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HEADWAY

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE naval, military and air estimates for the coming year have lately been under discussion in the House of Commons, and it is satisfactory to observe that so far as there is any difference between this year's totals and last year's, it is a difference in the right direction. The actual figures are as follows:—

	1927.	1928.
	£	£
Army	41,565,000	41,050,000
Navy	58,000,000	57,300,000
Air	15,550,000	16,250,000

The totals, therefore, are: 1927, £115,115,000; 1928, £114,600,000. There is, thus, an apparent net decrease on the three services of £515,000. The real decrease, however, is greater than this, for while the air estimates show an apparent increase of £700,000, in reality the expenditure on the Air Force in the coming year will be substantially less than in the past. What has happened is that the cost of the air squadrons maintained in the Middle East (mainly Iraq) is henceforward to be charged to the air estimates instead of to the Colonial Office estimate. As this amount was, roughly, £2,000,000, it means that there is an actual reduction on air expenditure of £1,300,000, and consequently a total net decrease on all the services of rather less than £2,000,000. That, it may be conceded, is not a great diminution on estimates totalling £114,000,000. There will, moreover, no doubt be supplementary estimates which will raise the total to a slightly higher figure before the year is out. But as has

been said, at any rate the move is in the right direction, and the Government is to be congratulated in particular on having refused to be driven into any extravagant naval programme as a result of the failure of the Geneva Conference. There can be little doubt, indeed, that the decision to drop altogether the construction of three large cruisers, which were to have been laid down in the present year, has had the most beneficial effect on the other side of the Atlantic, and has made it much easier for reasonable people in America to secure a reduction of that country's formidable building programme.

Egypt and the League

THE proposed Treaty between Great Britain and Egypt has, unfortunately, fallen to the ground for the present. It is important, none the less, to note the extent to which the League of Nations figured in the discussion between Sir Austen Chamberlain and Sarwat Pasha—a point to which Sir Austen justly drew attention in a talk with journalists at Geneva. By Article X of the Treaty, the British Government undertook to do its best to get Egypt admitted to membership of the League, and by Article VII it was to have been agreed that the question of the disposition of the British forces in Egypt should, failing an accord between the two parties, be referred at the end of 10 years to the Council of the League. It is to be noted that this does not mean that the League was to be allowed to decide whether there should be

British troops in Egypt or not, but whether they should remain in Cairo and Alexandria as at present, or be confined to the Canal zone. Though the proposed Treaty may now be relegated to a place in the lengthy series of unsuccessful endeavours to solve the Egyptian problem, it seems almost inevitable that the League should play an increasingly large part in any subsequent scheme, whether put forward from the British or Egyptian side. There are many, indeed, who believe that greater progress than has yet been registered would be achieved if the Suez Canal, as a vital international highway, could be placed definitely under the protection of the League, Egypt becoming simultaneously a League member.

Skins and Bones

A RATHER curious conference has just been held at Geneva under the auspices of the Economic Organisation of the League. The subject was Skins and Bones, skins being important as the raw material of leather, and bones as the raw material of glue and certain other substances. The reason a special conference on these commodities was needed was that agreement as to the abolition of laws prohibiting their import or export was so difficult to reach that they had to be left out of the conclusions of the Conference on the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions a few months ago, and held over for special and separate treatment. Every country finds leather extremely important for both civil and military purposes, and poor countries, particularly countries poor because their currency had depreciated, were alarmed lest their richer neighbours should buy up all their stocks of hides. They, therefore, in many cases, either prohibited export altogether or imposed an import tax so heavy as to have the same effect. The Conference proved completely successful, and a limit was put to the tax that might be levied on export of hides and bones. The technical importance of this agreement is that it is the first time in history in which a general collective agreement fixing or limiting tariffs has been contracted. The most that has ever happened before is that one State has made an agreement with one other State on such a subject. What goes further in the way of establishing a new precedent is the general agreement by which every signatory State undertakes not to tax exported bones at a higher rate than three gold francs per hundred kilos.

The League in the Schools

THE following interesting observations on the position of the League in Great Britain, and in particular in the schools is taken from a statement by the French Ambassador in London, which appeared in a recent issue of the Paris daily paper *Paris-Midi*:—"The League of Nations enjoys in Great Britain a popularity greater perhaps than in any other country. Children from the age of 10 are taught at school about the existence of the Geneva organism. I don't say that they are instructed about every international dispute and its settlement, but to know that the League has made a great contribution to the maintenance of peace is something in itself. This instruction, be it noted, is given to the children of both sexes—that I may observe in passing is

entirely natural in a country where women enjoy the same political rights as men—and in this way knowledge of the League is introduced at the centre of the family of the future. I have had the opportunity of reading essays written on the League by children of 12 and 13, and I assure you that their tone is entirely serious. And I remember an exercise written by one small boy who, among other things, understood perfectly what a mandate was. These children of to-day when they are grown up will have acquired a taste for interesting themselves in international affairs and will be better equipped for understanding them."

India at Geneva

A QUESTION was lately asked in the House of Commons regarding the motion carried by the Indian Legislative Assembly in favour of the appointment of an Indian as leader of the Indian delegation at the League Assembly. The answer returned was that the composition of the delegation to the next Assembly was at present under consideration. There is, on the face of it, everything to be said against having an English head to the Indian delegation, and everything to be said for having an Indian. It is only fair, however, to recognise one difficulty which faces the Government in this matter. It has always—and very reasonably—been thought desirable to include in the delegation one representative of the Indian princes, who, after all, administer, roughly, one-third of the Indian Empire. A prince cannot, however, head the delegation, for the vast majority of the population is not under princes at all. Neither, on the other hand, is a prince, who is a ruling monarch on a limited scale, willing to take second place to some Indian official or politician. So far the only way round the difficulty has been to appoint some distinguished Englishman, like an ex-Viceroy, to lead the delegation.

Money and Members

LADY SELBORNE, who is incidentally a member of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, had an interesting letter in *The Times* of March 13 on the question of the choice of party candidates and the preference frequently given by the Conservative Party (which Lady Selborne was particularly discussing) to rich men, on the ground that the local association is thereby saved the trouble and unpopularity of raising funds for party purposes. The letter concludes with a pertinent remark to the effect that local politicians make a great mistake in taking this course, for "if they would only believe it the efforts necessary to collect money are a great help in keeping the party together and stimulating activity." That observation enshrines a profound psychological truth, which may with much advantage be commended to branches of the League of Nations Union for their encouragement.

Spain's Return

THE news of the decision of the Spanish Government to abandon all idea of leaving the League will be unreservedly welcomed in every quarter, the more so since the communication in which this happy outcome of past differences is

indicated mentioned that Spain returns without reservations or conditions. There is no need now to go back to the unhappy controversies of two years ago. But two observations on Spain's decision may be made. One is that a great deal of the credit for it is due to Sir Austen Chamberlain, who put the matter clearly and forcibly before General Primo de Rivera when he met him in the Mediterranean last year and also discussed the matter with King Alfonso on the latter's last visit to England. The other is that the return of Spain is a happy augury for the settlement of such questions as that of Tangier now under discussion, that her action will undoubtedly have the effect of cementing the association of South American States with the League, and that the presence at Geneva of the greatest European State neutral during the war will undoubtedly minister to the creation of that atmosphere of detachment and impartiality which should always surround all League discussions.

Revise or Ratify?

ONE of the unfortunate effects of the British Government's proposal to revise the Washington Hours Convention instead of ratifying it is disclosed by an article in a recent issue of the prominent German newspaper the *Vossische Zeitung*. It is there disclosed that German manufacturers, who dislike the Eight Hours Convention as much as some of their British confrères, are making the point that if the Convention is to be revised it will be possible to abandon the idea so far prevalent that Germany should modify her own legislation to conform with the Convention and lay plans instead for modifying the Convention to conform with Germany's own legislation. If that view became prevalent obviously nothing but chaos would result when the revision of the Convention was actually attempted. This German move is one more very solid argument for ratifying the Convention as it stands.

The Optional Clause

THE latest and most detailed statement of the Government's position regarding the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice was made by Lord Cushendun at Geneva during the recent meeting of the Security and Arbitration Committee. It is of sufficient importance to make it desirable to reproduce the salient passages of the statement here:—

"Owing to the particular conditions of our country it is not possible for the British Government to accept the Optional Clause. . . . I sincerely wish that the circumstances of my country were such as to enable us to sign this clause. I realise the value of the clause; I realise, as this draft puts it, that the more States who can sign it the better. . . . While we feel that it is impossible for us, in present circumstances, to sign the clause, we do want other people who have not got the same difficulties, to sign it, and to encourage those who are in a similar position to sign it. I venture to submit to the Committee that although our inability to sign it at first sight appears to be inconsistent with our urging, as we do here, other people to sign it, yet there is no real inconsistency if you look below the surface and see our reason for our action in both cases."

To those who would discern in these words a certain modification of the traditional attitude of

the British Government it must be pointed out that Lord Cushendun reaffirmed quite categorically the inability of the British Government to accept the Optional Clause.

A Trade League

WHAT has been termed a Trade League of Nations opened at Geneva on March 30, when representatives of some of the chief stores of Great Britain, France, Germany, America and Belgium met to consider the establishment of an International Managerial Institute. Mr. P. A. Best, of Shoobreds, who represented the British stores, explained to the *Daily News* that the idea was to form an international league of great stores with a view to carrying out common research work in such matters as costings and distribution with a view to increasing business efficiency all round. This is another example of useful international co-operation, and Mr. Best justly pointed out that if the movement developed sufficiently it might have a political bearing in that "the bigger the business interests we have in each other's countries, the less ready we shall be to jeopardise those interests." It is all to the good incidentally that such meetings as this should be held at Geneva so that those attending may have an opportunity of familiarising themselves with the mechanism of the League.

World Opinion

THE Executive Committee and the Standing Committees of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies met at Brussels from March 14 to 17. Among the more important decisions taken were those to hold the XIIth Plenary Congress of the Federation at The Hague in July; to organise an Economic Conference at Prague in October to gain support for the resolutions of the World Economic Conference; and to send letters to the Prime Ministers of Spain and Brazil (through the respective Ambassadors at Brussels) expressing the hope that those countries would not remain outside the League. The increase in the number of societies represented at the meetings, coupled with the business-like way in which the Committee did their work, is a testimony both to the growing keenness of the Societies, upon which educational work for the League mainly depends in all countries, and to the increasing importance of the Federation.

Turkey's Advent

THE presence of Turkey at the Disarmament Commission at Geneva is of interest because, of the three principal non-Member States of the League, the United States, Soviet Russia and Turkey, the latter is on the whole the most likely to put in the first appearance as full Member. Turkey has, of course, sent representatives to Geneva before, notably in connection with last year's Economic Conference which gathered representatives in from almost every State. Her advent this time was the result of a proposal put forward by M. Litvinoff on behalf of Soviet Russia, M. Litvinoff taking action just in time to forestall Poland which had already mentioned its intention to do the same.

PEKING, TOKIO, GENEVA

THE LEAGUE'S LINKS WITH THE FAR EAST

By PROFESSOR C. K. WEBSTER

SO far as Europe is concerned the League is now an established institution growing in strength and prestige with each succeeding year. But it was designed as a world-wide not a European Institution. Indeed nearly half the Assembly and three-sevenths of the Council represent extra-European States. Yet we must admit that the League as yet has hardly begun to function as a world-wide political machine. In America it has been excluded by the action of the United States, and in the great events which are taking place in the Far East it has played no part. A Shanghai newspaper commented on a speech which I made there last autumn as follows: "It is safe to say that the League in so far as the affairs of the Far East are concerned is regarded with much the same scepticism that characterised the first years of its existence in Europe." In spite of its record in such matters as Health, Labour and Opium, this attitude must persist unless the League develops its position as a political factor in the Far East. While such a development is admittedly difficult, there are many factors which may bring opportunities in the future that have not existed in the past.

Old Ways Fail

In the first place, nowhere have the disadvantages of the old system of diplomacy been more clearly illustrated than in the Far East. The Washington Conference originated new policies for the Pacific and for China, but it left no machinery to carry them out. Had they been placed under the guidance of the League they would have been continually reviewed, adjusted and above all popularised. As it was they were left to the old system of State communication. The result is that there has been no advance as regards the machinery of peace in the Pacific beyond the vague formula of the Four Power Treaty, while for five years the Powers did nothing to redeem their promises towards China until Britain broke through the intolerable delays of the old diplomacy and acted by herself. The delay to which Britain submitted did her incalculable damage, which she is only just beginning to repair, and meanwhile the problems of China have come no nearer to solution.

Japan's Interest

Secondly, though both Russia and the United States have refused all political co-operation with the League, both Japan and China are members not only of the Assembly but the Council. Of the former's interest in the League I had some opportunity of observation last summer. There can be no doubt but that Japan attaches considerable importance to her membership. She has no other substitute for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and, confronted as she is with problems of the greatest difficulty, she obtains from her membership of the League guarantees which are of very real value. Moreover, the League has appealed to Japanese intelligentsia and the Japanese League of Nations Society is a real force in the State. Its Council were kind enough to invite me to meet them while I was in Japan, and the distinguished character of the members over which Prince Tokugawa presided was such as hardly any other capital could have equalled. Its universities and schools are also tackling the problem of the League in splendid fashion, and Dr. Nitobe, who had just been on a speaking tour when I met him, told me how pleased he had been with the interest and knowledge of the teaching profession. In Japan, therefore, the League has an outpost secured by both interest and aspiration.

China Doubtful

In China the situation is of course quite different. The League is not regarded by most as an institution which affects them. There is little interest in it or knowledge of it. China is naturally absorbed by its own tremendous problems and had hardly thought of the League in connection with these. "The League has done us neither good nor harm" was how the Generalissimo, Chang Tso Lin, put it to me, and we must admit that he was perfectly correct in his observation. Nevertheless in the course of the lectures and addresses which I was permitted to give to many Chinese Universities and public societies, I found that an interest in the League was soon aroused. The work that it had done in the Reconstruction of Europe could not fail to attract the attention of those who were confronted by problems not altogether dissimilar. The main criticisms passed upon the League were that it was too European and that it was "dominated by the Great Powers." (This latter accusation was largely due to the cabled accounts of the September Assembly, which placed undue emphasis on some speeches of no great importance.) The Chinese distrust all combinations of Powers, for they consider that they allow one Power to hide behind another and refuse their own legitimate demands. They have not grasped the great advantage which they might obtain at Geneva by the opportunity which it gives of publicity and the ventilation of legitimate grievances. Their own discords also prevent them from sending suitable representatives who can speak in the name of all China. These are formidable difficulties and they are not decreased by Chinese distrust of Japan, which is deeper than Chinese dislike of Britain, and is based on difficulties which are not easy of solution.

Prepare for Action

It is not likely therefore that the League will in the immediate future be placed in a position to assist in the solution of China's problems. But these promise to persist for some time, and it may well be that before long the situation will alter. No Chinese and no sensible foreigner envisages "intervention" in China. But China needs—and is beginning to realise the fact—"assistance" in the solution of her tangled problems—technical assistance of all kinds, financial, economic, administrative. In the past she has only obtained such assistance by sacrificing her independence. From the League she might obtain it without running the slightest risk of endangering her sovereignty. When she grasps this fact she may wish to use the League to her advantage.

Meanwhile it may be hoped that the League machinery may be got ready to play a greater part in the Far East. If the representation of Asia on the Council and the Assembly cannot be increased, more Asiatics can be placed on the Secretariat and invaluable links thus forged with the Far East. The League and I.L.O. can begin to make a far deeper study of these problems and prepare for action when the time comes. There might be much more discussion in the Assembly and the Council of Chinese and Pacific problems, which after all are of much greater importance than the pillar-boxes of Dantzig or some of the other points on which so much time has been spent at Geneva. And when we talk of Protocols or Security or revising the League's constitution, let us remember that the world holds Asia as well as Europe, and act accordingly.

A GREAT CRUSADE

FROM JOSEPHINE BUTLER TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE Experts' Report on the Traffic in Women and Children has been before the public since March, 1927, and its contents are generally known and have received world-wide publicity and comment. But



Josephine Butler

it is not generally remembered that the great movement for the abolition of the Traffic in Women, which has resulted in the Experts' Report, was originated by Josephine Butler, the centenary of whose birth is being celebrated this month. In 1869 Josephine Butler became the acknowledged leader of the struggle in this country for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. The struggle was long drawn out and fiercely contested on both sides and it was not many years old before she realised that this system of regulation of prostitution, which had a powerful backing from Continental doctors and administrators, could only successfully be countered by making the opposition equally international in scope. In 1874 Josephine Butler was asked by English Abolitionists to start an International movement in Europe, and in 1875 the first International Abolitionist Conference was held at Geneva—an interesting foreshadowing of future activities initiated from that centre.

Anticipating the Experts

It is significant to note that the causes of the traffic, as set forth in the Report of the Experts' Committee, are precisely those which led Josephine Butler and her friends to offer such uncompromising opposition to Regulation. She asserted in those early days that Regulation of Prostitution and the "licensed" or "tolerated" houses were the main causes of the traffic, and that the abolition of the licensed house and the "morals police" would strike a vital blow at its existence. No reader of HEADWAY needs to be reminded how unequivocally the Experts' Report endorses that, but he may need to be reminded that one heroic woman dared to say such a thing over 50 years ago, without a tithe of the evidence that the Experts' Committee can bring to prove their case.

In 1880 she had further opportunity of driving the lesson home. She was able, through the activity of two Quakers, George Gillett and Alfred Dyer, who carried out investigations in London and Belgium on her behalf, to expose the traffic in children between the two countries concerned. This aroused a storm of violence and many, even of those who were convinced supporters, begged her to leave the dreadful thing alone. But she persisted, and at last she was allowed to make a sworn statement about the conditions in Brussels before a Liverpool magistrate. This sworn statement was sent to the English Government, who sent it to the Belgian authorities. It was reproduced in the Belgian Press, and no further attempts were made to deny the truth of her allegations.

In 1880 a strong Committee was formed in London by Mrs. Butler and her supporters. It was called the London Committee, and with the powerful aid of the Salvation Army, W. T. Stead, Benjamin Scott (the City Chamberlain), Charles Tarring and others, a campaign was initiated that led to the passing in 1886 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. This measure, which raised the "age of consent" to 16 and instituted severe

penalties against procurers, was taken as the model for all international work on these lines.

In the same year a Committee of Inquiry was set up by the House of Lords to inquire into the truth of Mrs. Butler's allegations. The report published in 1882 says:

"I find it to be a fact established beyond all doubt that for many years a trade or traffic has been carried on whereby a very large number of English girls—many, if not most of them, under the age of 21 years—have been enlisted to become inmates of brothels in Continental cities in consideration of fees or commissions paid by the keepers of the houses to the persons procuring the girls.

"I find that fraud was frequently and successfully practised, that girls under age were easily enrolled, that in the case of English girls false certificates of birth were the rule rather than the exception, and that the girls entered upon a life, presently to be described, to which they were almost irretrievably committed, before they could possibly become aware of its true nature and condition. I find that in several cases misrepresentation, falsehood and deceit marked every stage of the procedure, from the moment that the girl was first accosted by the *placeur* in England to that of her installation in the *maison de débauche*."

Working Internationally

It would seem then that there had been little improvement between the publication of the Report in 1880 and the publication of the Experts' Committee in 1927, and this in spite of the fact that a powerful International society—the International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic—was founded by Mr. Alexander Coote in 1899. The fact is, as the Report reveals clearly, that wherever Regulation has been abolished the traffic has diminished or come to an end; wherever the system remains in force the traffic flourishes. It was because Mrs. Butler understood this vital fact so strongly that she concentrated on the abolition of Regulation. She was convinced, and her followers have always acted on her conviction, that the only effective way of striking at the traffic in women is by continuous, uncompromising opposition to Regulation in any shape or form, and by demanding unceasingly the abolition of licensed houses. The Experts' Report proves up to the hilt her contention that where there are no licensed houses there is no market for traffickers.

Josephine Butler died in 1906, but her work was carried on by the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (an amalgamation of two Societies, founded by her to combat the C.D. Acts in 1870). In 1921 this Association sent a letter to the Traffic in Women Conference at Geneva, pointing out that there are three principal factors responsible for the traffic, namely, regulation and the existence of licensed brothels, third party profits and the state of public opinion with regard to prostitution. It is interesting to note that the Body of Experts also attributes the traffic to the same causes.

"The Conscience of Europe"

Josephine Butler had sufficient faith in human nature to know that the hideous system of Regulation, with its inevitable result the traffic in women, had only to be exposed to be ended. "When the daylight has fully come," she said in 1880, "the conscience of Europe will be aroused and then this masterpiece of hell will be shattered for ever."

The daylight has come; the Experts' Report has brought that about; it is for us to see that this "masterpiece of hell" is shattered. We owe it to the memory of this great internationalist forerunner, that there shall be such an uprising of public opinion that every licensed house throughout the world is swept out of existence for ever.

A CHALLENGE TO EXPERTS LET THE NON-COMBATANT TAKE COMMAND

By E. F. SPANNER

In the February issue of "Headway" Prof. Noel Baker discussed at length the thesis advanced in Mr. E. F. Spanner's recent book, "Armaments and the Non-Combatant." At the request of the Editor of "Headway," Mr. Spanner now replies.

PROFESSOR NOEL BAKER apparently agrees that the evidence I have advanced as to the inadequacy of our present ideas on national defence is worthy of serious consideration. He is disposed to admit my contention that battleships—surface warships generally—are unavoidably deficient in their capacity to withstand intelligently directed aircraft attack; is inclined to accept my conclusions as to the little value of the anti-aircraft gun; and disposed to think that I have not exaggerated the importance of our dock systems and their vulnerability to aircraft attack.

In fact, as I should have anticipated from knowledge of Prof. Noel Baker's work, he finds little difficulty in appreciating the significance of the data I have collected, and the weight of the arguments I have marshalled in support of my case that our present system of national defence is conceived along lines which are entirely out of date, and that, as a direct consequence, we are spending over £120,000,000 every year and achieving a state of security which is entirely illusory.

"Romantic" Views

Prof. Noel Baker, however, does not do justice to the proposals I have put forward for solving our problem. It would appear from his review that I have simply advocated an enormous increase in the Air Estimates. That is quite misleading, and I hope that Prof. Noel Baker will later find opportunity to go more deeply into my actual suggestions, and to treat of them more fully in these pages.

At the moment I should like to refer to another aspect of Prof. Noel Baker's criticism. He holds that I am "incurably romantic" in my attitude towards international politics.

Prof. Noel Baker urges "disarmament" and "the abolition of war." Fine ideals I agree, but much remains to be done before we can spend time helpfully in direct pursuit of these ideals. My book, as must be admitted by those who study it closely, is really and fundamentally concerned with the utter failure of the non-combatant in any country—in our country specifically—to control the Fighting Services.

Let us disabuse our minds of the idea that Governments or peoples are responsible for war. Wars are made by those whose whole existence and interests are concerned with fighting.

How and Why

All talk of "disarmament," of "limitation of armaments," of "arbitration," and so on, is utter waste of time so long as non-combatants allow themselves to be drained of fabulous sums every year for Fighting Services, whose aims and activities are beyond their control.

Does the British taxpayer actually control the Fighting Services which take £120,000,000 from him every year? Does he understand *how* the money is being spent? Does he understand *why* the money is being spent? Can he cut down the amount if he feels inclined? And if he can't, why can't he?

If non-combatants anxious for peace, instead of worrying so much about Geneva, would settle themselves to ponder the above questions, and would pursue what would inevitably become a fascinating study, they would find that there is nothing beyond their

comprehension in the sphere of naval and military operations. There is nothing to prevent any man of trained intelligence from arriving at a sound decision on principles and problems which the Fighting Services cloud in an atmosphere of secrecy and mystery.

Fighting men are not super-men. They have succeeded in creating for themselves a reverence which is unmerited. This they have been able to do simply by reason of the unfortunate apathy of the non-combatant. How on earth does Prof. Noel Baker expect to control armaments in another country when he doesn't control the expenditure under this heading in his own?

Criticism with Knowledge

I must not be accused of advocating an immediate cut in allocation to the Fighting Services. I simply say that we must insist on knowing how and why our Fighting Services are spending the money they take from us.

When we do this, and when non-combatants in other countries are equally as alert in their own interests, cuts in expenditure on armaments will follow to a degree entirely beyond practical politics at present.

There is plenty of evidence in "Armaments and The Non-Combatant" to prove beyond question that money is being spent quite wrongly at the present time by the Navy, by the Army and by the Air Forces.

Parliamentary control of this expenditure is an absolute farce—it is ludicrously obvious that Parliament has no control whatever over the Fighting Services. Those Services take what money they want; they spend it as they wish, without the non-combatant being the wiser as to how it is being expended.

Would an open vote find members of Parliament agreeing to money being spent on developing poison-gas and poison-gas containers and generators, designed deliberately for use against the non-combatants of other countries? What constituency would return a member deliberately pledged to sanction such expenditure?

Yet our money is being spent in just such directions—and we a "pillar of strength" at Geneva!

Control the Experts

I do not think I am so romantic as Prof. Noel Baker imagines. He is no keener than I am for peace—for the prevention of war. But I do not see any approach to that ideal by way of Geneva until the non-combatants of every nation have taken control each of their own Fighting Services.

Before anything can be done we must thoroughly understand and control those Services upon which our safety depends. We must no longer pretend that we do that. Parliament simply plays with the question.

The hard, blunt truth is that it is utterly foolish for non-combatants to try to limit and control expenditure on the Fighting Services of our own and other countries until non-combatants have carefully studied the problems faced by these Services, and are prepared to challenge wrong ideas with real insight, and with a determination that money voted for Defence shall be soundly spent.

When non-combatants have advanced that far—I shall have some greater measure of respect for the League of Nations.

SIR AUSTEN'S PART

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN played a prominent part in most of the discussions at last month's Council Meeting of the League of Nations and he put in certain very useful pieces of work. Perhaps his most important intervention was in regard to the



Sir Austen

failure of States members of the League to ratify Conventions they have signed. This matter was first raised effectively by Lord Cecil on behalf of the British delegation at the Assembly of 1926, and it was then decided that the Secretary-General should present to the League Council twice a year a statement showing the position with regard to the ratifications of all Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League. Such a statement was, in fact, laid before the Council last month, but it would have passed without discussion as a mere formality had not the British Foreign Minister taken the opportunity to refer in strong but measured terms to the damage done to the League's prestige by the failure to carry Conventions through to the point of putting them into effective operation.

He mentioned in particular the Opium Convention, which was signed in June, 1925, but is not operative until a certain number of the States, including seven members of the Council, have ratified it. In this case it is the actual Council members themselves who are at fault, for only three, Great Britain, France and Poland, have ratified. Sir Austen's words produced immediate explanations from the representatives of Canada, Rumania, Japan and Holland, all of whom declared that the ratifications of their countries would be effected within a very few weeks, while Dr. Stresemann observed that Germany had always been ready to ratify as soon as she was assured that she would have a representative on the new Central Board, which is to supervise the working of the Convention.

At the same time, Sir Austen Chamberlain, taking up the just complaint recently made by the Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association (referred to in last month's HEADWAY), pointed out that a number of Conventions of great importance to traders the world over, such as those on Freedom of Transit, Navigable Waterways, Railways, Ports, Customs Formalities, were still awaiting ratification at the hands of large numbers of States. It is quite true that Great Britain itself has not a perfect record, and M. Briand was able to remark pertinently that France had ratified the Arms Traffic Convention, but found herself "in a not very numerous company." There is also, of course, the Washington Eight Hours Convention, which the Rumanian delegate said his country had been the first to ratify. But, apart from that, the British Government is open to little criticism on this score.

A Plea for Publicity

Another occasion when Sir Austen took a definite line with good effect was during the discussion of the resolution he had himself submitted on the vexed question of the Hungarian Optants. In the past year he has devoted many apparently fruitless hours to the endeavour to find a solution for this problem, and on the last day but one of the Council meeting he brought forward a new proposal which it was hoped might be accepted by both parties. Unanimous support by the

Council was greatly desired, and after Sir Austen had spoken, the President said he would invite each member to express his views. Signor Scialoja (Italy) thereupon suggested that it might be better that this should be done in a private session. The President replied that he himself saw no objection to publicity, but he was in the hands of the Council. Sir Austen immediately opposed the Italian suggestion, declaring that the eyes of the world were on Geneva in connection with this question and that it would be disastrous if it were not dealt with at a public session. The majority of the Council were clearly of the same view, and it was so agreed.

One other matter may be mentioned, though it took place at a private sitting of the Council. The proposal to reduce the number of regular Council meetings from four in the year to three, originally put forward by Sir Austen Chamberlain himself, came under discussion this time. Sir Austen, however, said at once that he had no desire to press the proposal unduly in face of opposition and he was quite content that it should stand aside till members of the Assembly had had an opportunity of discussing it. No change, therefore, will be made till after September, and then only if there appears to be a predominance of feeling, in the Assembly as well as in the Council, in favour of it.

MR. KELLOGG'S WAY

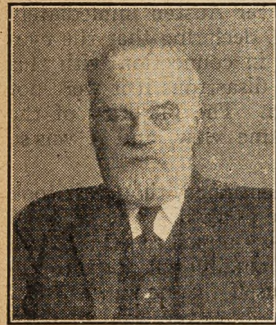
IN an article in the February HEADWAY on the correspondence between Mr. Kellogg and M. Briand on the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, the view was expressed that the proposals were, owing to the difficulties raised by France, not likely to get beyond the stage then reached. That prediction has happily been falsified. Mr. Kellogg has returned to the charge, and in a Note more explicit than any of its predecessors, followed by a speech which was carefully circulated to the Press of Europe by the United States Embassies and Legations in different countries, has pressed on the attention formally of France and informally of Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan, his proposal for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy.

The frequent reiteration of that particular phrase, borrowed originally from M. Briand, inevitably raises the question whether Mr. Kellogg means to draw a deliberate distinction between war as an instrument of national policy and war as an instrument of international policy, i.e., what may be termed police measures organised in case of necessity by the League. If, as would appear to be the case, he does mean that, there can be no conflict between the conclusion of such a treaty as he suggests and the obligations already resting on members of the League of Nations as signatories of the Covenant.

M. Briand is preparing his reply to the American Note, and he is known to have modified his earlier attitude, largely as a result of contacts at Geneva during the sittings of the League Council in March. It is not to be expected that the French reply will conclude the whole matter. It is, however, to be expected that it will open the door for the direct despatch of the Kellogg proposals to the Governments of the four other great Powers mentioned in the American Note, namely, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan. Those Governments will then have laid before them an opportunity of the greatest moment for taking a step which cannot fail to consolidate further the peace of the world.

BRICKS AND MORTAR FINAL DECISIONS ON THE LEAGUE BUILDINGS

THE rumours that the seat of the League of Nations may be moved from Geneva to Vienna have at last been set finally at rest by the decision taken by the League Council last month to proceed forthwith with the construction of the long projected new Assembly Hall and Secretariat buildings at Geneva. The series of moves by which this final stage—though final is perhaps an optimistic term to use—has been reached will be of some interest.



M. Nénot

It may be remembered that as a result of an international competition nearly 400 plans for the new buildings were sent in, and the jury of architects appointed to judge them, while it succeeded in picking out 27 and arranging them in first, second and third classes of nine each, did not succeed in deciding definitely

on any single plan out of the first category. The last Assembly, accordingly, decided to turn over the nine first-class plans to a committee of laymen, among whom was Sir Edward Hilton Young, and leave to them the task of making the best selection they could. The Committee took the unusual and in some ways rather risky course of selecting one plan as basis on the ground of its general superiority, but combining with it various features from three others.

That meant associating with the two architects, Messrs Nénot and Flegenheimer, who had combined to produce the basic plan, three other architects who were invited to incorporate certain individual features in which their own plans were thought to be preferable. The five gentlemen in question managed to work more or less amicably together under the benevolent eye of the committee of laymen, but they ended by differing on one or two not unimportant details. Should the Assembly itself, for example, be on the one hand square, or on the other round or oval? Messrs. Nénot and Flegenheimer wanted it square, the other three preferred it round or oval, and the committee of laymen, supported finally by the Council, agreed. Should Messrs. Nénot and Flegenheimer's façade, a picture of which appears on this page, remain as originally designed or be altered to fit in with certain other modifi-

cations approved on different grounds? The original architects naturally liked it as it was, but the others wanted to change it, and here again they have been supported by the committee of laymen and the Council. There were also delicate little questions of who should actually supervise the execution of this joint work and what fees the various parties concerned should be paid.

All these problems, however, were disposed of at last month's Council meeting, and to clinch the matter the Secretary-General was authorised to sign the contract definitely, without further reference to the Council itself. M. Nénot will be entrusted with general supervision. It is to be hoped that that means progress, but building at Geneva is a slow business. And though it is possible that the ceremony of laying the foundation stone may be carried out during this year's Assembly, it is expected that at least three, and quite possibly four, more September meetings will have to be held in the eminently unsatisfactory Salle de la Reformation.

One development of the original plans will be required to provide for the erection of the new library presented



The Original Nénot and Flegenheimer Plan

by Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, Jr. In that connection a committee of experts in library arrangement and management has been meeting at Geneva in the past month, Sir Rennell Rodd being the British representative. The new League librarian, M. Sevensma, is to visit the principal libraries in the United States to learn what can be learned from them. That means a good deal, for American libraries are generally regarded as the best of their kind in the world.

Since the note in last month's HEADWAY appeared, concerning the Conference on Migration and on Industrial Accident Prevention to be held at the London School of Economics on April 17th, 18th and 19th, acceptances have been received from Lord Apsley, M.P., Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., Mr. H. Gosling, M.P., Sir Norman Hill, Sir Gerald Bellhouse (H.M. Chief Inspector of Factories), Colonel J. A. A. Pickard (Secretary, National "Safety First" Association). These, with the names published in the last number of HEADWAY, constitute a notable platform which will cover practically all the problems concerning the two subjects of the Conference. A large proportion of time is allotted at the different sessions for discussion, and tickets (which are free) can be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

LAST MONTH'S COUNCIL SEVEN FOREIGN MINISTERS DISCUSS LEAGUE BUSINESS

IF the forty-ninth session of the League of Nations Council, which was held at Geneva, under the chairmanship of the Colombian representative, Señor Urrutia, from March 5 to 10, was not particularly exciting, at any rate, it was uniformly interesting. Nothing presents so convincing a picture of the variety and extent of the League's activities as attendance at a quarterly Council meeting, when subject after subject is disposed of, sometimes without discussion at all, sometimes after as much as two days of ardent controversy.

There were plenty of examples of both kinds of treatment this time, the subject making the greatest demands on time and, it may be added, temper being the eternal dispute over the Hungarian Optants in Rumania. Of that more in a moment. As to attendance at the Council itself it is enough to mention that there were present no fewer than seven Foreign Ministers, all from European States, and that Senator Dandurand had once more made the journey from Canada for the specific purpose of attending the Council meeting as representative of his country.

Spain and Brazil

To touch more or less at haphazard on the items dealt with, a decision regarding the permanent buildings of the League was taken on lines indicated in another article in this issue. Letters drafted in warm, but not inappropriately effusive, terms were addressed to Spain and Brazil and (rather as an afterthought) Costa Rica, appealing to those countries to think better of their decision to leave the League. It is now known that Spain, at any rate, will return.

Three Danzig items were happily expunged from the agenda, the advent of a new Government to power having made a settlement of differences on the spot much easier. In the case of the Saar, four out of the five members of the Governing Commission were, as usual, reappointed, but an important change was made in regard to the fifth, M. Ehrnroth, a former Foreign Minister and Minister of Commerce of Finland, being appointed in place of M. Lambert, the Belgian representative, who has just resigned after eight years' service. This means, incidentally, that what had come to be known as the French majority on the Commission (consisting of the French, Belgian and Czech members) now disappears.

A New League Loan

Reconstruction was once more in the forefront, Bulgaria and Portugal having applied for League support for loans and the Greeks desiring to use some part of their existing loan for certain desirable purposes, such as building roads and bridges, which did not fall strictly within its written terms. Leave in this last case was readily given, particularly as Sir John Hope-Simpson, a member of the Refugee Commission, was able to give an eminently satisfactory account of the way the work was progressing. So, similarly, was M. Charron, the League Commissioner for refugee settlement work in Bulgaria, and as the Bulgarian Government decided after some discussion to comply with the League's requirements in regard to the removal of the Bulgarian National Bank from all political influences, a Bulgarian loan of £4,500,000 was approved by the Council. The Portuguese proposals, on the other hand, struck a snag. The League's financial experts had investigated the situation in Portugal with singular thoroughness and the loan would have been approved had not the Portuguese Government thought it inconsistent with their dignity to have a League representative residing at Lisbon to supervise, unostentatiously, the expenditure

of the proceeds of the loan. The League was not prepared to lower its financial standards to suit these sentiments, and the Portuguese accordingly went home to meditate about the matter further.

Machine Guns

Then came two questions which have agitated Central Europe through and through, the case of the Optants in Rumania and the case of the Hungarian machine-guns. The machine-gun question involved a charge against Hungary by the Little Entente Powers of non-compliance with the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Trianon, the League being now responsible for investigating any alleged breach of these clauses. The full story of the machine-gun parts, for such they were, is still not known. There were five wagon loads of them and they were despatched from Verona in Italy across a bit of Austria, where they passed unnoticed, with a way-bill apparently consigning them to Warsaw via Austria, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia. The allegation is that they were never intended to go out of Hungary at all, but were to be added to the stores of arms with which Hungary's critics say she is secretly providing herself.

At any rate, the contents of the trucks were discovered at the frontier station of Saint Gotthard, on the Austro-Hungarian frontier, where the joint Austrian and Hungarian Customs examinations are carried out. The station itself is actually on Hungarian soil, and when the Austrian Customs officials discovered the war material they at once said it must not leave Austrian territory. The Hungarians observed that it had already left it, and kept the material where it was, finally destroying the contents of the trucks and selling them for scrap iron, in spite of a telegram from the Acting-President of the Council, suggesting that the evidence ought not to be thus made away with before the Council had had time to act.

That, broadly, was the situation that faced the Council at its March session. Three members, the Dutch and Finnish Foreign Ministers and the Chilean representative, were appointed a sub-committee to consider action, after one or two members of the Council, M. Briand in particular, had cross-questioned the Hungarian General, who represented his country on this occasion. Obviously they could not probe a matter of this kind in three days and they contented themselves, therefore, with emphasising the importance of the incident and need for investigating it from every angle, which they proposed to do between then and the June Council meeting. The Little Entente representatives acquiesced and the Hungarians politely promised all facilities.

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The Optants Tangle

Now for the Optants. How can that tangled story be told in a couple of paragraphs? It clearly cannot, but enough may perhaps be said to indicate the latest turn the controversy is taking. The story of the earlier stages was told in the November HEADWAY,

Jonkheer Beelaerts von Blokland
(Dutch Foreign Minister)

and to that reference must be made by readers whom the subject most excites. The essence of the question very briefly was this: Could Hungarian property-holders in the territory newly acquired by Rumania, who were protected against having their lands sold up as an ordinary war liquidation measure, have them



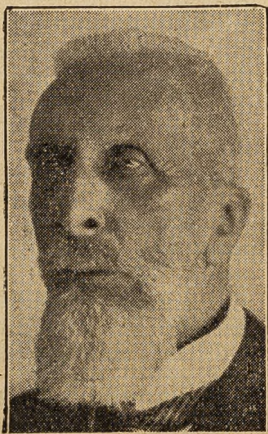
M. Titulesco

broken up none the less under a general agrarian reform scheme which, throughout Rumania, took land from large holders—Rumanians and Hungarians alike—in order to give it to the peasants? The Rumanians said Yes, the Hungarians said No. The Hungarian property-holders (called Optants, because under the Treaty they had "opted," or chosen, to live in Hungary, but keep their property in Rumania) took their case before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal—consisting of three judges, one Hungarian, one Rumanian and one neutral—set up under the Treaty. The Rumanians said the Tribunal was never meant to deal with this kind of case. The Hungarians, and the Tribunal itself by a majority of two to one, said it was. The Rumanians thereupon withdrew their judge from the Tribunal and so stopped its work so far as these cases were concerned.

One More Deadlock

Last September the League Council set its lawyers to work and approved three legal principles drafted by them, laying it down that the Rumanians could apply to Hungarians any measure which did not specially discriminate against them as ex-enemies. Rumania, of course, accepted these principles. Hungary, of course, did not. The deadlock, therefore, continued for over six months till the March Council meeting. This time Sir Austen Chamberlain, who discharged the thankless task of rapporteur in regard to the Optants, made a new proposal, which all his colleagues approved. This was that for these cases the Arbitral Tribunal should consist not of three members, but of five, two neutrals being added, so that there would be altogether three neutrals, one Rumanian and one Hungarian. Hungary, represented by the veteran Count Apponyi, accepted this proposal at once. Rumania, through the mouth of her Foreign Minister, M. Titulesco, accepted on condition that the new judges acted on the basis of the September legal principles. To that condition Count Apponyi resolutely refused to agree.

The Council turned then on M. Titulesco and adjured him in tones of appeal or admonition or irritation, according to the temperament of the speaker, to accept the proposal precisely as Sir Austen Chamberlain put it forward. Through a whole afternoon the controversy raged, the atmosphere of the Council Chamber becoming more and more unhygienic with each hour that passed. Finally the Council resigned itself once more to deadlock, relieved only by the hope that the Rumanian Government might change its mind between March and June.



Count Apponyi

A WOMAN PIONEER

THERE was a notable little interlude at the recent meeting of the League Council, when the Foreign Ministers of Britain and France and Germany and four other European States turned for a moment from their political tasks to pay tribute to the memory of a little woman with a quiet face and smooth brown hair who had at eight Assemblies sat as delegate-substitute for her country, and was from the outset the only woman member of the Permanent Mandates Commission.

Mme. Bugge-Wicksell was Norwegian by birth, and Swedish by nationality, as result of her marriage to a well-known economist, Dr. Wicksell, who died about two years ago. The marriage itself was of interest, for Mlle. Bugge, as she was, was a pioneer in the women's rights movement, and she was slow in accepting orthodox ideas on the bonds of matrimony. It was some years, therefore, before her union with Dr. Wicksell was formalised by any marriage ceremony, and then only by a civil, not an ecclesiastical contract.

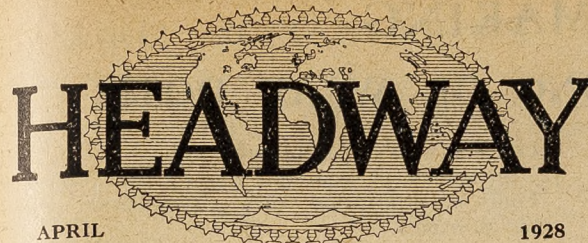
Even those who knew Mme. Bugge-Wicksell reasonably well, as I did myself (I remember, in particular, an accidental meeting with her on the train-ferry from Sweden to Germany some eighteen months ago), would hardly have suspected her spirit and resolution. She was perfectly well educated, as women's education in her day went—she was born in 1862—but not sufficiently to satisfy her own standards of the requirements of public life. Accordingly, at the age of 48, she entered the University of Lund for a law course, and took her degree on the same day as her own son.

When the fight for women's franchise in Sweden was won, Mme. Bugge-Wicksell diverted her energies into work for peace, becoming one of the chief forces in the Swedish Peace Society, and then in the League of Nations Society, into which it was subsequently merged. As already stated, she was regularly a member of her country's delegation to the Assembly, and as member of the Permanent Mandates Commission she threw herself into that new interest with a diligence and quiet energy characteristic of her. Actually to visit mandate areas is a formidable undertaking, so Mme. Bugge-Wicksell, to the amusement of her friends, put in a hard fortnight at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, under the skilled guidance of Mr. Ormsby-Gore.

As for her further activities as a member of the Mandates Commission, it is sufficient to quote the following passage from the report presented to the Council on March 5 by the Dutch Foreign Minister: "While taking a full part in the general work of the Commission, she devoted, at the request of her colleagues, particular attention to those parts of the annual reports of the Mandatory Powers which dealt with educational questions. In 1927 she made a trip to the United States at the invitation of the Phelps Stokes Fund, and presented to the Commission at its last session a valuable report on certain aspects of the educational work for the coloured races in that country which appeared important from the point of view of the development of educational policy in the mandated territories. It was contemplated that she would supplement this trip to the United States by a visit to certain of the African territories, and it is therefore particularly regrettable that her work in this important field should have been so prematurely cut short."

The difficulty of finding immediately a woman member qualified to carry on Mme. Bugge-Wicksell's work on the Commission was such that the Council thought it wise to let the matter stand over for the moment rather than run the risk of choosing a "second best."

H.W.H.



APRIL

1928

SMALLER NAVIES

ONE passage in the speech made by the First Lord of the Admiralty in introducing the naval estimates, last month, calls for special attention. Mr. Bridgeman devoted much time to explaining once again why the Naval Conference at Geneva failed. Into that controversial region it is unnecessary to follow him, beyond observing that some of those equally competent to speak have felt that the facts he laid before the House of Commons needed, in certain respects, to be supplemented. But one statement, at any rate, made by Mr. Bridgeman will be received with general satisfaction. Turning to his critics on the other side of the House he observed, "Let Hon. Members opposite do something to help this country to get further opportunities for discussing limitation, as I am perfectly certain it is open to the three countries (Great Britain, America and Japan), and also European countries, to meet together, not perhaps immediately, but in the course of a comparatively short time and do something further in the direction of limitation."

The First Lord was, no doubt, speaking for the Government as a whole, and it is a matter for considerable satisfaction to find the Government looking forward to renewal, at no distant date, of the naval conversations that led to so unfortunate a result at Geneva. Here again it is beside the mark to enter into details, though if a broad basis for naval agreement were needed it could be found in the acceptance by the United States of the British proposals for lengthening the life and decreasing the tonnage of various types of vessels, and by the British acceptance of the American proposals for limiting total cruiser tonnage. That, however, is not for the moment the essential point, for there appears to be some hope that the way may be effectively prepared for a renewal of the naval disarmament discussions by the conclusion of such a pact for the renunciation of war as the American Secretary of State, Mr. Kellogg, has been urging with laudable pertinacity for the best part of twelve months.

It remains to be seen what response the Kellogg Note will receive at the hands of Great Britain and other Powers to whom it is to be simultaneously addressed. But public opinion in this country is unmistakably favourable to the full acceptance of the Kellogg formula, provided only that it conflicts in no way with the obligations this country has taken on itself as a Member of the League of Nations. Nothing has been said so far to lend colour to the belief that such a conflict exists, for the French comments to that effect seem based on a complete misunderstanding.

It is obvious that the conclusion of a no-more-war treaty between this country and the United States, to say nothing of the association of nations like France, Italy, Germany and Japan, would have a direct bearing on the naval disarmament discussions. If once it had

been formally agreed that there should be no armed conflict in the future between Great Britain and the United States, as there has been none for the last century and more, it would be idle for admirals and politicians to go to Geneva and argue that if America built 25 ten thousand ton cruisers, Great Britain would have to do the same. So long as that argument is current it is fantastic folly to deny that competition between Great Britain and the United States exists, and for such competition there can be no conceivable basis except the theory that war some day may break out between the two States. If that contingency is ruled out by the conclusion of a renunciation of war treaty, then obviously it is a matter of indifference to Great Britain what ships America may build and to America what ships Great Britain may lay down.

Fortunately, as a kind of half-way stage between the Geneva failure and the hoped-for diplomatic success which the conclusion of a no-more-war treaty would entail, the two Governments have shown marked restraint and wisdom in keeping their naval construction programmes in check. Comparisons may be odious, but dissimulations are worse, and we are entitled to express satisfaction that it was the British Government that took the lead in demonstrating to the world its refusal, even after the Geneva failure, to embark on anything that could be construed as a competitive programme. We have not yet reaped the full harvest of the Government's decision to abandon three of the large cruisers envisaged in the 1925 building programme. On the one hand that action was made possible largely by the trend given to public opinion in this country by such educative forces as the League of Nations Union, and on the other the British decision found an early reflection in sweeping reductions of the proposed American programme, not so much because American Navy Department officials were prepared to reduce as Great Britain reduced, but because public opinion in America, with the action of the British Government to invoke as example, was able to bring such pressure on the legislature and the Secretary for the Navy as to make it impossible for the inflated programme originally drafted to survive.

In all this there is ground for encouragement, but progress is far too slow. It cannot honestly be admitted that the sittings of the Security and Arbitration Committee or the Disarmament Commission itself at Geneva have carried us much further forward. The Arbitration Treaties drafted by the former body may have their uses but there is an obvious danger that when a series of treaties, differing substantially in the rigour of their provisions, is laid before Members of the League, States which care little for arbitration will sign the least rigorous treaties and claim that thereby they have done everything that could reasonably be expected.

Nor, let us remember, is the attitude of the British Government in all respects what most members of the League of Nations Union would desire it to be. Lord Cushendun, though he has spoken with unexpectedly warm approval of the general principles of the Optional Clause, has declared once again that Great Britain cannot sign it. Canada, it may be remarked parenthetically, feels increasingly strongly about the Optional Clause and pressure may yet be exerted from Ottawa. Meanwhile it must continue to be exerted here in regard both to this and to the conclusion of much more comprehensive arbitration treaties. Even if no action can be taken until the next Imperial Conference it is of the highest importance that by the time that Conference is convened there shall exist in this country, as well as in the Dominions, a body of opinion which will lead delegates to modify the attitude they assumed in 1926, and instead of abstaining by common accord, agree to sign the Optional Clause simultaneously.

TREATY-MAKING

ARBITRATION IN STRONG OR WEAK DOSES

THOSE who acquainted or failed to acquaint themselves at school with the algebraic process known as permutations and combinations must have had it vividly brought back to mind by the proceedings of the Arbitration and Security Committee at Geneva in the first week of March. The Committee was engaged at that moment on drafting a series of arbitration and security treaties, ringing about as many changes on them as it was possible to ring. The ground had been cleared for the Committee over which Dr. Benes, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, presided with his usual skill by three reports prepared respectively by M. Holsti of Finland on arbitration, M. Politis on security and M. Rutgers of Holland on the security and arbitration clauses of the Covenant.

The general purpose of the Committee was to see what could be done to promote disarmament through security and security through arbitration. That meant, of course carrying security and arbitration agreements further than they had been carried yet. The difference between the two is that while an arbitration treaty provides only for the settlement of disputes, a security treaty includes, at any rate, a pledge that the various signatories will not attack one another, and possibly in addition an undertaking that they will assist one another when in danger.

Water-tight Agreements

Clearly, of course, countries desiring to conclude such treaties could, as many States have done already, draw them up for themselves and sign them. But there is considerable advantage in having certain standard forms of treaty, drafted after full discussion by what may be regarded as the men most qualified in the world for such a purpose. One result of this is that any danger of an arbitration or security treaty being found to be accidentally inconsistent with the Covenant is removed. Further than that, it is intended that when once the batch of treaties has been approved in its final form, some pressure shall be exerted at Geneva to secure that one or other of the treaties (as may best suit the circumstances of the Contracting Parties) shall be widely signed.

Now for the permutations and combinations. It was soon found that the Security Committee included in its membership representatives of two opposite schools of thought. The British delegate, Lord Cushendun, supported as a rule by the Italian and Japanese, was consistently hostile to anything like universal agreements. What Lord Cushendun, for example, wanted was either bi-lateral treaties (*i.e.* treaties between two States only) or regional agreements between a few States adjoining one another in the same part of a Continent. The French, on the other hand, supported by most of the Continental countries, would have preferred a collective arbitration and security agreement signed by most or all the Members of the League. In the end it was decided to cater for every taste and draw up a series of model treaties, some bi-lateral and some collective, the latter for signature by as many States as cared to sign them.

Most of the bi-lateral type remain to be framed at the next meeting of the Committee in June. Of the multi-lateral type five were framed, three dealing more particularly with arbitration and two more particularly with security. The arbitration trio provide respectively for:—

- (1) Settlement of all legal disputes by the Permanent

Court and all others by arbitration.

- (2) Settlement of legal disputes by the Permanent Court or arbitration, with a conciliation process for all others.

- (3) Only a conciliation process for both kinds of disputes.

(A conciliation process involves only discussion, and not necessarily settlement.)

The security agreements provide for:—

- (1) Pledges of non-aggression, mutual assistance and peaceful settlement of all disputes.

- (2) Non-aggression and peaceful settlement without mutual assistance.

It will be seen that in each case the first treaty mentioned most fully covers the ground. An interesting feature of the Committee discussions was the tendency of France, Germany and Poland to take a common view in most cases, the German delegate Herr von Simson insisting strongly that it was essential to find a means of settlement of all disputes of whatever kind without war.

The Optional Clause

One resolution was adopted urging States which felt they could not sign the Optional Clause of the Court Statutes without reservations to sign it with reservations, rather than not sign at all. In that connection Lord Cushendun made an interesting statement. The British Government, he said, owing to its special circumstances felt itself unable, for reasons which had been frequently explained, to sign the Optional Clause. He regretted that, but he did not feel that there was any inconsistency in supporting a resolution urging other countries whose circumstances were not those of Great Britain, to sign the Clause in as large numbers as possible.

It is intended that the treaties so far drafted, after being reported, largely as a formality, to the Disarmament Commission, shall be handed on to the June Council Meeting and by the Council referred to the Assembly. That means, or should mean, that arbitration will be the main topic of discussion at the Assembly and an effort will certainly be made to persuade as many States as possible to sign one or other of the treaties approved. Those already drafted will have what is called a second reading at the next meeting of the Committee in June, by which time the various governments will have had an opportunity of examining them.

COMING EVENTS

APRIL 10.—Opium Advisory Committee.

APRIL 30.—Health Committee.

MAY 14.—Economic Consultative Committee.

JUNE 4.—League Council Meeting.

JUNE *—Mandates Commission.

JUNE *—Arbitration and Security Committee.

JULY 26 TO AUGUST 2.—L.N.U. Summer School at Oxford.

AUGUST 4 TO 10.—Geneva Institute of International Relations. First session (elementary).

AUGUST 11 TO 17.—Geneva Institute of International Relations. Second session.

*Precise date not yet fixed.

UNION POLICY
LORD CECIL'S VIEWS

THE following statement has been sent by Lord Cecil in answer to a correspondent who asked him about the attitude of the League of Nations Union with regard to disarmament:—

"1. It is suggested that the Union is advocating further reduction of British armaments irrespective of what other countries may do.

"That is not so. The Union policy is the reduction and limitation of armaments all round by international agreement and nothing else. As far as I know no responsible member of the Union has advocated one-sided British disarmament as part of the Union policy. If any such occurrence should take place I am certain that the Executive Committee of the Union will on being apprised of it forthwith take steps to dissociate the Union from it.

"2. It is said that the campaign for International Disarmament is being used for party purposes.

"Here a distinction must be drawn. As far as the Union is concerned the charge is altogether untrue. The utmost care is taken to keep the Union meetings free from party colour. Wherever possible a chairman is chosen who, from his official position as Mayor, Bishop, etc., is outside party politics. Invitations to the platform are always issued to prominent members of all parties, and some representative of each party is usually invited to take part in the proceedings. Definite instructions are given to all speakers for whom the Headquarters of the Union is responsible to avoid anything in the nature of party politics. All leaflets and literature are closely scrutinised by a three-party committee to see that they are free from party bias.

"Naturally the policy of the Union may sometimes be in advance of that of the Government of the day, as for instance in its advocacy for the last four years of our acceptance of Arbitration in all international disputes, especially those of a legal character, and in such cases some criticism of the Government action or inaction is inevitable. Similarly other bodies formed to advocate special causes find themselves from time to time out of agreement with the Government. The Navy League has recently criticised the decision of the Government to suspend the construction of three large cruisers. Criticism of a Government does not in itself mean partisan opposition to it.

"But it may be true that Liberal and Labour politicians are in fact attacking the Government over armaments, and using some or all of the same arguments as those used by the Union.

"How can that be prevented? Is the Union to drop its long-continued advocacy of a policy the moment any political party in opposition supports it? No such practice has ever existed in this country, and if adopted by the Union it might well be regarded as showing that the Union was allowing party considerations to affect its policy."

The second Burge Memorial Lecture (founded to commemorate the international work of Dr. H. M. Burge, late Bishop of Oxford) will be given by Lord Cecil at University College, London, on May 22, at 5 o'clock, the subject being "International Arbitration." The Master of Balliol will take the Chair.

Are you willing to send your HEADWAY overseas after you have read it? If so, will you please communicate with the Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN

THE important question of whether the investigation into the White Slave Traffic, already carried out by the League of Nations in Europe, America and parts of Africa, should be extended to other quarters of the world was discussed at last month's Meeting of the League's Traffic in Women and Children Committee, to which the December Council Meeting of the League had referred it.

While there are strong reasons for completing a task so well begun, there is a good deal to be said for postponing immediate action. An investigation in Asia, in particular, is much to be desired, and the Japanese member of the Committee, M. Ito, said that his Government would welcome the investigators. But an investigation in Asia, omitting China, would be fantastically inadequate; and it is difficult to see how the investigators could carry out their work while China is subject to the political chaos which prevails there at this moment. In a year or two's time the situation may be much more favourable. It was also urged at Geneva that the public should be allowed a longer time to digest the reports already published, before preparations are made to lay before them a further instalment of the facts of the same character. In the end it was decided in principle that the investigation should be extended to new countries, but the question is to be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Committee, six months hence, detailed arrangements being held over till then. Meanwhile, however, the Council is requested to ask governments and private bodies to forward any documents on the subject of the traffic in women which may add to the information already available.

The Licensed House

It was shown in the reports already issued that one of the principal contributory factors to the maintenance of the traffic was the activity of agencies, some bogus, some genuine, for obtaining employment for young girls abroad, particularly in places of entertainment. In order to probe this matter further the Committee has decided to send out a short questionnaire to governments and private bodies on this subject in particular.

But perhaps the most important part of last month's meeting was devoted to discussion of the vexed question of the system of licensed houses of prostitution, the Assembly having, last year, passed a resolution suggesting that the time might have come to urge all governments to abolish the system. Unfortunately a certain number of governments, including several represented on the Women and Children Committee, are against abolishing the licensed house, and it was, therefore, impossible to carry a resolution embodying definite recommendations to that effect. Under all the circumstances indeed it was considered a substantial step forward that the representatives of countries like France and Rumania and some others should have accepted a resolution expressing, among other things, the earnest hope "that the governments of all those countries which still retain the licensed house system will investigate the question as soon as possible, in the light of the report made by the body of experts and the other information collected by the League of Nations." Four or five years ago it would have been impossible to carry a resolution calling the licensed house system in question at all.

A certain number of copies of a work (in English) on Brazil and the League of Nations by Señor José Carlos de Macedo Soares, have been presented to the League of Nations Union by the author, and copies can be sent to any applicant desiring to obtain one free of charge until the supply is exhausted. Stamps to the value of 3d. should be enclosed for postage.

TEACHING ON THE LEAGUE WHAT ONE ENGLISH TOWN IS DOING

DISCUSSION of the question of League teaching in schools gains enormously in value when there are solid facts to rest on. For that reason real weight attaches to the following notes which have been compiled by an Education Officer in an important English city, regarding the part played by the League in the curricula of the schools of that town. The notes have had to be abbreviated here for reasons of space. A copy of the full version can be obtained on application to the League of Nations Union.

Lectures and Films

The City Area in question contains three Secondary, three Central and twenty-three Senior Elementary School Departments. What is being done may thus be summarised:—

1. All schools take League work of some kind with one certain and one possible exception.

2. The City Area is fortunately situated in regard to the number of qualified outside speakers available and the local branch of the League of Nations Union, with the goodwill of the Education Committee, arranges lectures for any school which asks for them. It is a little difficult to summarise these activities statistically, but lectures appear to have been given with greater or less regularity in all but six schools. As was perhaps inevitable there was, particularly at first, some criticism of individual lecturers as being unused to talking to children and so above their heads: three schools have definitely discontinued lectures on this ground.

3. On two occasions the "Star of Hope" film has been shown, first in its earlier and then in its later form, to an audience of some 1,500 children representative of the older scholars of elementary schools, central schools, and the corresponding forms of secondary schools. Notes of lessons were circulated to the schools taking part, written work was done, and the effect of the film on selected classes was tested by its author. The film was clearly shown to be a valuable vehicle of League teaching.

Varying Methods

4. All the keenest and most thoughtful Headmasters and Headmistresses appear to be genuinely interested in League of Nations work and to have a high opinion of its importance and value. The work done, though there are many varieties, falls mainly into the three following types:

(a) A lecture or series of lectures (one boys' department is arranging a series of five lectures annually), or the film is made the focus of the work. Special lessons are given usually to the older children only, by the Head Teacher beforehand, and essays subsequently written, a specimen set of which is available for inspection. Throughout the rest of the year the children are reminded of the lessons then learnt by incidental reference during history and geography lessons. Elementary schools will mainly represent this type.

(b) Lectures on the film are treated as incidental and the more serious work is done by means of deliberate reference to the work and functions of the League at selected points in the geography or history syllabus. This means that the children are constantly reminded of what the League stands for, against a suitable background, as of past European wars. This represents particularly the type of secondary and central school work.

(c) A course of Economic History is taken with the older scholars, perhaps in their last term at an elementary school or last year at a Central School, leading up to some definite description of the aims, objects and practice of the League of Nations in relation to a definite sequence of thought, e.g., "The Growth of Co-operation." The point has been well made that regular lessons on the League (i.e., unrelated

to some particular incident or process of development) might be as boring as regular lessons on moral instruction. HEADWAY is taken in some schools, but no extensive use is made of League literature.

Conclusions

5. Three general points emerge:—

(a) Some Head Teachers have found that they can give point to their League teaching by relating it deliberately to Empire Day and drawing a parallel between the Commonwealth of the Dominions within the Empire and the League as the Commonwealth of Nations. Several schools—notably a Boys' Grammar School—have adopted the practice of making Armistice Day, with its serious associations, the occasion of a special League of Nations address.

(b) Some schools have introduced League teaching in its moral aspects into their religious instruction syllabus; this is particularly in schools where such instruction tends to run on broader ethical lines.

(c) One or two schools stated either that they feared if they gave too much prominence to League teaching that they would be accused of teaching politics, or that any such teaching—outside, say, an occasional lecture or film—would be above the children's heads. The fact that the great majority of Head Teachers to whom these suggestions were put emphatically disagreed, goes to show that they represent rather a lack of interest, or perhaps of knowledge, on the part of the individual Head Teachers, than a considered view.

SPAIN'S RETURN

REFERENCE is made on another page to Spain's decision to resume her place in the League Assembly. It is worth while, as demonstrating the generous spirit in which the Spanish Government has taken its decision, to reproduce in full the letter sent by the head of that Government in reply to the invitation extended by the League Council, through its President, at its Meeting in March:—

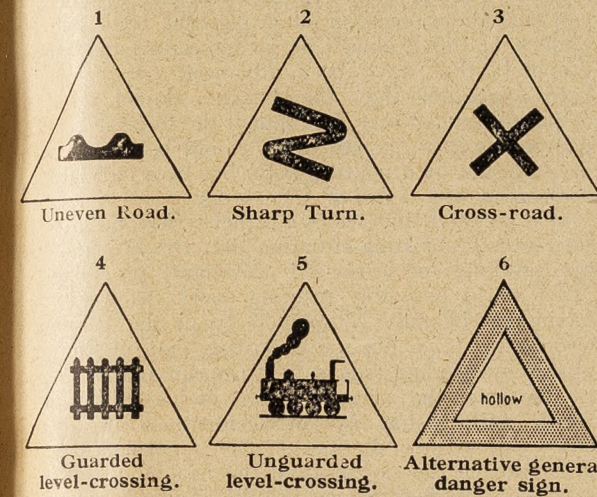
M. le Président,—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your friendly letter of March 9, in which you were good enough to communicate to me in the name of the Council of the League of Nations and in conformity with the wish of all its members a resolution that the Council had adopted at its meeting of the same day, with a view to its being examined by the Government of his Majesty the King of Spain. The warm terms in which your letter was couched, which omitted anything in the nature of an expression of opinion on the subject of our national claims and only expressed the desire to see Spain no longer separated from the League of Nations, so that she might continue her loyal and important work, could not fail to impress very deeply the Government over which I preside, and which held a special meeting in order to discuss this most important document.

Spain, which has never, M. le Président, ceased to collaborate in the noble and inspiring objects of the League, which has proposed and concluded with various countries treaties of conciliation and arbitration, is greatly moved by the invitation of the Council which your Excellency was good enough to transmit, and its Government is agreed that no other reply is possible but to agree gratefully, unconditionally, and unreservedly with the wish expressed in this invitation, leaving to the Assembly the duty of deciding the seat Spain shall occupy in order that her action shall be efficacious, useful, and corresponding to her special situation as a neutral Great Power during the last war and her rank as a creator of peoples and civilisations.

This, M. le Président, is all that I have to say except to add the expression of my sincere gratitude to all those representatives of the peoples who spoke of their respect and love towards the ancient and glorious nation of Spain, and of my high and very special esteem for your Excellency. (Signed) PRIMO DE RIVERA.
Brazil's reply has yet to be received.

MOTORISTS ABROAD

THE League of Nations Transit Organisation is doing useful work in trying to standardise international signs for motorists. This, of course, interests British motorists less than most others, because only a small minority of British motorists ever take their cars into other countries. But where frontiers are only marked by a couple of posts at the road-side, instead of by an arm of the sea, international motoring is, of course, common enough. It is extremely desirable,



therefore, that motorists touring through several countries should find the same signs meaning the same thing and the same thing denoted by the same sign in every case. The diagrams reproduced on this page are taken from a League publication on road signalling.

WILD SHOTS

IT is quite impossible to keep track of all the various misstatements which gain currency regarding the League of Nations. One of the most recent to be brought to our notice is an article by Mr. Valentine Williams in the *Sunday Graphic* of March 11, the burden of which is that the League is a costly and impotent institution. Reference is made to "the enormously costly fire brigade" we maintain at Geneva, "the gun which Europe at such appalling cost keeps at Geneva," and it is finally stated that the League has decided to erect a palace on the shores of Lake Lemman at a cost of over a million pounds. Even the last statement, which it would have been easy enough to verify, is not true. To call a building planned on rigorously economical lines for strictly working purposes a palace is neither here nor there. The fact remains that the money allotted for the building of the Assembly Hall and the permanent Secretariat buildings is under £800,000, a figure which falls into its proper proportion when it is noted that Manchester has just decided to spend over £1,000,000 on a mere extension of its existing town-hall.

Mr. Valentine Williams' other contentions are, that Signor Mussolini has defied the League of Nations over the South Tyrol question; that the League made a mere "fumbling attempt to intervene in the Hungarian machine gun affair and made it too late," and that Rumania, taking its cue from Signor Mussolini, had now defied the Council over the Optants question. Mr. Williams' task is made easier by the fact that he was not present at the Council Meeting and, therefore, is untrammelled by consideration for facts which could not have escaped his notice if he had been there. In the

first place the League, as is well known, has no *locus standi* in the matter of the South Tyrol, because Italy is bound by no minority treaty. In the second place, whatever responsibility the League has in the matter of the supervision of the armaments of the ex-enemy countries was none of the League's seeking. The burden was laid on its back by the Peace Treaties before the League existed at all. Thirdly, while it is to be regretted that Rumania did not fall in with the unanimous wish of the Council, she was perfectly within her rights in declining to do so, and it is a complete misuse of language to represent her as "defying" the League.

ARMS AND WAR

THE Disarmament Commission at Geneva is still sitting as this issue of HEADWAY goes to press, the main subject of discussion so far having been the Russian total disarmament proposals, put forward in the first instance last December.

It should be said at once that the Commission clearly did the right thing in initiating a perfectly serious discussion on the Russian memorandum, which had already been circulated as a League document. That is not to say that M. Litvinoff met with much sympathy from his colleagues on the Commission. Headed by Lord Cushendun, they fell upon him one and all, the most scathing of the criticisms coming, a little oddly, from the chief American delegate, Mr. Hugh Gibson, in spite of the fact that the difference between proposals for the renunciation of war and proposals for the renunciation of armaments would seem to most people inconsiderable.

Lord Cushendun, while dismissing the proposals as a whole as unacceptable, conceded that there were certain features which might be incorporated in the Commission's own disarmament scheme and urged that they should be referred to the Governments for their serious attention, a process which he thought might take as long as six months. This at any rate disposed of the prediction that the proposals would simply be scoffed at and thrown out altogether.

M. Litvinoff, in his reply to the general discussion, made the perfectly sound point that the Covenant exists to promote peace and diminish armaments to as great an extent as possible, and that, therefore, there was not merely no fundamental opposition, but a fundamental resemblance between Covenant principles and Russia's disarmament principles. As a result of the week's talk, the Soviet proposals in a modified form still remain on the agenda, and it will be discovered later what parts of them can be blended with the Preparatory Commission's own scheme.

One contribution important in its implications was made by Count Clausel, sitting as French representative in place of M. Paul-Boncour, who indicated that important technical conversations were going on between the experts of the different delegations with the support of the politicians. It was generally understood that this referred to the question of the measurement of naval tonnage (i.e., whether by the tonnage of the whole fleet or by the tonnage of separate categories, and, if so, what categories), a point which formed one of the chief causes of disagreement, not only at last year's meeting of the Preparatory Commission, but at the Three-Power Naval Conference. If during the present sittings of the Commission a real agreement can be reached on this point that alone will have fully justified the assembly of the delegates. This explains, incidentally, why Admiral Hilary Jones rather unexpectedly accompanied Mr. Hugh Gibson, the chief American delegate, to Geneva.

BOOKS WORTH READING

WHY ARBITRATE ?

Arms or Arbitration ? By H. Wilson Harris. (Hogarth Press. 2s. 6d. net.)

A month or two ago Mr. Wilson Harris published his "Human Merchandise," a book which no intelligent supporter of the League can afford to be without; and now he has given them another little book on the most important of all current international questions at the present time, I mean on Arbitration.

Under the title "Arms or Arbitration?" he has written, in the form of a remarkably lucid but compact and vigorous argument, a general and comprehensive statement of the case for arbitration as the essential next step before further progress towards real international disarmament can be made. He starts from a text furnished by Sir Austen Chamberlain himself: "Disarmament through security, security through arbitration—arbitration, security, disarmament, are the common platform of the whole League of Nations." He proceeds to show that disarmament can be hoped for only when nations and governments feel that they are free from the threat of war; that they can only be free from that threat when war is effectively ruled out between them "as an instrument of national policy"; that war can only be ruled out when an alternative method for the settlement of international disputes has been accepted; and that arbitration, i.e., judicial verdict on justiciable disputes by the Permanent Court and arbitral award on non-justiciable disputes by *ad hoc* tribunals are the only satisfactory alternative method of settlement.

He deals fairly and squarely with the objections that can be made to compulsory arbitration; he deals no less fairly and adequately with the arguments of the present British Government against signature of the Optional Clause and against compulsory arbitration in general. He reaches this conclusion: "The Government will bind itself neither to refer all justiciable disputes to the Court nor to settle all non-justiciable disputes by peaceful means. In either case it insists on leaving the door open to some alternative. What is that alternative? Is it war in the last resort? Other States cannot be blamed if they assume it is. It would be hard for them to assume anything else. War, therefore, remains enthroned as the ultimate arbiter. The uncertainty continues. Every nation must remain prepared for war. Every nation, in consequence, will keep its sword sharpened and its powder dry. That is the bearing of arbitration on disarmament."

There are a few small points in Mr. Harris's book with which the present writer does not happen to agree. There are distinguished lawyers who would say that he carries too far the distinction which he makes between justiciable and non-justiciable disputes. These considerations in no way detract from the value of a notable contribution to the discussion of these vital issues, a contribution equally of value to the expert and to the general reader.—P. J. NOEL BAKER.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE LEAGUE ?

What is wrong with the League of Nations ?

By Edgar H. Brookes. (Hogarth Press. 1s. 6d.)

Though Dr. Brookes has attended at least one session of the League Assembly his booklet shows him to be in many respects out of touch with realities. The consequence is a series of highly debatable statements. It is doubtful, for example, whether what Dr. Brookes terms the Continental view "wishes to see an international force capable of dealing with any recalcitrant State." It is long since any serious suggestion for an international force has been put forward. Neither does

it seem accurate to state that while the Continental powers lean more towards control by a politico-diplomatic body, the Anglo-American group leans "more towards the judicialisation of disputes and increased control by the Permanent Court." The refusal of Great Britain and the Dominions to sign the Optional Clause rather seriously discounts this statement.

When, moreover, the writer goes on to say that the Anglo-American countries "would rather leave the loop-hole for war than commit themselves to support a non-unanimous decision of a political body like the Council of the League" he is misreading the various proposals that have been advanced. It has never been suggested that the League should decide a dispute by a majority, but that if the Council were not unanimous in a dispute there should be a subsequent decision, not by a political body but by a judicial body in the form of a Board of Arbitrators.

It is on what thus seems a rather serious misinterpretation of the existing situation that Dr. Brookes bases his proposal for a revised Covenant, providing for (1) a world Assembly meeting every two years, and having as its only companion organ the Permanent Court, and (2) a Council consisting only of European States and dealing only with European affairs. When, by the way, the writer remarks of his own country, South Africa, that by an accident of alphabetical order (as *Afrique du Sud*) "she is permanently the first State in the Assembly of the League of Nations" he closes the door to one possibility which it may be hoped will soon be realised. What about Afghanistan?

H. W. H.

BUILDING UP PEACE

The Problems of Peace : Second Series. Lectures delivered at the Geneva Institute of International Relations, August, 1927. (Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.)

This second volume more than maintains the extremely high standard set by the first. It justifies the view of the Committee of the Geneva Institute in seeking to give wider publicity to the admirable lectures delivered under its auspices. The present volume, which is self-contained and can be read by those who have not seen its predecessor, contains seventeen chapters covering in detail the full story of the evolution of the League, the League in action, some aspects of current political developments, including a survey of the foreign policies of Germany, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., an analysis of the problem of the British Commonwealth in relation to the League and a discussion of the general problem of Nationalism and Internationalism. It should suffice to indicate their merit merely to mention that the authors are leading League and Labour Office officials as well as "outside" experts of recognised authority in their different problems, such as Professors Rappard, Zimmern, Delisle Burns, Sir Arthur Salter, Senor Madariaga, Mr. Phelan, Mr. Farbman, Dr. Norman White and Dame Rachel Crowdy.

In this volume the League falls into its place in the larger world framework of international problems as the new machinery through which an increasing number of these problems are treated. It is an indispensable handbook for all serious students of international affairs.—S. S.

A HANDBOOK FOR CHURCHES

Christianity and the League of Nations. By A. W. Harrison, M.C., D.D. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d. cloth; 2s. 6d. paper.)

The greater part of this book is descriptive and Dr. Harrison inevitably covers a good deal of well-

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trodden ground. Nevertheless his account of the previous schemes for attaining world peace and of the aims and activities of the League is a necessary background against which to set the theme which the title of his book denotes. It is probably true to say that in this country the League and the L.N.U. receive their strongest backing from the rank and file of the Christian Churches, and it is well that from time to time they should be reminded of the fundamental reason of the support they give. Dr. Harrison has written for the instruction of the younger members of the churches, and has undertaken a necessary task if the League idea is to continue its hold upon them. He rightly says "that the real success of the League depends upon the moral impetus behind it, which nothing but religion can give. Other religions may contribute their share, but in a world led by so-called Christian nations, the chief responsibility must lie with Christianity." The concluding chapters therefore point out how closely connected are the ideals of the League with the principles and implications of Christianity, and the whole book will well fulfil its purpose of providing material for study groups in connection with church guilds and classes. At the end of each chapter is a short bibliography and half a dozen topics for united discussion.

WORLD AFFAIRS

Survey of International Affairs, 1925. Vol. II. By C. A. Macartney and others. (Humphrey Milford. 25s. net.)

Survey of International Affairs, 1925, Supplement: Chronology of Events and Treaties. (Milford. 12s. 6d. net.)

It is a commonplace which has to be repeated every year that the British Institute of International Affairs is doing a unique and invaluable service through its periodical volumes on contemporary events in the international field. There have just appeared a second volume of the Survey of International Affairs for 1925, a little belated it is true, and a supplement to the Annual Survey, consisting of a chronology of events and treaties covering the six years from the beginning of 1920 to the end of 1925. The latter volume is admirably arranged in alphabetical order and should be of singular value to any writer on international affairs.

The Survey for 1925 does not, like its predecessors, appear over the name of Professor Arnold Toynbee, for Professor Toynbee found the task he had set himself of disposing of the Islamic world in his 1925 volume so formidable that he had to invoke the assistance of Mr. C. A. Macartney and other writers to cover events in Europe, America and the Far East for that year. The result is that for 1925 there exist two volumes instead of the usual one, and for this fullness of treatment the enthusiastic reader has the privilege of paying double. But if he is a serious student of affairs he will have to have the volumes by him, cost what they may.

WISE CONTACTS

THE Kendal branch of the League of Nations Union has recently had a most friendly and profitable round-table discussion with the M.P. for the division, the Hon. Oliver Stanley, on the subject of the signature by Great Britain of the Optional Clause. The meeting was suggested by Mr. Stanley and about forty members of the branch attended. It is not stated that complete agreement resulted. That does not matter. Such contacts make for sincerity and clear thinking on all hands, and the more they are multiplied the better. There are few M.P.'s who would not be glad to arrange for such friendly conversations (as distinct from public meetings) with thoughtful constituents.

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READERS' VIEWS

CHEMICAL WARFARE

SIR,—Surely the League of Nations is putting the cart before the horse when reduction in armaments is being considered before that of the entire abolition of chemical warfare. The most deadly poisonous and asphyxiating gases are still being manufactured which have no effect on either ships or fortresses and can only be used for the destruction of lives, not only among the fighting forces, but also among the civil population, men, women and children. Cannot we learn from the Treaty of Versailles, where they made it their first business to form a League of Nations before satisfactory terms of peace had been assured, with the result that chaos ensued? Under such conditions the League was trying to solve a problem which was well nigh insoluble. So will it be as regards chemical warfare if nothing is settled, especially if further partial disarmament takes place. And the longer this question is postponed, as sure as night follows day, so surely the greater will be the potentiality of chemical warfare should unhappily another war arise. "Unless we control science, science will control us."—Yours, etc.,

Berkhamsted. A. H. SMITH-DORRIEN,
March 16. Rear-Admiral.

ARBITRATION

SIR,—Your paragraph "Arbitration," in "Matters of Moment" for March, goes a long way towards clearing up the distinction between arbitration and other processes for the pacific settlement of disputes. It seems to me, however, that you have omitted the procedure of diplomatic negotiation leading to a voluntary agreement regarding what is, and what is not, to be submitted for decision to a special body which, moreover, has frequently been composed of representatives of the two parties concerned without the assistance of any foreign third party, either as conciliator or arbitrator.

A study of our relations with the United States for the last 120 years will, I think, show that in nearly every one of the large number of cases of dispute this procedure was adopted with success when ordinary diplomacy proved a failure. Arbitration, in its strict meaning of reference to a third party for a final binding award, was sometimes agreed to, during the preliminary negotiations, for the settlement of questions of fact, the amount of compensation to be paid and minor points of detail, though the main principles had been determined by diplomacy. If I am not mistaken, this is what happened in the Alabama case and in the dispute about the Venezuela boundary, and to claim such cases as examples of "arbitration" without specifying the limitations previously agreed to is apt to be misleading.

Great Britain, as the doyen of self-government and freedom, has accumulated an experience during centuries of her history which in this respect surpasses by far that of any other nation. The United States has inherited the habits of thought based on this experience and it was only natural that these two great nations should have led the way in adopting methods of voluntary agreement and arbitration. On the other hand, they have learned the limits of arbitration and believe that the time has not come when compulsory arbitration, adopted though it may be in principle by nations with less experience, can be made of practical application, though both of them are leaving no stone unturned in the endeavour to establish it as the ideal to be achieved.

The latest memorandum by the Government, on Security, seems to be based on these considerations and to indicate the reasons why they are not yet prepared to sign the Optional Clause or to submit

5% is not enough!

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League of Nations Assembly Tour

A party will leave London for Geneva, August 31st to Sept. 7th. VISITS to Assembly and International Labour Office, Lectures, etc. Inclusive Fee, London—London, £11 11s.

APPLY EARLY to Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, or direct to ORGANISER OF TOUR, Mrs. INNES, 29, High Oaks Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

Visit to The Hague and The Peace Palace.

A week's holiday in Holland during the Session of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Addresses by Officials of The Hague Court and the Permanent Court. A group will leave London, Monday, June 18th and return Monday, June 25th. Fee £9. Numbers limited. Early booking essential.

Applications to The Secretary, Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, etc.

BRITTANY.—"Bird House," St. Jacut de la Mer. Small, comfortable hotel in peaceful, bracing seaside spot. Good cooking. Inclusive, £2 weekly.

EASTBOURNE.—Morningside Private Hotel, 31, Jevington Gardens. Near sea and Devonshire Park. Reasonable terms.—Mrs. DODSON.

INTERNATIONAL GUEST HOUSE.—A bracing, sunny position on Surrey Hills, within 14 minutes of City and West End, 9d. return fare, 6½ acres, tennis, garage, 10/- per day, 55/- per week. Write (H) Secretary 19, Sydenham Hill, S.E.26.

HUMANITARIAN AND HEALTH HOLIDAY CENTRE from Aug. 3rd to Sept. 8th, 1928, Southbourne-on-Sea, Hants. Large mansion, several acres beautiful grounds, meatless diet on New Health lines. Tennis, Croquet, Dancing, League of Nations Lectures. 10% reduction to League of Nations Union members. Illustrated Prospectus from Mr. F. de V. SUMMERS, 22, Sackville Street, London, W.1. Tel.: Regent 6551.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

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

all future cases to arbitration. It seems probable that if the United States were a member of the League they would take the same line, if only to ensure that one of the smaller nations should not force a great nation to accept arbitration on a trifling matter easily dealt with by ordinary diplomacy. There appear to be signs that the wise and far-seeing views of the last memorandum are beginning to be recognised and appreciated, and it is surely an exaggeration to say that H.M. Government "confines itself to a flat negative." (HEADWAY, February.)

Moreover, pressure brought to bear by an ill-advised public opinion might even defeat its own object. It might result in the adoption of a "comprehensive and universal scheme which must necessarily be drawn in vaguer and more general terms" (British memorandum, under reference) before the establishment of that "confidence and security which are the indispensable conditions of the maintenance of international peace." (*Ibid.*) A crisis might produce a war, due largely to fear of attack, and the prospects of universal peace might be postponed for a generation.—Faithfully yours, etc.,

Stratton Croft, ALEX. H. GORDON,
Chalfont St. Giles, Lieut.-General.
Bucks.
March 15.

[There is always room for arbitration before arbitration is tried. The essential is to ensure a definite settlement in the last resort.—ED. HEADWAY.]

THE PARTY SPIRIT

SIR,—As a very ordinary member of the League of Nations Union, for whom the League itself represents a policy, which seems so inevitable an expression of reason and light in human affairs that it is a terrible paradox that only the experience of the last and greatest war should have made possible the attempt to realise it, may I write a few words on the subject of its non-party character?

The guiding principles in this matter, expressed in the article on "The Union in the Lords," March issue of HEADWAY, appear on the whole incontrovertible. But I would venture to suggest that respect for these principles ought to result in great care to exclude from League of Nations Union meetings and speeches a distinctly party tone or method. It would seem that human nature being what it is, nothing is easier when principles great or small are being advocated, than to fall into the way of treating any who differ from us in regard to methods and policies as opponents to be attacked, not friends in whom good motives ought always to be assumed, but antagonists whose motives are probably the worst. Now this is exactly the spirit which (as I should have supposed) it was one of the main objects of the supporters of the League of Nations to exorcise from human relations. If we fall into it amongst ourselves, in criticism of any who are not merely in word, but in important respects, in deed, advocates of the objects we ourselves have at heart, we are surely striking a blow at the cause of the League itself in the widest and deepest sense.—

Yours, etc.,

HILDA W. OAKELEY.

King's College, London.
March 14.

THE UNION'S WORK

SIR,—Thank you for printing Lord Cushendun's words in your March issue. I joined the League of Nations Union in 1920, and the words in which he defines what he considers its activities should be,

exactly represent the opinion I have always held of the matter. There is a tremendous amount of work to be done in commending the League of Nations to the people of this country, as an alternative to war; and I am sure the Union should stick to that and do it with all its might.

People who desire to dictate the policy of the League of Nations or the British Government, should run an organisation of their own, for this totally different purpose, and get those to support it, who feel competent for such a task. I am not one of them.—Yours, etc.,

The Rectory,
Marlborough.

C. HOSTE.

ANOTHER VIEW

SIR,—I want to write shortly a thought about Lord Cushendun's speech in the Lords. It seems to me that there is one sense in which the L.N.U. can be a non-party body, and only one. It can refuse to ally itself with, or do the bidding of, any of the political parties.

But it will almost always be in the position of a ginger group to the sitting government and must be so by the nature of the case. Its objects are not non-political but intensely political and sooner or later must divide those of one household.

Surely the L.N.U. and Lord Robert Cecil must say so openly, if there is a weakness about the L.N.U. it is the quantity of support it has got. How can all these semi-militarists do the cause any good?—in distinction from the quality.

I believe a strong lead would produce much opposition but draw in many useful supporters who now wonder if it's worth while to say the obvious with a million voices.—Yours faithfully,

FRANK LENWOOD.

Greengate Congregational Church,
Barking Road, Plaistow.
February 20th, 1928.

TRAFFIC IN ARMS

THE question of the international traffic in arms was raised twice during the recent meeting of the League Council. When Sir Austen Chamberlain was urging the need for States to ratify conventions they had signed, M. Briand observed rather pointedly that France was almost alone in her ratification of the Arms Traffic Convention. On a later day, during the discussion of the Hungarian machine-gun episode, the Hungarian representative, General Tanczos, remarked that the incident would never have taken place if the Arms Traffic Convention had been generally ratified and put into execution. Great Britain is among the countries which have not ratified this Convention. She has so far refrained from doing so on the ground that this action should be taken by the principal arms-producing countries simultaneously, as otherwise those which did not ratify might benefit by orders diverted from the States which had. There is obviously much to be said for this attitude. At the same time, since (as officially stated in the House of Commons on March 12) all export of arms, except under Board of Trade licence, is strictly prohibited by the Arms Export Prohibition Order of 1921, it does not seem that ratification of this Convention by Great Britain would impose any fresh disabilities of substantial importance on British armament firms. The gist of the Arms Traffic Convention is that signatories bind themselves to allow the export of arms only to constituted Governments and under licence from their own Government.

THE APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

IT is now five months since the General Council of the Union re-stated a policy which it has always consistently advocated on these subjects, in the light of the failure of the Geneva Naval Conference and the Eighth Assembly of the League.

What has the Union done to win popular support for this policy? It is not possible to record adequately the persistent and devoted work of hundreds of local branches scattered all over the country. It is possible to say, however, that speakers have been sent by the Public Meetings Department of Headquarters to over 1,200 meetings in the period on subjects directly related to this policy. Many of these are the usual meetings of the Union's branches, but some deserve special mention. Lord Cecil has worked indefatigably for the cause to which he is so devoted, and has already addressed crowded mass meetings at Aldershot, Birmingham, Colchester, Glasgow, Hull, Liverpool, Manchester, Merthyr Tydfil, and Sheffield. Lord Lytton, Lord Meston, Lord Balfour of Burleigh and General Crozier have also spoken to unusually large meetings.

In order that the interest aroused by these and similar gatherings should not evaporate, an effort has been made to organise special Conferences for Speakers and Workers soon after each of them. It has been the special duty of one of the Union's Travelling Secretaries, Mr. Stainton, to organise these Conferences, and they have either taken place or have been already organised in nine English counties and several parts of Scotland.

A demonstration which stands out from the rest because of its unique character was the mass meeting of 10,000 people held in the Albert Hall on February 27. It is a matter of no small importance that the cause of International Disarmament should unite on the one hand those who quote Papal authority to advocate it, and those who, from the angle of private judgment, feel it to be required by their own spiritual ideals. It is only right that we should call the attention of public opinion in every country to the undeniable fact that the movement in England for the League of Nations, and in particular for the prevention of war by arbitration and the reduction of armaments, draws its inspiration from Christianity.

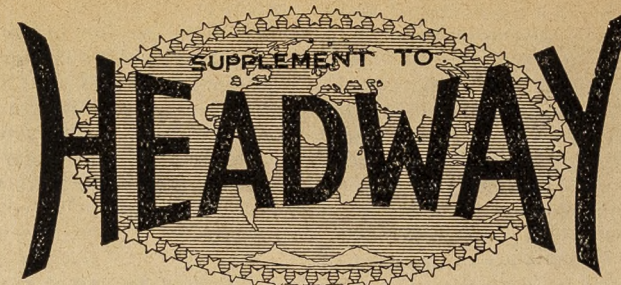
Special Sectional Conferences, addressed by speakers sent from the Union, have also been held by the Co-operative Union, covering the whole country, and the great interest aroused among branches of the British Universities League of Nations Society in the Campaign deserves special mention.

For the purpose of assisting speakers and workers for the Union's policy, a number of pamphlets have been produced since last October, notably the pamphlet "How to Present the Case," the pamphlet "International Disarmament Security and Arbitration"; and another on the relation of Disarmament to Unemployment. Others are now in the press on the Optional Clause and the Traffic in Arms. Twelve single-sheet illustrated handbills have been produced on which the case against war and for arbitration, with quotations from leading soldiers, sailors, statesmen and others, and a dozen coloured posters for use on platforms.

Forms of an undertaking to work for the Union's policy are being widely distributed. The signatories will be welcome additions to the Union's active workers in every locality, and it is hoped that they will greatly increase the vitality of its branches.

Criticised as it sometimes is, both from right and left, the Union's Executive Committee has resolutely refused so far to evacuate its national, representative and non-partisan position.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



APRIL, 1928.

AN INCOMPARABLE CRUSADE FAITH THAT MOVES MOUNTAINS

NEVER has the appeal of the Union's work to the human conscience been so powerfully made as it was from all sections of the Christian church to a packed audience of seven thousand people in the Albert Hall on February 27. That vast assembly, in the organisation of which the League of Nations Union received help from the British Council of the World Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship through the Churches, Copec, and the Catholic Council for International Relations, met to bear witness to the fact that to put an end to the competition in armaments, which is the curse of the present age, was not only possible politically and economically, but that divine justice and Christian charity required it.

* * *

Here are a few extracts from the opening speech of the Chairman, the Bishop of Winchester, from which the spirit of this meeting and of the movement which, we are confident, will spring from it, can be gauged:—

"No other crusade can compare with this one, for on its success all the others depend. There are represented here, I do not doubt, many movements for the betterment of mankind—social, educational, scientific, not least religious. But what can these avail, if mankind is to be devastated by another war, if the civilisation which we are out to uplift is to be destroyed in the next half-century with poison-gas and death-dealing bombs?"

We are too ready to assume the selfishness and mutual suspicion of nations, the incessant preparations for war and the implication that human nature must for ever remain what it is. "But there is a set of facts far more important than these vague assumptions with which men must be confronted . . . most of all religious facts: the fact of God; of a God who is Father; of His loving intentions for His human family; and of the means by which He is achieving their fulfilment. . . . For we believe in the Kingdom of God, and that in its establishment, and in that alone, lies the hope of the world. But though, as we humbly hope, we see that vision, we are not visionaries. If we have hitched our waggon to a star we are well aware of the fact that it is a waggon, that the roads are rough, that the wheels are often creaky, and that the destination is not yet in sight."

The Bishop then reminded his hearers of the solemn promise given on behalf of the Allies to Germany in 1919 that German disarmament should only be a prelude towards the general reduction and limitation of armaments, and of Article 8 of the Covenant. He stressed the fact that Arbitration, Disarmament and Security were inseparable. "They constitute the three-fold cord which will bind the nations in a new and worthier relationship, and binding them, will set them free for that progress, economic and social, which can only be made in common. . . . Already arbitration has been abundantly justified politically as well as morally. We have had much to be thankful for in that attitude in the past; we want to have still more to be thankful for in the future. For it is hardly possible to exaggerate the grandeur of the opportunity which is ours to manifest that kind of faith which is also highest wisdom. Caution—perhaps ultra-caution—is natural to us all, but I seem to hear a voice across the ages whose authority is paramount among us who are gathered here: 'Why are ye so fearful, O ye of little faith?' Indeed, it is only in Christianity that the needed inspiration can be found. . . . To believe that a man or a nation is reasonable and neighbourly is the high road to making them so."

* * *

In conclusion, the Bishop emphasised the solemn responsibility of those who lead and teach their fellows. "I appeal to priests and pastors and ministers and teachers, for in an adventure like this they are the loud-speakers of the nation. Speak loud, then. Do not hesitate. There is no time to lose. The wiseacres are crowding back the enthusiasts. On every hand the sceptics and the cynics are tightening their stranglehold on men's hopes and consciences. War is inevitable, they cry; peace is impossible. But we are here to strengthen one another's faith. We believe in God. Therefore, we believe that the impossible can be accomplished. We believe that the human family will one day live a family life. Meanwhile, to the crusade—the crusade for peace. Think and speak and toil and pray. For Christ leads it and God wills it."

THE HUMAN FAMILY

"THE subject is one of the most momentous," wrote the Archbishop of Canterbury in his message to the meeting at the Albert Hall, on February 27—"is it wrong to say the most momentous—now current in the life of nations? . . . At a time when the attention of many of us is being almost wearisomely concentrated upon the home life of the Church of England, the wise handling of this great subject—the promotion of peace and well-being of the world—brings in a great breath of fresh air. Christians of all sections are co-operating in prayer and effort, and it is our task to deepen and strengthen that co-operation by every means in our power."

We have given on the previous page some stirring passages from the speech of the Bishop of Winchester. The other Church of England speaker, the Reverend G. Studdert Kennedy, who deputised for the Reverend H. R. L. Sheppard—himself too ill to speak—described in the course of a short and arresting address the choice which must now be made between devoting our energies to preparation for peace or to preparation for war. "There is no sort of possibility of any kind of drifting into peace."

The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster sent a message to the meeting, wishing it every success. "My interest in the work of the League of Nations," he added, "has been expressed many times over in various ways; and the League of Nations Union has my best wishes in all that it does to support His Majesty's Government in their work in connection with the League."

Father Bede Jarrett made an eloquent speech, which evidently appealed to the deepest convictions of his audience. After reminding them of the proposals for an all-round reduction of armaments, arbitration and sanctions for arbitral awards, which Pope Benedict XV had made to all the belligerent powers in 1917 as the basis of peace, he spoke of the undoubted moral obligation of this country to join in a general plan of Disarmament. "We are here in the name of no economy, but of Christ, to ask you to use your own personal influence to fulfil a pledge made in your name. . . . And we ask it of you, perhaps almost if you cannot afford it, for there are people who tell us that we cannot afford to disarm." But "what is prestige and power to Him that gave His life for the redemption of mankind? Did He lose by dying? He that set that example of generosity, that we dare at this meeting hold before all men."

The National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches sent a message expressive of the loyalty with which the Free Churches have so consistently helped the Union in its work: "The Free Church Council, as you know, is in thorough sympathy with the objects of your meeting. We need to bring the full weight of our intelligence, moral force and will to bear upon the international situation as we find it, and to save the world for peace. The Free Churches pledge themselves to that and you can rely upon them to honour their pledge."

The Reverend Dr. Jones developed this theme. He spoke of the Disarmament achieved since the War finished. Instead of peace, ten years after the war, "we have a world seething with unrest, a world tossing about like a fever patient. . . . We shall never be released from these fears or terrors until the peoples everywhere realise that the world is a unity, that we are one race, that God has made all nations one over all the face of the earth."

Sir Josiah Stamp, the chief of Britain's greatest railway, had a difficult task, but one for which no man was better qualified than he. Lest it

should be said that the moral appeal made so powerfully by the clergy who spoke had no relation to practical possibility, Sir Josiah showed with careful moderation and judgment, the economic possibility of International Disarmament and the advantages to the temporal welfare of the country and of the world which would certainly ensue from it. It is, therefore, towards an end which is humanly possible and economically desirable that the Union presses forward, with the added strength and fervour which the Christian religion alone can give.

A YEAR IN THE BRANCHES

POINTS FROM ANNUAL REPORTS.

THE pages of the Supplement are few and the reports are many; it is quite impossible, therefore, to give adequate space to the interesting accounts of Branch work which have been arriving at Headquarters during the last few weeks. The year 1927 was one of notable activity on the part of branches all over the country, and it is only possible here to give the briefest references to the many annual reports which we have received.

* * *

Chislehurst has arranged several successful meetings and also a "National Costume" dance during 1927. The year ended with an increased membership. *Felsted*, in spite of the fact that the Branch covers a wide area of villages and hamlets, has managed to keep its end up, and hopes for a greater increase of membership this year. *Byfleet and Pyrford* have made steady progress, and have had some good meetings. *Headington* has broken much fresh ground, and has held lantern lectures and public meetings, including also a debate on International Disarmament. *Camberley* is flourishing, and has obtained some new subscribers. Many good meetings have been held. *Gomersal* has had a satisfactory year, a feature of which has been an essay competition in the schools, sanctioned by the local Director of Education, who attended the annual meeting and distributed the essay prizes, for which seventy scholars competed. *Beaconsfield* held several meetings and an "At home," all of which were well attended. *Wembley* has sent in a fine report, which all are recommended to read. *Felixstowe* has done well, and shows a substantial increase in membership. *Torquay's* report is as satisfactory as its balance-sheet, and makes good reading. Much has been done, and many would gain by emulating *Torquay*. *Yarmouth* progresses excellently. *Wakefield* has had a good year, and has done steady work. *Evesham* reports that progress has been made, and that three new Branches have been formed in the neighbourhood. *The Savings Bank Branch* tells of a substantial increase in membership, and has much to show for the year's work. Study circles met regularly in Kensington Gardens during the summer, despite our habitually arctic climate, and much educational work has been done amongst the younger members of the Savings Bank staff. *Haslemere* sends an interesting report, which tells of meetings, films, a branch publication, and other activities. *Worcester* forges ahead, and has secured good press publicity for its meetings, of which there have been several. *Widnes* presents a neatly turned out report. The annual meeting was merged with a pleasant and successful social gathering. *Newquay* reports varied activities. All their meetings during the year were well attended. The Branch shows a considerable increase in membership. *Blackpool* shows a membership of 1,500, and has achieved much during the year. There are many other reports worthy of especial mention, but space, alas, forbids.

A New Map of Europe

Messrs. George Philip & Son, Ltd., have published, under the auspices of the League of Nations Union, a new map of Europe to illustrate territorial changes since 1914. It is 92 by 72 inches in size, scale 1:1,500,000 (24 miles to 1 inch), and the price, unmounted in four sheets, is 42s. Copies mounted on cloth and varnished, with rollers, can be obtained for 57s. 6d., and copies mounted on cloth, dissected to fold, with eyelets, in a strong case, can be obtained for the same price. Branches will find this map of great use for illustrating lectures and talks on the League. It should also be widely used in schoolrooms and public halls.

Branch Secretaries, Please Note

It is believed that many more people would read about the League if they could readily obtain books on the subject. Headquarters' Library is filling this want as regards its own members, but up to the present it has not been possible to reach the general public. It has, however, now been decided to try to remedy this want through the agency of the Borough and County Libraries.

The Union is prepared to circularise Public Libraries, offering to lend books on the League for the cost of carriage only. As, however, several Branches have already arranged with their Public Libraries to house books borrowed through the Branch from the Union's Library, and as others may wish to do so, the Secretary would be glad to know before May 1, 1928, if Branch Secretaries would approach their local librarians direct, or if they would prefer Headquarters to communicate with them.

The Library has just issued a supplement to its printed catalogue, bringing the latter up to date.

All who possess the printed catalogue (price 6d.) will receive free a copy of the supplement on application to the Librarian, while those who have not yet invested in the original catalogue would be well advised to do so.

Festival of Youth

Arrangements for this year's Festival of Youth, which is being held on June 2, proceed apace. Particulars of competitions, athletics, etc., can be obtained from the General Secretary, League of Nations Union Festival Headquarters, Crystal Palace, S.E.19. Entrants are requested to apply as soon as possible. Lt.-Gen. Sir Robert Baden-Powell has approved the proposal that Scout troops should take part in the Festival.

Well Done Chiswick

The Chiswick Branch held a social gathering at the Chiswick Town Hall on February 21. The meeting was well attended and some fifteen nationalities were represented. It had been hoped that some of the many guests would wear their national costumes, but only two Norwegian ladies ventured to attend thus attired. The guests were received by Mr. W. E. Bates, chairman of the Branch, and the arrangements were carried out by Mr. G. F. Woodford (Hon. Sec.) and an enthusiastic Committee. An excellent concert was provided, many items being contributed by ladies and gentlemen of different nationalities who rendered excellent examples of the music of their respective countries. Amongst the nations represented were France, Germany, China, Iceland, India, Burma, Austria, Russia, Norway, Serbia, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, etc. Speeches were delivered by Mr. W. E. Bates, Dr. W. C. Chen (the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires), Mr. B. James (of the West Indies), Miss Natonskova (of Prague), Mr. Karl Henkel (of Germany), and Mr. L. Smodlaka. The novel decorations included the flags of all the nationalities represented. The Chiswick Branch is to be heartily congratulated on its enterprise which resulted in such a successful gathering.

Glasgow and West Highlands

From February 6 to 18 the Rev. H. S. McClelland, of Trinity Church, Glasgow, conducted a very successful campaign in the West Highlands. He visited Dunoon, Rothesay, Millport, Tighnabruich, Tarbert, Campbeltown, Ardrishaig, Lochgilphead, Inverary, Oban, and Fort William. Despite the fact that the Highlands are somewhat sparsely populated and that people have many long and lonely roads to traverse in order to be present, the meetings everywhere were marked with extraordinary enthusiasm, and there are indications that the new branches will do excellent work. They have all agreed that a campaign for the signing of the Cecil Undertaking Slips should be their first work. The campaign had to be undertaken under some adventurous circumstances. The weather was bad and there were many wind and snow storms. At one part the organisers had to cross a rather troublesome piece of water in a ferry-boat. The motor ferry having been stranded on the previous day during a storm, they had to cross in an open rowing-boat with the waves breaking over them.

As a result of the campaign twelve hundred new members were enrolled and new branches were formed in Dunoon, Tarbert, Ardrishaig, Lochgilphead, Inverary, Oban and Fort William.

The Annual Business Meeting of the Glasgow Branch was held in the Ca'doro, Glasgow, on Friday, February 24. The meeting was a crowded one and was addressed by Professor A. A. Bowman, of Glasgow University.

The North

The North of Scotland District Council recently organised an essay competition in which 63 schools took part and 1,916 essays were sent in. The Aberdeen Branches have been particularly active. Recently they enrolled 700 new members as a result of a house-to-house canvass. This was followed by a week-end Conference on International Disarmament, well attended and well reported. The principal speakers were General Crozier, Professor Darnley Naylor and Professor Henderson Pringle. Seven new branches have lately been formed in the area.

The East

The Edinburgh and East of Scotland District Council have been no less busy. Lord Balfour of Burleigh has recently addressed a very large meeting in the capital on the Optional Clause; Admiral Drury-Lowe, accompanied by Mr. Leishman, the new District Organising Secretary, has visited Arbroath and Perth and addressed large audiences on International Disarmament; and Mr. Gillinder has spoken on the International Labour Organisation to several works meetings.

Visiting Students

We gladly announce that, in order to help foreign students wishing to improve their English and English students anxious to study abroad, a scheme of "au pair" or tuition visits has been arranged by the National Union of Students. Full particulars may be obtained from the N.U.S., 3, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

A Ball at Hyde

Miss A. E. Tweedale, of Hyde, has for several years organised a dance in aid of the funds of the Hyde Branch. The function this year was held in the Public Hall under the patronage of the Mayor, Councillor Allen Shaw, J.P. Some 200 people attended and music was provided by "The Blanks" Orchestra. The success of the function was a tribute to the hard work and enterprise of its organisers.

Errata

It is regretted that in the last issue of the Supplement mention was made of No. 16, Finsbury Circus, as being one of the offices of Shell-Mex, Ltd. This is not the case. It is one of the offices of the Anglo-Mexican Petroleum Company.

International Federation Meetings at Brussels

The Union's representatives at the meetings of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Brussels from March 14 to 17 included the Reverend Gwilym Davies, Sir Walter Napier, Lady Gladstone, Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe and Mr. H. H. Elvin. The work of the Education Committee was particularly encouraging. There is evidence that much progress is being made by the various Societies in teaching children about the League. Among the subjects discussed by the Political Committee were Disarmament, the Ratification of Conventions, and the Traffic in Women and Children. The Committee was unanimous in urging the Societies to educate and organise public opinion in all these matters.

The Minorities Committee, presided over by Madame Bakker van Bosse of Holland, discussed the position of many European Minorities, and among other things passed resolutions urging the League to make a general inquiry into the working of the Minorities Treaties and asking for the appointment of a Permanent Minorities Committee on the lines of the Mandates Committee.

Last, but not least, the I.L.O. Committee, which dealt with a great variety of subjects, passed a resolution deploring that the revision of the Washington Hours Convention had been proposed by a State Member of the I.L.O., and urging that this proposal should not be taken into account but the ratification of the Convention should be realised at an early date.

On Friday night, March 16, a reception was given by the Belgian League of Nations Society at which speeches were made by the Dutch, German, French and Polish representatives.

An Apostle of Peace

At the invitation of the French League of Nations Society, Baron von Bodman, German Assistant Secretary of the International Federation, spent a month in France from January 12 to Feb. 11 studying the activities of the Society and lecturing on the Weimar Constitution. After leaving France, the Baron paid a fortnight's visit to England where an extensive programme was organised for him, enabling him to acquire a comprehensive view of the Union's work.

Canada

Colonel David Carnegie, C.B.E., F.R.S.E., who has just completed a lecturing tour in Canada, writes: "Never have I found anywhere such a response to a message . . . resolutions were sent from different meetings urging the Government of Canada to sign the Optional Clause, much enthusiasm was aroused and great encouragement has been given to Headquarters at Ottawa."

Danzig

At a public meeting held on February 13 a League of Nations Society was inaugurated in Danzig. Lieut.-Commander Thomas Burton, R.N.R., kindly represented the Union at this meeting. Great publicity was given to the whole proceedings in the local press.

France

Under the auspices of Paris Branch of the League of Nations Union and the Comité d'Action pour la Société des Nations, a meeting was held on February 17 at the Sorbonne on International Disarmament and Arbitration. Professor Zimmern was in the Chair. Speeches were made by Admiral Drury-Lowe and M. Pierre Cot to an audience of over 700 people.

The World Wireless Message

The World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales will again be sent out on May 18, the anniversary of the First Peace Congress at the Hague, 1899. An earnest appeal is made for the active interest and co-operation of all the boys and girls in the schools of Wales and Monmouthshire. Head teachers and teachers of Secondary and Elementary Schools as well as Superintendents and teachers of Sunday Schools will assist

in the spreading of the spirit of goodwill and of better understanding between nations by bringing the Message to the notice of the children, especially on "Goodwill Day," May 18. The Message runs as follows:—

"We, Boys and Girls of the Principality of Wales and of Monmouthshire, Greet with a Cheer the Boys and Girls of every other Country under the Sun. ¶ Will You, Millions of You, Join in Our Prayer that God will Bless the Efforts of the Good Men and Women of every Race and People who are doing Their Best to Settle the Old Quarrels without Fighting? Then there will be no Need for any of Us, as We grow Older, to show Our Pride for the Country in which We were Born By Going out to Hate and Kill One Another. ¶ Long Live the League of Nations—the Friend of every Mother, the Protector of every Home, and the Guardian Angel of the Youth of the World."

This Message was sent out in 1922, '23, '24, '25, '26 and '27. It has, on each occasion, received increasing publicity and has elicited responses from all the world over. Last year it was broadcast from the Rugby Station and simultaneously relayed from the Eiffel Tower, P.T.T., Lyons, Marseilles, Toulouse, and many other of the principal wireless transmitting stations.

National Council Activities

During March the President of the Welsh National Council, the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, M.A., addressed large public meetings at Haverfordwest, Newcastle Emlyn, Denbigh and Mold.

Dr. Charles K. Webster, M.A., D.Litt. of Aberystwyth, addressed during March two Teachers' Conferences on "The Teaching of World Citizenship"—at Maesteg and at Bargoed. Dr. Webster also addressed public meetings at Bargoed and Mountain Ash.

The Council's Vote

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

Askrigg; Andover; Appleby; Barrow-in-Furness; Blandford; Berkhamsted; Beechen Cliff U.M.C., Bath; Bighouse; Burley; Bradford; Birmingham Dist.; Camborne; Cirencester; Colwall; Checkenden; Derbyshire, 1926 and 1927; Eccleston; E. Brierley; Essex; Grays; Greystoke; Hassocks; Hartest; Holt; Hartley Wintney; Halton; Harlow; Hull; Halifax; Knebworth; Kendal; Keynsham; Leicestershire; Mirfield; Normanton; Niton; North Cave; North Staffordshire; Northamptonshire; Nottinghamshire; Pudsey; Penzance; Penrith; Roundhay; Queen Street; Sheffield; St. Dennis; Swanage; Swanscombe; Tadworth; Tiverton; Tenterden; Wigton; Weston-super-Mare; Wesham; Woodstock; Wokingham.

L.N.U. MEMBERS

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

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	1,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,224
March 26 1928	...	...	...	...	681,439

On March 26, 1928, there were 2,621 Branches, 565 Junior Branches, 130 Districts, 2,532 Corporate Members and 405 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: Free Press, 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.