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MATTERS OF MOMENT

IT is worth pointing out that the present year sees the United States of America co-operating with the League of Nations on a larger scale than ever before. During the long and often inconclusive discussions of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, the American delegation, under the able leadership of Mr. Hugh Gibson, has taken a prominent and sympathetic part from first to last in the attempt to draft a formal disarmament convention. The American delegation will become even more prominent when the restricted conversations on naval disarmament open in June. This conference between the representatives of three States only is not actually a League meeting at all, but it has hardly yet been realized how surprising a step Mr. Coolidge took when he went so far as to suggest that the talk should take place not at Washington, but at Geneva. And before the naval conversations comes the Economic Conference, to which America has sent a delegation described by a high American authority as the strongest American contingent ever accredited to any international conference, with the exception, no doubt, of the Peace Conference. This, of course, does not mean for a moment that America is getting near entry into the League. From some points of view, she seems to be getting further off. But it does mean that America is finding methods (or having methods found for her) of co-operating

closely with the League in a number of the most important of its undertakings. That for the moment is a fairly good substitute for actual American membership. But when it comes to estimating the League's moral force as a preserver of world peace, then the absence of America has more serious effects than most of us fully appreciate. For that reason it is necessary to examine with more sympathy than we may on the first impulse be disposed to feel various American suggestions for organising world peace. Some way may even yet be found of reconciling the League idea and America's particular point of view.

A Case for the League?

THE article on another page regarding relations between Italy and Jugo-Slavia raises the very necessary and obvious question of why the League has not been invoked to deal with the state of tension which obviously falls within the four corners of Article II of the Covenant. The actual reason, which may be considered good or bad, is, apparently, that Italy objects to what she calls League interference, and that Sir Austen Chamberlain believes—or believed—that the whole trouble could be settled by direct conversation between Italy and Jugo-Slavia, and persuaded the French Government to adopt the same view. It cannot be said that there is much sign so far of such direct contacts yielding

any satisfactory result. It is, no doubt, true that when two parties do show themselves capable of settling their differences by direct negotiation, it is unnecessary and undesirable to invoke the League of Nations. On the other hand, it is equally undesirable to create the impression that the League is being deliberately pushed on one side in a matter with which it is well qualified to deal. There would appear to be some danger in the present case that the Council may yet have to intervene at a moment when it will find effective action far more difficult than it would have at an earlier stage in the dispute.

The Swiss and the Soviets

REFERENCE was made in the last issue of HEADWAY to the negotiations in progress between Switzerland and Soviet Russia with a view to a settlement of the controversy which has since 1923 led the Soviet Government to refuse to send representatives to any conference held at Geneva or anywhere else on Swiss soil. It is satisfactory to record the fact that a provisional settlement was definitely reached in the middle of last month, the Swiss Government having expressed its regret for the Vorovsky murder, and its willingness to make compensation to the late diplomat's daughter, in terms which Moscow was pleased to regard as satisfactory. It does not appear that full diplomatic relations between Russia and Switzerland will be resumed in the near future, but that is a matter which affects the two countries alone. What is important to the world in general is the fact that no impediment to the despatch of Soviet representatives to Geneva appears now to exist. Whether such representatives will, in fact, be despatched is, of course, another matter. At the moment these words are being written no decision regarding that has been announced by Moscow. The test will presumably be the Economic Conference to be held at the beginning of this month, for Russia would commit herself to nothing by being present at that gathering, and, if she decides not to avail herself of the opportunity offered, the natural inference will be that she still prefers to hold aloof from the League of Nations and anything associated with it.

France and League Sanctions

THE new French Bill on the General Organisation of the Nation in Time of War, on which an article appears in another column, contains one provision having a direct bearing on France's duty towards the League of Nations in case common action against a violator of the Covenant is called for. The last paragraph of Article 25 of the new measure runs as follows:—

"Acting within the scope of the League of Nations Covenant and in application of its provisions, in particular of Articles 10, 11 (first paragraph), 13 (fourth paragraph), 16 and 17 (fourth paragraph), the Government may in time of peace, by a decree issued in the Ministerial Council and without general or partial mobilisation having necessarily been ordered, prescribe, on the motion of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the economic and financial measures contemplated under these Articles."

It is a testimony of some weight to the seriousness with which France habitually takes the League that a provision of this kind should have been embodied in a measure of such far-reaching national importance as the Bill in question.

Jogging a Ministry

QUESTIONS to Ministers in the House of Commons cannot be said to be always without effect. Two successive queries put by Mr. Ben Smith to the Minister of Health have produced a welcome change of front by the Ministry in a small matter not without its importance to the League of Nations. The League Health Section publishes annually a Year Book containing valuable health reports and statistics from most countries Members of the League. The British Government had rather inexplicably declined to send material for this publication, on the ground that various published reports of the Ministry of Health contained all that was necessary, and that the League could extract the facts it wanted from them. Other countries have not seen fit to treat the matter in this way, and it may be recorded with satisfaction that the answer of the Health Minister to the first question put in the House was that the matter would be reconsidered, and to the second question that material would be sent by Great Britain, as by other countries, for next year's issue of the Year Book.

Breaking Down Barriers

THE Economic Conference, which opens at Geneva on May 4, will, of necessity, be dealing largely with technical questions, which perhaps may not greatly interest the general public. Those, nevertheless, have hardly gone too far who have spoken of the Conference as the most important international gathering since the Peace Treaties were signed. That statement ought, perhaps, to be put in a different way. It is not so much that the Conference will of necessity have that importance, as that it very well may have. Everything depends, of course, on the lines the discussions take. Questions like tariffs and immigration and the control of international trusts and cartels affect vitally the daily lives of millions of people, and if the Conference can make any substantial progress towards the solution of the various problems arising under those heads, it will certainly not have disappointed the hopes based on it.

Football and Peace

IT has always been argued with a good deal of force that the best way to cement international friendship is to encourage international sport. Some colour is lent to that theory by the Rugby match played between France and Germany at Paris on April 17. It is the first time this event has taken place since 1900, and France, putting its best available team into the field, won by 30 points to 5. That result was almost as satisfactory to the Germans as to the French, for Rugby football has nothing like the hold in Germany as it has in France or Great Britain or Ireland. What did matter was the extraordinary cordiality shown by the spectators and the sportsmanship of the players on both sides. Some 30,000 spectators were present, and the German black, red and gold flag was flown side by side with the French tricolour over the stands. The German try, which was converted, was scored just before time, and appears to have evoked as warm and universal applause as any one of the French scores. A return match is to be played in Germany next year.

Olympic Peacemakers

AS a further indication of the same spirit, and as further encouragement to those who believe that sport in its best form is one of the most effective antidotes to militarism, attention may be drawn to remarks made by Lord Rochdale, the new Chairman of the British Olympic Association, the body which handles Great Britain's representation at the Olympic Games. "The other day," observed Lord Rochdale, "Dean Willing said that harmony between nations would be best got by Christianity and cricket. There is a great deal in this. I think we might also adopt it, although we do not compete in cricket in the Olympic Games, but, at any rate, we may say that all we do is cricket. Therefore, I think we may hope that what we do in this Association and in the International Committee is some material help to the League of Nations." By the same post which brought this speech there arrived also a German paper devoted solely to football, the significance of which lies in the extent to which in Germany the abolition of compulsory service and the ban on various forms of militarism is turning the ardour of youth into other and more satisfactory channels.

Making Law at Geneva

ATTENTION may with profit be directed to an article appearing on a later page of this issue on the work of the Committee for the Progressive Codification of International Law. That may be a repellently formidable title, but the work of the Committee is, or at any rate is capable of being, extremely important. International law has been and still is a rather vague affair, based partly on custom and practice, partly on certain famous decisions, the justice of which has been universally recognised, and, in a few very rare cases, on general treaties signed by practically every nation on some specific subject. The League of Nations is bringing a new method into vogue. It has set a Committee to work to explore the field of international relations, and whenever the Committee comes on a question regarding which it can say, "Here is something on which everyone can agree," a conference will be called to put that agreement in the form of a general treaty or convention. Such a treaty or convention will then become international law for every nation that signs and ratifies it, and, with the Permanent Court of Justice in existence at The Hague to give decisions on the basis of such conventions, the slow business of building up a body of statute law for the nations will, at any rate, be well begun.

A Change of Tribunals

SOME little interest attaches to the following scuttling from *The Times*:—

"Conventions between the United Kingdom and Denmark and between the United Kingdom and Iceland, renewing the Arbitration Convention of October 25, 1905, for a further period of five years, are issued in the Treaty Series [Cmd. 2835 and Cmd. 2836]. The reference is, however, to the Permanent Court of International Justice instead of to the Permanent Court of Arbitration."

It is now the regular practice of this country, as of most other countries, to mention the Permanent Court of International Justice as the final tribunal of appeal in the event of a dispute arising out of any treaty to which the country is a party. A comment on this satisfactory tendency is made in the new edition of Lord Birkenhead's "International Law," where it is observed: "The substitution of the Permanent Court of International Justice for the Hague Court of Arbitration in the renewal of the Arbitration Conventions between Great Britain and Sweden and Great Britain and Norway illustrates how the Court, in obtaining extended jurisdiction, is absorbing the work of the earlier tribunals."

Abyssinia and Arbitration

A SMALL but satisfactory piece of news was given publicity by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in a recent answer in the House of Commons. It will be remembered that a good deal of feeling was created last year by the publication of Notes going to show that Great Britain and Italy were "supporting" one another in asking for various concessions at the hands of the Government of Abyssinia. Abyssinia communicated rather vaguely with the League, and Britain and Italy gave explanations. It now appears that the question of League arbitration on the technical conditions under which water should be drawn for the Sudan from the Lake Tsana in Abyssinia is under serious discussion, but that Abyssinia's views on the question are not yet known. If Abyssinia is wise, it will seize on this and every other opportunity of associating itself as closely as possible with Geneva.

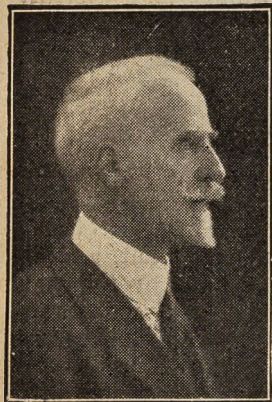
An Industrial Covenant

IN *The Times* of April 20 Sir Daniel Stevenson raised again the question of whether some machinery should not be devised based on the principles of the League of Nations Covenant for the regulation of industrial disputes in Great Britain. The essential paragraph in his letter contains the suggestion "that employers and employed ought to be bound on the lines of Article 12 of the League of Nations Covenant to submit disputes to an industrial court, and to take no action, such as a strike or lockout, which would inflict hardship on the community till two months after the issue of its award. In all, or nearly all, cases terms of settlement would be adjusted by the common sense of most long before the expiry of the two months." Labour conditions in different countries vary so much that it is hardly likely that any international convention on these lines could be negotiated through the International Labour Office. The regulation of industrial disputes, moreover, has up to the present always been regarded as a purely domestic affair. Action on the lines suggested by Sir Daniel Stevenson could, therefore, perfectly well be taken by Great Britain if all the parties concerned so desired. While this is not directly a League of Nations question, the recurrent suggestion that internal industrial disputes should be dealt with on the lines of international disputes is of a good deal of interest and importance.

THE EMPIRE AND THE LEAGUE WHAT THEY MEAN TO ONE ANOTHER

By WICKHAM STEED, *Editor of the "Review of Reviews"*

THE approach of Empire Day this year reminds me of an episode during a visit to Germany last December. At the Berlin High School for Politics I found myself in the presence of some 800 students and professors to whom I had been asked to expound the "New Constitution" of the British Empire. At an earlier meeting with the members of a German political society I had been assured that the British Empire was dead and buried, and that the "New Constitution," that is to say, the Balfour Report on Inter-Imperial relations, had been its winding-sheet. Therefore, at the High School for Politics, I set forth only what I called the philosophy of the Empire, leaving in abeyance the question whether the Empire itself were alive or dead. Most of my hearers seemed, nevertheless, to conclude that



Wickham Steed

I thought it very much alive.

A few weeks later, one of them, an eminent professor of Berlin University who has studied England and British institutions with especial care, sent me an essay he had written in 1925 on the "Independence Movement in the British Colonies." He explained that in this essay he had dwelt upon "the tendencies which have led to the new British Constitution, without the general German assumption that the British Empire is breaking up." He added:—

"I must, however, confess that I do not share the extremely optimistic view which you brought forward in your lecture at our High School for Politics. It will certainly be possible to manage the new Confederation, if the statesman at the helm of British politics is a Bismarck or a Disraeli. But whether the ordinary statesman will be up to the task is another question. Should England be fortunate in having such a statesman at her disposal now, the new loose form of government might even help to bring together Great Britain and America in a kind of Anglo-Saxon Federation; but even the great confidence which I have in the statesmanship of British diplomats is not sufficient to make me expect probabilities from possibilities."

"Muddling Through"

In reply, I confessed that, if the future of the British Commonwealth were to depend upon the abilities of our statesmen at any given moment, I might despair of it, for our diplomacy and our statesmanship were often beneath contempt; but that we usually managed to muddle through because the instincts of the British peoples are, on the whole, sound. And I concluded:—

"We are engaged in a gigantic experiment at a moment of great difficulty. But we have been so accustomed to 'live dangerously' for centuries that we look upon the future without fear. This feeling inspired what you call 'the extremely optimistic view' which I put forward at the High School for Politics. Since intellectual logic never enters into our political outlook, but only the logic of events and of experience, it is quite impossible to judge the prospects of the British Empire by induction or deduction. Of each of its problems we say to ourselves, 'Solvitur ambulando.' We may amble into an abyss or we may climb a higher pinnacle of political achievement than other nations have yet scaled. And the glorious

uncertainty of it is what, in our eyes, constitutes the charm of the experiment."

To this reply I have received no rejoinder. I doubt, indeed, whether it will have been altogether comprehensible to an erudite German mind, steeped in "the Prussian State Idea" and imagining that the British Commonwealth must be based upon a corresponding "Anglo-Saxon State Idea."

The Anglo-Saxon State?

In the past, the weakness of the British Imperialist school of thought has lain precisely in the assumption that there can exist something akin to an "Anglo-Saxon State Idea." This assumption even crept into the "Credo" of the late Lord Milner, which was posthumously published in *The Times* of July 27, 1925. In it Lord Milner wrote:—

"I am a British (indeed, primarily an English) Nationalist. If I am also an Imperialist, it is because the destiny of the English race, owing to its insular position and long supremacy at sea, has been to strike fresh roots in distant parts of the world. . . . I am an Imperialist and not a Little Englander because I am a British Race Patriot."

Lord Milner thought that the British Dominions as a whole are not only self-supporting, but are more nearly self-sufficient than any other political entity in the world, and that they will remain so "if they can be kept an entity, if their present loose and fragile organisation can be made tenacious though elastic."

For my part, I find this conception of the Empire at once too narrow and too negative. It proceeds, at bottom, from a supposition that the British Commonwealth needs to be organised in a spirit of "British Race Patriotism," as an entity, economically and politically, against other entities, and not primarily for co-operation with them in the pursuit of an ideal higher and greater even than that of the British Empire itself. However big it may be, the Milner ideal is patriotically selfish.

Two Leagues of Nations

It is often said that the British Empire is a League of Nations in itself. In a sense this is true; and this truth should render its Dominions, of which Great Britain is now the chief, fitter for the work they have to do in the greater League of Nations. They will acquire, in working with each other, habits of mind that should enable them to be of especial service to the League.

There is but one sure line of development for the British Empire as a whole—to become and to remain pre-eminent in its capacity for international service, to show by its own application of the method of freedom that there is ultimately a more excellent form of governance than any system of constraint or forcible domination. Yet ability to serve presupposes understanding and sympathetic imagination. The value of the League to the British Commonwealth lies not so much in the fact that all the Dominions are members of the League, as in the perennial opportunity the League affords them to educate themselves in knowledge of world affairs, and to educate others in the methods of the British Commonwealth. If Great Britain and the Dominions are willing to learn, ready to help, and steadfastly believe in the twin principles of liberty and co-operation on which the Empire rests, the force of their example may be of inestimable value to the League. Empire Day means to me an annual renewal of the promise which the ideal of the British Commonwealth holds out to mankind at large.

A MACHINE THAT NEVER STOPS HOW THE LEAGUE'S DONKEY-WORK IS DONE

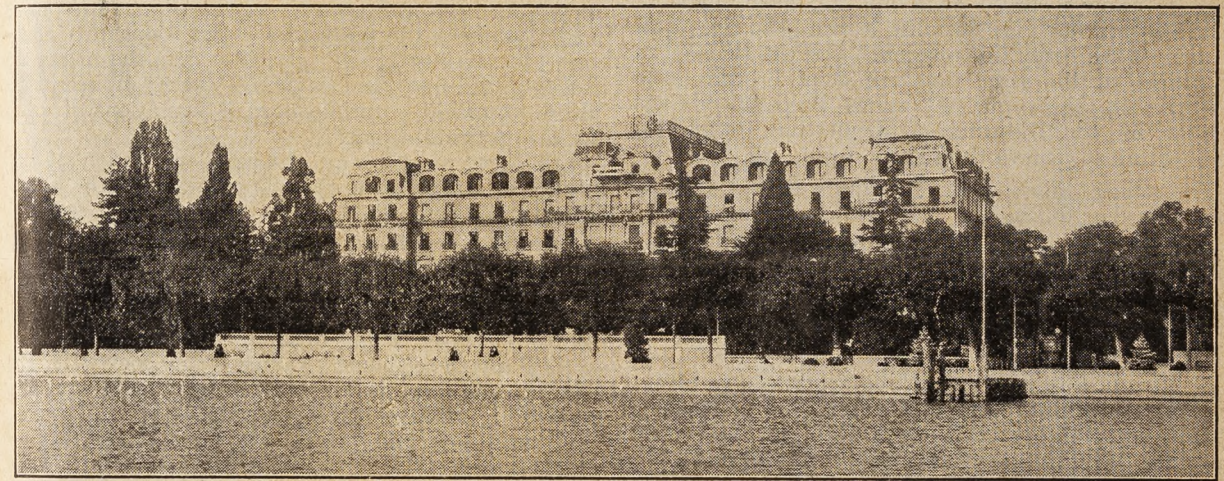
By ROTH WILLIAMS

THE popular idea of the League is that it is some sort of committee or tribunal meeting occasionally at Geneva to stop a war and to be blamed whenever it fails to do so.

There is a profound truth in this view, namely, that the League does stand for peace, and that peace in the long run is impossible without the League, just as the League would ultimately be destroyed if the institution of war continues in the world. But peace should not be thought of in terms of stopping wars any more than growing cabbages should be conceived of in terms of killing beetles. Unless you kill the beetles or whatever the creatures are that infest cabbages, they will probably end by eating your vegetables. On the other hand, unless you devote your main attention to preparing the soil, planting the seeds, and weeding and watering your cabbage patch, killing beetles is not going to help you much.

experts and delegates—passing through the headquarters of the League, fed, canalised and directed by the permanent civil service or Secretariat of the League.

The Secretariat is, perhaps, the least known of the organs of the League, although, with the council and Assembly, it ranks as one of the three fundamental branches of the League's organisation. It is, indeed, to use a mixed metaphor, the dark horse in the machinery of the League. In composing its account has had to be taken of national considerations to the extent, first of all, that there should be a fair balance of nationalities in allocating the posts where the fact of nationality made a difference to the work performed; and, second, that the Secretariat, being an inter-governmental body, could not be composed of persons who at least at the time of their appointment were definitely obnoxious to the Government of the country whose nationals they



PALAIS DES NATIONS

In the same way the League is strengthening peace and "edging-out" war by building up an organised society of nations which leaves no room and no desire for the institution of war. Spectacular meetings of the Council or equally spectacular failures to meet when their services seem needed are important, but they are not the whole story.

In the long run the work of the League in settling disputes would not be possible unless the nations of the world were committed to the view that they must work together in a whole series of questions far removed from politics, such as transport, trade, tariffs, currencies and other economic and financial matters, stopping the traffic in white slaves, controlling the traffic in opium and dangerous drugs, etc., etc. It is this steady day-to-day work which is gradually laying the foundations of a permanent organised world-society whose different parts will eventually be no more willing to go to war than are the different parts of the British Empire or the individual United States of North America.

And this work it is that accounts for the average of a meeting a day maintained by the various committees and sub-committees of the League—the Health Committee alone has 10 sub-committees—most of them meeting on the premises of the League Secretariat. There is a continual stream of international co-operation— "groups," sub-committees, committees, conferences,

happened to be. The third consideration was the personal efficiency of the candidate for the job in hand, including his readiness to act as an international official believing in the League, and not as a national representative anxious to promote the interests of his Government.

It is obvious that these three considerations often conflict, and that to be a good member of the Secretariat requires a number of qualities often difficult to combine. A Secretariat official must have expert knowledge in his particular subject—*i.e.*, be a technician—must possess considerable diplomatic ability, be a bit of a linguist, a good civil servant, and an idealist in the sense that he feels he is serving an organisation which stands for a new idea. The danger of the Secretariat is that it should fossilise into a bureaucracy, or volatilise into a propagandist body, or split up into a number of intriguing national groups. Somehow the Secretariat must keep to the happy mean between all these extremes, and while remaining an instrument and a willing, effective, and prompt instrument of the Council and Assembly, must not forget that it is a living, Covenant-bound instrument. And on the whole it does too that line extremely well.

But to indicate the background and spirit of the Secretariat's work is not the same thing as describing the day-to-day activities that fill the time of the five

hundred men and women that inhabit the Hotel National and its annexes on the shore of the Lake of Geneva.

The Registry, Roneo and Typing Departments, the Translators and Interpreters' Section, the Library, the Establishment Office (except for its constant pre-occupation with obtaining tickets and passport visas) do much the same kind of work as corresponding departments in any big office. The Information Section may be likened to a press bureau in any Foreign Office, except that its personnel and its range are larger. The Political and Legal Sections resemble similar departments in a foreign office.

MOBILISING A NATION HOW FRANCE WILL FACE THE NEXT WAR

IN the last issue of HEADWAY, it was stated that an article by a French writer on the new French "Mobilisation of the Nation" Law would appear in the May number. The article had inexplicably failed to arrive at the time it was necessary for HEADWAY to go to press, but the summary of the law which appears below is based on a full statement made by M. Paul Boncour, the Socialist leader, who was Rapporteur of the Army Commission. M. Paul Boncour is, of course, at the same time the chief French representative on the League of Nations' Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, which has been sitting at Geneva throughout April.

The salient points of M. Boncour's Report may be summarised as follows:—

(1) The Bill to a large extent merely consolidates and co-ordinates various orders and decrees, provisional or absolute, issued in the last seven years, with a view to the preparation of the whole population for the emergency of war.

(2) The law is based on three fundamental ideas: (a) War in the future will be an affair not of professional armies, but of the whole population of the combatant countries. (b) The transition from peace organisation to war organisation must be so prepared in advance as to operate with the minimum of disturbance to the peaceful activity of the country. (c) Legislation is needed sufficiently elastic and broad in its provisions to adapt itself to varying circumstances and to facilitate constant development and revision.

"Without Distinction of Sex"

(3) The duty of national defence falls on every age and on both sexes. The provision of the new law in this regard assumes the following shape:—

"In time of war all French citizens and French dependents, without distinction of age or sex, and all legally constituted associations, are required to participate under the conditions laid down in Articles 5 and 16 of the present law in the defence of the country or the maintenance of its moral and material life."

(4) National mobilisation may be ordered "either in the case of manifest aggression, which lays the country under the immediate necessity of self-defence, or in circumstances contemplated by the League of Nations Covenant."

(5) The guiding principle in preparing any national mobilisation is to provide for: (a) Priority of the needs of the armed forces. (b) Satisfaction of the vital necessities of the civil population. (c) Maintenance of the national activity at a level adequate to safeguard the national equipment, the intellectual and professional training of youth, economic development, etc.

The work of the Transit, Economic and Financial, Health, Social, etc., Sections is something new and unique. It is of first-class quality, as is witnessed by the growing prestige and volume of their publications and other purely technical work, but it is hardly an exaggeration to say that this work is the least important of their activities. They act as the living link between branches of national life in the different countries that have hitherto never been connected, and which they are weaving together into a firm and world-wide structure that is forming the basis for the new society gradually arising on the ruins of the old.

To Commandeer Everything

(6) In accordance with the fundamental principle that the whole of the national resources in men and material must be placed at the disposal of the Government, the law in its various articles (a) fixes rules for the employment of individuals in time of war; (b) arms the Government with the power of requisition to enable it to provide itself with the necessary service and resources and lays down the conditions under which this power may be exercised; (c) provides for the necessary "taking of inventories" in time of peace; (d) secures to the Government proprietorship of inventions of value for the national defence.

(7) There must be an absolute suppression of war profits to render impossible a recurrence of the abuses which took place in the last war and provoked such bitterness and such legitimate resentment. The sums paid on requisitioning should, therefore, exclude provision for profits, but should cover the cost price in the case of goods or the interest on capital and amortisation in the case of factories, houses or land.

(8) Parliament should retain supreme control in time of war and Deputies should normally continue their duties. If, however, they prefer to go to the trenches, they must definitely vacate their seats, unless they are invalidated out of the army, the constituency, meanwhile, choosing someone else to represent it.

The Whole Land a War-Zone

(9) In view of the character of modern war, it is necessary to organise a defence not merely of frontiers, but of the whole national territory. While, therefore, the defence of the land frontiers falls naturally under the Ministry of War, the defence of sea frontiers under the Ministry of Marine, the defence of the country as a whole is laid on the Minister of the Interior, acting on the advice of the Superior Council of National Defence.

The Bill contains full administrative details as to the part played by the different Ministries and by Inter-Ministerial Committees for the organisation of the nation in war time. It is to be observed that it pays scrupulous regard to the provisions of the League of Nations Covenant, one Article being specially drafted to provide for French co-operation in any Sanctions which the League may find it necessary to organise under Article 16 of the Covenant, while it is pointed out more than once that anything like premature mobilisation would be contrary to the spirit and letter of the Covenant, which seeks to postpone every provocative step to the last possible moment and leave the maximum of time for mediation and conciliation. This consideration is given prominence in order to emphasise the necessity of constructing a mobilisation machinery that can operate efficiently at the shortest notice, and need not, therefore, be set in motion till every hope of averting war has been abandoned.

THE ALBANIAN TROUBLE TYING THE LEAGUE COUNCIL'S HANDS

By H. WILSON HARRIS

THE trouble that has arisen between Italy and Jugo-Slavia over Albania might not be of so much consequence in itself if there were not so much that lay behind it. Albania, as the map on this page shows, is very nearly the smallest State in Europe. It supports a population of, roughly, a million, and in size is a little more than twice as large as Wales. It has only been an independent State since 1913, and even so could hardly be called independent in a real sense till 1920. Down to 1913 Albania belonged to Turkey, and it was as a result of the two successful series of Balkan wars in 1912 and 1913 that this small bit of coast and mountain territory was made into a separate State. The Conference of London in 1913 marked out most of its frontiers, though the process was not actually finished till 1923, when General Tellini, a member of the Inter-Allied Commission engaged on this work, got murdered on the Greek side of the frontier, and so precipitated the whole Corfu episode.

Italy and the Adriatic

In 1920 Albania was admitted to the League of Nations, largely with the idea that her independence would be better safeguarded thereby. Italy, however, has always had her eye on the country, and Italian troops have since 1914 occupied a little island called Saseno, in the harbour of Valona, the chief port of Albania, situated at the nearest point to the Italian shore. Italian interest in Albania is twofold. It is a possible field for emigration and for commercial exploitation. But, what is more important, if Italy could control the Albanian coast, she would be in a position to make the Adriatic an Italian lake, for the Straits of Otranto, which separate the two, are no more than 45 miles across. If, therefore, Italy cannot actually get Valona herself, she must take very good care that no one else does either. The other States which Albania might have reason to fear are her only two neighbours on the landward side, Jugo-Slavia and Greece. In 1921 the League Council had to step in and stop a sudden Jugo-Slav invasion.

Jugo-Slavia's Fears

These facts go far to explain the anxiety and alarms that have lately disturbed Europe, and south-east Europe in particular. The first serious move was at the end of last November, when Italy signed a treaty with Albania which has been described, with a little exaggeration, as establishing virtually an Italian protectorate over Albania. That is going a little far, for what the treaty actually says is that "any movement directed against the political, juridical and territorial *status quo* of Albania is contrary to the mutual political interests" of the two countries, and that the two signatories bind themselves to give one another mutual support for the protection of those interests.

Whatever the real effect of the treaty, it caused great perturbation in Jugo-Slavia, and resulted actually in the resignation of the Jugo-Slav Cabinet, which appeared to have been badly checkmated by Italy so far as influence in Albania was concerned. Much more recently—that is to say, in the middle of March of this year—Italy suddenly addressed a Note to several European Powers charging Jugo-Slavia with extensive military preparations undertaken with a view to the invasion of Albania. This accusation was vehemently denied by the Jugo-Slav Foreign Minister, who expressed willingness for an enquiry by the League of Nations into the whole allegation. That course was not followed, since France and Britain urged Italy and Jugo-Slavia

to try and compose their differences by direct negotiation, and matters seem still to be drifting in that direction.

The most important part of the whole affair is that attention has once more been called to a document signed by the Conference of Ambassadors on November 9, 1921, wherein Britain, France and Japan conceded definitely to Italy a predominant position in relation to Albania. The Conference of Ambassadors was, of course, a kind of committee, or second eleven, of the Supreme Council of the Allies. The document in question lays it down that in the event of Albania finding her frontiers threatened, and bringing the matter before the League of Nations, "the Governments of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan will instruct their representatives on the Council of the League of Nations to recommend that the restoration of the territorial frontiers of Albania should be entrusted to Italy," and that even if Albania should not bring the



matter before the League herself (she very well might not if she desired to avoid Italian intervention), the Allies themselves would bring it up and still recommend Italian intervention as the proper course.

This is a singularly unfortunate and embarrassing legacy for Sir Austen Chamberlain to inherit, and so long as the British Government remains bound by the 1921 agreement, it will be adopting a quite improper attitude towards the League of Nations. It is true, of course, that the Allied Powers only undertake to "recommend" a certain course to the Council—they obviously could do no more than that—but such a combined recommendation would have almost overwhelming weight. If Albania or any other country is threatened, the one course for the League Council to take is to survey the situation in all its aspects and adopt whatever action may seem best in the particular circumstances of the moment. The Allied Powers have definitely pledged themselves to do nothing of the kind. No matter what the situation may be, they are to advise Italian intervention.

Whatever may have been the justification in November, 1921, for recommending a certain course in the

event of trouble taking place, let us say, before the end of December, 1921, it must be grossly improper that a decision of 1921 should bind the hands of the League in any circumstances that may happen to arise in 1927. (Incidentally, there was no Fascist Government in 1921.) Yet its hands are so bound, and Great Britain is one of the chief instruments in binding them. The 1921 agreement is not a formal treaty, and no provision is made for its denunciation, but this country can, of course, withdraw from it by merely announcing its intention to do so. The recent trouble regarding Albania may perhaps draw sufficient attention to the agreement to give force to the demand that Great Britain at any rate should set herself free from it forthwith.

IN THE HOUSE

April 6.—Mr. LOCKER-LAMPSON (to Mr. Spoor): The list of conventions and protocols drafted under the auspices of the League of Nations and open for signature by any State member of the League is as follows:—

(1) Protocols amending articles 4, 6, 12, 13, 15, 16 and 26 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

(2) Amendment of Article 393 of the Treaty of Versailles and the corresponding Articles of the other Treaties of Peace: Protocol thereto.

(3) Protocol on Arbitration Clauses in Commercial Matters.

(4) Protocol amending Article 16 of the League of Nations of 27/9/24.

(5) Protocol amending Article 16 of the League of Nations of 21/9/25.

(6) Protocol for Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

(7) Protocol of Signature of Statute of Permanent Court of International Justice.

(8) Optional Clause recognising Court's Jurisdiction as described in Article 36 of the Statute.

(9) Agreement Protocol and Final Act of the First Opium Conference on the League of Nations.

(10) Convention regarding Measurement of Vessels employed in Inland Navigation.

Nos. (1), (2), (3), (7) and (9) have been ratified by His Majesty the King in respect of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

April 6.—Sir A. CHAMBERLAIN (to Commander Bellairs): The state of affairs in Georgia and the question of the suppression of the liberties of that republic has already come before the League of Nations. The circumstances of the case have made it impossible for the League to take any action in the matter.

April 6.—Sir A. CHAMBERLAIN (to Mr. Ponsonby): We ourselves gladly brought our dispute with Turkey as to the boundary of Iraq before the League of Nations. In the present case of the territorial integrity of Albania, I hope that the dispute will be settled among the parties interested without reference to the League, as a direct settlement is infinitely better than an appeal to other bodies.

April 7.—Mr. GODFREY LOCKER-LAMPSON (to Mr. T. Thomson): The Anti-Slavery Convention was open for signature until April 1, and for accession after that date. According to most recent information thirty-three States had signed previous to that date. Signatures are subject to ratification.

April 7.—Mr. LOCKER-LAMPSON (to Mr. Barr): It is hoped that the League of Nations Conference on the Private Manufacture of Arms will meet this autumn, but a definite date has not yet been fixed.

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

GENEVA PERSONALITIES

IV.—DR. EDUARD BENES

THE Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia has been there was any Czechoslovakia, and he has been a regular attendant at League of Nations meetings ever since there was a League of Nations. He was at the First Assembly in 1920 and has been at every Assembly since. He represented his country when it became a member of the Council in January, 1924, and has represented it at every Council since.

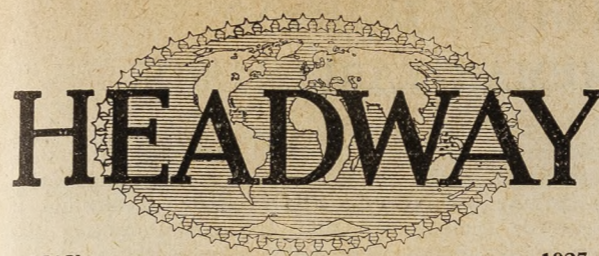
Dr. Benes is one member of a great dual partnership, the other member being Dr. Masaryk, the President of Czechoslovakia. Dr. Masaryk is 77, Dr. Benes is 42, and the one treats the other as a son. When, in the early days of the war, the Czech independence party broke definitely and finally from Austria-Hungary, Dr. Masaryk came to London and Dr. Benes went to



Dr. Eduard Benes

Paris to organise the future State of Czechoslovakia and win it friendships in England and France. Thus it was that Dr. Benes became Foreign Minister in the Czechoslovak Government in 1915, when there was no Czechoslovakia and the so-called Government consisted of a National Council in exile. He has held the post ever since.

One of the shrewdest and best-informed observers of international affairs in Europe, Dr. Benes has played a prominent part at Geneva in reconciling antagonists and giving effect to those ideals for which the League of Nations fundamentally stands. As the chief architect of the Little Entente—the semi-alliance between the three neighbouring States of Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania—he is naturally a believer in regional understandings. At the time when relations between Britain and France were seriously strained, Benes was among the foremost in insisting that the peace of Europe depended on a continued friendship between the two great Powers of the West. He was one of the earliest advocates of the admission of Germany to the League and it fell to him to preside over the first Council at which a German delegate sat.



MAY,

1927

A DISARMAMENT START

THE most surprising feature of the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference was that after the Commission had been sitting for over a month in the full glare of a pitiless publicity—for there was not a single private session—nobody in England knew what the Commission had actually done. It had manifestly not succeeded in its task. It had sat down to draft a convention and it had not drafted one. But how near it had come to success and what were the points on which it split—on that it was completely impossible when this issue of HEADWAY went to press, four and a-half weeks after the Commission began its sittings, to get any reliable information whatever. There have, of course, been reports in the British newspapers, and notably the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*, but it is impossible to reconstruct from them a clear account of the Commission's decisions and failures to decide, and as for official League publicity it seems (for the first time, be it said to its credit) to have failed rather seriously, so far, at any rate, as Great Britain is concerned, to get the facts across.

This is extremely unfortunate, for there is no subject on which it is more essential for the public of all countries to be informed. The difficulties, of course, are formidable. Clear-cut decisions by the Commission have been the exception. There were tentative agreements, clauses adopted with reservations, others adjourned to be taken up later—everything in fact but a concrete set of self-explanatory resolutions. But that is all the more reason why someone on the spot should have made it his business to explain proceedings that conspicuously fail to explain themselves, for even the verbatim reports of the daily meetings of the Commission omit again and again to indicate what the Commission did, though they lavish reams on reams of what the Commission said.

To summarize such information as is obtainable from various sources, it seems to be broadly true that the commission reached an unsatisfactory half-agreement on the question of land forces, a rather less unsatisfactory one on air, none at all on budget limitation, none at all on international supervision, and none at all on navies. That, it need hardly be pointed out, is not a result to be particularly proud of. On the other hand it is nothing to cause despair. To begin with, those respected leaders who have insisted that if the League broke down in its disarmament endeavours, it broke down altogether, would probably admit to-day that they spoke too strongly. It is true, undoubtedly, that if, in spite of all the League of Nations is and does, the race in armaments goes recklessly and indefinitely on, much of the value of the League's best work will have been cancelled out. But it is not in the least degree true that if the League fails to carry through a particular disarmament scheme at its first attempt it may as well put up its shutters. That kind of declaration by the League's friends does it more harm than all the missiles its enemies can project against it.

It has to be remembered, moreover, that the Preparatory Commission in its March and April sittings

was not attempting to reach finality. What it decided to do was to run over the whole ground, reaching agreement where agreement seemed fairly easy to come by, and postponing to a second reading those questions which proved for the moment insoluble. Foremost among the latter, as the event has shown, is naval limitation, and the result of the deadlock reached in regard to that will probably be that no more will be done in the matter in the full commission till after the separate conversations between the representatives of Great Britain, the United States and Japan in June. That may be no bad thing. Rightly or wrongly the British Admiralty seems disposed to put its back into the Coolidge conversations much more than into the larger discussions in the Preparatory Commission, and it is credited with the intention of taking a quite imposing limitation proposal to Geneva next month. The writer of an article on another page regarding the Preparatory Commission's work may well be right, therefore, in suggesting that a general naval agreement may be easier to reach after the Coolidge conversations than before them.

The Preparatory Commission's deliberations have undoubtedly had one result. With one or two possible exceptions the nations concerned have all given evidence of a sincere desire to limit armaments. But the difficulty of framing a definite scheme covering the condition of States differing fundamentally in their anxieties, their geographical situation, their responsibilities, their resources, has been shown to be almost insuperable. That has led in some quarters to a rather pernicious bandying of insinuations. "Great Britain," say the French, "is out to reduce the French army and maintain her own naval supremacy." "France," suggests a certain school of British critics, "is resolved to have whatever army she likes and whatever navy she likes—especially submarines." If that kind of comment is noticed at all it must be noticed only to be condemned. Given free rein it would pave the way for war instead of peace.

The first need now is to take our bearings. We know there was a British draft convention and a French draft convention before the Preparatory Commission. We know that an attempt was made to blend the two. We do not yet know in any detail where it succeeded and where it failed, or why it succeeded and why it failed. Approaching the subject with open minds, we shall not be disposed to assume in advance that the British plan was right at all points and the French plan wrong at all points. It may well have been quite otherwise. But that is a question on which minds must now be made up. There will be a "second reading" of the skeleton convention—still, it is to be feared, a very incomplete skeleton—at no distant date. The British Government will have then to decide where to stand firm and where to give way, for clearly there must be give and take if we are to get anywhere at all. On that public opinion must have some say. There are points on which the British plan is clearly the sounder. On others the French seem able to make a very good case. Let us examine them all with detached minds, and attempt to exert pressure in this country towards compromise where such pressure seems justified, looking to sincere believers in disarmament in France to act similarly there.

Meanwhile there is no cause for despondency. Some progress has been made, if less than many of us hoped. More will be attempted, for the League is always there to go on with what it has once begun. It is a great thing that the United States has thrown itself wholeheartedly into the discussions. If by chance Russia should decide to join in them now that her quarrel with Switzerland is settled these early delays may prove to have been blessings in disguise.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES TO-DAY

IV—THE SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN SIDE

THE Social Section of the League of Nations Secretariat and the work falling under that Section's general supervision has been conspicuously in the public eye for the past few weeks as a result of the publication of Part I of the Report on the White Slave Traffic. The inquiry on which that Report was



Dame Rachel Crowdy

based sprang, in the first instance, from a resolution of the Committee for the Protection of Women and the Welfare of Children, which stands in the same relation to the Social Section as the Health Committee does to the Health Section, or the Transit Committee to the Section of the Secretariat bearing the same name.

Regarding the actual scope of the social work of the League, there have been wider differences of opinion than about any other department of the League's activity. Lord Cecil's speech at the last Assembly, insisting that the League should confine itself to undertakings that come properly within its purview as involving international co-operation, was prompted largely by some of the proposals that had been laid before the Child Welfare Committee.

Traffic in Vice

However that may be, there can be no question that the principal activities of the Social Section (the head of the Section is Dame Rachel Crowdy), those concerned, namely, with the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium, are indisputably international. Neither evil can be suppressed without the concurrent and co-ordinated action of practically every civilised State, and the Social Section to-day, as always, is diligently occupied in making this co-operation more real and more effective.

As regards opium, a very striking publication has just been issued showing the extent of the seizures of smuggled narcotics made by different Governments the world over. One valuable result of the existence of the League has been to create a clearing-house for the receipt and publication of this information, which serves the double purpose of warning would-be traffickers of the danger they run and of stirring the public generally to a realisation of the extent of the opium evil. The Opium Committee, at its last meeting, dealt with a variety of proposals designed to make the League's perpetual battle against the drug evil more effective than it so far has been. In particular, consideration of Governments was given to methods of Government supervision which would check the supply of illicit drugs by manufacturers, and at the next stage of the traffic would secure a more rigorous control of imports and exports. Special attention, moreover, is being focussed at the present moment on the leakage of illicit opium to the Far East from ports in the Persian Gulf, and other countries are being urged to adopt the same stringent regulations which Great Britain imposes on all British vessels trading in that zone.

France and Japan Move

No immediate action can be taken on the white slave traffic till any measures concerted have been authorised by the League Council, which meets next

in June, but, at a meeting of the Advisory Committee held in the last week in April, such measures were actually under discussion with a view to the preparation of definite proposals for the Council. Meanwhile, it must be remembered that the Social Section has perpetually under observation the working of the White Slave Traffic Convention of 1921, which was itself the result of the deliberations of the Women and Children's Committee. Reports are received yearly on this from most of the countries members of the League, and some progress has regularly to be reported in one quarter or another. Almost every year, for example, some country reports that it has abandoned or is abandoning the pernicious system of licensed houses of prostitution.

The latest moves in that direction are being taken by Japan and France. In Japan a remarkable draft law has been prepared by the Government for submission to Parliament, providing that, from the date of the passage of the law, there shall be no further registration of licensed houses, and that the existing houses shall be finally abolished in 1933. In France, an Extra-Parliamentary Official Committee of 60 members has reported unanimously against the continuance of the licensed-house system, and it is anticipated that this recommendation will be embodied in a Parliamentary Bill. One of the questions the Advisory Commission has now before it has regard to possible measures for the welfare of prostitutes expelled from the houses when the system is thus brought to an end.

Women Police

Lesser matters on which the Social Section has recently been working deal with the desirability or otherwise of women police and the great variations existing as between different countries in the age of consent and marriage. In this connection, one striking feature is the disposition of various Asiatic countries, notably Japan, India and Turkey, to put up the age of marriage, while various European countries with low standards remain inactive. The question of women police is not, on the face of it, international at all, but it came, in fact, before the Advisory Committee as an international matter because of the emphasis laid on the value of such police in connection with the international traffic in women.

Protection of Children

Two minor, but interesting, international Conventions are being projected, one dealing with the question of enforcing allowances made to legitimate or illegitimate children in one country by a father who has migrated to another. It is, obviously, difficult at present to enforce an undertaking that such allowances shall be paid, but by international co-operation it is believed that effective enforcement could be secured. The other Convention deals with the repatriation of neglected and delinquent children. That is a problem which has little reality for those living, like ourselves, in an island State. In continental countries with land frontiers the matter is altogether different, and it appears that in certain regions, particularly the Balkans, cases falling under this head are sufficiently numerous to make it desirable to effect some international agreement as to the steps to be taken to send back all children of this kind to the country of their origin, and, what is often most important, to decide how the expenses of such repatriation shall be apportioned.

LAW-MAKING AT GENEVA

WORLD-LEGISLATION ON NEW LINES

By A LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

THE League Committee for the Progressive Codification of International Law, which has just concluded its third session at Geneva, owes its origin to a resolution adopted by the Assembly of September, 1924, on the motion of the Swedish Foreign Minister, whereby the Council was requested:—

To convene a committee of experts, not merely possessing individually the required qualifications, but also as a body representing the main forms of civilisation and the principal legal systems of the world. This committee, after eventually consulting the most authoritative organisations which have devoted themselves to the study of international law, and without trespassing in any way upon the official initiative which may have been taken by particular States, shall have the duty:

(1) To prepare a provisional list of the subjects of international law the regulation of which by international agreement would seem to be most desirable and realisable at the present moment; and,

(2) After communication of the list by the Secretariat to the Governments of States, whether members of the League or not, for their opinion, to examine the replies received; and,

(3) To report to the Council on the questions which are sufficiently ripe and on the procedure which might be followed with a view to preparing eventually for conferences for their solution.

Professor J. L. Brierly, of Oxford, is the British member of the Committee.

Nearing Agreement

It must be noted that it is not the duty of this committee to codify international law, but merely to report to the Council as to the topics the codification of which is both desirable and realisable, and as to the best procedure for achieving this result. In England, where we have several very successful instances of piecemeal codification, such as the Sale of Goods Act, 1893, but no general code, the word "codification" is usually taken to mean the process of translating into actual statutes customary law and the rules arising from the decisions of the courts of law. But elsewhere the word means this and something more. For our present purpose, I think that codification may be regarded as the securing, by means of general conventions, of agreement among the States upon certain topics of international law: these conventions being based upon existing international law, both customary and conventional, modified so as to reconcile conflicting views, and render agreement possible.

Seven Subjects Ready

The Committee has set about its task in this way. After the consideration of reports prepared by sub-committees of its members it selected the following seven topics as being among those the codification of which seemed to them to be both desirable and realisable, and submitted the reports, with (in some cases) draft conventions attached, to the Governments of all States:

(1) Nationality (including double nationality, statelessness, and the position of women who marry foreigners).

(2) Territorial waters (including bays and straits).

(3) Diplomatic privileges and immunities.

(4) Responsibility of states in respect of injury caused in their territory to the person or property of foreigners.

(5) Procedure of International Conferences and for the Conclusion and Drafting of Treaties.

(6) Piracy.

(7) Exploitation of the Products of the Sea.

After studying the replies of the Governments upon these subjects the Committee in its recent session (March 22-April 2) reported to the Council that all these questions were sufficiently ripe for regulation by international agreement in the near future. It does not by any means follow that the appropriate procedure for codifying all these subjects is the same. Nos. 5 and 7 are highly technical, and will probably be more satisfactorily dealt with by technical committees than by the ordinary international conference. It will be for the Council to decide what action to take in each case.

Of the seven perhaps the most important are Nos. 1, 2 and 4. If agreement could be reached upon these—or even upon portions of them—a substantial advance would have been made. In particular, No. 3 suggests two incidents in the year 1923 which gave rise to a great deal of friction, and in one case to a serious crisis, namely, the killing of General Tellini in Greece (which led to the Corfu episode); and of Vorowski in Switzerland, as a result of which all relations between Russia and Switzerland were broken off for four years, and Russia would in consequence send no delegates to any conference on Swiss soil. Codification cannot prevent the happening of events which give rise to international disputes, but when they occur within the domain of law, the existence of a set of agreed rules governing the dispute will make it easier to find a solution. It will be noticed that the Committee has, wisely, I think, not concerned itself with the law of war. Too much time in the past has been devoted to the law of war—at the expense of the law of peace.

More Work Ahead

But these seven topics do not exhaust the labours of the Committee. At their recent session they also devoted themselves to the study of certain other subjects, and decided to submit them to the Governments for their opinion on the desirability and prospects of codification. These are:—

(1) The legal position of Consuls.

(2) The revision of the Classification (made at Vienna in 1815, and revised at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818) of Diplomatic Agents.

(3) The competence of courts of law in regard to Foreign States—that is, how far one State is, or should be, immune from being sued in the courts of another.

(4) The communication of judicial and extra-judicial acts in penal matters—that is, the co-operation of States with one another in the repression of crime, by interchange of records of convictions, facilitation of the summoning of witnesses to give evidence in foreign courts, etc. (The efforts to get an English witness to France in connection with the Nurse Daniels case at Boulogne illustrate the importance of this latter point.)

Such is a brief and avowedly incomplete account of one of the less sensational of the League's activities. For reasons connected with our history and legal institutions, it excites less interest in Great Britain than in many American and European countries, where the process of clarifying and codifying the law is looked upon as essential to the final establishment of the Rule of Law among nations. But we are bound, nevertheless, to give the movement our active sympathy.

PARING THE I.L.O. CHEESE

ONE of the most interesting features of the recent meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, held as usual at Geneva, was the proposal that the October meeting should not be held as usual at Geneva. That proposal came from the German Government delegate, Herr Feig, who, on behalf of his Government, extended an official invitation to the Governing Body to meet in October in Berlin. The acceptance of the invitation will mean that the work of the I.L.O. will be brought home in a new way to the German people, who, by the way, have been represented on the I.L.O. from the first, though they did not enter the League of Nations till last year.

Though this invitation may come first in order of interest, first in order of importance must be put the debate on the budget for next year, which revealed a persistent and disquieting tendency on the part of members of the Governing Body, particularly the government representatives and employers, to insist that the more work the Organisation does the less money it shall have to do it with. What was asked for was a sum of 8,000,000 Swiss francs (about £320,000). What was actually voted was approximately 10 per cent. less than this total. This course was taken though the Director of the I.L.O. pointed out that the sum he was asking for was considerably less than the amount approved five years ago, in spite of the large expansion of the work of the Labour Office and the fact that this year there would be various automatic increases due to salary increments and to the creation (most important as a means of stimulating Oriental interest in the League) of a Correspondent's office in India.

No Use for Films

This passion for cheese-paring accounted also for the treatment accorded to the proposals put forward by the Italian Government delegate, Signor de Michelis. His proposal for the constitution of a special Committee to help the Office in its relations with intellectual workers was accepted on the understanding that the Committee should not be given anything in the nature of a permanent character; whilst his second proposal, for the establishment of a special section in the Labour Office to study and collect cinematograph films on industrial and labour questions, was, as indicated elsewhere in this issue of HEADWAY, rejected except for the appointment of an additional clerk to assist in collecting and classifying information regarding such films.

The decision regarding the work of the I.L.O. in connection with Russian and Armenian refugees was left a little vague. The Governing Body took over this work, with some reluctance, from the League Secretariat in 1925, and has never accepted proper responsibility for it. The British Government is credited with a desire to bring the service to an end, an attitude in which supporters of the I.L.O. see a rather ungracious return for the economies by which the British Government (which had offered £150,000 in order to get rid of a costly encumbrance) benefited when the Denikin refugees in Cyprus and Egypt were repatriated by Dr. Nansen on behalf of the League for a sum of £70,000, receiving back half the difference, to wit £40,000.

Work and Play at Sea

One other question which found the British Government in the firing-line was the problem of hours of work at sea. The question had, in spite of the fierce opposition of the British representative, been placed provisionally on the agenda of the special Maritime Conference to be held next year. That decision being reconsidered, Mr. Humbert Wolfe once more declared that the British Government was against any discussion, and asked for an adjournment. As a compromise, it has been decided that the special conference shall be held in 1929 instead

of 1928. The French, it may be mentioned, are the foremost in insisting on the need for regulating hours of work at sea.

Finally, one important matter of procedure was decided. A committee of 10 members has been appointed to examine the reports made annually by governments regarding the application of labour conventions they have ratified. This means that a searchlight will be turned automatically year by year on the execution by each country of the obligations it assumes when it signs and ratifies conventions. The personnel of the committee, therefore, matters a good deal, and it is satisfactory to know that among the members now appointed are Professor H. W. C. Davis, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford (nominated by the British Ministry of Labour), and Sir Selwyn Fremantle (nominated by the High Commission for India), who has played an important part in industrial history in India, and Professor Rappard, Rector of the University of Geneva, and a member of the Permanent Mandates Commission, and formerly Director of the Mandates Section of the League Secretariat.

A NEW MOVE AT GENEVA

NOTHING could be more desirable than that Geneva, which is already rapidly becoming a centre for almost everything international, should be enriched by a new institution devoted more particularly to the study of international problems of every kind and in all their bearings.



Prof. Paul Mantoux

This new organisation is to be known as the University Institute of Higher International Studies, and its creation has been made possible by the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation. Under the general direction of M. Paul Mantoux, formerly Director of the Political Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, and before the war Professor of Modern History in London University, the Institute will provide facilities for regular and systematic post-graduate

study, being thus sharply distinguished from the various brief lecture courses held at present at Geneva in the summer months. It will open its doors in October.

In the League city there is, of course, unrivalled opportunity for studying at close quarters the operation of international institutions, and at the same time students of the Institute will be able to attend lectures on special subjects, take part in round-table conferences and receive help and guidance in their personal research. It is intended that a special diploma or doctorate shall be granted, the latter by the University of Geneva, the former probably by the Institute itself, on the basis of essays and theses presented by students.

In addition to its permanent staff, the Institute will draw on the services of the many distinguished visitors who pass through Geneva almost every week. It is governed by a board of five members—Professor Uden, of the University of Upsala (formerly Foreign Minister of Sweden); Mr. Vernon Kellogg, American member of the League Committee on Intellectual Co-operation; the Rector of Geneva University; the Head of the Department of Public Instruction of the Canton of Geneva, and the Head of the Federal Department of the Interior. As a centre both for advanced instruction and for research, the Institute promises to fill a most valuable place in the general Geneva scheme of things.

THE POWERS AND CHINA

THE situation in China changes so rapidly that it is of little use to attempt to deal with it in any detail in a monthly publication. Even daily papers find it hard enough to keep pace with the perpetual shifting of the scenes. So far as the rival factions are concerned, moreover, the success of one or the other does not greatly affect the relation of external Powers with the area still known—and, of course, correctly—as China. In the third week of April the position was that three rival governments were in being instead of two—established at Peking, Nanking and Hankow respectively—and that both at Shanghai and Canton the star of the extreme Nationalists seemed temporarily waning. But any general was still capable of changing sides at any moment and for any reason; and such a move might easily turn the situation upside down once more.

Regarding relations between the Powers, particularly Great Britain, and what was till a couple of weeks or so ago the recognised Southern, or Nationalist Government, rather more remains to be said. The attacks on foreigners at Nanking at the end of March were made the subject of separate but identical protests by five Great Powers—Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France and Italy—ample apologies and adequate reparation being demanded. The reply given by Mr. Eugene Chen, Foreign Minister of the then Southern Government, was deemed unsatisfactory, and what was in effect a naval demonstration, though it was not publicly called that, took place off Hankow. By that time the position of Mr. Chen was a little problematic, for a rival Nationalist Government to his own had meanwhile been set up at Nanking, further down the Yangtze. For that reason the Powers seemed disposed to hold their hands a little and see what events might bring forth.

Assessment by the League

But the Nanking episode, which called forth the protest of the Powers, has an importance of its own as raising in a new form the question of action by the League of Nations. The Powers are asking for reparation. If it be conceded—and even Mr. Chen has conceded so much, that reparation is in fact due—someone must decide what the amount of the reparation shall be. Who is to fix the sum? It is not to be supposed that the demand of the Powers and the offer of the Chinese will be in sight of one another. Nothing could be worse from every point of view than that the Powers should back their demand with a menace of force. Some better way than that must be found.

What that way should be seems clear enough. All the countries concerned, except the United States, are members of the League of Nations. By the League Covenant they are bound to submit to arbitration or judicial settlement or inquiry by the Council any dispute likely to lead to a rupture. Further than that, they have declared that among the subjects "generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement" are the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any breach of an international obligation. Obviously, therefore, the proper course is for the question of reparation for the Nanking outrages to be submitted either to a special board of arbitrators or to the Permanent Court of Justice. If an investigation into the facts of the Nanking occurrences were essential, it would probably be necessary for the League Council to send a small commission of inquiry to the spot; but in the main the facts themselves do not seem to be in dispute. And if they are accepted, the business of fixing the reparation total can go forward at once. The League of Nations Executive was fully justified in urging that this matter should go to the Permanent Court.

EXPLOITING THE FILM.

EXPECTATION that the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation would authorise a new adventure in the field of films found no justification in the proceedings of the Governing Body when it met at the beginning of last month.

The proposal, originally made by the Italian delegate, Signor de Michelis, was of considerable interest. Signor de Michelis emphasised the extraordinary efficacy of the film for making an appeal which could be conveyed through no other medium, and he laid special stress on the value of the cinema in giving instruction on such questions as factory hygiene, the prevention of industrial accidents, scientific management, industrial equipment and the various systems of production. His rather ambitious proposal, therefore, was that a special section should be created within the Labour Office to be called the International Social Cinematograph Exchange, the object being to centralise films of the character indicated, arrange for their exchange between different countries and organise information and publicity regarding all practical questions arising out of the use of the cinema for social and educational purposes.

M. Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labour Office, in a memorandum attached to the Italian delegate's proposal, gave the suggestion in general a warm support, though he made certain reserves on the ground of expense, and took the view that a decision might well be made that the I.L.O. should constitute either an actual collection, or at any rate a catalogue, of films of educational value from a social point of view and arrange for their exchange. When these proposals got to the Governing Body the most that could be secured was that, instead of the establishment of a special section in the Labour Office for the purpose indicated by Signor de Michelis, there should be appointed one additional clerk to assist in collecting and classifying information on all films of a specifically industrial and League character.

The Office is, therefore, to take no steps in the actual handling of films, but merely to give information regarding them.

TARIFFS AND TRUSTS

THE long-heralded International Economic Conference opens at Geneva on May 4, and is expected to sit till nearly the end of the month. Its purpose, as defined in the Assembly resolution, out of which it arose, is "to investigate the economic difficulties which stand in the way of the revival of general prosperity, and to ascertain the best means of overcoming these difficulties and of preventing disputes."

The work of the Conference is expected to fall under three main heads: Commerce, Industry and Agriculture; and the particular topics which are likely to provoke the most interesting discussion are "Customs, Tariffs and Commercial Treaties," and "Organisation of Production, Including, in Particular, International Industrial Agreements considered from the point of view of Production, of the Consumer and of Labour." In other words, tariffs and cartels are likely to have first claim on the attention of delegates.

Five delegates will be present from each country. They are selected by Governments for their individual competence, not to put forward a national policy. In addition, the International Chamber of Commerce has been invited to send five delegates. The British representatives are: Sir Norman Hill, Sir Max Muspratt, Mr. W. T. Layton, Sir Arthur Balfour and Mr. Arthur Pugh (late Chairman of the Trade Union Congress). In addition, Mr. Walter Runciman, M.P., will attend the Conference as one of the five nominees of the International Chamber of Commerce.

BOOKS WORTH READING

A FAIR VIEW OF CHINA

China and Britain, by R. O. Hall. (Edinburgh House Press, 2, Eaton Gate, S.W. 2s.) Many books, large and small, have been written on China from varying points of views and of varying value. Mr. Hall's is small in size, but large in importance. It shows no crude partisan spirit, and much of its value lies in its fair mindedness. On the one hand, Mr. Hall genuinely appreciates what the British community has done for China; on the other, he is no less sympathetic with modern Chinese desires, although he is aware of the handicaps by which they are beset from without and within. He states his belief that the root cause of the present difficulties lies in a difference between the point of view of the two peoples: for China the political question is uppermost; for ourselves mainly the commercial. But while there is a desire for good relations on both sides, "friendship and trade itself," Mr. Hall more than once emphasises, "are hindered very seriously indeed by the attitude of mind which regards China principally as a market." There is no doubt that there is very grave possibility of danger ahead, especially if "the growing virulence of the military epidemic" in China is unchecked, and no short cut is here suggested towards the establishment of better relations. Mr. Hall pleads, however—and this is his purpose in writing—that the British people shall show a new and increasing interest in the Chinese people, and that Anglo-Chinese connections shall rise above politics and commerce. If this book is read as widely as it deserves, a beginning will have been made in this direction. H. W. F.

DISCLOSURES

Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy, by Dr. G. P. Gooch. (Longmans. 7s. 6d.) **The World Policy of Germany, 1890-1912**, by Otto Hammann. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.) In the past eight or nine years the secrets of half the European Foreign Offices, so far as concerns the years immediately preceding the war, have been brought to light, and Dr. Gooch seems to have read, in the original or in translations, everything written about them in any country. He has not only read, but digested them, and not only digested them, but summarised them so skilfully that what seems on the face of it to be little more than a catalogue of books and their main characteristics has been woven into a readable and most instructive review.

A volume by one of the German writers on whom Dr. Gooch draws, Dr. Otto Hammann, for 24 years head of the Press Section of the German Foreign Office, has just appeared in a not quite irreproachable English translation, for which Dr. Maude Huttman is responsible. Herr Hammann had unique opportunities of seeing beneath the surface and behind the scenes, and his review of the critical years 1890 to 1912 is admirably impartial, though he omits any reference to the proposal of the Campbell-Bannerman Government for a naval holiday. The chief impression to be gleaned from the book is of the great part played by the expansion of the German fleet at the instance of von Tirpitz in embittering relations between Britain and Germany. It is a fact that prompts serious reflection at a moment when the League is making a new endeavour to put an end to competition in armaments.

SEMI-OFFICIAL

The Problems of Peace.* Lectures delivered at the Geneva Institute of International Relations, August, 1926. (Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d. net). This volume is the first of a series of annual publications of the proceedings of the Geneva Institute of Inter-

* Obtainable also from L.N.U. Literature Department.

national Relations, and, therefore, is a notable event in the history of the Institute, which—like the League of Nations itself—has come to stay. To judge by this first volume, the series will be welcomed as an authoritative addition to the ever-growing literature on international problems. The present volume gives a picture of the organisation, growth and working of the League, together with a discussion of the main international factors and problems in the world to-day, such as the foreign policy of the United States, Germany, and of the Soviet Union, the question of sovereignty, public opinion in relation to war and peace. It is one of the most interesting and readable books of its kind. This is only stating an axiom, for one would have to scan the international firmament very closely to find a more brilliant constellation of experts and thinkers than those who have contributed to this volume. They include Zimmern, Rappard, Garnett, Phelan, Salter, Laski and that star of the first magnitude, James Brown Scott, whose three lectures on the judicial settlement of international disputes, included in the volume, will be invaluable to all students of international law.—S.S.

CAN GERMANY PAY?

The History of Reparations, by Carl Bergmann. (Ernest Benn. 21s.) In the old days of the Reparation Commission at the Hotel Astoria, in Paris, there was one universally popular figure. The different Allied representatives might bicker among themselves, and often did; but for one man they all had a good word. None of them ever quarrelled with the German representative, Herr Bergmann. And now Herr Bergmann, who has been through the whole reparation controversy from start to finish, has written the story of it right down to the Dawes report—and, indeed, beyond, for he is concerned with finality, and the Dawes scheme, though it provides a good working basis for the moment, leaves the future still vague. It is still not decided how long the Dawes payments are to go on, or what the grand total is to be. Herr Bergmann wants this all fixed. As to what figure it should be fixed at, his idea is that experts should decide how much Germany could borrow abroad in ten years by a series of ordinary business loans, make that the limit of her liability and divide the proceeds among her creditors. That, he contends, would lift reparations out of politics and make Germany's debts an ordinary commercial affair, like France's or Italy's. The volume should become a standard authority on the subject.—H. W. H.

THE I.L.O. SIMPLIFIED

The League of Nations and the World's Workers, by Kathleen E. Innes. (The Hogarth Press. 1s. 6d.) In writing of the I.L.O. for younger students, Mrs. Innes has the advantage of knowing well both her subject and her readers. In her five chapters she sets out clearly and attractively the aim of the I.L.O. and the way in which it is attempting to carry on its work. This little book is more than a bare summary or outline, for the writer wisely does not attempt to cover the whole ground; all the same, when the last page is reached the reader will have gained a good general view of what is being done for the world's workers at Geneva. There is a delightful account of the new I.L.O. headquarters.

GROWTH

International Law, by the Earl of Birkenhead. (Dent. 21s.) What began by being a shilling primer by an obscure young man called Mr. F. E. Smith, B.C.L., is now a guinea treatise by the Earl of Birkenhead. The name is the same, the publisher is the same, and the expansion (through five subsequent editions) has been effected by three or four different editors, under the

The Greatest L.N.U. Event of the Year.

THE

FESTIVAL OF YOUTH

at the **CRYSTAL PALACE,**
SATURDAY, 18TH JUNE, 1927

Under the auspices of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION (London Regional Federation).

**The League's appeal to Youth is vital and urgent—
Come—Support—and be entertained by Youth.**

JUVENILE CHOIR OF 5,000 VOICES (Tonic Sol-fa Association)

GREAT ATHLETIC MEETING—2,000 COMPETITORS
(Lewisham Churches Athletic Society)

INTERNATIONAL FOLK DANCES AND DISPLAYS

IN WHICH THE NATIONALS OF SOME 20-30 COUNTRIES WILL TAKE PART.

Gigantic Massed Gathering representative of every sphere of Endeavour for Youth. International Contingents in National Costume.

COMMUNITY SINGING

(under the direction of Mr. GIBSON YOUNG), accompanied by
BAND OF H.M. SCOTS GUARDS AND THE GREAT ORGAN

Elocution, Public Speaking, Essay Competitions, Exhibitions of Arts & Crafts, Sideshows, etc.

The expenses incurred in the promotion of this Great Festival have largely to be met by the Sale of **ADMISSION TICKETS**, and the Promoters earnestly request **ALL ORGANISATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS TO SECURE THEIR TICKETS IN ADVANCE.** Tickets are now available at L.N.U. Festival Headquarters, Crystal Palace, S.E.19.

ADMISSION—The Charge for Admission to the Crystal Palace will be as follows:—

Children under 12 years of age **4d.** Juniors from 12 to 16 years of age **6d.** Adults **1/-**

No charge will be made in the case of Stewards and Stall Holders.

NOTE—The Special rate of 4d. admission under 12 applies only to tickets bought prior to 18th June.

RAIL ARRANGEMENTS (LONDON)—Special **Cheap Return** tickets will be available from the London Termini, viz.: Victoria, London Bridge, St. Paul's (adjacent to Blackfriars Underground), Clapham Junction, Elephant and Castle, New Cross at: Adults 1/-; Children under 12, 6d.; and other Stations, pro rata.

RAIL ARRANGEMENTS (PROVINCES)—Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son, Ltd., will, upon application at any of their offices, furnish particulars of **SPECIAL Railway Fares and Facilities for Parties or individuals**; also of accommodation in London where required.

HOSPITALITY—Several L.N.U. friends in the Crystal Palace district would be pleased to offer hospitality to other L.N.U. friends coming from a *long distance.* Communications hereon should be addressed to Mr. E. S. Woodroffe, 249, South Norwood Hill, London, S.E.25.

**A STIRRING DAY FOR ALL LEAGUE ENTHUSIASTS!
COME—MAKE IT A TRIUMPHANT SUCCESS!**

FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT WORKS

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

* * * *

The main organs of the League are—

- (1) **The Assembly**, meeting annually in September, and consisting of not more than three delegates from each of the States members of the League.
- (2) **The Council**, meeting four or more times a year, and consisting of one delegate each from fourteen different States, five States (Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan) being permanently represented, while the other nine States are elected from time to time by the Assembly.
- (3) **The Secretariat**, the international civil service by which the League is served.

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

The seat of the League is at Geneva.

* * * *

Side by side with the League itself there exist—

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

The Permanent Court had, down to April, 1927, decided 7 cases and given 13 advisory opinions to the League Council.

* * * *

SETTLING DISPUTES

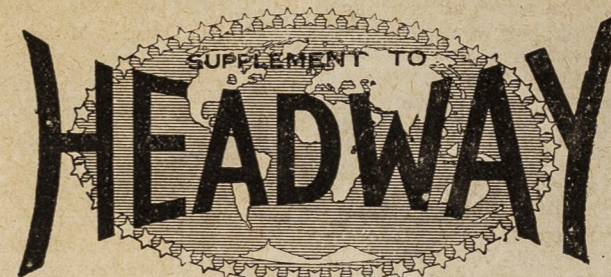
States, members of the League, agree that they will submit any international dispute in which they may be involved to arbitration or to the Permanent Court or to the League Council, with a view to a peaceful settlement instead of going to war about it.

Among the disputes so submitted to the Council, and permanently settled in consequence, are the following:—

1921. **Between Sweden and Finland**, over the ownership of the Aaland Islands, in the Baltic.
1921. **Between Albania and Jugoslavia**, over the invasion of the former by the latter.
1922. **Between the Allied Powers**, over the division of Upper Silesia.
- 1924-5. **Between Great Britain (acting for Iraq) and Turkey**, over the frontiers of Mosul.
1925. **Between Greece and Bulgaria**, over the invasion of the latter by the former.

In the case of the Albano-Jugoslav and the Greco-Bulgar disputes, the Council succeeded in stopping military operations that had actually begun, and effecting a permanent settlement. In the dispute between Poland and Lithuania (1920-22), it stopped the fighting actually in progress, but neither disputant would in the end accept the settlement proposed.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



MAY, 1927

THE SUMMER CAMPAIGN

By E. W. MORTON-GEORGE

(Chairman of the London Regional Federation)

AS Easter approaches, Branch Committees usually consider their work to be temporarily at an end, to be taken up again when the autumn evenings come round. That this is so is seen by the fact that the membership returns show a distinct sag during the summer months. While, however, the indoor meeting may be deemed out of the question in the warmer weather and lighter evenings, the call for work among the many thousands of people willing to listen to an open-air appeal becomes more and more insistent, and the opportunities afforded in most districts should make it possible for every Branch to have at least one open-air gathering, if not more, during the summer period.

These gatherings may take the form of garden meetings, large demonstrations, or the general run of open-air gatherings. Leaving the two former, which require special attention, this article is intended for Branch Committees who are contemplating some measure of open-air work this summer.

The place of meeting is often determined by local custom. In great public parks there is usually a spot where local orators make known their views to the public, while in the country town the market-place provides a useful point of vantage. In industrial centres the street corner or factory gates will form a suitable rendezvous, as in the town by the sea the front, or some section of it, is at times available for meetings by officially recognised bodies. It is desirable to become acquainted with county or borough bye-laws on open-air gatherings, and usually necessary to obtain the approval of the local superintendent of police. In any case, to be on a friendly footing with the constabulary is in every way advisable.

Now as to the open-air speaker. For a garden meeting a speaker used to the general run of indoor meetings will be found suitable; for a meeting in a public park one should have a fairly strong voice, while for the open road or busy centre a fair amount of stamina in addition is usually required, though a clear penetrating voice will do wonders under almost all conditions.

The ideal open-air speaker is one possessed of a keen sense of humour, a quickness of repartee, and a fair fund of stories.

Perhaps a few words of advice to would-be open-air speakers will not be out of place here.

First of all, except on the ground of age or health, a man should remove his hat when speaking.

Don't talk hurriedly; some spoil their efforts by getting into a state of breathlessness before they have gone very far, so speak as slowly as possible.

Then use words and expressions that are likely to be understood by the least educated portion of your audience, avoiding long words and involved sentences.

Carefully explain the meaning of terms used, which have a particular significance in League or International affairs.

At the same time, never talk down to your listeners.

Endeavour to know as much as possible of the matter with which you are dealing, but don't overload the minds of your hearers. At indoor gatherings one is able to speak at large on a subject, but the outdoor speech should consist of crisp, incisive sentences, each meant to tell. If you can get half-a-dozen ideas firmly fixed in the minds of your audience you will have done good service to the cause.

If you are heckled, retain a spirit of good humour and avoid any form of speech which is likely to ruffle the feelings of those standing around.

The young speaker will find it advantageous to have an experienced speaker in the audience, who will act as a friendly critic of early efforts.

It goes without saying that Branch Committees intending to carry out an open-air campaign will find a speakers' class an invaluable training ground.

The subjects for open-air addresses should be of a more or less striking character, and should be advertised beforehand if at all possible. "Can Europe Disarm?", "How to obtain World Peace" and "How the League of Nations is helping Labour," suggest themselves, while others that come to the mind are "Russia and the League," "Stamping out Slavery," "A World-wide Eight-hour Day for Workers," and "The League and World Brotherhood."

In the garden meeting supporters are normally present in fair numbers, while in many districts the man who essays to go into the open air will find that his supporters will often be few. Here, as a rule, is one of the weaknesses of a branch; for one reason or another members fight shy of being seen at an open-air meeting, but this reluctance will often be overcome by the efforts of a persistent band of enthusiastic workers, who will form the nucleus of the speaker's audience.

The platform is an essential part of any open-air gathering. For the garden meeting it is usually possible to have the audience seated, and the speaker needs only to stand to be seen by all. For the large demonstration an open van is the most suitable, while for the smaller gathering a platform raising the speaker about two feet above the ground is required. Churches with active open-air bands or one or other of the political associations in industrial centres will often be found willing to allow the use of their platform for Union meetings, but where a Branch can afford it it is desirable to have a platform of one's own. Portable platforms with ledge for speaker's notes can be obtained at an inclusive cost of fifty shillings upwards.

For autumn meetings a lamp is very desirable. This can often be borrowed in the same way as the platform, the only cost being the oil or gas used, or if the Branch

(Continued on page ii, column 2.)

AT HEADQUARTERS

A FEW weeks ago, as we recorded last month, the Executive Committee was able to lay before the British Foreign Secretary the Union's policy on all important matters affecting the League. Its chief work this month has been to decide the form in which the Union can contribute its part to the policy of the Federation of League of Nations Societies.

All the draft resolutions to come before the Plenary Congress of the Federation in Berlin next month have been examined by the Committee, and the attitude of the British Delegation upon them determined. A number of other resolutions have been submitted to be proposed by that delegation, on such matters as the teaching of peace in the schools; the instruction of children regarding the International Labour Organisation; the improvement of the League's procedure for dealing with petitions of minorities; the ratification of International Labour Conventions; the education of public opinion to make effective the work of the World Economic Conference; the need of international conventions to protect native labour; the publication of the full report of the League's Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children; and the need for a League convention on the treatment of prisoners.

On matters affecting the constitution of the League as a whole and its main function, the prevention of war, the British delegation will not advocate such a system of continental groupings as the "Paneuropa" enthusiasts advocate, and will favour a free discussion of the question of the competence of the League of Nations, as raised by Lord Cecil's proposal in the last Assembly. They will move an important resolution on mediation and conciliation, and urge all the federated societies to concentrate their efforts on the education of public opinion concerning the reduction and limitation of armaments so as to ensure the success of the World Conference on that subject.

These and other measures to be advocated by our representatives at Berlin have all, at one time or another, formed the subject of careful consideration, either by our Executive Committee or the General Council. Apart from them, the Committee, in the past month, has given continuous attention to China. It has decided to urge the British Government to submit to the League of Nations the assessment of the reparations to be required for the violence done to foreigners at Nanking, and it has produced a pamphlet giving the truth concerning the much-disputed question of factory conditions in Shanghai.

With regard to the Union's work at home, great importance attaches to the adoption by all the great teachers' associations of the country of a joint declaration concerning the practical ways of giving League teachings in the schools. This agreement has been brought about by the Union; probably such unanimity between teachers of every type, from those of the village schools to the great public schools, has never been achieved.

All the Headquarters departments and committees have continued their work energetically. The Disarmament Campaign increases in intensity; many more meetings have been held, and a special publicity officer has been appointed for this purpose. Preparations for the two days' conference on disarmament at the London School of Economics and the Kingsway Hall are far advanced.

A Model I.L.O. Conference

A model I.L.O. Conference is something new for Branches who may have already held a Model Assembly. Recently the pupils of the Dulwich High School held a very successful Model Conference, a Draft Convention being adopted after an interesting discussion on child labour in the East.

THE SUMMER CAMPAIGN—(Continued from page i)

desires to have its own, it is possible to obtain a portable lamp, such as is used by many political and other associations for open-air campaigns, for fifty shillings or so.

Occasionally, where the meeting is held once a month or twice in a summer, it is possible to secure the services of a local band to enliven the proceedings, and help to draw the crowd.

It is to be hoped that all Branches will endeavour to carry their activities into the open-air during the next six months, as by this means not only will workers be kept together, but knowledge of the League and its doings will be carried to a public which does not normally attend indoor meetings.

Scotland Still Forging Ahead

Each month brings encouraging reports from Scotland. The latest report from Glasgow and the West of Scotland District shows that since the beginning of the year no less than six new Branches have been formed. The winter's work in the district closed with a very successful meeting which was addressed by Miss Maude Royden in the McLellan Galleries last month. The seating accommodation is nine hundred, but over twelve hundred crowded into the hall and thousands were refused admission at the doors. One hundred and twenty-eight new members were enrolled at the meeting, and since then every post has brought new members who had been inspired to join by Miss Royden's address.

The Labour Conference

The party which the Union is conducting to the International Labour Organisation Conference this year will be a record one. At the time of going to press, a larger number have registered than have joined the party in any other year. The party leaves London on May 28, the fee for one week, including travelling and hotel accommodation, being ten guineas.

A Summer Trip to America

The Union is arranging a Summer Trip to the United States. The party will sail on R.M.S. "Majestic" on August 24, a tour of about ten days being planned in America. Visits to Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington and Boston are being arranged, but those wishing to make their own arrangements for visits in America can book for the ocean voyage only. The cost of the ocean passage only will be in the neighbourhood of £38; an announcement will be made later as to the cost of the full tour. Return arrangements can be made to suit individual requirements, the ticket being available for six months. Full particulars as to this unique opportunity for visiting the States can be had on application to the Head Office.

The L.C.C. and the Union's Film

The Union has received the following letter from the Education Officer of the London County Council:—

With further reference to your circular letter dated January, 1927 (S.G.1540), I have to inform you that the appropriate Committee of the Council have decided to allow the use of the school organisation in order to enable children to see the League of Nations Union film, entitled "The World War and After," in fully licensed halls, outside school hours, subject to the condition that no cost is incurred by the Council.

This decision is a tribute to the educational value of the Union's film, since a Committee recently appointed by the London County Council to investigate the educational possibilities of films reported adversely against the use of films in schools, though they recommended the use of the school organisation for films of "a high quality."

Dates to Remember

We hope every Branch will try to send at least one representative to one or other of the Union's Summer

Schools. From July 27-29 there will be the Educational Conference at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, followed by the Summer School at the same place from July 29 to August 5.

There will be two sessions of the Geneva Institute of International Relations this year. The first, which will be elementary in character, will be held from August 1 to 5.

The second session, which will be more advanced in character, will be held from August 7 to 13. Very interesting programmes have been arranged for both sessions.

Leaflets giving full particulars of arrangements both at Oxford and Geneva can now be had on application to the head office of the Union.

The Mons and the Union Films

When the Mons film was shown at Watford, the local Branch arranged with the cinema where it was to be shown that the Union film should be shown at the same time. Other Branches may like to bear this in mind when one or other of the war films is due to be shown in their districts.

Young People Send Resolution to Premier

The Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Cadets, Boys' Brigades and Salvation Army Guards, Scouts, Chums and Sunbeams of Kettering recently held a crowded and enthusiastic meeting under the auspices of the local Branch. On the motion of a young lad in the audience, who made a telling little speech, a resolution was forwarded to the Premier, the Foreign Secretary, Viscount Cecil and the local M.P., calling upon the Government to do all in its power to bring about the prevention of poison-gas manufacture and all other preparations for war.

Community Singing at League Meeting

The report of the North Staffordshire District Council contains the interesting statement that "Community Singing" was adopted at one of their meetings with marked success. There are hymns and songs that are very suitable for League meetings, and other Branches may like to make use of this popular movement at some of their meetings.

Worth Noting

Two items in the report of the North Hackney Branch are particularly worth noting. These are the formation of two new sections during the past year. One of these is a Women's Section, which seeks to inform and unite opinion on the League in the local women's organisations. The other is a Youth Section, which forms a link between the Junior Branch and the older folk. This section has already over three hundred members.

International Knowledge Badge for Guides

An International Knowledge Badge has recently been approved by the Girl Guides' Association. Amongst other things Girl Guides who wish to win this badge must have some knowledge of the League of Nations and its component parts. Branches may be able to help local Guide Companies who are qualifying for this badge by offering to supply them with the necessary information about the League.

A Song for League Meetings

Branches that are on the look-out for a suitable song to be sung as a solo at meetings will find one in "The Song of Momus to Mars," from Dryden's "Secular Masque." The song, which is suitable for a good tenor voice, is to be found in the collection of songs by English Composers of the 17th and 18th centuries, entitled "From Lawes to Linley." The collection is edited by G. E. P. Arkwright, and published by Parker & Son, 27, Broad Street, Oxford.

Hard on the Speaker

One of our secretaries writes as follows:—

"I was recently invited by a Branch to get them out of a difficulty; they had been unable to get a speaker for their meeting, and I went at a few days' notice. It meant my leaving home at eight for the day's work, getting tea in town and home at 11 p.m. The meeting finished, the secretary walked to the door with me, told me the way to the station, and said I should just catch my train—'Good-night, and many thanks.' It cost me 7s. 6d. to attend that meeting, and they never mentioned expenses."

It is to be hoped that this is an exception, not a general rule; it is better and more fitting that a Branch should offer to defray expenses than that the speaker should either have to ask for them or be out of pocket.

A Speaker for the Younger Generation

Many schools and Branches of the Union know what a fascinating speaker Mr. F. J. Gould is for children. Those who have not yet had a visit from him may like to know that Mr. Gould is prepared to give story-book talks on the League lasting one hour, to children aged 12 to 15, of any number up to 300, either in a school or public hall. Branches or schools can obtain full particulars by applying to the head office.

The Jam with the Bread

The Hassocks and District Branch have enlisted the co-operation of a local group of players who provide short, popular plays at meetings of the Branch, which serve to attract an audience that would not otherwise come to a Union meeting. The plays presented are not propaganda, but are offered as "jam," to be taken with the more substantial "bread" offered by the Union speaker.

League of Nations Cadets

A teacher, writing to the head office about "League News for the Young," says: "My children like it very much. They are too young to form a Branch, so I call them League of Nations Cadets."

The Northamptonshire Campaign

The Northamptonshire conference of women's organisations to plan an open-air campaign, to which reference was made last month, proved a very enthusiastic one. At least ten women's organisations, as well as Branches of the Union, took part in the Conference. A committee, consisting of representatives from a dozen to fifteen women's organisations, together with the Northamptonshire Council, was formed for the purpose of making local arrangements. The County has been divided into seven areas for the purpose of organising meetings, and it is hoped to hold about 100 meetings during the ten days' campaign. Whilst it is hoped to add to the membership of the Union as a result of this campaign, the main purpose is educational rather than a "drive" for membership.

Progress at the Cape

At the annual meeting of the Cape Town League of Nations Union, over which the Archbishop of Cape Town presided, on March 4, it was reported that the membership of the Union had doubled in the past year. A motion proposed by Sir Walter Stamford, and urging that South Africa should in future send to the League Assembly a full complement of delegates, including, if possible, one Minister, was carried unanimously.

Lord Willingdon's Support

At the recent annual meeting of the Canadian League of Nations Society at Ottawa, the Governor-General, Viscount Willingdon, identified himself for the first time with the Society's work, being introduced by Sir Robert Borden, the past President of the Society. Lord Willingdon gave a very practical address, which gained wide Press publicity in the Canadian Press.

A Commander-in-Chief Helps

The Indian League of Nations Union has also been holding an annual meeting, at which Sir William

Birdwood, Commander-in-Chief, presided, and spoke at length of the achievements of the League and its value to the world. Mr. S. R. Das was elected President of the Central Branch in succession to Sir Basil Blackett. A League of Nations Library has been opened at Zamorin's College, Calicut.

L.N.U.s of the World

The programme of the Eleventh Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Berlin is as follows:—

May 26.—Inaugural Session, meetings of Special Committees and Film Exhibition.

May 27.—Meetings of Special Committees and reception by the German Foreign Minister, Dr. Stresemann.

May 28.—Special Committees and Plenary Congress Session.

May 29.—30th and 31st Plenary Congress Sessions and dinner given by the German Liga fur Volkerbund.

June 1.—Day excursion to Hamburg.

The Union and Disarmament

The Union is holding an important Conference on disarmament at the London School of Economics on May 23 and 24, under the chairmanship of Professor Gilbert Murray.

The programme is as follows:—

MONDAY, May 23

11 a.m. Political Aspects.—Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, Lord Parmoor, M. Louis de Brouckere.

2.30-6 p.m. Land and Air Armaments.—(Land) Major-General Sir F. Maurice, Colonel J. Brown (of the British Legion). (Air) Lord Thomson (late Minister for Air); General Sir Frederick Sykes, M.P.; Sir Samuel Hoare, M.P. (Minister for Air).

8 p.m. (Kingsway Hall). Public Meeting.—Chairman: Professor Gilbert Murray. Speakers: The Earl of Oxford and Asquith; Mr. Alfred Duff Cooper, M.P.; Miss Sybil Thorndike.

TUESDAY, May 24

10.15 a.m. "Naval Armaments."—Rear-Admiral R. D. Allen; Vice-Admiral R. S. Drury Lowe; a representative of the Navy League.

2.30-3 p.m. "Economic Aspects."—Chairman: Sir William Beveridge. "Disarmament and Industry"—Rt. Hon. E. Hilton Young, D.S.O., M.P.; Mr. W. L. Hichens. "Disarmament and the Displacement of Labour"—Sir Josiah Stamp, Mr. C. T. Cramp.

A number of national organisations have promised to take part in the Conference, whilst the following have promised to attend the Conference and join in the discussions: Major J. W. Hills, Senor Madariaga, Professor P. J. N. Baker, Sir Ellis Hume-Williams (Chairman of League of Nations Parliamentary Committee), Dr. Hugh Dalton.

The Festival of Youth

An advertisement on another page draws attention to the L.N.U. Carnival of Youth, to be held at the Crystal Palace on June 18. An extraordinarily crowded day begins at 10.30 in the morning and ends round about 12 hours later, with one thing or another going strong all the time in between. The outstanding event is likely to be the massed gathering in the Central Transept of the Crystal Palace in the evening, but those who have the whole Saturday to spare will be advised to spend the day at the Palace.

Paying their Way

The following branches have completed their quota to Council's Vote for 1926:—

Alton, Bridport and District, Burley, Buckingham, Broompark Congregational Church (Sheffield), Braintree, Calne, Cranleigh, Drighlington, Dawlish, Gainsborough, Greystoke, Jordans, Kendal, Lelant, Liphook, Mortimer, Newmarket, Penrith, Pateley Bridge, Paulton, Roche, Rawdon, Rottingdean, Shanklin, Swanscombe, Sheringham, Shalford, Swaffham, Stevenage, Sherwell, Sittingbourne, Willingham, Worcester.

For 1927:—

Bristol, Ebenezer Wesleyan Church, Bristol W.D. & H.O., Beaminster, Billingham, Calne, Helston, Leeds Trinity Presbyterian, Troon.

Expansion in Germany

New branches of the German Liga fur Volkerbund (German League of Nations Society) have been started in Munich, Stuttgart, Leipzig and Hamburg. A course of eight lectures, under the auspices of the Liga, has recently been given in Berlin and resulted in considerable increase of membership.

NOTES FROM WALES

There are indications that the interest taken in the Welsh Children's Yearly Wireless Message is now world-wide. It will be broadcast from the Government Station at Rugby and by the B.B.C. during the Children's Hour on Goodwill Day, May 18. Mr. Arthur Burrows, of the Union Internationale de Radiophonie, Geneva, has very kindly sent the text of the 1927 message in four languages to all the stations in the Union for transmission on May 18, and also to two non-member stations—Reykjavik, in Iceland, and Zagreb, in Jugo-Slavia. Requests are constantly being received at the Welsh League of Nations Office for the recently-published booklet giving an account of the story of the Message up to 1927. More schools than ever will participate this year in the sending of the 1927 Greeting.

The preliminary programme has now been issued of the Sixth Annual Conference to be held at Colwyn Bay during Whit-week, 1927. Conferences will be held on "Arbitration," at which Mr. W. Arnold-Forster and Mr. David Davies, M.P., will speak; on "The Educational Approach to World Peace," speakers, Dame Edith Lyttelton and Mr. E. H. Jones. There will be a public demonstration on June 8, when Sir William Vincent, Baron Von Rheinbaben, and the Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., will speak, and a Welsh public meeting, to be addressed by Major Goronwy Owen, M.P., the Rev. J. H. Howard, and Mr. Robert Richards (ex Under-Secretary of State for India). The annual meeting of the Welsh National Council and a conference of branch representatives will also take place.

The prominence of Daffodil Days in the summer of 1927 throughout Wales and Monmouthshire is very encouraging, and already a large number of branches are planning a winter programme.

L.N.U. MEMBERS

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

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,931
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
April 9, 1927	...	...	...	...	607,339

On April 9th there were 2,458 Branches, 444 Junior Branches, 123 Districts, 2,210 Corporate Members and 332 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: Frenat Knights, London.

Telephone: Sloane 6161.

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