosperity and peace of all humanity. The whole world is at peace. The dangers to a continuation of this peace are largely the fear and suspicion which still haunt the world." And he insists that no suspicion or fear can rightly be directed against America, which has no desire for territorial expansion, or for economic or other domination of other peoples.

Peace Throughout the World

In a particularly interesting passage the new President gave it as his view that the result of prosperity was a more vigorous intellectual life and that the American people "are moving towards a stronger moral and spiritual life—that from these things our sympathies are broadening beyond the bound of our nation and race towards their true expression in a real brotherhood of man . . . We not only desire peace with the world, but to see peace maintained throughout the world. We wish to advance the reign of justice and reason towards the extinction of force."

From these general considerations Mr. Hoover then passed to a declaration which must be reproduced at length. "The recent treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy," he said, "sets an advanced standard in our conception of the relations of nations. Its acceptance should pave the way to the

The British Government also, through Sir Austen Chamberlain, asked the Council to approve certain changes it was proposed to make in the judicial system in Iraq, with a view to abolishing the privileges enjoyed by certain nations, Great Britain among them, and putting all foreigners in that country on the same footing. The Council, however, a little unexpectedly, declined to sanction the scheme finally until it had seen it in detail. The matter will, therefore, have to come up again at a later meeting.

Finally, as already mentioned, the Council on dispersing decided to reunite at Madrid in June, though there was a lurking feeling in many minds that in spite of everything the fifty-fifth meeting may be convened at Geneva after all.

greater limitation of armaments, the offer of which we sincerely extend to the world, but its full realisation also implies a greater and greater perfection in the instrumentalities for the pacific settlement of controversies between the nations. In the creation and use of these instrumentalities we should support every sound method of conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement.

America and the Court

"American statesmen were among the first to propose, and they have constantly urged upon the world the establishment of, a tribunal for the settlement of controversies of a justiciable character. The Permanent Court of International Justice, in its major purpose, is thus peculiarly identified with American ideals and with American statesmanship. No more potent instrumentality for this purpose has ever been conceived, and no other is practicable of establishment. The reservations placed upon our adherence should not be misinterpreted. The United States seeks by these reservations no special privilege or advantage, but only to clarify our relation to advisory opinions and other matters which are subsidiary to the major purpose of the Court.

"The way should, and, I believe, will, be found by which we may take our proper place in a movement so fundamental to the progress of peace. Our people have determined that we should make no political engagement, such as membership in the League of Nations, which may commit us in advance as a nation to become involved in the settlements of controversies between other countries. They adhere to the belief that the independence of America from such obligations increases its ability and availability for service in all human fields of human progress."

What It Means

The essential features of this notable inaugural address are, therefore, (1) a new offer of a limitation of armaments—this has gone so far very largely unnoticed; (2) a declaration of faith by the new President in the Kellogg Pact; (3) adherence to the principle of the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, and an expression of confidence that the negotiations opened by President Coolidge in regard to America's entry into the World Court will be carried through to a successful consummation.

One other passage in the speech demands a moment's attention, because the first sentence of it has been a little misinterpreted through being taken out of its context. "Peace," said Mr. Hoover, "can be contributed to by respect for our ability in defence. Peace

can be promoted by the limitation of arms and by the creation of the instrumentalities for the peaceful settlement of controversies. But it will become a reality only through self-restraint and active effort in friendliness and helpfulness. **I covet for this admini-**

stration a record of having further contributed to the advance of the cause of peace."

It is clear that the essential part of this paragraph is not its first sentence but its last. That makes all the difference.

A NOTABLE DEBATE

LEAGUE COUNCIL AND MINORITY GRIEVANCES

WHEN the League of Nations Council has got in front of it a job that looks like causing trouble, its members put a rather special restraint on themselves. The discussion on minorities at the March meeting was a case in point. Here was one of the most delicate and difficult questions in the whole field of the League's work. Again and again wars of the first magnitude have sprung directly out of minority grievances. The Crimean War arose out of the treatment of Christians in the Turkish Empire. The South African War arose out of the treatment of Englishmen in the Boer Republics. The Great War arose out of the discontent of the minority populations in Austria-Hungary. And these are only three examples out of many.

New Methods

Now peace methods—the League method—have taken the place of the war method. Fourteen men and a secretary sitting round a table in a sun-flooded room at Geneva with windows opening on mountains and a lake take the minority problem in hand. They settle it without war—in so far as they settle it at all. That is something gained, at any rate. The evils of war invariably outweigh any partial advantages it may secure. The League, so far, therefore, has benefited humanity. Whether it does as much for the minorities as a war of liberation might do is another question. Taking the broad with the long, and considering the minorities as a whole, there is little doubt that the League method is better for them than the war method. But that is not to say that the best is being made of the League method as things are.

Calm after Storm

And what exactly is this League method? It can best be illustrated by describing the debate at the Council table on March 6. The issue was simple, but its background was stormy. There had been heavy clouds and some thunder when minorities were discussed at Lugano in December. To raise in March Senator Dandurand, of Canada, was to raise the question of the League's procedure in regard to petitions from discontented minorities and Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, to open up the whole problem of minority protection generally. As is now well enough known, minorities—racial, religious, linguistic—in some eight European countries have been promised by the Government of the country they live in the right to preserve their racial traditions, to speak their own language and use it in public places, like the police courts and law courts, and to have their children taught in that language in special schools. The promise was not made to the minorities themselves but to the Allied Powers after the war, and the League of Nations was called on to see that the promises were carried out.

Interested Parties

A good many members of the Council that considered the problem last month had a direct interest in it. Dr. Stresemann, remembering the large German populations in Poland and Czechoslovakia was naturally out to make the most of the minority treaties. M. Zaleski, of Poland, anxious lest the large alien element in Poland should grow too powerful, was naturally out to oppose

any excessive claims, either by minorities or for them. M. Titulesco, of Rumania, was in the same position. Senator Dandurand, who is one of the Catholic French-speaking minority in British and Protestant Canada, tended to be sympathetic to minorities generally. Signor Scialoja, of Italy, who was presiding, kept a watchful eye open, for Italy's conscience regarding her German-speaking minority in the Southern Tyrol is none too good. M. Briand, of France, could not quite forget Alsace, or Señor Quiñones de Leon, of Spain, the Catalans. Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Adatci (Japan) might be regarded as forming, together with the Latin-American members, the purely disinterested element in the Council.

A Canadian View

The discussion was opened by Senator Dandurand, who confined himself mainly with suggesting changes and improvements in the League's procedure. In particular he proposed that petitions from minorities, instead of being sent direct to Geneva, should be forwarded through the Government of their country; and that such petitions, instead of coming before a Committee of three Council members, should be dealt with by a committee representing all the 14 Council States.

Dr. Stresemann took broader ground. He insisted on the sacred rights of the minorities to the protection promised them, urged that anyone who was working for minority-protection was working for world peace, suggested that the proposal made in various quarters for the creation of a Permanent Minorities Commission was well worthy of consideration, asked that the fundamental principles on which minority protection rest should be defined, and proposed the appointment of a small committee to examine these questions and report to the next meeting of the Council.

Sir Austen's Suggestion

Dr. Stresemann was followed by a speaker who naturally took a rather different view, M. Zaleski, of Poland. He expressed the opinion that, in spite of a certain number of minor discontents, the great mass of minority populations was properly treated and perfectly happy. He fully agreed that the rights of minorities should be respected, and, referring more particularly to Senator Dandurand's proposals, he suggested the appointment of a committee of three to study the question and report. M. Titulesco having associated himself with his Polish colleague, Sir Austen Chamberlain entered on a comprehensive review of the whole minority situation so far as it concerned the League. He thought the work had been well done in the past and that in the main the purpose for which minority treaties were signed had been attained, but in two respects at least he felt reform was desirable. The first requisite was more publicity. Too often minorities simply addressed complaints to Geneva and heard no more about them beyond a formal acknowledgment. Moreover, the public and even Council members themselves had no figures given them regarding the varying forms of treatment different petitions received. He hoped that a good deal of light might be let in on this

aspect of the League's procedure and also that the whole procedure would be speeded up, for there was too often considerable delay in disposing of minority complaints.

A Subject for Study

After the British Foreign Minister, the French. M. Briand, like Sir Austen, spoke at length and expressed just satisfaction at the spirit in which the discussion had been conducted. He carefully balanced minorities' claims against national sovereignty, and rather emphasised the danger lest minorities should be used as a pawn by politicians inside or outside a country with special ends to serve.

There were one or two other speeches, but they added little to the general course of the discussion, out of which much more agreement than disagreement had emerged. It was obvious that a small committee would have to be appointed to go into the whole question. In some quarters that has been regarded as an indication

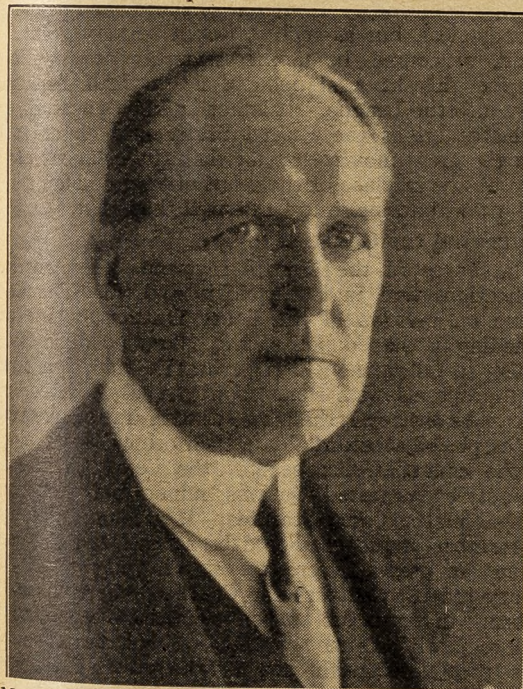
that the League is merely shelving the question again. The best proof of the falsity of that conclusion is that Dr. Stresemann, who is regarded as the great minority protagonist, himself suggested reference to a committee.

In fact, no other course was possible. The subject is far too large and too delicate to be disposed of in a single day's discussion before the Council. It needs to be examined at length from every angle by a small body of competent men. The small body appointed in this case consists of Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Adatci, the Japanese delegate, and Señor Quiñones de Leon, the Spanish. These three with their advisers, are likely to meet some time in April or May in order to produce a full report to lay before the Council in June. There will, therefore, be a further discussion on minorities in two months, and some definite changes are likely to be made in the League's procedure. Meanwhile both the spirit and the character of last month's discussion was regarded as generally satisfactory by everyone concerned.

MORE ARMS OR LESS?

THIS MONTH'S DISCUSSIONS ON REDUCTION

THE Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference is to meet on the 15th of this month at Geneva. That fact arouses mingled feelings. It is something, no doubt, that any kind of move forward towards the Disarmament Conference should be made. But there is a good deal of misgiving as to how this particular move will work out. That is not the fault of the Preparatory Commission itself, but rather the result of various tendencies which are manifesting themselves on the part of particular States.



M. Loudon (Holland), President of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference

A new President has just come into office in the United States. A General Election is impending in Great Britain. While it is idle to anticipate what the result of the election will be it is at least safe to predict that if there should be a change of Government there will in consequence be some change of policy. Mr. Hoover, realising that, is said to contemplate holding his own hand till he sees what the result of the elections in this country is. His offer of a new disarmament agreement

in his inaugural speech is notable, but it does not appear that it has produced any official or semi-official response on the part of Great Britain or other countries.

Under these circumstances it is extremely doubtful whether the Preparatory Commission can make much progress with its major task, which is to consider again the draft Convention prepared as long ago as March of 1927. For the most difficult problem in that connection was to reach an agreement in the sphere of naval armaments, and if both the United States and Great Britain are for the moment waiting on events that agreement will be as hard to reach as ever. Added to this are the disquieting signs of a new Franco-Italian naval rivalry.

There is, however, a certain amount of business to which the Preparatory Commission can apply itself. It is pledged to give proper consideration to the last disarmament proposal put forward by the Soviet Government which, in place of its original sweeping proposal for immediate and complete disarmament, has submitted a plan providing for a more gradual attainment of the same end within the course of four years. There is little prospect that the Commission will approve the plan, in spite of a recent speech by the German ambassador in Moscow expressing warm approval of it.

There is also a German proposal of some importance designed to give effect to the last sentence of Article 8 of the Covenant, whereby "Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes." Germany has submitted plans, including the framework of statistical tables, indicating the nature of the information that should, in accordance with this Article, be produced by the Governments of each League State. There was at one time a hope that this would be the last meeting before the Disarmament Conference itself. Clearly that cannot now be the case. There is some possibility that the whole business will be put on a business footing by the appointment of a small committee, or series of committees, to deal in detail with the naval, military and perhaps the financial aspects of the draft Convention.

Meanwhile, in spite of a small reduction in the British Naval estimates, there is comparatively little sign as yet that Governments are doing what the Prime Minister contemplated in his Guildhall speech of last November and modifying their estimates in the light of the general ratification of the Kellogg Pact.

THE REIGN OF LAW U.S.A TO JOIN THE PERMANENT COURT?

MR. ELIHU ROOT is one of the great men of the world. There can be no serious doubt of that. As an elder statesman, to whose words the whole of his own country pays due respect, he may be likened to



Mr. Elihu Root.

Lord Balfour in Great Britain. He has been Secretary of State, i.e., Foreign Minister, of the United States, and was for many years a Member of its Senate. In the former capacity he negotiated the first general treaty of arbitration between his country and our own. He was one of the originators of the Permanent Court of International Justice in 1920. And last month, accepting at the age of 84 an invitation which the League addressed to

The Plan in His Pocket

him as an individual, not as an official representative of the United States, he came to Geneva to sit once more on the League Committee, this time to revise the Statutes of the Court.

What is in some ways more important, Mr. Root brought with him a considered plan which the outgoing President, Mr. Coolidge, and his successor, Mr. Hoover, were both known to favour, for circumventing the obstacles which have hitherto prevented the United States from becoming a member of the Court. Most fortunately he arrived just before the March Council meeting, and was, therefore, able to have personal conversations with Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand, Dr. Stresemann, and many other of the leading figures in the League. Indeed, having regard to the strength of Mr. Root's unofficial position in the United States, it is not too much to say that this represents the most important contact struck between America and the League, at any rate since a number of important League statesmen were in Washington for the Arms Conference in 1921.

The prospect of America associating with the Court is so desirable that it may be well to explain exactly what Mr. Root's proposals (for it is understood that he was himself responsible for drafting them) involve. It will be remembered that when the United States suggested joining the Court in 1926 she stipulated that the Court should issue no advisory opinion without America's consent on any question in which the United States "has or claims an interest." The great majority of the Members of the Court could not bring themselves to agree to this and the idea of American participation was, therefore, dropped.

The Way of Agreement

What Mr. Root now says, in effect, is this: When an advisory opinion is asked for all Members of the Court are automatically informed. The United States, therefore, will be notified like everyone else. In the vast majority of cases the subject will be one that does not concern her and nothing, therefore, will happen. It is possible, however, that she may consider that she has an interest in the question. In that case she will send a representative to confer with the League Council. At that stage any one of three or four different courses is possible. The Council may obviate the difficulty by phrasing its communication to the Court in a different way. If that does not satisfy the United States, then,

after further discussion, the American representative may agree that the Council's need for an advisory opinion is so great that the United States ought not to stand in the way. Alternatively the Council may agree that America's objection is so reasonable that it may be better not to consult the Court, but to seek, for example, the opinion of some body of independent jurists. In the last resort of all, if the disagreement is ever carried to such an inconceivable length, the United States can simply withdraw from the Court without any breach of friendly relations, because she will do so not in the least by way of an ultimatum but in accordance with the arrangement contemplated in such a contingency from the very first.

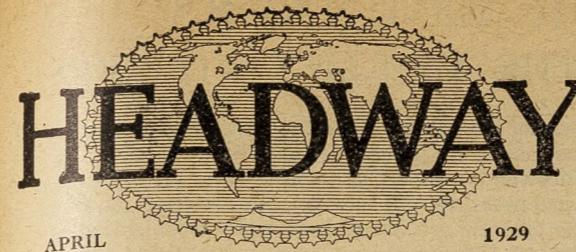
A General Welcome

When this proposal was privately disclosed to the principal Foreign Ministers at Geneva, it received a practically universal welcome, and when Sir Austen Chamberlain proposed at the Council Meeting on March 9 to refer the American proposal to the Committee (of which Mr. Root was a member) appointed to revise the Statutes of the Permanent Court, every Member of the Council individually expressed his approval of that course and his satisfaction that the United States had taken the initiative once more. The general anticipation was that agreement would quickly be reached regarding the details of the plan and that during the next Assembly in September a Conference of Court Members could be held, as was done in 1926, and the American proposals formally approved. In that case America might be actually a Member of the Court before the year 1929 ends. The value of that would be mainly psychological, but as such it would be very great. It would, of course, be neither accurate nor politic to describe this as a stepping-stone towards America's entry into the League. It is not in fact that at all, but it clearly brings the United States into closer touch with the great movements for the establishment of the reign of law in place of the reign of war, and few things in the world are more to be desired than that.

Improving the Court

The hopes of the Council regarding the American application were, in fact, quickly realised. The Committee on revision of the Court Statutes, which met immediately the Council ended, found no difficulty in coming to full agreement regarding the adoption of the Root proposals with some slight verbal modifications. It may be assumed, therefore, that in due course these will be placed substantially in their original form before all the countries members of the Court. The same Committee suggested various minor but important changes in the Court Statutes. It recommended that the number of judges should be raised from eleven to fifteen (at present there are eleven judges and four deputy judges) and that the Court should be regarded as being in perpetual session instead of beginning its work regularly on June 15 which has been the case so far. These provisions are the result of the growth in the work of the Court and the former of them is clearly dictated by a desire to avoid any such breakdown as that described in the February HEADWAY, when the Court, meeting in special session, had to adjourn altogether because after a bare quorum had been obtained with the greatest difficulty, one of the members fell ill and no substitute was available.

"Hungary's reconstruction is one of the most successful achievements of the League of Nations."—Sir Herbert Lawrence, at Annual Meeting of Anglo-International Bank.



APRIL

1929

TRANSATLANTIC

RELATIONS between the United States and Europe have entered a singularly interesting phase, regarding which it can be said with some assurance that the outlook is more encouraging than it has been for some time. To say more than that would be unwise. If America ever does start moving closer to Europe the one thing that will alarm a large section of her population is the fear that they may be executing that movement with undue speed. Certainly the worst of all possible impressions would be created if any suspicion were aroused that Europe was definitely trying to exert a pull on the United States instead of letting her take her own road at her own pace in her own time.

That having been laid down as a fundamental principle of all discussion, it is worth while at least to take note of certain indications which it is legitimate to view with some satisfaction. First among them is the agreement so fortunately reached at Geneva, thanks to the wise statesmanship of Mr. Elihu Root, regarding the association of the United States with the Permanent Court of International Justice. America's entry into the Court is not only not the same thing as America's entry into the League; there is not even any necessary connection between the two. It is perfectly possible for the United States to enter the Court to-day and remain for ever a non-Member of the League. Let that be as it may, we can be well content to await the unfolding of events. Meanwhile there can be no question that the appearance of the name of the United States among the signatories of the Court Protocol would add substantially to the prestige and authority of the Permanent Court as the supreme tribunal in the international field.

Just as the Geneva negotiations regarding the Court were beginning President Hoover delivered his inaugural address. Here again it is necessary to avoid the temptation of putting into Mr. Hoover's mouth words which he did not speak or of reading into his mind thoughts which may quite well not be there. Once more we may be well content to take the actual spoken word at its face value. And of the spoken word it must be said that it suggests a markedly more cordial attitude towards Europe than the new President was expected to adopt. He might have said a great deal less and still created the impression of being tolerably well disposed towards European countries. As it is, his tone is one of marked friendliness. He is unreservedly anxious that America should take her part in the work of the Permanent Court and he rightly predicted that no serious difficulty would be encountered in devising a formula that would remove the difficulties that have still kept her aloof from The Hague. As befits a man who has carried through so great a piece of economic and humanitarian work as the relief of Belgium in the war years, the new President is evidently equally desirous that his country, without incurring any fresh political obligations, should cooperate to the fullest degree in the constructive work entrusted to the technical and humanitarian organisations of the League. And in a still more striking passage of his speech he made in unequivocal language a new offer of a limitation of armaments agreement.

All that need be said regarding this is that Mr. Hoover has used almost exactly the language which any intelligent and reflective reader of HEADWAY would have had him use. No one could have expected him to go further than he did. Many of us would have been content had he gone less far. But even so, it need not be pretended that the last word has been spoken about relations between Europe and the United States. Mr. Hoover knows as well as anyone that it has not. He did not himself attempt to speak it, and he had good reason for refraining. There is still one issue on which the two countries take different views—or at any rate have taken different views down to the recent past—and in respect of which they must find common ground if the relations between them are to develop as they should. That issue involves the questions commonly grouped under the heading of the Freedom of the Seas. Expressed in the terms of the old conception of international relationships the problem is how Great Britain's views of the rights of belligerents in naval warfare are to be reconciled with America's views of the rights of neutrals.

To put the question thus may involve technicalities, but there are some technicalities that have got to be grasped by any man who is not prepared to reconcile himself to the conclusion that international relations are something so deep or so high that he cannot attempt to understand them. And this particular technicality after all is not so profound. The United States says in effect "When we ourselves are not at war our merchant ships must be allowed to go their peaceful errands, carrying on trade with all the world, including the belligerents, so long as this trade does not consist of actual contraband of war, and so long as we do not attempt to enter blockaded ports." Great Britain says, on the contrary, "When we ourselves are at war we claim the right to prevent anyone, the United States included, from trading with our enemy, except in purely luxury articles, and we claim to blockade the enemy ports not by sitting outside them but from a position hundreds of miles away, where we can stop neutral vessels on their way to the enemy country, or even to neutral countries through which the goods can be forwarded to the enemy."

Hitherto it has been left mainly for writers on this side of the Atlantic to point out that fortunately the irreconcilable opposition can be left where it is, because if the Kellogg Pact means anything there will be in the future no more of these "private" wars requiring special rules for their conduct. All the world is pledged not to go to war, and if a nation breaks that pledge there will be, what may be called a "public" war, or if the term be preferred, "police action" to restrain that nation. In that way no questions of freedom of the seas will arise because the breaker of the Pact can claim no such freedom, and all the rest of the world will continue to enjoy it.

It is satisfactory that this idea, which will need long exposition and discussion before it gains general acceptance, has obtained authoritative expression in the United States through an article by the former American Ambassador in London, Mr. J. W. Davis, in the well-known American quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*. Here for the third time it is necessary to sound a note of caution. Mr. Davis is a distinguished citizen and an eminent lawyer, but he is at the same time a leading Democrat, having indeed been the candidate of his Party for the Presidency in 1924. That no doubt to some extent diminishes his influence with the Republicans who now hold political control. But when full allowance is made for that, it remains true that such an article, and others which are being published from time to time from the pens of men like Professor Shotwell, are further indications that the two great Anglo-Saxon countries are at least finding common ground on which to discuss the vital problems which divide them.

THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS

IV.—SAFEGUARDS FOR ALL THE WORLD'S WORKERS

WHEN the politicians in Paris in 1919 were trying to straighten the world out after the war a little man with spectacles and a brown moustache pulled out of his pocket a long draft of what was called a kind of charter for Labour. He could not move it in any committee himself, because he was a British Civil Servant—not a Cabinet Minister. But there happened to be a Cabinet Minister, Mr. George Barnes, who, as a Labour man himself, cared as much about a Labour charter as he cared about anything. Besides that there was a bushy-bearded French Socialist called Albert Thomas, who was more anxious that the Treaty of Versailles should improve Labour conditions than he



M. Albert Thomas

was about its making new States and exacting reparations and giving away German colonies.

As a consequence the Treaty of Versailles created not only the League of Nations but the International Labour Organisation. Its many causes are closely related. The Labour Organisation is in fact part of the League. The money it spends is voted by the League of Nations Assembly every year and comes out of the subscriptions of the different States in the League. And the buildings of the two bodies are close to one another at Geneva. But, apart from that, the Labour Organisation goes its own road. Its work is separate from the general run of the League's work, and it is organised on rather strikingly different lines.

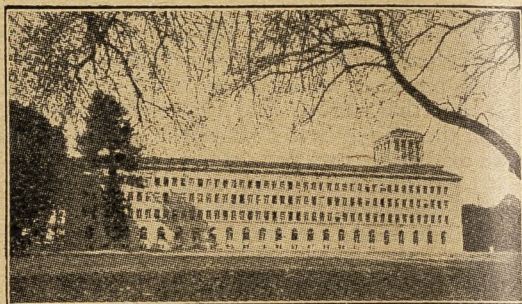
A New Principle

That is the first point to notice about the I.L.O.—as it is commonly called for short. It officially recognises for the first time on an international scale three interested parties in the matter of labour laws and regulations—Governments, employers and workers. That marks the great difference between the League and the I.L.O. The League is made up of representatives of Governments only. The I.L.O. is made up of representatives of Governments, employers and employed. To its annual conference in June each country sends four delegates, two representing the Government, one the employers, and one the workers, the two latter being appointed on the recommendation of the principal employers' or trade union organisations in the country.

This means a new kind of co-operation in international affairs, for you get not merely representatives of different Governments working together but representatives of different classes. You get too a quite new kind of cross-division, for the British delegation, for example, is by no means in the habit of voting together as a national unit. The real divisions in the I.L.O. is not into nations but into the employers' block, the workers' block and the Government block. Often enough the employers' votes are all cast one way, and the workers' votes all the other, with the Government delegates voting solidly either on this side or that, or else quite divided. Cross-division was well illustrated in one conspicuous case last month when the Washington Hours Convention was under discussion. The employers were in favour of the revision of the Convention, the workers were against it, and the Governments were some in favour, some against.

Obviously, therefore, it is absurd to speak of the International Labour Organisation as a kind of instru-

ment of Labour in the political sense of the word. Labour has no more influence there than Capital. In fact, since the employers and the workers are represented in equal numbers, and the Government delegates, who hold the balance, are not to bear more to the side of Capital than of Labour, the scales may be said to tilt slightly against Labour rather than in its favour. But that is not an essential point. What matters at Geneva is not the cases where the different sections differ but the cases where they agree, for a two-thirds majority is needed for the adoption of any convention, and the aim is to go even beyond that and secure something like unanimity by getting employers, workers and Government delegates alike to accept a proposed reform.



The International Labour Office

As to the fundamental purpose of the Labour Organisation, it exists to improve the lot of the workers everywhere, particularly by insisting on the establishment of healthy and humane conditions. There is a double object in that. Manifestly such a reform is of sufficient value for its own sake, but quite apart from that, workers in one country are naturally discontented if they have to meet the competition of goods produced elsewhere under a régime of low wages and long hours. That makes unfair competition, and an attempt is often made to meet it by putting up tariffs to keep the cheap goods out. A far better way is to try and level up conditions everywhere, and the I.L.O. is steadily working away at that task.

The Working Day

The most obvious way of dealing with the problem of long hours is to try and fix a maximum working day throughout the civilised countries of the world. That



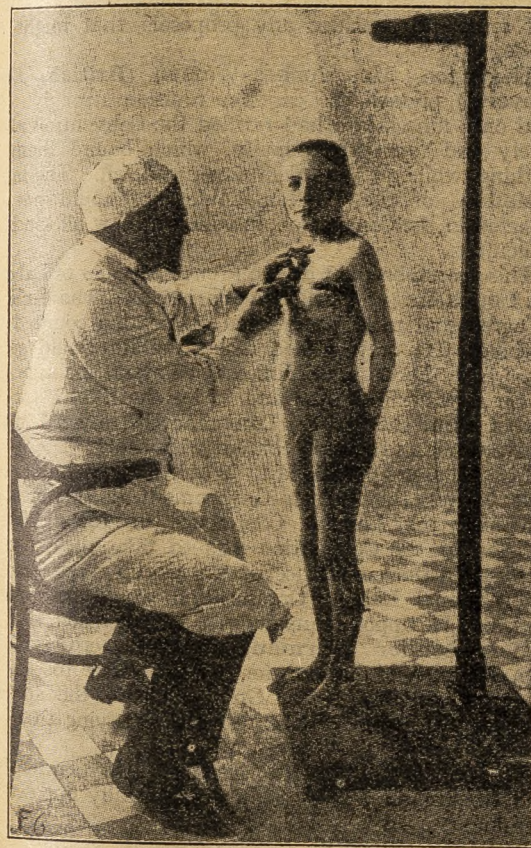
Persian Child Carpet Workers

might seem almost impossible, but in fact the attempt has been made, and it has gone a long way towards succeeding. A treaty, or convention, providing for the eight-hours day and a forty-eight-hours week (subject to certain exceptions and qualifications) was

framed at the first Labour Conference at Washington in 1919, and almost unanimously approved. The British Government delegate voted for it on instructions from the Cabinet. Unfortunately Great Britain has not ratified the Convention, which is one reason why it is not having the results that had been hoped from it, because other industrial countries like France and Germany are not unnaturally unwilling to bind themselves by the terms of the Convention unless a competitor like Great Britain will do the same.

That difficulty is being discussed now, and it may be hoped that some means will be found to get round it. But in any case the mere fact of having laid it down that forty-eight hours in the week is quite long enough for ordinary men and women to work has gone a long way towards shortening the much longer hours which have hitherto prevailed in many countries.

As illustrations of other types of treaties concluded through the Labour Organisation may be mentioned one for securing a holiday on full pay for working women for six weeks before and after childbirth, another



A boy being medically examined before being permitted to take up service at sea

providing for the medical examination of boys at sea, another for abolishing night work for women and children, another fixing the minimum age for the employment of children in industry (this has had a great effect in abolishing child labour in Persian carpet factories). Altogether some 26 conventions or treaties of this kind have been adopted and one or two more are being added every year.

One point about the I.L.O. still needs to be explained. It has no power to compel Governments to do what they prefer not to do. What really happens at Geneva is that Governments, when they are decided about a matter like preventing night work for women, undertake to pass laws in their own countries preventing such night work. Very often, therefore, the adoption of a Convention at a Labour Conference means that Bills will have to be introduced in 40 or 50 national parliaments

so as to bring into effect the reforms the Governments have agreed on at Geneva.

But Governments are not actually compelled to do even this. As has been said already conventions have to be adopted by a two-thirds majority, but there may be some governments in the minority which voted against the convention. In that case they are under no compulsion to adopt it. All that every Government has to do in the case of a convention passed by a two-thirds majority is to bring the question of its adoption before its national parliament. It is quite free to tell the parliament that in its opinion the convention ought not to be adopted, as in fact certain British Governments have done in regard to the Hours Convention already mentioned.

Quite apart from these treaties agreed on at the annual conference, the International Labour Office, which is the headquarters staff of the Organisation, is working hard all the time answering all sorts of questions and giving information to people that want it. Far more facts about industry and employment the world over exist in the I.L.O. at Geneva than anywhere else and governments are always writing to know what other countries do about a particular matter connected with industry. So are employers' and workers' organisations. And the result of that is that the good example set by progressive countries is constantly being brought to the notice of the more backward. Altogether the I.L.O. is a new and most interesting experiment and at the end of ten years of its existence it can be described with some confidence as an experiment that is working well.

MAKING WORLD LAWS

IT is just as well to dispel one or two misunderstandings which arise out of the rather high-sounding proposals which crop up here and there for what is called "The Codification of International Law." There is, of course, such a thing as codification, and a valuable process it can be. It is employed in the international sphere when practically all States are broadly agreed about the kind of law or custom which should be observed and it is thought desirable to put that agreement in black and white. A conference is, in fact, to be held at The Hague next year to apply that process in regard to three limited questions, the most important of them being the law with regard to territorial waters. There is no particular difficulty about that, but in a good deal more than 50 per cent. of the cases where codification is talked of what is really meant is the making of new laws on subjects about which, in fact, nations are not so far agreed. That is a far more formidable task, and can only be entered on gradually and with caution, precisely, in fact, in the way the League is entering on it, taking two or three subjects at a time, and calling a World Conference to adopt laws—in the form of treaties—regarding them.

Other world laws are being made by the League itself on a variety of technical matters, such as the fixing of maximum tariffs on certain articles or the rules of navigation of international rivers. This, again, is a most valuable process, which is proceeding slowly, but methodically. But to speak of the codification of international law in general is to speak of something so vast that to attempt it would almost certainly be to court swift disaster. Even the unofficial American suggestion for the codification of maritime law can only mean the making of new laws regarding war at sea. There is nothing in the shape of an agreed law which can at present be codified. On the contrary, the whole trouble arises out of the complete absence of agreement. It is important to preserve a distinction between codifying more or less agreed rules and making completely new ones, unless complete confusion of thought and speech is to result.

THE HOURS CONVENTION BRITAIN DEMANDS REVISION IN VAIN

A DISCUSSION of the first importance on the Washington Hours Convention and Great Britain's non-ratification of it took place at the March meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at Geneva. The Governing Body, it is worth recalling, consists of 24 members, twelve representing Governments, six the employers, and six the workers.



Sir A. Steel-Maitland.

Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, the British Minister of Labour, went to Geneva for the first time officially to explain the demand of the British Government for revision of the Hours Convention which was signed by the British Government representative in 1919 on the instructions of the Government of the day, but has never been ratified. In 1926 a conference, consisting of the British, French, German, Italian and Belgian Ministers of Labour, was convened in London to draft interpretations of certain clauses in the Convention said to be ambiguous. Complete agreement was declared to have been reached, and the Prime Minister gave it to be understood that ratification by the British Government would follow. It has, however, not followed. Instead of that the Government has demanded the revision of the Convention, which several countries have ratified and put into execution. France, Germany and Spain have ratified conditionally on similar action being taken by Great Britain.

Last month's discussion was opened by Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland (British, Governmental), who explained at length his difficulties about the Convention. They arose from doubts as to the meaning of such terms as "duration of work" and "hours of work," and as to whether a day of more than eight hours might be worked so long as the total for the week did not exceed 48 hours. Questions of overtime pay, of the distinction between continuous and intermittent work, and of the special cases in which an extension of hours would be permissible also troubled the Minister, who ended by proposing the revision of the Convention in order to get these matters clear.

He was immediately and vigorously opposed by Mr. E. L. Poulton (British, Workers'), who claimed that after the London Conference of 1926 they were entitled to expect that the British Government would ratify the Convention. He suggested that the real reason of the Government's attitude was the hostility of the employers to the measure. The workers, he declared, would continue to press insistently for the ratification of the Convention.

M. Léon Jouhaux (French, Workers') confirmed this in the name of the whole of the workers' group. They would have agreed, he said, to have the agreements reached at London in 1926 inserted in the Convention by way of interpretation, but even that had not found favour. Commenting on the British Government's attitude, he pointed out that Belgium had had no difficulties in applying the Convention; that in Germany a Bill based on it was before the Reichstag; that Poland and Spain were opposed to all revision. It was intolerable that the whole Convention should be thrown into the melting-pot at this time of day.

Then followed the German Minister of Labour, Herr Wissell (German, Governmental), who said that at the London Conference practically complete agreement had been reached on the interpretation of the Convention, and asked whether the British Government would not ratify conditionally on their interpretations being officially adopted, a solution which the workers' group, as represented by M. Jouhaux, showed itself disposed to accept. Then came the official voice of the opposition, Herr Vogel (German, Employers'), announcing that the employers' group supported the British demand for revision without reserve.

M. Mahaim (Belgian, Governmental) said Belgium had ratified the Convention and put it into operation. There had been some difficulties, but they had all been surmounted. He would do nothing to support the idea of revision, but if it were decided on he would not refuse to consider any proposals that might be made.

Thereupon, Mr. Forbes-Watson (British, Employers') pressed the case for revision strongly. He said only nine states had ratified the Convention absolutely and four provisionally, which bound them to nothing, while 36 had taken no steps at all. The interpretations of the London Conference could not be inserted in the Convention, in which he saw all kinds of difficulties.

This speech brought up the French Minister of Labour, M. Loucheur (French, Governmental), who declined to agree that mere conditional ratification counted for nothing. He only wished Great Britain would go as far. Like the German Minister of Labour, he appealed to Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland to let the interpretations agreed on at the London Conference be inserted in the Convention, and remain content with that.

M. Mertens (Belgian, Workers') pointed out that it was the British Government itself that had convened the London Conference of 1926. If the revision of the Convention was to take the place of ratification the confidence of the working class in the International Labour Organisation would be gravely shaken. He opposed any suggestion of revision.

Herr Müller (German, Workers') criticised his own Minister of Labour for going a little too far to meet the British view. Great Britain, the speaker insisted, was morally committed to ratifying the Convention.

Signor de Michelis (Italian, Governmental) said the Italian Government was radically opposed to revision.

M. Molin (Swedish, Governmental) was in favour of revision, and was prepared to indicate the points regarding which his Government thought this process necessary.

M. Ribot (French, Employers') criticised the methods pursued at the London Conference, and proposed the appointment of a committee to prepare a clearer text of the Convention.

M. Sokal (Polish, Governmental) made a rather similar proposal.

M. de Altea (Spanish, Governmental) was opposed to revision except in matters of pure detail.

Mr. Khaitan (Indian, Employers') considered it was very unfortunate Great Britain had not been able to ratify the Convention. He was opposed to inserting the London interpretations, because they represented the views of five Governments only.

Sir Atul Chatterjee (Indian, Governmental) said that from the point of view of the East the great

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industrial States of Europe seemed more concerned about competing with one another than with establishing what the peace treaty aimed at, humane labour conditions.

M. Yoshisaka (Japanese, Governmental) said that up to the present Japan had been able neither to ratify the Hours Convention nor to frame definite proposals for its revision. He hoped the Governing Body would find some way of accelerating ratification.

The general discussion then ended, and various proposals for committees on procedure or on actual revision were defeated one by one. Among these the British proposal for a committee to study all proposals for revision and bring in a report to the May meeting of the Governing Body received eight votes against eight. It was, therefore, not adopted. The debate, in consequence, left the deadlock as hopeless as ever.

TWO GREAT LAWYERS

BY a strange coincidence two great international lawyers, both of them closely associated with the League of Nations, died last month within five days of one another. Lord Finlay, who was a judge of



Lord Finlay

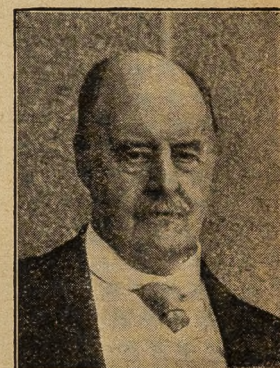
the Permanent Court of International Justice, died on March 9. He had had a legal career of great distinction, culminating, so far as his own country was concerned, in his appointment to the Lord Chancellorship in 1916. In 1921 he was elected a judge of the Permanent Court at the advanced age of seventy-nine, a fact which lends point to the question raised at the last Assembly of whether there should not be some age limit for the ap-

pointment of judges. The name most mentioned in connection with the place thus vacated on the Bench of the Court is that of Sir Cecil Hurst, the legal adviser to the Foreign Office, though it is possible, of course, that a man who has already had judicial experience in his own country might be preferred.

The connection of Lord Phillimore, who died on March 13, at the age of 83, with the League dates some years further back. He may indeed claim to have been one of its actual begetters, for it was the

report of the Foreign Office Committee over which Sir Walter Phillimore, as he then was, presided in 1917 and 1918, which, after a certain adaptation, formed the basis of the draft out of which the League of Nations Covenant was fashioned in Paris in 1919.

In 1920 Lord Phillimore was a member of the Committee which drafted the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice. He was a staunch supporter of the League of Nations Union, being President of the Kensington Branch



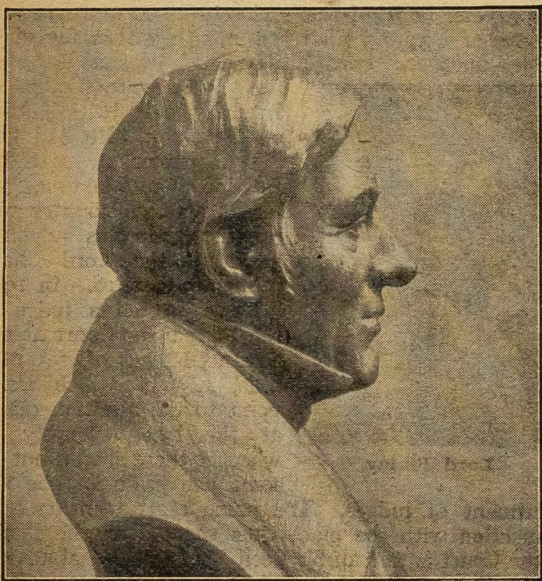
Lord Phillimore

of the Union, and also Chairman of a Committee at Union Headquarters on legal questions connected with the Covenant and its working. Though he stood twice for the House of Commons he was never elected, and his distinction in this country lay mainly in the legal field.

A FORERUNNER

ON Monday, March 11, a simple but impressive ceremony took place in the International Labour Office in Geneva. The members of the Governing Body were discussing the Eight Hours Convention in the presence of three Ministers of State, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland for Great Britain, M. Loucheur for France, and Herr Wissel for Germany. Shortly after noon the sitting was suspended; the members and the ministers went up into the Library. There, draped in white and standing on a pedestal of green marble, was a bronze bust of Robert Owen, by the eminent sculptor, Sir Goscombe John, R.A. It was the gift of the people of Wales to the I.L.O., the first of its many gifts whose cost had been raised by public national subscription.

In an effective presentation speech, which was warmly applauded, Mr. David Davies made out an unanswerable case for Robert Owen as the father of the movement for the betterment, by international co-operation, of industrial relationships. Before 1819, in his mills at



Robert Owen, by Sir Goscombe John

New Lanark he had put a stop to child slavery, founded the first infant school in Great Britain, and had put into daily practice the most significant of the nine Principles which a hundred years later were embodied as aspirations in Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. It was Robert Owen who had set a precedent for international action by his appearance at Aix-la-Chapelle during a sitting, in 1818, of a Conference of the Great Powers. He pleaded with Lord Castlereagh and finally succeeded in inducing the British representative to bring before the Conference his "Two Memorials on behalf of the Working Classes," with the demand for action on an international scale.

When the bust was uncovered the whole audience stood for a few moments in silence and then broke out into cheers. In accepting the gift, on behalf of the Governing Body, M. Fontaine expressed appreciation for so happy a thought on the part of the Principality of Wales acting through the Welsh League of Nations Union. M. Albert Thomas followed with a brilliant improvisation charged with something of the spirit of the Far East from which he had just returned. Their building was new but it had its ancestors, its pious founders whom they held in reverence. It was with that feeling that they received the bust of Robert Owen and placed it in the shrine of the I.L.O. "I need not say," he added, "with what care we shall reverence it."

FORCING THE NATIVE

FOLLOWING its usual practice of running a little ahead of official action, the League of Nations Union held an important Conference on Forced Labour and kindred questions at the School of Economics in London in the first week of March. The subject, it will be remembered, is to be debated at the International Labour Conference in June.

Such League of Nations Union Conferences are designed to clarify thought rather than to lead it into a particular channel, and no resolutions were therefore moved or adopted. It was clear, however, that most delegates were impatient at the rate of progress at present being achieved and took the view that all forced labour everywhere should cease at the earliest possible moment. In that opinion many distinguished speakers present at the Conference, notably the Dominion Secretary, Mr. Amery, concurred.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, spoke on the situation in different parts of the Empire, and Earl Buxton, the Earl of Lytton, Lady Chatterjee and Dame Adelaide Anderson dealt with aspects of the question familiar to them in their own experience. A full report of the Conference will shortly be obtainable from the League of Nations Union at the cost of approximately 2s. 6d. a copy if the demand is sufficient. Those desiring copies please notify.

THE DRUG MENACE

THE following extract from the report of the last meeting of the League's Opium Committee casts an instructive light on the extent of the illicit traffic which Geneva is fighting:—

"One of the cases reported was considered by the Committee with particular attention. The Netherlands Government had submitted to the Committee a memorandum (document O.C.876(1)), on the transactions of a Dutch firm. This is certainly the most important and most detailed document regarding the way and manner in which drugs were supplied to the international illicit traffic with which the Committee has ever had to deal, and it demonstrates the vast scale on which the illicit traffic is carried on. Although this firm's transactions did not infringe the laws then in force in the Netherlands, it was shown that the narcotics despatched by the firm were intended for other than legitimate purposes. The quantities which left the Netherlands during 1927 and the first half of 1928 were estimated at approximately 950 kilogrammes of morphine, 3,000 kilogrammes of heroin and 90 kilogrammes of cocaine. The greater part of these drugs was sent to the Far East, and other documents concerning seizures showed that presumably most of them actually arrived at their destinations. The Committee estimates that this centre of international traffic, which has now been suppressed, probably dealt with about half the total annual world-production of heroin, as far as this is known.

"In the course of the discussion on the reports on seizures submitted by the Netherlands Government and the United States Government, the Committee learned that large quantities of drugs manufactured or sold by the four firms mentioned below had been found in the illicit traffic: Chemische Fabriek Naarden, Bussum; Fabrique de Produits chimiques ci-devant Sandoz, Basle; C. H. Boehringer Sohn, Hamburg; and the Société industrielle de Chimie organique, Sainte Genevieve.

"The report of seizures submitted by the Italian representative also demonstrated the connection between the illicit drug traffic and prostitution, and the Committee asked the Secretariat to prepare a memorandum on this particular aspect of the question for submission to the Traffic in Women and Children Committee."

BOOKS WORTH READING

THE STRIFE FOR PEACE

The Ordeal of this Generation, by Gilbert Murray. (Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d.)

"The whole enterprise of the League," writes Prof. Murray, in the fourth of the lectures that comprise this suggestive volume, "is a great adventure, and an adventure based on a great repentance." His book is not first and foremost about the League of Nations. It is about the larger and still more vital question of whether man to-day can understand and adapt himself to the changes that are taking place in the world about him. That is "the ordeal of this generation," and Professor Murray remains uncertain how this generation will pass through it.

It is all very well, of course, to talk of changes taking place. But do they take place of themselves and must mankind simply suffer them without controlling them? Or are the changes actually the result of the acts of men? The truth, no doubt, is that they are, in fact, the result of men's acts, but of acts that have very different consequences from what anyone foresaw. The war is the supreme example of that. No one, as Prof. Murray concedes, wants war. But, unfortunately, statesmen pursue policies that inevitably lead to war.

And even apart from that the war itself, whatever may be said or thought about its causes, has produced a world radically different in a score of ways from the world of 1914. Forces were unloosed that worked their will relentlessly and to-day we have to adapt ourselves to the environment they have made for us. How can that be done? The question must have many answers. But so far as the world of nations—as distinguished from the world of individuals—is concerned, Prof. Murray finds the answer in the League of Nations.

For him the League is the agent which, given the support it is entitled to claim, can carry the world from chaos to cosmos, from disorder back to—or is it onward to?—order. The League could do that without a doubt. But there can be no easy confidence that it is doing it already. To the words with which this article opens Prof. Murray adds these: "It [i.e., the League] needs both in the nations themselves and in the men who serve the nations a high level of mental activity, and determination to fulfil obligations and to do equal justice to the strong and weak," and he feels bound to go on to confess that "in this requirement there has certainly been much failure."

There has. And the failure has been manifest in two spheres. The League must be served with brain and heart alike, and too often the brains have been defective and the heart apathetic. The first shortcoming is perhaps more easily cured than the second. At any rate, Prof. Gilbert Murray, as Chairman of the League Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, can emphasise appropriately the connection a distinguished servant of that Committee, Prof. Zimmern, has indicated between "Learning" and "Leadership." "Creative Art," wrote Wordsworth, "demands the service of a mind and heart heroically fashioned." So in a very different field does the League of Nations. In proportion as men and women think of the League and work for the League in that spirit this generation will in one sphere, at any rate, survive its-ordeal.

Survey of American Foreign Relations. By Charles P. Howland. (H. Milford. 24s.)

This important volume is avowedly based on the "Survey of International Affairs," published annually by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in Great Britain. It deals with world relations from the American point of view, and contains sections on the United States and the League, on the interest of the U.S.A. in reparations and inter-allied debts, and on disarmament,

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Professor GILBERT MURRAY on

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THE WAR, THE LEAGUE and THE FUTURE

Nineteenth century civilisation achieved much for domestic order, little for international order. It is our task to build up a new order, and this can only be done by constructive intellectual co-operation—international co-operation. It is for this that Professor Murray pleads. He deals fully with the principles of the Covenant, its imperfections, and the failure of the nations to live up to it. 4s. 6d.

(Halley Stewart Lectures for 1928)

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN, LTD.,
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and discusses in a comprehensive and enlightened way such vexed questions as the Monroe Doctrine and the Freedom of the Seas. This first volume will, it may be hoped, be followed by many like it.

Problems of Peace. Third Series. (H. Milford, ros. 6d.)

The third series of "Problems of Peace," consisting of lectures delivered at the Geneva Institute of International Relations, has just been issued by Mr. Humphrey Milford. It includes a dozen addresses by such authorities as Professor W. E. Rappard, M. Paul Mantoux, Professor Madariaga, Sir Arthur Salter, Lord Olivier and Professor Zimmern. The subjects dealt with (e.g., Future of the League, Asia and the League, Disarmament, the Rôle of the Anglo-Saxon Nations) are of the first importance, and it is impossible to sample the contents of the articles at any point without being impressed by the uniformly high standard reached. As a commentary on the current work of the League in different fields the volume is of the highest value.

Calf-Love. (5s. Constable.)

Our familiarity with Mr. Vernon Bartlett's Thursday evening wireless talks has, perhaps, made us forget that even an official of the League of Nations can be human. However, that illusion will be dispelled by his charming study of an English boy whose first loves are in turn two German sisters. His sufferings at the cruelty of the one is but the prelude to a deeper emotional surrender to the other whose attempts at consolation have inflamed him anew. Mr. Bartlett's protest that a novelist's friends always expect to find themselves portrayed is an assurance that "Calf Love" is not autobiographical. But were it so none of us would have minded.

A new edition of Mr. Bartlett's volume of short stories, "Topsy-Turvy," has also been issued by the same publishers at the same price.

The Peace Year Book for 1929, published by the National Council for Prevention of War, 39, Victoria Street, S.W., price 1s. (1s. 1d. post free), contains a variety of useful information on events in 1928, and various international documents of the first importance, particularly the Pact of Paris, the Locarno Treaty and the Dawes Agreement. There are also some useful armament statistics in the appendix.

War as an Instrument of National Policy. By J. T. Shotwell. Introduction by Professor Gilbert Murray. (Constable. 15s.)

The American edition of Dr. Shotwell's valuable book has already been reviewed in HEADWAY. The English edition published in the course of last month has the benefit of an introduction by Professor Gilbert Murray. He points out usefully that controversies on such subjects as Abolition of War, the League of Nations and the Freedom of the Seas, represent in reality differences, not so much between the two nations Great Britain and America as between two schools of thought inside each nation. "The interpretations of the Kellogg Treaty with its attendant explanations," he adds, "will depend, it seems to me, entirely on the struggle between these two elements in the public opinion of the great nations." That struggle can be won by the proper education of the public mind.

Europa Year Book, 1929. (Europa Publications, Ltd. 21s.)

The "Europa Year Book" is now so completely established that merely to announce the fact of the appearance of the edition for 1929 is almost sufficient recommendation in itself. There are, however, one or two new features to which attention should be drawn, notably an article by Sir Josiah Stamp on "The Dawes Plan in Operation," followed by an extremely useful

Reparations Calendar. The usual features of the book, notably the sections on the Press and political parties in each country, are as complete and reliable as ever. The book opens with a special section on the League of Nations, followed by a useful second section on various international associations.

Brief reference was made in last month's HEADWAY to the booklet entitled "The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations," which has been issued by the League Secretariat at Geneva. While it can quite well stand alone it is really intended to form a common chapter which can be embodied in national text books on the League, the great advantage of this being that users of such books in all countries will be having the fundamental facts about the League presented to them in common form, and at the same time be taught to look at various League problems from their own national point of view.

With this official publication should be read the League of Nations Union text-book, "Teachers and World Peace," which contains a wealth of suggestions as to the methods in which League teaching should be imparted.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Eighteenth Century France. By F. C. Green. (Dent. 7s. 6d.)

The Government of China. By Naokichi Kitazawa. (Princeton University Press. 9s.)

Personality and Progress. By H. T. Hodgkin. (Student Christian Movement. 4s. 6d.)

The World's Religions Against War. (Church Peace Union. 2s.)

The British Press, A Survey, Directory and Who's Who. (Europa Publications, Ltd. 3s. 6d.)

Life in Freedom. By J. Krishnamurti. (The Star Publishing Trust, Holland. Cloth 1s. 6d., paper 1s.)

READERS' VIEWS

WALES AND THE WORLD

SIR,—Last year replies reached us to our Welsh Children's Message from various parts of the globe, owing their origin to the wide-spread circulation of your journal. The Rev. Richard Paterson, to give only one instance, wrote from Blantyre, in Nyasaland: "It was a great pleasure to note in the April number of HEADWAY the text of the 1928 World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales, and I was thereby enabled to give the message to the African children in attendance at our Mission school. I enclose a reply from our children, and a personal letter thanking the boys and girls of Wales. I should be deeply grateful if you would be so good as to make these known."

May I ask for the kind co-operation of HEADWAY in the broadcasting of the 1929 text of the Children's Message from Wales? The Welsh greeting will be sent out by wireless for the eighth year in succession on Goodwill Day, May 18.

Here is the 1929 message in English:—

"We, boys and girls of Wales from our mountains and valleys, our villages and towns greet with a cheer the boys and girls of every country under the sun.

"Our hearts are thrilled by the wonderful response to our yearly message, and we cherish the many links of friendship which we have formed.

"Will you, millions of you, join with us to-day in thinking with gratitude of those men and women of every race and people who are working so hard to build up a finer, better world?"

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

Visit to The Hague and The Peace Palace

June 18th to 25th, during Session of Permanent Court of International Justice. Addresses by officials of Hague and Permanent Court, etc. Fee £9, and PRIVATE GROUP IN GENEVA DURING THE ASSEMBLY, August 30th to September 6th: Visits to Assembly, I.L.O., Lectures, etc. Fee £11 11s. Apply early to Mrs. Innes, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

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

HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, etc.

TWO GUESTS RECEIVED in delightful Flat, near League. Glorious views; English comfort.—Miss Mitchell, 97, Rue de Lausanne, Geneva.

BRITANNY.—"Bjord House," St. Jacut de la Mer. Small, comfortable hotel in peaceful, bracing, seaside spot. Inclusive, £2 weekly. Winter, 30/-.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

CARISBROOKE SCHOOL, Durham Down, Bristol.—Matric. and Oxford Local Exams., Inc. Domestic Science. School Hall. Boys under nine. Girls six to nineteen.—Principal: Miss Mary Stevens, L.L.A. Tel. 5051 Bristol.

BADMINTON SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol. Recognised by the Board of Education. Chairman of Advisory Council: J. Odier Sykes, Esq., M.D. Headmistress: Miss B. M. Baker, B.A. The school estate of 11½ acres is situated in a bracing position, on high ground, close to the country and within easy reach of Bristol. Individual timetables. Preparation for the Universities. Junior Branch. Frequent school journeys abroad and to Geneva while the Assembly is sitting, increase the interest of the girls in languages and international affairs.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MAJOR H. A. SHAW, M.C., R.A. (Charterhouse, Woolwich). ARMY COACH, etc. Genuine individual attention, games, comfort. Millford-on-Sea, Hants. Telephone: Millford 15.

"Next year, in 1930, the League of Nations will celebrate its tenth birthday. Let us determine, here and now, to help it with all our power to go forward with its great task of peace on earth and goodwill among men."

I am, etc.,

GWILYM DAVIES.

Welsh League of Nations Union,
Cardiff, March 15, 1929.

THE MANDATE THEORY

SIR,—In your March issue's criticism of the proposed formation of a seventh Dominion (Palestine) Society, you seem to imply that a Mandatory Power has no right to influence a Mandated territory in any way as to its future destiny. This works out rather absurdly. If a Mandatory Power thinks it high time a Mandated territory became independent, is it not to tell the territory so? Apparently not, because it would be influencing it.

The Mandate theory seems indeed to be as ill-digested and academic as that most unfortunate phrase "self-determination," which has already caused so much trouble in the world.

The British are the leading Mandatory Power in the world, and it is high time they should know exactly where they stand so far as Mandates are concerned.—Yours, etc.,

H. E. S.

[Art. XXII of the Covenant speaks of certain communities, of which Palestine is one, having "reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised, subject to the rendering of administration advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone." The suggestion in HEADWAY was that the Mandatory might very well leave it at that.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

FILMS AND THEIR MORAL

SIR,—I have recently seen at a local "super cinema" a much-boomed war film, for which, however, the producers claimed an anti-war bias. As a matter of fact, the film did, to a certain extent, show something of the horrors of battle, but at the end of the performance a slide was shown on the screen drawing attention to the local Territorial company.

Surely this would have been an ideal occasion for some suitably worded message from the League of Nations Union?—Yours, etc.,

E. S. BARNETT.

21, Chiswick Lane, London, W.4.

March 5, 1929.

"Super cinemas" are, unfortunately, not always prepared to throw on the screen messages from the League of Nations Union.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

"CONFLICTS OF LOYALTIES"

SIR,—In your March issue the Rev. A. S. Duncan-Jones invites criticism when he says "War does not spring from economic necessity."

Further, "the ordinary man has no desire to kill or be killed unless he is induced to do so by some over-mastering and, at the same time, kindling necessity." It is difficult to imagine any "necessity" that could be more "over-mastering" than that imposed by economic pressure.

May I call attention to one conclusion taken from the C.O.P.E.C. (Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship) Report on "Christianity and War." On page 86 we read, "Christian men will do in vain all the things so far suggested in the interests of peace unless they frankly and bravely face these economic difficulties in all their complexity."

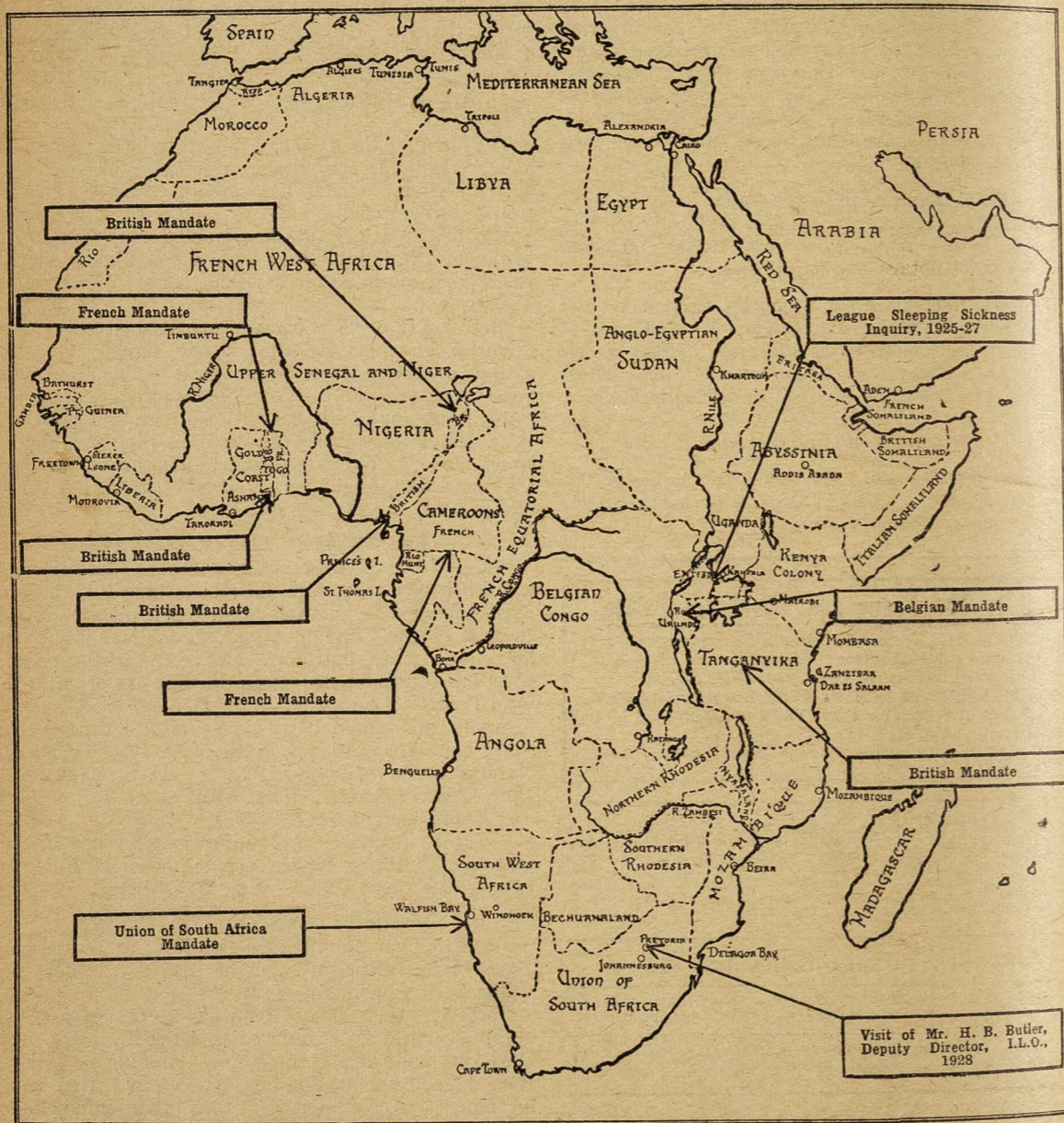
In the introduction it is stated that "the Commission was formed of Christian men and women." The report was published in 1924.—Yours faithfully,

Branscombe,

MONTAGU COLVIN.

The Green, Sidcup.

AFRICA AND THE LEAGUE



Visit of Mr. H. B. Butler, Deputy Director, I.L.O., 1928

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS

SUPPLEMENT TO HEADWAY

APRIL 1929

WORK AHEAD

BY some people statesmen are always blamed for acting too slowly. Nowhere is this more true than of their actions in Geneva. There are certain folk who profess to believe that the coming into force of the League Covenant on January 10, 1920, ushered in a golden age, the maturing of which is only held back by the evil machinations of the politicians.

This view does not go deep. It sees the effect but not the cause. It is like viewing the mote in a brother's eye and neglecting the beam in one's own. Why do the politicians act as they do? Why do they not go faster? It is because they are afraid. They are the agents of public opinion, and it is public opinion that they fear. The great hindrance to the progress of the League is the dead weight of an unprepared public opinion.

To remove such obstacles the League of Nations Societies of the world exist. In this country it is the duty of the men and women who have joined the League of Nations Union to prepare public opinion. As an organisation the Union can do a great deal, but its power finally depends on the keenness of the people behind—the individual members.

Every member is a potential missionary. The country still knows too little of the League, its objects and achievements. Everybody has a personal circle. Do you do as much as you might to make the League known where you have most influence?

It may be that you do not feel that you have enough information at your fingers' tips to carry conviction to your hearers. There is at your service the whole series of Union pamphlets. They range from an elementary general survey in "Organising Peace" to exhaustive studies on special subjects such as the recent pamphlet on "Minorities."

It may be that you are shy. In that case there is still a way in which you can help. Give more money, so that others can do your missionary work for you.

The reason for this insistence of the value of membership has its concrete side. A member is a person who has taken a definite step, has put himself to a trifling inconvenience for the cause. His adherence counts for more than he thinks. Not only does it break down the dead weight of public opinion that, as has already been said, is such a drag on the progress of the League; it also swells the ranks of those on whom any Government can rely for support when it adopts a pro-League policy. The moral effect of such support on any Government in this country is incalculable. The great problem of Disarmament—the limitation and reduction of national armaments by international agreement—would soon be settled if only the backing of the public were great enough.

Besides obtaining members through personal influence large numbers of new converts are obtained through public meetings. These fall mainly into two classes.

The first is frankly missionary. At these the whole ground is covered in a general speech. All the arguments which may induce those outside our organisation to join it are brought forward. A strong appeal is made to join the Union. Membership cards are passed round.

The other type of meeting is that at which more detailed information concerning the League is given. A member has not done everything by joining and paying his subscription regularly. He must keep himself informed of what is going on. Therefore, the essentially informative meeting, to which members and their friends who are likely to be interested are invited, is vital to the forward progress of the Union as a whole. Very often a speech is dispensed with on these occasions, and the meeting takes the form of question and answer. Members raise the points which they have met with in their conversations with their friends, and the best replies are discussed. The policy laid down in the Branch letter is debated. Such meetings have an important stimulating effect on those present. If one person can talk about the League to his personal circle; if one person can make converts; if one person considers it a high honour to belong to the greatest institution of modern times; then all can.

To all organisers of meetings and to all branch workers Headquarters is ready to give advice and ideas. Many nowadays do use the Headquarters Office to aid them in all they do, but again many do not. But Headquarters is the servant of all, and it is to be hoped that more and more use will be made of experience collected over many years and from many quarters.

Since the ratification of the Pact of Paris, a new and glorious vista has opened up. The United States of America have come back into the peace movement. There is more than a remote possibility that in the comparatively near future they will adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Law is steadily taking the place of force or threats of force in the settlement of international disputes. If we press ahead with sufficient zeal, there is a prospect that "private war" will become impossible in our time.

It will not come about of itself. It must be worked for and striven after. It would be indeed a tragedy if now that the opportunity has arrived we failed to take it. "There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune," said Shakespeare. That flood is here, let us see to it that we do not miss our tide. There have been fewer new members in the first two months of this year than in the corresponding months for the last two years. Are we slackening off our efforts? Are we sitting back, feeling that the immediate task before us has been accomplished? Now is the time when, as never before, we ought to redouble our efforts and make the prospect of permanent peace a certainty.

NOTES AND NEWS

Maidstone's Week

A noteworthy membership drive has taken place recently at Maidstone.

In the local press advertisements were inserted for the four previous weeks. In addition, there were notices in the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily News*. To draw attention, advertising carts paraded the town, both before and during the offensive. But perhaps the most notable piece of advertisement was the central office, a photograph of which we reproduce. Among the minor novelties may be mentioned short addresses delivered before the event in the cinemas. The "week" itself began with "League of Nations Services" in the Churches. Then followed a civic reception. There were four mass meetings and ten smaller meetings and "works meetings." Finally, there was a house-to-house canvass. The tangible results have not yet come to hand, but the 1,000 members sought should be exceeded easily.



Maidstone's Drive: The Centre of Operations.

Universities and the Empire

The British Universities League of Nations Society is looking more than ever towards the Empire. In the past, Dominion students in this country have played a considerable part in its activities. To sustain their interest and also to attract those from abroad who are in Europe during the summer, the B.U.L.N.S., as it is familiarly called, has held two Dominion student conferences in Geneva. Their success has been unqualified; indeed the possibilities of this form of approach have seemed sufficiently great to justify an extension in its scope. At the request of both those Empire students who have attended the conferences, and the International Universities League of Nations Federation, it is proposed to attempt to bring about a greater interest in the dominions themselves. With this apostolic mission in view, a "Dominions sub-committee" has been recently started. It is composed of representatives of all the dominions, it gets into touch with academic bodies in order to start new societies in the Universities of the various Empire States.

Sherman Memorial Fund

The Sherman Memorial Fund now stands at £472 2s. 6d. The Honorary Secretary of the Fund (15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1) will be glad to receive donations from any readers who have not yet contributed and who may still care to do so.

A Distant Member

Brazil has withdrawn from the League. However, this has not prevented the Church of S. Paul, of Sao Paulo, one of the largest towns in that country, from becoming a Corporate Member of the Union. Welcome news!

Another Model Assembly

Representatives of Germany, Poland, Italy and India were able to attend a successful Model Assembly organised recently by the Fulham Borough branch. The cosmopolitan atmosphere was well sustained, and there followed a lively debate. All are asking, "When can we have another?"

Derby's Effort

Derby have set out to increase their membership by 2,000. They have held a big week for this purpose. The first new members, very properly, were the Mayor



Mr. J. H. Thomas signing the cheque for his subscription to the Union. Sir Richard Luce, Derby's other Member of Parliament, seen watching.

and Mayoress. Mr. Mayor writes: "I am proud to follow the lead of His Majesty the King in wishing continued strength and prosperity to the League of Nations Union . . . The Mayoress and I gladly become members of the Union."

An Idea

New methods of arousing interest in the work of the Union are constantly before us. Near election time this notice which appeared in a Derby newspaper is particularly apropos. All those branch secretaries who are approaching candidates for an expression of their attitude to the League, will be interested by this suggestion.

PUBLIC NOTICES.

THE GENERAL ELECTION
IS COMING.
You will be asked to
VOTE FOR
one of the Parties represented by
the following leaders.

BALDWIN, Stanley

LLOYD GEORGE, David

MACDONALD, J. Ramsay

All of them support the
LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

Follow YOUR Leader
and become a member of the Union
by VOTING for one of the following.

Membership 1/-

Ditto with Monthly Magazine 3/6

Foundation Membership £1

with Magazine and Pamphlet.

Canadian Notes

From the League of Nations Society in Canada we hear of much activity during 1928. A feature of the year was the "coast-to-coast drive," on the anniversary of the first engagement of the Canadian troops in the Great War. The membership was by this means raised from 6,500 to 15,000. New branches have been formed and older ones have added to their members. The first Model Assembly, held in Ottawa, was most successful, and four Universities have arranged to hold another Assembly in the spring. A great deal of work has been done by the local branches in the schools. In most of the provinces, the schools and universities give regular instruction on the League, and examinations are held on the text-books used. A great deal of support has been received from the churches and the women's organisations. Several prominent speakers have addressed Canadian Clubs and other bodies, on the work of the League, among them the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Colonel Carnegie and the Hon. C. A. Dunning.

The Secretary of the Toronto Branch of the League of Nations Society in Canada reports that the branch has been very active during 1928. The Study Group have considered the following international problems: "The Armaments Problem," "The Health Work of the League," "The Economic Conference," "The League Mandates," and "The Work of the I.L.O." The Prime Minister of Canada, the President of the National Health Council of the United States, and the Chairman of the Saar Governing Commission, have also addressed the group. The Education Committee report the heartiest co-operation of the Board of Education of Toronto, the birthday of the League (January 10), being celebrated in all the schools. The help of the Women's Interchurch Committee has also been most valuable, as, through the Committee over 600 members have been added to the Toronto Branch. The Toronto Labour Council has organised a Committee to promote work among the Trades Unions with a view to adding fresh members to the League of Nations Society's Branch.

From the North

In Glasgow and the West of Scotland District two new Branches were inaugurated during the month of February. At a crowded meeting in Bothwell, Lord Home inaugurated the Branch. Later, in Stewarton, a Branch was launched under the auspices of the Provost and the Town Council. It was addressed by Professor Bowman, of Glasgow University. Both meetings were enthusiastic, and in each case the branch started with a large membership.

Notes from Wales

The Annual Conference which is to be held at Wrexham promises to eclipse all past meetings. The unveiling of the bronze bust of Robert Owen at the International Labour Office at Geneva by Mr. David Davies, M.P., was a most successful event. The Welsh delegation was given a warm welcome; many functions were arranged in their honour.

Montgomery County Committee have held a series of large public meetings in the various districts. They were addressed by Canon Maurice Jones and Commander Catteral. The increase in membership resulting was most gratifying.

Goodwill Day, May 18, promises well. There are to be held "Festivals of Youth" in many towns, besides which this day will be set aside as "Daffodil Day."

To Geneva in June

The League of Nations Union party to the International Labour Conference will leave London for Geneva on the morning of June 1. The fee is 10 guineas. A unique opportunity to study at first hand one of the most interesting and important experiments which have been made in the international field. If sufficient

members desire it, it is hoped to take a party to Pallanza from Geneva on the morning of June 8. The fee for the week's extension will be 7½ guineas. Fuller particulars can be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

From Paris

On March 4, the Paris Section of the League of Nations Union showed the Union film entitled "The World War and After" to 200 young people at the Foyer International des Etudiants. The audience, who numbered 17 different nationalities, were keenly appreciative of the film which was explained in English and French by Colonel Stokes (Vice-Chairman), and M. André Toledano, French Liaison Officer to the Paris Section. Fifteen American boys from the Château de Bures School near Paris attended the lecture.

Scandinavia

On February 26, Professor Zimmern visited Oslo, where he lectured at the Nobel Institute on "The League of Nations and International Intellectual Co-operation." He has also visited Copenhagen. He presided at a meeting of the Danish Students' League of Nations Union, at which the subject for discussion was "Scandinavianism and the League of Nations."

Whitsuntide on the Yorkshire Moors

Enrolments are now being received for the Holiday Lecture Course which the Union is arranging at Whitsuntide at Cober Hill Guest House, Cloughton, near Scarborough. The Guest House is near the sea, and its sunny spacious sitting rooms and beautiful gardens look southward over the valley to Scarborough, six miles away.

Among the speakers will be Professors Grant and Brodetsky, Colonel G. D. Turner, Mr. Frederick Whelen, and Miss Wilson.

Guests may enrol either for the week May 18-25, or for the week-end May 18-21. A leaflet giving full particulars of the arrangement may be obtained on application to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

They Paid!

Under the auspices of the Edinburgh Branch a Demonstration was held in the Usher Hall on Friday, March 8, the speakers being the Reverend James Barr, B.D., M.P., and Mr. Whelen, London. In response to an appeal from the Earl of Home for new members, 235 joined, of whom 194 paid their subscription on the spot. A large number of senior pupils were present from various schools in Edinburgh.

Roumania

The Foreign Minister of Roumania has decided that the instruction given on the League in the schools last year shall be continued. The Roumanian Educational Authorities are encouraging the entrance of a number of children for the annual competition between the pupils of normal and secondary schools in all countries on a subject connected with the League.

A Record Breaker

A thousand meetings addressed in the course of six years as Secretary to the Bradford Branch is the proud claim of Mr. Walter Brayshaw. He has addressed all kinds of audiences, going as far afield as Gainsborough, Castleford, Leeds and Scarborough. A tribute to him is that twice have his committee refused to allow him to tender his resignation. We also would congratulate him and hope that he will have all success in his future activities.

For the Unwary!

To ensure a maximum number of members being enrolled at meetings, Edinburgh Branch have devised an admirable trap. On one side of tickets to meetings a condensed membership form has been printed. Other branches might well follow this example.

Points from Annual Reports

The pages of the Supplement are few and the Reports are many, it is impossible, therefore, to give adequate space to the many interesting accounts of branch work which come to hand at this season. 1928 has been a year full of activity and expansion all over the country, and it is only possible to give the briefest reference to the activities of the various branches.

—*Nottingham* grows apace; its membership shows an increase of 34 per cent. Of its panel of speakers 134 have spoken at 119 meetings. A flag day has been held and there has been co-operation with the local religious bodies. *Glasgow and West of Scotland District Council* have passed the 20,000 membership mark. Their news-sheet has had considerable popularity. Owing to frequent meetings of the various friends and helpers for conversaciones, *Bournemouth* has been able to break much new ground. *Runcorn* tell us of their League Week which broke all records. At their third Annual Carnival the tableau "Our Taxes" caused much comment. *Newquay* progresses. *Southend* balance-sheet is a model. *St. Pancras Branch* has been taking seriously its duty of educating the younger generation. Its Youth Group has met frequently. *Hayward's Heath* celebrated their first birthday. Since its inception the branch has doubled its membership. *Petersfield* has done admirable work and is most optimistic for the future. *Bebington and Bromborough* are forging ahead; they have held open-air meetings. *Southampton* have held many meetings; their scheme of organisation by wards should bring good fruit. In addition to many successful meetings the film has been shown at *Sunderland*. The Press has given valuable support to its work. The "League of Nations Union Players" appeared before the *Wembley Branch*. Much has been done in increasing the activities of their Youth Group. Definitely a year of progress! The example of the *Hove Branch* finances might well be followed. It has persuaded the local education committee to send a lecturer once a year to each school. What a pleasure to hear of the success of the *Hampstead* open-air fête. Essays submitted for the competition were most creditable. A new departure was the special lecture course on the League in various countries. The Youth Group met several times. The energy with which Discussion Groups were followed shows clearly the keenness of the branch. In the words of the secretary of the *Todmorden Branch*, "despite the continued trade depression the firm has shown a nice profit." Included in their ambitious programme was a peace pageant. *Crouch Hill Presbyterian Church* have now affiliated the Ranger and Scout Troops as members. Publicity methods have been most intelligent. Several successful meetings have been held by *Haslemere Branch*. The essays in the competition were intelligent. *March* were happy in the support given by the Press. *Cheltenham* is flourishing and breaking new ground. *Worcester* have been as indefatigable as ever. Several new Corporate Members have been enrolled. There are many other Reports worthy of mention, but space forbids.

Japan and the I.L.O.

The Vice-President of the League of Nations Association of Japan received a letter from M. Thomas after the departure of the latter, thanking the Association for their careful organisation of his tour and saying that the visit has really brought the International Labour Office into touch with the people of Japan. Dr. Iwao Ayusawa, the Japanese member of M. Thomas's party, is stopping in Japan for another month, and is much in request for public speaking. He never fails to draw the attention of his hearers to the importance of the International Labour Conferences, and the responsibility of Japan in that connection. He was the guest of the League of Nations Association at a luncheon given on January 26 at which 35 members were present.

What Offers?

A meeting of the English Committee of the Comité Internationale de l'Action Démocratique pour la Paix was held at the London School of Economics on February 27. Representatives of several peace organisations were present, and arrangements were discussed for providing hospitality and drawing up a programme for a party of twenty French people who are being invited to come over to London from September 7 to 14, 1929. Anyone interested in this visit and able to provide hospitality for any of the visitors is asked to communicate with Mr. Roger Soltau, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, W.C.2. There will be fifty French people in all coming over, but for thirty of them all arrangements are being made by the Adult School Union, whose guests they will be.

Uniforms for Delegates

To add colour to the proceedings of the Assembly need no longer be the despair of those who worship uniforms. Schoolboy and girl delegates at a recent Derby Branch Pageant were decked in sashes in the colours of the nations they represented. Proceedings opened with the admission of Germany to the League. The German and French delegates recited in their respective tongues a condensed form of the original speeches of M. Briand and Herr Stresemann. Later the "grown-ups" gave their version of the signing of the Kellogg Pact. The pageant closed with a prophecy. The last scene was a future conference in which Sweden proposed to limit armaments expenditure to 10 per cent. of national budgets.

The Council's Vote

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

Beaminstor, Birchington, Bradford Central, Bridgwater Canvey Island, Coldingham, Framlingham, Gainsborough Gillingham (Kent), Grange-over-Sands, Harold Wood, Hartford Hemel Hempstead, Hull, King's Sutton, Ielant, Newbury, Queen Street (Sheffield), Radlett, Rayleigh, Rehoboth, Romsey, Selsey, Stoke Ferry, Swanage, Seaton, Teignmouth, Thornbury (near Bristol), Todmorden, Walsall, Whitechurch (Salop), Yelverton, Berkshire District, Birmingham District, Herts District, Kent District, Essex Federal Council, Leicester District, Northants District, Nottingham District, Worcester District, Cexford Federation, East Scotland, West Scotland, North and North-east Scotland, also Leominster.

1929 Council's Vote Completed—
Failed.

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

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,224
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	...	665,022
Feb. 21, 1929	...	...	...	...	755,083

On Mar. 17th, 1929, there were 2,785 Branches, 672 Junior Branches, 135 Districts, 2,872 Corporate Members and 483 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

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

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

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