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MATTERS OF MOMENT

DISCUSSIONS on the proposed Rhineland Pact are now absorbing public attention in a dozen countries. The question is dealt with at some length on another page of this issue of HEADWAY. It is sufficient here to point out that both Germany and France appear to have desired some general arrangement very like the Geneva Protocol, and that it was Great Britain which stood for a limited regional agreement. The original German memorandum suggested that "it would be worth considering whether it would not be advisable to so draft the security pact that it would prepare the way for a world convention to include all States, along the lines of the 'Protocol for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes,' drawn up by the League of Nations, and that in case such a world convention was achieved it could be absorbed by it or worked into it." The first draft of the French reply expressed the view that any agreement reached with Germany should be co-ordinated in a general convention capable of forming, as the German memorandum suggested, the nucleus of a still more general pacific entente. Mr. Chamberlain, however, could not support the proposal that all the engagements contemplated under the Rhineland Pact should form a single whole, and he had nothing to say to the suggestion that the immediate limited agreement should be so drafted as to fit into some larger

scheme that might in time develop. The Pact negotiations, however, are still in an early stage, and there is ample time yet for the larger view of what may ultimately emerge to prevail.

The League and China

IT is natural that the trouble in China should have provoked in many quarters serious question as to whether in some way or other the good offices of the League of Nations could not be invoked for the maintenance of peace. It is easier to favour such a suggestion theoretically than to work out its detailed application in practice. So long as China's troubles were confined to civil wars, there was clearly little room for the League to intervene, and such authorities as there are in China made it clear that they desired no interference. Now, however, the friction is clearly international, so that in theory the matter might quite properly be discussed at Geneva. On the other hand, there is not much value in discussing it unless some practical proposal for the League's useful intervention can be framed. One such suggestion has indeed emanated from the League of Nations Union office. Whatever minor part industrial discontent may have played as the occasion (rather than the real reason) of the Shanghai outbreak, it is certain that there is widespread discontent throughout China at the extent of the rights foreigners enjoy under the various extra-territoriality treaties. There are numbers of these in operation, concluded

between China and individual foreign powers. They are by no means uniform, being indeed in certain cases actually contradictory. That being so, it has been suggested with much reason that it would be perfectly feasible, and might be distinctly politic, to raise, under Article 19 of the Covenant, the question of a revision of agreements many of which may fairly be regarded as obsolete and unsuited to modern conditions. If extra-territorial rights in China are to be maintained, there is much to be said for making them uniform and bringing them under some kind of League supervision.

Polus and the League

ONE of the encouraging features of the League of Nations movement is the growing enthusiasm for the League in France, manifested not merely by those sections of the population usually regarded as most interested in peace movements and commonly labelled pacifist, but more decisively still among the large and well-organised body of ex-soldiers. The very useful Belgian Review, "L'Esprit Civique," reports an important lecture given in Brussels recently by M. René Cassin, the President of one of the largest Ex-Service Men's organisations in France. "How often," M. Cassin asked, "in the course of the last General Election were candidates astonished by the precision and the insistence with which they were questioned on the League of Nations even in the most remote corners of rural districts. It was our militants who refused to vote except with their eyes open for candidates pledged to the League. Nine-tenths of the candidates elected signed an undertaking to support the League. The League of Nations constitutes the sole hope for peace remaining to the world. It costs us in France 20 centimes a head. Is that too dear? I hardly think so. We are faced with a choice between the next war and the consolidation of the League. If there were a third possibility I would destroy the League with my own hands, but there is none. That is why the ex-soldiers of France will strive on for the Covenant and the Protocol."

The League and the Tsetse

IT is some time now since the League of Nations Conference on sleeping-sickness was held in London, but it fell just too late for mention in the last issue of HEADWAY. Strictly speaking, the Conference, like others of its kind, should have taken place at Geneva, but it was considered important that Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the Under Secretary for the Colonies, should preside, and Mr. Ormsby-Gore could not leave London just then. One result, among others, of the change of venue was a considerable gain in publicity. The Conference, which was attended by official representatives of Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Belgium, those countries, that is to say, having territorial interests in the Continent of Africa, succeeded in formulating a useful programme of international action against sleeping-sickness. The main part of it will consist of a year's laboratory research at Entebbe, in Uganda, and on the basis of the knowledge thus acquired, a common campaign against the tsetse fly, which is the bearer of sleeping-sickness, will be elaborated. Success in such a cause depends

absolutely on well co-ordinated action between the administrative authorities of adjacent areas, for it is useless to hope to clear the colony of one European State of the disease if a colony administered by another European State next door is taking no adequate preventive measures. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the London Conference did all that was hoped of it and valuable results may be anticipated with some confidence.

The Claims of Armenia

AS an article on another page indicates, Dr. Nansen has lately visited the Erivan Republic in the Caucasus to examine the possibilities of settling there an additional batch of Armenian Refugees. The Armenian problem continues very properly to evoke much sympathy in this country and elsewhere. What such sympathy is worth will shortly be tested if, as may be expected, Dr. Nansen finds that a good deal more can be done in the way of settling refugees if the necessary funds are forthcoming. Something is expected from Governments themselves. Mr. Baldwin, indeed, by his appeal of last year to Mr. MacDonald (then Prime Minister) to make a Government grant for Armenian relief, has made it extremely difficult for himself to decline to grant now what he asked then. In addition to that, however, there will be abundant scope for private contributions, which might quite possibly take the form of an investment, as in the case of the Greek Refugee Loan. There would not be quite the same security or guarantee of return, but if the provision of funds by individuals were something less than a sound investment, it would, at any rate, be something more than a mere gift.

The Warsaw Conference

THE annual meeting of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies is to open at Warsaw on July 5, and will continue for four days. British delegates to the Warsaw Conference, therefore, will take as long getting there and back as they will spend on the actual discussions themselves. The journey, nevertheless, will be anything but waste of time, for, quite apart from the interest the Conference will arouse in Eastern Europe, if the organisation of public opinion for the League of Nations is to make any effective progress, the popular movements in the individual countries must keep in some sort of touch with one another. Optimists have always looked forward to the day when, side by side with the League itself meeting at Geneva as an association of co-operating Governments, there should meet in session just as regular an assembly of representatives of the public of different countries, exercising through this medium of common expression a moral influence hardly less important—if less important at all—than the more formal and specific activities of the Conference of Government delegates. We are very far indeed from that day yet. Not until the League of Nations Union occupies a much larger place than it does in the life of Great Britain, and until every other country of the world possesses a voluntary society as influential as the League of Nations Union, will the goal begin to be in sight. But, at any rate, there is nothing visionary about such

hopes. Unless they are some day realised, it will almost be true that the League of Nations has been created in vain.

A First Step

THE Arms Traffic Conference had a prolonged session at Geneva, but there is general agreement that the results were worth while. Good authorities take the view that the Convention which emerged from the discussions is better and more workmanlike than the draft originally prepared by the Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission. Here it must be remembered that what was attempted was not to improve on the common practice of countries which, like our own, consider themselves liberal and progressive in such matters, but to ensure that those standards should, so far as possible, become universal. It happens to be the fact that, in regard to the Arms Traffic the British Government has always exercised considerable vigilance, in many cases exerting strong moral pressure where there was no actual legal basis for the restrictions it desired to impose. The Convention is summarised on another page of this issue, and there is, therefore, no need to enter into details of it here. It is, however, important to note that in the "final act" of the Conference there is embodied a specific declaration "that the Convention of to-day's date must be considered as an important step towards a general system of international agreements regarding arms and ammunition and implements of war," and that it is desirable that the international aspect of this question should receive early consideration by the different Governments. This seems to point clearly to another Conference at a later date on a wider basis.

The Mosul Enquiry

THE Report of the League Commission which has been studying the question of the Mosul boundary was not ready for the last meeting of the Council, but will be considered in due course in September, when the Council is to meet on September 2, a day or two earlier than it would otherwise have done, in the hope of getting this matter disposed of before the Assembly begins on the 7th. The long delay in the preparation of the Report is a little difficult to understand. It could, of course, be explained by obstacles encountered in an attempt to arrive at a unanimous proposal. It does not, however, appear that this is the case, the real reason being, it is understood, that the three Commissioners have gone into the whole question individually in great detail, and it is, therefore, a long business to fit the separate conclusions into one another. There is reason to believe, moreover, that the Commissioners are not contenting themselves with merely suggesting one definite frontier line, but are working out alternative solutions, whose adoption may depend on the nature of the political régime to be maintained in Iraq.

Stamping Out Slavery

THE session of the Permanent Mandates Commission at Geneva at the end of June is to be followed immediately by a sitting of the Commission on Slavery. Sir Frederick Lugard is the

British member of the latter body as well as of the former. Special importance attaches to the meeting of the Slavery Commission, for until now it has never really got down to serious business in the discharge of the important task entrusted to it. The last Assembly, however, passed a comprehensive resolution authorising the Commission to study not merely slavery in the sense of the Slave Trade, which, fortunately, has been almost abolished, but in all those forms of forced labour which rob the persons who are employed of their full freedom and independence. This means giving the Committee a wide field of operation, and we shall now have an opportunity of discovering in what spirit it approaches its task. The right atmosphere was created at the Assembly, and it will be largely the Commission's own fault if any of the hopes reposed in it are disappointed.

Rotary Clubs' Support

THE Rotary Club Movement, introduced originally from America, has obtained so firm a footing in this country that any support the Rotary Clubs may give to causes other than their own is essentially worth having. It is, therefore, satisfactory to be able to quote from the presidential address delivered by Canon W. T. Elliott at the annual meeting of Rotary Clubs at Blackpool in May the following passage:—

It is not always easily possible to find ways of co-operation, but where it is possible Rotary, at any rate, ought to be willing to make use of those opportunities, and I am commanded by your Board to report to you that we have quite tentatively, but so far quite successfully, been having personal negotiations with the League of Nations Union in this country. I want to say I hope the next Board you are going to elect during this Conference will take that matter up, and we have the sympathetic support of Rotary International headquarters at Chicago, who have written to us in complete approval of what we have hitherto done.

A Food Prices Proposal

THE Royal Commission on Food Prices made the very interesting recommendation that the British Government should invite the Economic Section of the League of Nations to compile and publish regular returns of food production and the movement of food prices on an international scale. This would be new work for the League, and work which, on the whole, it is well qualified to perform. So far the Government appears to have taken no steps in the matter, but questions are being put to the Prime Minister in the House of Commons to ascertain what his intentions are.

Awkward Dates

OWING to the date at which HEADWAY is compelled to go to press, there can be no record in this issue either of the Queen's Hall meeting addressed by Lord Cecil, Lord Grey, Mr. Clynes and Professor Gilbert Murray on June 25, or of the half-yearly meeting of the Union Council held at Liverpool two days earlier. Much will have been gathered regarding the Queen's Hall meeting, and something, no doubt, regarding the sessions of the Union Council, from the daily press. For the necessary reports in our own columns readers must, inevitably, content themselves with waiting a month.

THE SECURITY ISSUE

WHAT FRANCE EXPECTS OF GREAT BRITAIN

By M. HENRI DE JOUVENEL

The following article represents a summary (for which the speaker is not personally responsible) of addresses given by M. de Jouvenel, editor of "Le Matin," and a Senator and Minister of Public Instruction in France, to the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee and other bodies during a recent visit to England.

IN discussing a question of such universal importance as Security it is essential to get rid of all national preconceptions and amour-propre. It is a curious fact that the whole League of Nations lay for some years under a considerable handicap in France, because it was always regarded as "a British show." On the other hand, in the last few months I have been astonished to find the Geneva Protocol denounced in the British press as being a French invention.

In point of fact, the French Delegation at Geneva has felt for the last three years that it has always been following a British initiative. That is true of the Third Assembly, when the well-known Resolution XIV on the Security problem was unanimously adopted. It is true of the Fourth Assembly, when the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance was approved and referred to Governments.

It is equally true of the Fifth Assembly. Between September, 1923 and September, 1924, there had been changes of Governments in both countries. In France, in spite of the gulf which separated the general foreign policy of the Herriot Government from that of the Poincaré Government, the new administration stood absolutely by the decision the Delegation appointed by its predecessor had adopted at the Fourth Assembly. The new British Government took a different course, and declared its strong objection to the Treaty of Mutual Assistance approved by the Assembly of 1923. We thought in France that it was a question of three or four amendments to the Treaty being desired, and we were prepared to meet our British friends on this wherever we could. It turned out, however, that the new British Government preferred to abandon the Treaty and start work afresh. We accordingly agreed and started afresh. Mr. MacDonald came to Geneva, and laid stress on the importance of Arbitration. Monsieur Herriot contributed to the now famous formula the terms Security and Disarmament, and in due course there emerged from the Assembly the Geneva Protocol, an instrument on which not merely the political Delegates of 48 nations, but, what is much more astonishing, the Jurists of 43 nations, succeeded in putting themselves in full accord. Again we believed complete identity of view had been established between the British and French. Now we find that the Geneva Protocol has gone the way of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. What I desire to ask to-day, in all courtesy, is how can a means be found to ensure that the British Delegation at the Assembly of 1925 will be in a position to bind the British Government in the way in which French Delegations at Geneva have always bound the French Government?

But let us leave for a moment the Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol and go back to foundations. To what does the actual Covenant of the League of Nations—a Covenant contracted not merely by a British Delegation at Geneva, but by the whole of the British Empire, no single Dominion dissenting—bind us? It constitutes engagements of enormous importance. Let me speak here of only one of them, of that engagement embodied in Article VIII which lays it down that the armaments of each nation shall be fixed on the lowest level consistent with "national safety and the enforcement, by common action, of international obligations." Who is it who

is to fix this lowest point? Is it the national Governments? But every national Government will reply "We have already reduced our armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety." Can it be done by a Disarmament Conference? That may be possible in the case of fleets, for battleships cannot be concealed. In the case of land armaments it is singularly difficult. In the case of the air, where the distinction between naval and commercial aeroplanes is negligible it is almost impossible. In the case of chemical warfare it is utterly out of the question.

To impose disarmament on a conquered nation is, in reality, impracticable. Napoleon thought he had done it in the case of Germany in 1807, and in 1814 a German army marched into Paris. The Allies have endeavoured to do it for the last five years. Their Commissions of Enquiry have chased militarism in Germany from barrack to barrack and from factory to factory, and with it all a French General, who had himself been President of the Commission of Enquiry, declared that what appalled him was the measures Germany had been able to take, not in defiance of the Treaty, but actually under the Treaty. If you cannot impose disarmament on a conquered enemy, how can you conceivably impose it on nations actually victorious and in possession of full sovereignty? The only way is to link disarmament with the interests of the people who are to disarm. You must make disarmament a source of security instead of insecurity.

It is true that you have moral agreements, but the danger is to-day that the aggressor may think a swift stroke will be surer in its effects than the slow course of justice. You cannot rest security on disarmament. The only way is to rest disarmament on security. For what is it that can stop an aggressor? Only the certainty of being beaten in the end, the certainty of being made the object of a common chastisement. That was what faced us at Geneva last year. Why, after all, are nations, in spite of the Covenant, not disarming? Because there are certain loopholes in it. How, for example, could a nation base its security on an Article which makes it possible for a single dissentient voice in the Council to remove every obstacle to war? Is it unreasonable to want to amend that particular paragraph? Is it possible to endeavour to remove the vagueness in such a phrase as "resort to war" by endeavouring clearly to define what aggression is? That is what we agreed to do at Geneva last September.

The purpose of the Protocol, I repeat, is not to impose new obligations, but to set security on an impregnable basis. Let us make no mistake where the real peril to Europe lies to-day. It is not in any danger of trouble between France and Germany. It is in the organisation of Asia against it by Moscow. I would quote the words of a great Englishman who has lately died, Lord Milner: "It is time to think as a Continent." What is needed beyond all things to-day is to establish an unbreakable alliance between Europe and that Continent represented by the British Empire—the more so since it is the clear destiny of the British Empire to effect a like association between Europe and America. On such a basis the peace of the world will rest secure,

TRAFFIC IN ARMS

THE LEAGUE CONVENTION THROUGH AT LAST

THE Arms Traffic Conference for which Geneva had, in one way and another, been preparing for something like two years, ended its six weeks' sittings in the second week of June. Lord Onslow, the Under-Secretary of State for War, was present for the whole of that time as British representative, having with him advisers from the War Office, Admiralty and Foreign Office. An important American delegation, including Mr. Theodore Burton, former Senator, and Mr. Hugh Gibson, United States Minister at Berne, was also present throughout the Conference, which was presided over by M. Carton de Wiart, a former Belgian Prime Minister. The principal French delegate was the well-known Socialist Deputy, M. Paul Boncour.

The sittings of the Conference were lively and sometimes difficult. At one period, indeed, it looked as if the results would be disappointing. So far, however, was that from being the case in the end that competent observers are satisfied that the Convention on the Arms Traffic which actually emerged was superior in several respects to the draft originally prepared by the Temporary Mixed Armaments Commission. In addition to the actual Convention, the Conference produced a Protocol on Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare, banning absolutely the use of asphyxiating, poisonous and other gases and all bacteriological methods of warfare, and what is called a Final Act, the latter deriving its importance from the formal declaration it embodies to the effect that the Arms Traffic Convention to which it is affixed must be considered as an important step towards a general system of international agreements regarding arms and ammunition and implements of war, and that it is desirable that the international aspect of the manufacture of such weapons should receive early consideration by the different governments. The Arms Traffic Conference delegates thereby registered their definite opinion that the work they have been undertaking is only a first step to some larger enterprise which should, in their view, be put in hand by the League of Nations.

The important business of the Conference, however, was the old and difficult question of the international traffic in arms. With the abortive Convention of St. Germain in their minds, and the draft prepared by the Temporary Mixed Commission before their eyes, the delegates had no difficulty in laying down the framework of a new Convention. When it came, however, to filling it in, all sorts of difficulties arose. The principle of the strict control of the international traffic in arms was generally accepted, but sufficient exceptions and reservations were proposed at one time and another to threaten the whole Conference with futility.

The real value of the Convention on which agreement was finally reached is that it removes the question of arms traffic from the domain of private law into the sphere of international law. The Convention itself is voluminous and extremely technical. Its main purpose, however, is clear, and only those sections concerned with that main purpose, as apart from the necessary but not vitally important detail, need to be dealt with here. To begin with, the Convention divides arms, ammunition, &c., into five separate categories:—

1. Arms, &c., exclusively designed and intended for use in warfare.
2. Arms, &c., capable of use both for military and other purposes.
3. Vessels of war and their armament.
4. Aircraft and aircraft engines.
5. Gunpowder and explosives, and arms, &c., other than those covered by categories 1 and 2.

The main purpose of the Conference being to secure both complete control and complete publicity for any

dealings in these various categories of arms, it is laid down that the export of articles covered by category 1 from any country shall be prohibited altogether, except when they are going direct to the Governments of the importing States or to some public authority under those Governments and specifically authorised by them to import. (There are some comparatively unimportant exceptions to this provision.) It is to be noted that though warships proceeding under their own steam fall into a separate category, warships otherwise exported (as for example, submarines packed in parts) come under category 1, and are subject to the strict regulations applicable to it. When export does take place of articles in this category it must be carried out under licence, giving full details of the exporter, importer, the name of the Government that has authorised the import, and description of the articles in each consignment.

Articles covered by category 2 can similarly only be exported under a licence or an export declaration, and with regard to both these categories the signatories of the treaty undertake to publish, within two months after the close of each quarter, a full return of all their export and import on lines indicated in an annex to the Convention. The question of warships covered by category 3 was fought out with some warmth between the British and other delegations. The British, however, gave way, and full publicity is in this case, too, to be given with regard to the construction, dimensions, armaments, &c., of any ships under construction for the Government of any foreign State. As to aircraft and aircraft engines, particulars are to be published within six months of the close of each quarter, the return to show the quantities exported and the countries to which they go.

These are the main provisions regarding general control of the export of arms of different kinds. (They do not apply to belligerents in time of war.) It will be seen that the two main objects secured are licensing and publicity, a regime being thus established, which, while it may not greatly affect the practice already followed by the Government of this country, will undoubtedly tighten up standards very considerably elsewhere.

An entirely separate section of the Convention endeavours, as it were, to redouble the prohibition of indiscriminate export by applying a similar prohibition not to exports, but to imports into certain extensive defined zones. Those zones include the whole of Africa, except Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, Spanish possessions in North Africa, Abyssinia, the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. They also include Arabia, Syria, Palestine and Iraq, and a considerable maritime zone covering the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. The whole purpose of this section is to prevent any entry of arms at all into these areas, except in so far as they are requisitioned and genuinely needed by the actual Governments exercising direct authority over such areas. Here again there is to be full publicity for imports, in addition to the restrictions imposed. While Abyssinia took the view that as a full member of the League, she should not be included in the prohibited zones, she nevertheless undertook to observe of her own free will all provisions regarding them. The claim of the States bordering on Russia to be released from the publicity requirements of the Convention was recognised as reasonable and was approved.

It is provided that the Convention shall come into force as soon as it has been ratified by fourteen States, and shall be subject to revision after three years at the request of one-third of the signatories. It was signed at the close of the Conference by 18 States, including Great Britain, the United States, Japan, Italy and Brazil. Only a technicality delayed the French signature,

JUNE AT GENEVA WHAT THE LEAGUE COUNCIL DID

THE League of Nations Council meets, as everyone knows, four times a year at least—in December, in March, in June and at frequent intervals during the annual session of the Assembly in September. The June meeting this year was shorter than usual, not so much because the business was unimportant, as because it had been so adequately prepared in advance by expert committees on the League Secretariat. The Council, moreover, had to compete this time with two conferences and various committees, all of them in full blast at the same moment. Geneva was as crowded as during the Assembly. The Labour Conference, presided over by Dr. Benes and duly attended by a lively League of Nations Union party, was sitting at the Salle Communale. The Arms Traffic Conference grilled under a semi-tropical sun in the glass room at the Secretariat, except when it broke up into committees, which wisely settled to their work in groups under the trees in the garden. And the Financial and other committees were still polishing off odd tasks when the Council began its sittings on June 8th.

You get sometimes momentous Councils, like last March, when the British declaration on the Protocol was produced; you get agitated ones, as when the Vilna question or some Saar trouble has to be hammered out; and you get just common routine ones. The recent meeting falls in the latter category. Like the austere young ladies in drapers' shops, who call to each other "Sign, please," the Council glances through a report one or other of the League's expert committees has presented, finds it satisfactory, initials it figuratively as such, and passes on to the next business. That does not mean in any sense perfunctory work. Every subject, whether it happens to be the report of an expert committee or not, is introduced by some member of the Council, whose business it is to examine it exhaustively and if necessary suggest a line of action. Such a procedure, while it may rob the business of the Council of a certain public interest, makes manifestly for speed and efficiency.

The personnel of the Council was again distinctly strong. As in March, four foreign Ministers were present, for though M. Hymans had ceased to occupy that position in Belgium, M. Briand had become Foreign Minister in France. The others were Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Dr. Benes of Czecho-Slovakia and M. Uden of Sweden. The other countries represented on the Council sent their usual delegates, who included Signor Scialoja of Italy and Viscount Ishii for Japan. The Spanish representative, Señor Quinones de Leon, presided.

Among the routine subjects that came before the Council this time were the reconstruction schemes in **Austria and Hungary**. Important decisions had to be taken, for **Austria**, where there has been a good deal of political agitation in recent months, arising chiefly out of restiveness against League control, had asked that a new loan might be raised for the electrification of her railways, and also that the League would make a new and unprejudiced enquiry into **Austria's** economic situation, after some two years and a half of the working of the League's scheme. Both these matters had to be considered both by the Austrian Committee of the Council and by the Committee representing the lending States, before they came to the full Council itself. Certain difficulties arose, but they were gradually dispelled, and the Council was accordingly able to agree

to proposals whereby some £4,000,000 would be placed at the disposal of the Austrian Government for the electrification of the railways, not as the result of a new loan, but out of the proceeds of the original international loan, a considerable part of which still remains unexpended. The value of this will be twofold. The actual work of electrifying the railroads will absorb a substantial number of Austria's unemployed, while the completion of the work will enable the imports of foreign coal to be vastly reduced and the country's trade balance greatly improved thereby. The Austrian Foreign Minister, who was present, emphasised both these facts and expressed his appreciation of the Council's action.

After **Austria, Hungary**. Here all the news was good news. The Hungarian scheme is meeting with quite unexpected success. The Budget has been balanced long before anyone ever supposed it would be, and whereas it was expected that 100 million crowns would be needed this year out of the loan to make up the Budget deficit, that money is lying untouched, because there is no Budget deficit at all. **Hungary**, like **Austria**, wants a little money for what may be termed capital expenditure, and the Council gave the Commissioner-General, Mr. Jeremiah Smith, authority to allocate from the accumulated funds such sums as he might think desirable for this purpose.

About the **Greek Refugee scheme** there was little to be said. All is going well, and the only matter to be considered was a small financial arrangement arising out of money expended on refugees in the past by Dr. Nansen. **The Saar** was another familiar question that for once made no demands on the Council's time, the single matter arising in this field being arrangements for the custody of certain public documents on which the plebiscite of 1935 is to be based.

With **Danzig** it was quite a different story. There two matters of importance had to be dealt with: one the final settlement of the now well-known post-boxes dispute, the other the wider question of the whole procedure regarding questions in which Poland and the Free City differ. The Council is tired of having its time taken up by these comparatively small matters. At the same time, the Treaty gives a right of appeal from the High Commissioner to the Council, and that cannot well be altered. What has been decided this time is that for the future the High Commissioner, instead of having to give the best rulings he can on a variety of often technical questions in the light of his own unaided judgment, shall be able to call on the assistance of any of the League's Technical Committees, such as those on Transport, Economics, &c. This means, in fact, that the High Commissioner himself will have available as skilled advice as the Council itself could call on, and though there will still technically remain, after this, a right of appeal to the Council, it is practically certain that the latter body would abide by the experts' recommendations, and therefore no appeal to it would ever be successful. That being so, the number of appeals would soon be reduced to practically nothing.

As regards the post-boxes, it may be recalled that **Danzig** having protested emphatically against the action of the Polish authorities in extending the Polish postal service within the Port of Danzig, the matter was referred by the Council to the Permanent Court of International Justice, which held a special session at which it

A TEST OF GOOD FAITH

THE Tunbridge Wells Branch of the League of Nations' Union has performed an extremely useful service in obtaining through the Member of Parliament for its division, Colonel Spender-Clay, an important statement by Mr. Austen Chamberlain on the reasons which have hitherto led Great Britain to decline to ratify what is known as the Optional Clause in the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The clause is optional because States signing the Statutes of the Court as a whole need not accept this clause unless they like. Its effect is to bind all the signatories to take to the Court any dispute between themselves that is suitable for the Court's jurisdiction, and not merely decide in each individual case whether they will consent to go before the Court or not. There has always been a strong, and there is at present a growing, feeling that Great Britain may reasonably be expected to give a guarantee of her good faith by herself signing and ratifying this clause. Some 23 nations have already signed, and of these all but seven or eight have ratified. France is apparently willing to sign and ratify, and Canada has advocated the same course.

Mr. Chamberlain's argument is that in regard to disputes likely to lead to a rupture they must, under Article 15 of the Covenant, be submitted to the Court or to arbitration or to the Council of the League, and that it is preferable to maintain this action rather than to agree definitely in regard to any class of cases to send those cases always to the Court. It may, in his view, be more desirable and more convenient to have such a matter dealt with by the Council rather than by the Court.

Mr. Chamberlain is strongly in favour of arbitration generally, but he appears reluctant at the present moment to bind himself by the rather definite undertaking embodied in Clause 36 of the Court Statutes. It has never been seriously suggested that Great Britain should sign this clause without reservations. When the late Government at the Assembly of 1924 declared its intention of signing and ratifying the clause, it combined with this announcement of its purpose a declaration that questions involving maritime law in time of war would be reserved, for the clause leaves full room for such reservation. This would not have the effect of weakening the moral effect of Great Britain's attitude. Quite the reverse, indeed, for it is by no means desirable that the Court should become a tribunal to deal with the laws of war. Its business is with relationships between nations in time of peace, and with the settlement of disputes which, left unsettled, might well have led to war.

It need not be assumed that the Government's decision on the subject is final. The Court is steadily strengthening in prestige, and a Great Power may with increasing confidence entrust its interests to it. A popular movement in favour of signature and ratification by Great Britain is steadily growing, and at the present moment a petition praying for such action is being extensively circulated by the National Council for the Prevention of War. There will certainly be a strong move made at the coming Assembly to secure the general signature of the Optional Clause, and there is every reason for urging the British Government to take a course which would greatly strengthen the position of our own country, in relation particularly to the smaller States in the League. The argument in favour of leaving disputes to the Council fails to take account of the fact that if Council recommendations are not unanimous they have no binding force.

was decided that Poland was acting within its rights. The Court, however, pointed out that the geographical limits of the Port of Danzig (which consists merely of a certain area within the Free City) had never been defined. That task, therefore, the Council has now had to take in hand, and it has proceeded by deciding to appoint a Committee of Experts to visit Danzig and draw a line of demarcation for postal purposes.

Another question in which Poland was concerned indirectly was the matter of **Polish Minorities in Lithuania**. A petition from these Minorities was laid before the Council in March, and held over for more detailed examination. The result was the presentation, in June, by the Brazilian representative, Señor Mello Franco, of a lengthy report which passed rather severe strictures on the actions of the Lithuanian Government. At the Council table the Lithuanian representative made a lengthy reply, which he had, unwisely, not circulated in advance. There then ensued a short but lively cross-examination, Mr. Chamberlain and M. Uden, of Sweden, expressing serious concern with the fact that various members of the Lithuanian Diet are being charged with high treason in connection with the Minority Petition they sent to Geneva. The Lithuanian representative explained that that was because they had included in the petition false statements and gave them wide circulation; but the Council was far from satisfied with this. Similarly, M. Paul Boncour, who had taken M. Briand's place as French representative, strongly criticised a Lithuanian law by which certain persons who have served in foreign armies may have their property confiscated without compensation. The Lithuanians were anxious to clear the whole question up at once, but the Council was not satisfied with what it heard, and the matter will come up again in September.

Another Minority question, arising out of a petition of **Hungarians in Roumania**, seemed likely to occupy considerable time, but the Roumanian representative, faced with the alternative of having the case sent to the International Court, gave far-reaching pledges as to the suspension of all action against the Hungarians between now and the next meeting of the Council, and undertook before then to take steps to have any genuine grievances rectified.

Among other details of the business may be mentioned the adoption of an extremely interesting report on **Women's and Children's work** (dealt with on a separate page of this issue of HEADWAY), and of an equally interesting and important report on the **Health Organisation's activities**. Here Mr. Austen Chamberlain made an unfortunate impression by the critical attitude he adopted towards a body which has been, perhaps, more uniformly successful and effective in its activities than any organisation connected with the League. The Foreign Minister appeared concerned lest the Health Organisation should attempt too much and involve the League in undue expenditure, a fear which a glance at the Budget will show to be singularly ill-founded. Poland alone spends on its Institute of Public Health 1,500,000 francs a year. The Health Organisation figures on the League Budget for 800,000.

A question which might have been the most important on the agenda, that of the action to be taken by the League in the **demilitarised zone on the Rhine** when the League becomes responsible for the supervision of enemy armaments, was not discussed at all, the French having tacitly abandoned the very contentious proposal they originally made for the establishment of permanent League control in such regions.

Altogether, the Council, though it succeeded in getting through its agenda in three days and a half, had an extremely successful session. The work was disposed of expeditiously without being rushed, and the atmosphere was harmonious and businesslike.—H.W.H.

BAD WOMEN AND GOOD CHILDREN

BY CLINTON FIENNES

NOT that the women ought justly to be called bad at all. There are many different names applied to them—"bad women," "unfortunates," "daughters of joy"—all meaning frankly and simply prostitutes. With women of that type the League of Nations is concerned, strictly speaking, in one connection only—when they are tricked or bribed or menaced into letting themselves be taken from one country to another to lead lives of immorality for gain. It has been concerning itself with that part of their lives for years, and one result of its labours was the White Slave Traffic Convention of 1921, which has done something—all, indeed, that seems possible at present—to check such traffic, and ultimately stamp it out altogether.

But gradually the League Commission on Women and Children has extended the scope of its activities. Someone suggested that one incentive to this export and import of prostitutes was the system still prevailing in certain countries of officially recognised "maisons tolérées," or brothels, where a supply of women ready to serve men's lusts is always available. An inquiry has accordingly been undertaken into the question, and Governments have been asked (a) in cases where this system of State regulation in any form has been abandoned, why it has been abandoned, and with what results; and (b) in cases where it has been maintained, why it has been maintained, and with what results. The enquiry has produced a quantity of valuable information, including an admirably clear and dispassionate account by the British Government of Great Britain's experiment in State Regulation in certain garrison towns from 1864 onwards. At the meeting of the Committee on Women and Children at the end of May it was reported that for the future the employment of foreign women in "maisons tolérées" in France is to be abandoned, and that the only "maisons tolérées" in Switzerland, those in the Canton of Geneva, are to be abolished.

But the important part of the work of the Committee, to whose findings and recommendations the League Council at its meeting in June gave warm approval, was the opening up of a new sphere of activity in the field of child welfare. And here, if we speak of bad women we may certainly speak of good children, for the Committee decided at the outset to deal not with the abnormal, but the normal child, and the normal child, despite lingering doctrines of original sin, is not bad, but good. It would be difficult to limit the possibilities of this new addition to the League's activities, which has come about as the result of the transference to the League of work hitherto entrusted to an international body, supported partly by Governments, partly by voluntary bodies, at Brussels. Re-organised under the title of the "Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Protection of Children," the League Committee will consist of a nucleus of members (definitely representative of Governments), who sit for all purposes, there being joined with them one panel of experts, or assessors, when women's questions are under discussion, and another and different panel when child welfare is being dealt with.

Dame Rachel Crowdy is in charge of the division of the League Secretariat dealing with both sections of the work; the British member of the committee is a singularly capable and sympathetic Home Office official, Mr. S. W. Harris; and among the assessors are, for Child Welfare, Miss Eglantyne Jebb, Dame Katharine Furse and Miss Eleanor Rathbone, and for the Traffic in Women, Miss Baker. The United States is represented

in the main committee by Miss Grace Abbott, Director of the Child Welfare Bureau at the Ministry of Labour, and among the Child Welfare assessors by Dr. Bascom Johnson. Another American assessor is to be added. The work of the committee has, indeed, aroused particular interest in the United States, with the result that two American societies, the "Friends of the League of Nations" and the "American Bureau of Social Hygiene" have placed at its free disposition sums amounting to 6,500 dollars.

At the committee's recent meeting the Child Welfare programme was mapped out for the first time. The difficulty was to limit the field and many branches of work whose importance was recognised had to be left aside for the moment. One guiding principle was laid down at the outset—"the Advisory Committee thinks it right to take the normal child as the basis of its study." Child Welfare does not, of course, in the strict sense, call for international action, and the Committee therefore will be engaged largely in the useful task of collating the experience, and comparing the practice, of different countries, with a view to making the standard of the most progressive the standard of all. On that basis it proposes, to begin with, to concentrate on the following questions:—

- (1) Laws relating to the protection of life and health in early infancy.
- (2) Legislation on the "age of consent" and the age of marriage.
- (3) Child labour.
- (4) The effect of systems of "family allowances" (*i.e.*, wages varying according to the size of a worker's family) on child welfare.
- (5) The effect of the cinematograph on children's mental and moral welfare.
- (6) Recreation.
- (7) Sex education.

Other problems, such as the rather painfully startling question of alcoholism in relation to children and young people, were discussed and marked down for future study. The Committee's work, indeed, will be limited only by lack of staff, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the British delegation at the next Assembly will press for a generous allocation from the League's budget for the supremely important task of making straight the path of the child.*

A YEAR'S WORK

IT is probable that few members of the Union have ever read the Annual Report of the Director of the I.L.O. This is a volume which, for the sum of eight shillings gives a survey of the year's events in such fields as the Regulation of Hours of Work, World Unemployment, Emigration, Child Labour, Labour in Mandate Areas and Eastern Countries, &c. It contains the annual reports made by each member Government on the steps it has taken to carry out the terms of ratified Conventions—ample material to refute the charge that "Other countries ratify Conventions, but do not apply them." It also describes the work of the organisation from Conference to Conference. The volume, 1924-25, prepared for the delegates of the Seventh Conference, may be ordered from this office, or borrowed for short periods.

* The full report of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Protection of Children (Document C. 293, 1925, IV.) may be obtained from Constable & Co., Orange Street, W.C.2, for a few pence.

LAW-MAKING FOR LABOUR

By A. I. RICHARDS

ANY Session of the International Labour Conference has an atmosphere different from, and in some ways more remarkable than, that of the Assembly of the League itself. The presence of the employer and worker delegates makes, perhaps, for more outspoken criticism and less formality, and in the freedom from diplomatic traditions there is a more severe concentration on the business at hand. The "Sovereign State" can hardly be so formidable a conception when every nation present admits discussion of its own domestic problems, suffers question on its actions by worker delegates from other States, and finally, for the first time in history, accepts international agreements which are adopted by a two-thirds majority and not a unanimous vote.

It is interesting, therefore, in view of these inevitable comparisons, to find that the Seventh Session of the Conference, meeting at Geneva on May 19, should elect as its President Dr. Benes, a man not only responsible for framing part of the "Labour Covenant," Part XIII of the Treaty, but who has also regularly represented his country on the Council and Assembly of the League. His opening speech bore on this very point, comparing the work of the two Organisations for the cause of world peace—the League in the sphere of material disarmament, and the I.L.O. by removing the friction due to unfair commercial competition, and the unrest caused by inhuman conditions of labour, preparing the way for moral disarmament. Social Insurance, the new subject on the Agenda of this year's Conference, might have been framed on this text. Since it will burden industry with a large expenditure it must be universally applied. If it is effective, it should remove that unrest and sense of insecurity among the workers which is due to the threat of destitution in case of illness, accident, unemployment and old age.

Five important Conventions were on the Agenda of the Conference. Three of these, providing for Equality of Treatment for National and Foreign Workers as regards Accident Compensation, for the Prohibition of Night Work in Bakeries, and for the Weekly Suspension of work for 24 hours in the Glass Industry (Tank Process) had already been adopted provisionally in 1924, and were referred to the present Conference for a final decision. It had been hoped that such a procedure would make it easier to secure ratification, as the Governments would be able, in the intervening year, to suggest amendments to improve the Conventions. The experience of this Conference, however, seems to show that the year's delay made the situation more difficult. Supporters and opponents of the Convention had hardened in their attitudes, and there was less possibility of compromise. It is true the First Convention (Equality of Treatment for Aliens as regards Accident Compensation), not a very controversial measure, was adopted unanimously by the Conference, but in the debate on the Prohibition of Night-baking the whole controversy of last year was reopened by the British Government's amendments, proposing, among other things, the exemption of Master Bakers, Restaurants and Hotels from the terms of the Convention. However, it seemed unlikely that the British Government would in any case ratify the Convention, and its proposals were rejected. The Convention was finally adopted by 81 votes to 26. As to the Glass Industry, the Conference refused to adopt either a Convention or a Recommendation on the subject, two heated discussions having resulted in a compromise which satisfied neither party.

The two new Conventions dealt with Workmen's Compensation for Industrial Accidents and for Industrial

Diseases. This first attack on the problem of Social Insurance raised a difficult controversy. As to accident compensation, all nations were agreed as to the worker's right to compensation, but on such questions as the scale of compensation he should receive, his right to medical aid, to artificial limbs, to technical re-education, to security in the case of the bankruptcy of his employer, etc., national legislation varied very greatly. The British Government, therefore, supported in general by the Employers' Group, proposed that the terms of the Convention should be so elastic that the majority of States could ratify it easily. Other Governments, the French among them, and the whole Workers' Group preferred possible delay in ratification to the setting up of so low a standard of labour legislation. A compromise between these views was eventually reached, and the Convention adopted by 83 votes to 8. The Industrial Diseases Convention gave rise to less controversy. In it mercury and lead poisoning and anthrax infection are laid down as diseases giving right to compensation. It was also adopted in its final form; the failure over the Glassworks Convention having inspired the Conference with some distrust of the Two-Reading Process. A resolution on the general problems of Social Insurance, to guide the work of the Office during the coming years, was also adopted.

As to the general progress of international labour legislation, there are now 160 ratifications of conventions as against 96 registered in May last year, but the debate on the Directors' annual report showed that the Workers' Group was far from satisfied with this result. The discussion opened with the challenge of Mr. Mertens, the Belgian workers' delegate, that the Governments present should define their attitude to the Washington Hours of Work Convention, as yet unratified by any great industrial State. During the week that followed no less than 46 different speeches were made, nearly all of them bearing on this one point. The smaller nations declared they were waiting for the example of the greater, and the greater, Great Britain, France and Belgium among them, gave administrative difficulties as their excuse for not ratifying. Indeed, Mr. O'Rahilly, Government delegate of the Irish Free State, begged the Conference not to listen to such a "medley of national apologies," but to appoint Special Commissions to examine these technical difficulties. The Workers' Group throughout were unanimous in their demand for the Eight-Hour Day. They could no longer support the Organisation, they declared, if disappointed year after year of seeing the ratification of this important measure. However, just as a similar debate last year led to a meeting of the Labour Ministers of Belgium, France, Germany and Great Britain at Berne (September, 1924) to discuss the possibility of common ratification of the Convention, there were indications this year that the Governments of the same States were willing to resume these negotiations. It is hoped that they will be undertaken in co-operation with the I.L.O., and will form no separate partial "Pact" fixing a lower standard than that demanded by the Washington Convention.

The Conference closed on June 10. It had sat for three weeks, attended by delegates from 46 different nations, nearly all of these sending a complete delegation of two Government representatives, one employer and one worker, as demanded by the Treaty. It produced, for the first time since 1921, four new Conventions. It came to some important decisions as to the future work of the I.L.O. in the sphere of social insurance, and in particular sickness insurance, which may figure in the Agenda of the 1927 Conference. In fact, in spite of the almost complete silence of the British press on the subject, it showed, in the words of the Director, that "the Conference is alive and is capable of producing results."

HARD THINKING—AND HARD WORK

By MAXWELL GARNETT

EDUCATION is the main business of the League of Nations Union. To promote the study of international affairs and, as the League's Fourth Assembly put it, "to make known the existence, aims and achievements of the League of Nations, and the terms of its Covenant": these are the Union's primary objects. If they are properly pursued, widespread public support for the League is bound to follow and, with it, the attainment of the League's own aims: "the promotion of international co-operation and the achievement of international peace and security."

That is our faith. But, *properly pursued*—what does that involve? In the first place, education means far more than mere instruction. It is not enough to state facts in a cold, intellectual, detached, "take-it-or-leave-it" way. The teacher with too much emotion may be a washy educator, but the teacher without emotion is no educator at all. Education involves building up a wide, but united and well-ordered, system of thought and feeling that will control behaviour; and it is the feelings—the emotional associations of our thoughts—that are of altogether outstanding importance in determining their effect upon our actions.

If, then, the Union does its work aright, it is bound to be criticised for stirring people's feelings when telling them facts. "Propaganda" and other unkind words will be used. But they will do it little harm, so long as it never forgets the second great condition of sound education—and that is *hard thinking*. We have reason to be grateful to Mr. Philip Kerr for his forceful reminder in the June HEADWAY.

Mr. Kerr's hard thinking has led him to some hard sayings. Are they, perhaps, too hard? According to Mr. Kerr, no League of Nations can ever possibly maintain peace in the world. "The instrument for maintaining peace in the world is the State," including a *Bundestaat*, but not a *Staatenbund*. In Mr. Kerr's view, apparently, the League of Nations will never maintain peace until it has evolved from a Confederation like Germany before the Constitution of 1867, or the thirteen North American colonies before the Constitution of 1787, into a Federation like Germany or Switzerland or the United States to-day.

If that evolution does take place, it will occupy a very long time. Moreover, there are reasons for not wanting it to happen at all. One is that, however carefully the original Constitution of a federal State may safeguard the freedom of each unit of the Federation to control its own internal affairs, it must always be possible to amend the Constitution. And amendments, like the eighteenth (Prohibition) amendment to the Constitution of the United States, might soon whittle away local autonomy. In the end, variety might give way to uniformity, internationalism to cosmopolitanism, and co-operation to compulsion. That, to the minds of most men of European race, would mean a far less attractive world than one in which the different peoples continue to contribute each its own special gifts to the spiritual and material well-being of the whole. The League's principle of co-operation abroad, combined with autonomy at home, points straight to this last kind of world; and, while it may be true that no sharp line can be drawn between internal and external affairs, the extremes of each sort are separated widely enough, and—let us note it carefully—are more likely to be kept separate if the guiding principle is that of the League than if it is the supremacy of a federal Constitution over all internal law.

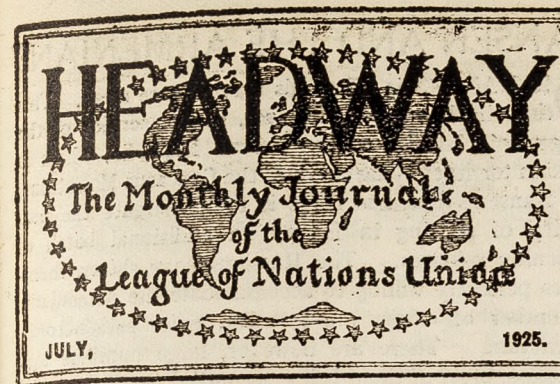
Yet we may have to turn our backs upon the fairer prospect if Mr. Kerr is right in thinking that nothing short of federation can maintain peace in the world.

But is he right? Experience, he believes, proves it. The League system, or confederation, has, he says, "been tried over and over again, and it has always broken down. And it has broken down for the simple reason that peoples who are not ready to unite politically [in a federation] invariably fail to live up to their obligation, especially to provide money or armies. . . . Confederation has either ended in complete disruption or moved on to federation."

Mr. Kerr, who knows a very great deal about the British Empire, does not include it among his examples of confederations which have failed or federated. It has, in fact, done neither, although it has recently passed through a sufficiently severe test. Its peoples are not apparently ready to unite politically, but they did live up to their obligations. Mr. Kerr mentions other confederations. They were all on a comparatively small scale, some of them had powerful enemies within striking distance, and none of them feared war as Europe fears it to-day. Does their experience, one cannot help asking, necessarily apply to the League of Nations? For example, before the confederation of thirteen united States became federated as the United States, Massachusetts disobeyed the Articles of Confederation by raising troops, and Virginia by keeping back a treaty from Congress. Does it follow that France or Britain would as readily risk the displeasure of three-quarters of the world? Or, because it was hard to collect the substantial contributions of men and money which each ex-colony owed to the little confederation which might have to renew its fight with the greatest Power of that time, need there be excessive difficulty in collecting contributions to a world-scale League of Nations that has little or nothing to fear from outside, and a Budget that is only one six-hundredth part of the world's expenditure on armaments? No such difficulty has yet appeared.

A federal State is, no doubt, as well able as a unitary State like Britain or France to prevent fighting within its borders. It does so by the same means, namely, (1) the "sentiment" which impels most citizens to reverence the State and to obey its laws, and (2) the power of the State to coerce a small disobedient minority. Of these means the first is by far the more important. Few laws, with police or soldiers to enforce them, are better obeyed than the rules of conduct which an ancient and revered society—school, college, inn of court, or whatever it be—lays down for its members. In a confederation like the League of Nations, power to coerce a dissentient minority is far less than in a federal State. Yet it is not altogether lacking; the threat of its use was sufficient to bring peace to Albania in November, 1921.

On the other hand, there need be no limit to the strength of a sentiment, even when its object is a confederation like the League. A "collective sentiment" for the League was observed by Lord Balfour at Geneva, as he told the House of Lords in July, 1924. We all know, and none better than Mr. Kerr, a confederation which maintains peace between six or seven nations because of the strength of the "collective sentiment" that binds them together, and not because of any federal Constitution, or because any of the nations is afraid of being coerced. If the British Commonwealth can do this because the common patriotism is strong enough, may not the League (even without the advantages of community of language and race) some day be able to do the same for a similar reason? The answer depends on the League of Nations societies. If hard work is added to hard thinking, the task will not be beyond our power.



THE PACT AND THE LEAGUE

THE publication of the relevant documents on the German Security Pact proposals of last February serves, at any rate, to dissipate various baseless rumours which have done a good deal to make agreement difficult. We now have the full text of the reply sent by the French Government, technically in its own name, but actually on behalf of Great Britain as well, to the original German suggestions. As was anticipated, Great Britain and France are united in placing in the forefront of everything the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, with all the rights and with all the obligations shared by every member of the League. In the second place, the existing "public law of Europe," as based, for the most part, on the Peace Treaties, is taken as the starting point of everything. Thirdly, and most important, the French Note welcomes unreservedly the German proposal for the repudiation of all idea of war between the Powers interested in the Rhine. Fourthly, the French, welcoming again the German proposal for Arbitration Treaties between the Powers interested in the Rhine, contend that such a Treaty ought to apply to absolutely all disputes, and leave no room under any circumstances for what may be termed "private war" between the parties. Fifthly, the French welcome also the German proposal to conclude Arbitration Treaties of the same kind with all States so disposed, and it is even suggested—a somewhat contentious proposal—that the signatories of the Treaties of Versailles and of the proposed Rhineland Pact, should be entitled, if they so desire, to constitute themselves guarantors of such treaties. This appears to mean, in particular, that if Germany concluded arbitration treaties with Poland or Czecho-Slovakia, France should be able to guarantee the due fulfilment of the obligations so created. Sixthly, a brief article inserted at the instance of the British Government is worth quoting textually: "Nothing in the Treaties contemplated in the present Note should affect the rights and obligations attaching to membership of the League of Nations under the Covenant of the League." The seventh and final clause lays it down that all the Agreements under discussion should come into force simultaneously, should be registered with the League, and should be "placed under its auspices."

The whole arrangement outlined in the French reply to Germany—and nothing emerges more clearly from this reply than the fact that lengthy negotiations still have to be carried through before any document can be finally approved and signed—has to be examined, first of all, in its relation to the larger agreements embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

In regard to that certain specific points emerge at once. Germany must enter the League to begin with. If she does not do that there will be no Rhineland Pact at all. In the second place, the Article inserted at the instance of the British Government regarding the rights and obligations attaching to membership of the League is a

necessary safeguard against the possibility of anything in the new agreement appearing to override or run counter to the Covenant. Thirdly, the part the League will play if Arbitration Treaties are concluded on the lines suggested in the French Note is perhaps larger than has been entirely realised. Articles XIII and XVI of the Covenant appear to be of considerable importance here. For, under Article XIII, League members agree to submit various questions to arbitration or judicial settlement, to carry out in good faith any award or decision rendered and not resort to war against any League members that comply therewith. In the event of failure to carry out such award or decision (this means mere non-compliance, as distinct from resort to war), the Council should propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto. This Article is specifically recognised in the fourth Clause of the French Note, which lays it down that in case of non-compliance the Council of the League shall consider what steps shall be taken. There remains, however, Article XVI of the Covenant, to which the French Note makes no reference. Under that Article, if any League member should resort to war in disregard of its agreements under Article XIII (Arbitration), it shall, *ipso facto*, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, and all the well-known sanctions specified in Article XVI are forthwith brought into play. It would appear clear that they must be exercised, not merely by the signatories of the Rhineland Pact, but by all League members, the whole system of the proposed Arbitration Treaties being thus placed under far more general, and therefore, it may be hoped, more effective guarantee than if they merely concerned the signatories of the Pact and those States which concluded Arbitration Treaties in connection with it.

It is unnecessary to enter here into more detailed discussion regarding questions which may well adopt a different shape in the months that must elapse before any final conclusions are reached. It is, however, well to emphasise the need for looking forward. Even to those most convinced that the Geneva Protocol is in its grave, the terms of the Protocol must be suggested by every clause in the French Note. Moreover, various principles of the Protocol are likely to emerge yet more clearly before we see the end of the negotiations, for on questions of breach of agreement or the beginning of aggression it is difficult to see how criteria other than those adopted in the Protocol can be applied. There is no more important problem in Europe to-day than to discover how that growing system of Arbitration Treaties (at least ten are in existence already), providing for the peaceful settlement of all disputes without exception, can be broadened out into a universal system that shall cover all nations. When we have got that we shall have something very like the Protocol indeed, and now that six or seven European nations have shown the way, it will be singularly difficult for the others to hold back. It will be difficult, in particular, for Great Britain, which justly claims to be in the van of progress where peace and the consolidation of peace is concerned. If we welcome, as we must welcome, the conclusion of Treaties which exclude absolutely the possibility of war between the contracting States, it is impossible for us in decency to refuse to enter into such agreements ourselves. That is the problem that has to be thrashed out in this country irrespective of any question of Party politics. A small part of it is the signature and ratification of the optional clauses of the Permanent Court of International Justice, to which reference is made on another page. We can afford, if necessary, to wait a little; we cannot afford to close any doors. What is vital, therefore, to know regarding the local arrangements immediately proposed is whether they are a final stopping place or avowedly merely the end of one day's march along the road to universal agreements.

SHANGHAI AND GENEVA

WHATEVER may have caused the original outbreak of the Shanghai riots, it has been admitted in the House and elsewhere that conditions in many foreign and Chinese mills have been bad enough to give any agitator, Bolshevik or otherwise, the best possible material on which to work. Is there, therefore, any possibility of applying international labour legislation to China, and has the I.L.O. done anything to raise her standards of labour since 1919?

China was an original Member of the I.L.O., and has attended every Conference since 1920. At Washington it was realised by the Commission on industrially backward countries that it would be impossible to apply immediately in China the standards of International Labour Conventions as drawn up. She had in existence no system of labour legislation, and no factory inspectors to carry out such legislation were it adopted. There was no official or statistical information as to conditions in the country; the workers were illiterate, in extreme poverty, and quite unorganised; and the existence of Foreign Settlements (the industrial towns of Shanghai, Tientsin, etc., among them) in which Chinese legislation was inapplicable, made the question still more difficult.

China was, therefore, left exempt from the obligation to ratify the International Labour Conventions, but was asked to accept "the principle of the protection of labour by factory legislation," and to adopt certain regulations. She has actually ratified the Berne White Phosphorus Convention, and in March, 1923, after a continuous correspondence with the I.L.O., promulgated some Provisional Factory Regulations. These regulations are not equivalent to the standard of the Labour Conventions, providing only for a minimum age of 12 for girls and 10 for boys, an eight hours day for children, a ten hours day for adults, and a weekly rest-day twice a month, &c. They have, not, moreover, been confirmed by law.

In June, 1923, the Municipal Council of the Foreign Settlement in Shanghai appointed a Child Labour Commission—not only the first official investigation into conditions in the Chinese mills, but also a definite recognition by the Foreign Settlement of their obligations in regard to labour conditions. There were indications, too, that reforms initiated in the Foreign Settlement would spread to the surrounding districts. The Commission recommended a good deal less than the Chinese Provisional regulations, but suggested the appointment of factory inspectors to enforce its reforms. It recommended a minimum age of employment of 10 years. The working day for children under 14 was not to exceed 12 hours. A weekly rest day of one in fourteen was to be instituted, though night work for children could not yet be abolished. These recommendations, when referred to a meeting of ratepayers of the Foreign Settlement in April last, failed to secure the necessary quorum, and were turned down.

Since then the Chinese Government was seriously questioned as to its intentions at the recent Session of the International Labour Conference. The British Workers' delegate, Mr. E. L. Poulton, had, in fact, tabled a resolution demanding an inquiry into the question. However, on the declaration of the Chinese Government delegate that the Provisional Regulations were to be enforced by law, that factory inspectors had been appointed for the industrial areas, and that the position of Trade Unionism in China was to be legalised, Mr. Poulton withdrew his resolution. It would be idle to hope for anything like Government enforcement while the present political chaos prevails in China, but it is something that the I.L.O. has secured at least the theoretical acceptance of the principle of the adoption of world standards.

NANSEN AND THE ARMENIANS

DR. NANSEN is off on his travels once more. This time he has gone, as usual, in the service of the League of Nations, to the Erivan Republic, which is Russian territory lying south of the Caucasus Mountains; Dr. Nansen's business there is to investigate the possibility of settling in Erivan an additional batch of Armenian refugees. The Russians have shown themselves perfectly willing to accommodate the Armenians, a number of whom are installed quite satisfactorily in Erivan. There are however, large numbers still homeless, most of them being encamped for the moment on Greek territory, and it is necessary to make some arrangement for them, for Greece, almost overwhelmed with the weight of her own national refugees from Asia Minor, cannot add Armenians to her responsibilities.

The problem in Erivan depends on the possibilities of irrigation and agricultural development. Dr. Nansen, therefore, who is neither an irrigator nor an agriculturist, has taken with him experts on both of those subjects. The whole question of refugees was lately transferred to the International Labour Organisation, on the ground that it was now mainly a problem of employment. Dr. Nansen has, therefore, gone out for the Labour Office. There appears to be a considerable future for cotton-growing in Erivan, if effective irrigation can be arranged. The task of the Commission is to discover how many more Armenians could reasonably be settled in Erivan and how much it would cost to transfer them from where they are and install them in new homes.

There will then arise the further problem of finding the money. The British Government is under a fairly definite obligation to contribute something, for Mr. Baldwin and Lord Oxford both signed a petition to Mr. MacDonald when he was Prime Minister, urging that the Government should help the Armenians financially. If the money can be raised, the scheme will go forward. If it cannot, it will be useless for the I.L.O. to carry further an enterprise which depends for its success on adequate funds. There would be nothing for it in that case but for the unhappy Armenians to shift for themselves, except in so far as private charity does something to alleviate their distress.

Meanwhile, another I.L.O. Commission, headed by Colonel Proctor, one of Dr. Nansen's former lieutenants, is in South America, exploring the possibilities of refugee settlement there. It appears clear that work could be found for a considerable proportion of those who need it, but here again the expense of transporting them across the Atlantic would be serious.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- "Movements in European History," by D. H. Lawrence. Oxford University Press. Price 4s. 6d.
 "The Pageant of Greece," edited by R. W. Livingstone. (Abridged edition.) Oxford University Press. Price 2s. 6d.
 "School Care Committees," by John H. Nicholson, P. S. King & Son, Ltd. Price 3s. 6d.
 "Why Your Food Costs More." Facts from the Report of the Royal Commission on Food Prices. The Scientific Press, Ltd. Price 1s.
 "The Moslem World in Revolution," by W. Wilson Casati. Edinburgh House Press. Price 2s.

AWAY TO WARSAW

AS has been mentioned in previous numbers of HEADWAY, the ninth Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations' Societies is to be held from July 5 to 9, by invitation of the Polish League of Nations' Society, at Warsaw. It is hoped that at least thirty societies will be represented. Each society is entitled to send twenty delegates, but not many will be so largely represented.

Some of the Delegates

The British delegation will include, among others, the Rt. Hon. Sir Willoughby Dickinson, K.B.E., President of the Federation for the current year; Mr. A. E. Zimmern, the well-known lecturer and writer on international affairs; the Viscountess Gladstone, Chairman of the Union's Women's Advisory Council and of the Hospitality Committee; Sir Walter Napier, D.C.L., ex-Attorney-General of Singapore; Sir Arthur Haworth, Chairman of the Manchester Exchange; Mr. Gwilym Davies, Hon. Director of the Welsh League of Nations' National Council; Rear-Admiral Drury-Lowe, member of the Executive Committee of the Union, and others.

The French Society expect to be represented, among others, by M. Henri de Jouvenel, Editor of the Paris "Matin," and formerly Minister of Public Instruction, and M. Léon Jouhaux, Secretary of the Confédération Générale du Travail; Belgium hopes to send M. Henri Rolin, the prominent jurist; and Germany, Count Bernstorff, formerly German Ambassador at Washington; America is sending a large delegation, including Mr. Theodore Marburg, formerly American Minister at Brussels.

The Swiss contingent will include Mr. William Martin, of the "Journal de Genève"; and the Secretariat of the League is sending several observers, including M. Pierre Comert and Mr. Arthur Sweetser, both of the Information Section.

Value of the Conference

The Federation is young as yet, and is only just beginning to find its feet. It would be foolish to try and exaggerate its present influence. But that it is a necessary and useful organisation, that its influence is growing, and that it is gradually making good its position in the field of international politics, no one can doubt. It is obviously desirable that the various League of Nations' Societies should exchange ideas, should study and discuss together problems of common interest, and, more important still, should arrive at some common agreement regarding matters of policy, so that men and women of goodwill throughout the world should not be faced with the devastating spectacle of forty societies, formed ostensibly for one and the same purpose, advocating forty different policies. The Warsaw agenda will include such items as the Geneva Protocol, Minorities, Education and the like. It is the usual practice to lay the more important resolutions before the President of the League of Nations Assembly.

The Personal Touch

But the value of these Conferences, held in different countries each year, does not lie only in the actual work that is accomplished; it lies also in the fact that they afford to a few, at any rate, of those who are working for peace in the various countries, the opportunity of meeting one another and establishing the "personal touch," which after all is the only basis on which international understanding can rest. The Polish Society has generously taken good care that there shall be ample opportunity for social intercourse; they have arranged an attractive programme for the four days, including a reception at the Town Hall, a reception given by the President of the Republic, a reception at the

Royal Palace, a visit to the Opera, and an excursion to Cracow. Some of the British delegation have accepted the kind invitation of President Sahn to visit Danzig after the Conference.

POINTED QUESTIONS

Q.—Does a Treaty of Arbitration exist between Great Britain and U.S.A. binding us for 50 years to submit all disputes to arbitration?

A.—Yes. This was one of the Wilson-Bryan Treaties. Disputes not otherwise settled are to go "for investigation and report" to an International Commission. The period was 5, not 50, years. The treaty was ratified in November, 1914, and has been twice renewed.

Q.—When was the Temporary Mixed Commission disbanded, and why? Is the Co-ordination Commission on Armaments likely to be as useful?

A.—The Temporary Mixed Commission was disbanded in September, 1924. Its end had been discussed the year before, and it had been prolonged for a year mainly because of the unsettled fate of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. The new Co-ordination Commission has representatives of all the States on the Council, and of course the Technical Commissions of the League. The question of its usefulness cannot be solved till it is given some original work to do, which has not yet occurred.

Q.—Why does the League Council not take cognisance of petitions against land legislation aimed against minorities in Central European States?

A.—Rights in immovable property as they were before the war are not guaranteed to the minorities in the Peace Treaties. Therefore the League has no right to criticise land legislation as such. But when an "agrarian reform" is obviously directed against a minority as such the Council does move. The main cases are those of the German settlers in Poland, and of the Polish farmers in Lithuania, now before the Council.

Q.—What are the reasons given by successive British Governments for abstaining from signing the Optional Clause of the statute of the Permanent Court?

A.—The reasons given are two: (1) That Great Britain cannot allow maritime cases, especially in time of war, to go before a Court mainly composed of judges trained in a different code of sea-law from the British. (2) That Great Britain prefers to leave the way open to using conciliation by the League Council even in justiciable disputes.

Q.—Can the French give autonomy to parts of Syria?

A.—Yes. "Local autonomy" is provided for in the Mandate. But if such a measure meant evacuation of a district which would immediately revert to Turkey, the clauses in the Mandate text pledging France to protect the inhabitants could be cited in the League Council to prevent her action.

Q.—Has the League of Nations been approached to effect a just settlement of the problems in China?

A.—No. Technically the situation could be raised under Art. XI of the Covenant, as a matter affecting the peace of the world, though so long as what is in question is simply a civil war, the League can take no effective action. If the attacks on the foreign concession are to be regarded as giving the trouble an international aspect, China could be required to go to the Court or to arbitration or to the Council of the League.

BOOKS WORTH READING

SECOND editions rarely call for extended notice, but the second edition of Sir Geoffrey Butler's *Handbook to the League of Nations* (Longmans, ros. 6d.) is in great measure a new book. It was first published nearly six years ago when the League had hardly begun its work. Since then, though the period is short in world history, the League has made history, and it is therefore instructive to compare the first edition with the present. All that now remains of the earlier book are the first fifty pages which deal with the background and the construction of the League; at that time the author was obliged to write often in the future tense of the hopes and intentions of its constructors; for in November, 1919, the League of Nations had not, strictly speaking, any legal existence; the first session of its Council did not meet until two months later and the Covenant had no legal value. It will be seen, therefore, how much new matter has gone to form the second edition; hopes have blossomed into achievement. Much, of course, of what Sir Geoffrey writes will not be new to many readers of HEADWAY; the story of the facts which he tells has by now been often told. But he does more than give a mere relation of facts, and here is his most useful contribution. "If events," he says, "have seemed to justify the optimism of five years ago, they have also rendered it impossible to be content with a simple question as to whether the League will survive or wither. They indicate that we are confronted with a preliminary question as to which of two theories as to the nature of the League is destined to predominate." These two theories, he explains, are that which conceives of action by the League as unitary or automatic and that which holds that this action should only result from "the coalescing wills of the component states"; in other words, is the League to become a super-state or a federation? Between these two views, however, he finds no necessary conflict, provided the meaning and authority of the fact of sovereignty is properly understood. Here Sir Geoffrey, following Professor Pollard and Sir Frederick Pollock, suggests that more guidance is to be gained by studying the analogy of the development of the English Constitution than that of the American Federation. His argument may be best summed up in another quotation:

"If the rights of humanity and the real values, for the expression and for the securing of which the League has been formed, do come into their own through its machinery, it will remain the truth to say that, apart from a conscious recognition of such rights and a demand for the operation of such machinery, no such assertion of those rights could ever have been reached. It is mindful of this that one may assert . . . that in so far as the League of Nations supplies a mechanism for the preservation of these rights and values, the conception of sovereignty, with its necessary implication of moral authority, can for the first time be applied to external affairs in a more adequate sense than as a mere assertion of the unchecked either of the States or of some central federation."

It remains to be added that the appendices which fill more than one-half of the book are mainly new and must not be overlooked. They contain, besides the text of several international documents, a full chronological summary of the League and an explanatory commentary upon the Covenant.

The *Fourfold Challenge of To-day* (Longmans, 2s. 6d.) which the Rev. Henry Cecil has edited, might have been better than it is. With the exception of an introduction by the editor, it consists of a verbatim report of a "Copec" Conference held at Sheffield last October. The speeches are by well-known authorities, but the

discussions can hardly be described as enlightening, and might with advantage have been omitted, except that in one place they make clear that an amendment to a resolution passed by the Conference has been omitted in the full text of the resolutions. The fourfold challenge is concerned with Homes, Work, Education and Peace. On this last subject two addresses were delivered by Bishop Hamilton Baynes and Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett. Neither of these speakers probably said anything that they had not previously said elsewhere, but after all, it is only by constant repetition that ideals can be brought to penetrate the thickness of the public mind, and it is therefore well that truths which are happily now often told should be presented in a new form.

Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher provides us with no little comfort for the present time. In *Then and Now* (Humphrey Milford, 5s.) she has drawn a careful picture of the economic position of England in the years that immediately followed the Napoleonic wars. She is able to show that the industrial, social and financial difficulties of that time bear a curiously exact resemblance to our own. Unemployment, the complaint of a general distaste for work, housing and transport, high prices and a crippling burden of taxation, emigration and silk duties all come into the story of 100 years ago. We are fortunate, however, in that discontent does not to-day find expression in rioting and other acts of violence; thus far we have advanced. In the period of reconstruction many mistakes were made which stand for our learning; but, in spite of mistakes and vacillating policies, England rose to a greater height of prosperity than she had reached before. The period of recovery was fifteen years; we need not, therefore, despair if we have not yet come to normalcy after six years, and our hopes may be the stronger because Mrs. Fisher reminds us that our present burdens are not proportionately greater than those borne by our great-grandparents. Mrs. Fisher has done so well that we wish she would write a companion volume dealing with the parallels of the international situation in the same period.—H. W. F.

MOSUL AND THE ASSYRIANS

THE decision of the League of Nations Commission which is now considering the Mosul Frontier will, among other results, have a very decisive effect on the destinies of a singularly interesting people, about whom extremely little is known in this country. They bear the ancient name of Assyrians; they number about 30,000; they constitute a church rather than a nation, and for the last 1,500 years they have had their home in the mountains of Kurdistan, some 150 miles north of Mosul. In the war they supported the Allies, and, consequently, incurred the hostility of the Turks, and since 1919 they have served under the British as a police force on the northern border of Iraq. Whether they will be left on the Turkish or the Iraq side of the frontier of course remains to be seen; but it is more likely that they will find themselves under Turkish sovereignty than under that of King Feisul. In view of the perils to which they may thus be left exposed, it has been suggested by persons intimately acquainted with the Assyrians, and interested in the latter, that some arrangement might be reached, with the full approval of Turkey, assuming that Turkey becomes a member of the League of Nations, by which special protection should be extended to this interesting and historic people under the aegis of the League of Nations. Under this proposal it is suggested that the League should fix the boundaries of the territory of the Assyrians, and organise from among them an administrative body

IN THE HOUSE

THE League of Nations Parliamentary Committee has continued active during the past month, though the Whitsuntide recess was responsible for the abandonment of at least one contemplated meeting. On May 25, in spite of the fact that Mr. Snowden and Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill were in succession holding the floor of the House itself, M. Henry de Jouvenel attracted a considerable number of Members to the Committee Room, where he was addressing the League of Nations Committee on "The Necessity for an Anglo-French Entente at Geneva." The French Senator had come specially from Paris for this meeting.

On June 22 the Earl of Balfour spoke to the Committee on "The Palestine Mandate," with special reference to his recent visit to that country. There could be no better testimony to Lord Balfour's popularity than the fact that though the room was emptied by a division-bell after he had been speaking for a quarter of an hour, more members were present after the interruption than before.

Information regarding the Labour Conference, the Arms Traffic Conference and the Committee on Women and Children has been circulated to the groups of M.P.'s specially interested in these questions.

June 16.—**The Minister of Labour** (to Mr. Rhys-Davies): I am in informal communication with the Ministers of Labour of certain other countries regarding ratification of the Washington Hours Convention.

June 18.—**Mr. T. Johnston** (in the China Debate): Where do the Christian, general and others get their munitions? They get them supplied by British credit, some of it supported by the League of Nations.

June 18.—**Mr. McNeill** (to Captain Wedgwood Benn): I am unable to state when the Mosul Commission will present its report.

June 18.—**The Prime Minister** (to Mr. T. Kennedy): The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour represented Great Britain at the International Labour Conference till his Parliamentary duties rendered his return home imperative. His place was then taken by the principal Assistant Secretary of the Ministry of Labour. Of the 46 States who attended, only seven were represented throughout by a Minister of State. I cannot agree that British interests suffer owing to the method of representation at the Conference.

June 22.—**The Colonial Secretary** (to Sir G. Butler): The appointment of an international commission on sleeping-sickness was recommended to the League of Nations Council by the International Conference on Sleeping Sickness which recently sat in London. The Government of Uganda will gladly co-operate by placing the laboratory at Entebbe at the disposal of the Commission.

June 22.—**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade** (to Mr. Hugh Dalton):

No decision regarding the proposal that the Economic Section of the League of Nations should be invited to make a continuous study of international food problems will be taken till the new Food Council is established.

The twenty-fourth Congress of the Bureau International de la Paix will be held in Paris from September 1 to 6. Peace Societies will be represented from all over the world. The chief item of discussion will be the Geneva Protocol. It is hoped that some prominent persons will be addressing the Congress, and any members of the League of Nations Union who will be in Paris during the Congress will be welcome there. Further particulars may be obtained from M. Lucien Le Foyer, 43, Faubourg St. Honoré, Paris.

which will have jurisdiction over the Christians only, not over any Moslems who might be inhabiting that region.

It is further suggested that the League should establish a police force under such administrative body to maintain peace and order among the Christians, and that for the purpose of maintaining contact between the Assyrians and Geneva, and inspiring them with confidence in the interest of the League in their fortunes, there should be appointed by the League, with the approval of the Assyrians, of Turkey and of Iraq, three residents not of Assyrian nationality, and without any governmental authority, but with full power to act as advisors and mediators as may be desired. The expenses of the administrative body, of the police and the residents would be borne by the Assyrians themselves.

The proposal is interesting, not so much for its intrinsic merits, though they appear to be considerable, but as drawing attention to the existence of a minority bearing a name famous in history, but in danger of being disregarded at a critical moment even by persons in this country who realise the justice of the Assyrian's claim once it is put clearly before them.

SUMMER SCHEMES

THERE are now over 2,000 Branches of the Union, so that by rights there should be a minimum of 2,000 names already enrolled on our lists for the Cambridge and Geneva Summer Schools. Branches which have already tried the experiment of sending at least one representative either to the English or to the Geneva School write enthusiastically of the success of the plan and of the help it has given to the whole Branch throughout the year. However, just under 200 members came to the Oxford School last year, and only 80 to Geneva. This is not enough to set the whole country talking of the League throughout the winter months, and we hope to see our numbers doubled at least. The success of the Geneva School is particularly important; 125 places have been reserved for members of this Union, and an equal number for those of the League of Nations Non-partisan Association (U.S.A.). So far the American applications are coming in a great deal faster than the English. This should be put right before our next number goes to press. The Cambridge list ought certainly to be a great deal longer too.

The first School of all is, of course, over. A party of about 20 left England on May 21 to study the work of the Seventh International Labour Conference. Lectures on the agenda of the Conference and on various world labour problems were arranged, and members had the opportunity of listening to the whole of the debate on the Director's annual report and to the various special Commissions—the Arms Traffic Conference forming a counter-attraction. The new building of the I.L.O., portrayed in such lurid colours by the *Daily Mail* some months ago, seemed a very modest and workman-like "Palace for Labour" when viewed close at hand. It was not, perhaps, the only myth exploded by the sight of the International Labour Organisation actually at work! One opportunity has, therefore, been missed, but there remain two more, and just sufficient time to get on the lists before they close.

A CHANGE AT BRUSSELS

Mr. William O'Sullivan Molony, who has been for the last two years Assistant Secretary to the Federation's office at Brussels, and has contributed in no small way to its influence and efficiency, has recently resigned his post, and has joined the Minorities Section of the League's Secretariat at Geneva. He carries with him the good wishes of all who have been associated with him in his work.

READERS' VIEWS

A POINTED QUESTION
To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—On more than one occasion HEADWAY has insisted that the "compulsory arbitration" proposed by the Geneva Protocol is really voluntary. In the answer, for instance, to the first of your Pointed Questions this month I read: "A nation spontaneously and of its own free will undertakes to join in establishing a system under which all disputes are settled peacefully and by arbitration or conciliation."

(1) Is (or was) the unanimous acceptance of the Protocol by all members of the League necessary for its enforcement? And if not, what about the dissentient minority?

(2) In what sense is the application of the Protocol to non-members "spontaneous"? In your summary of the Protocol in a previous number, article 16 reads: "States not members of the League shall, if involved in a dispute with a League member, be invited to accept the provisions of the Protocol in the manner contemplated in Article XVII of the Covenant. If such a State declines and resorts to war, the provisions of Article XVI of the Covenant shall be applicable against it."

"Invited" is good. One remembers a similar invitation associated with the name of Lord Derby. Conscription of States may be necessary for the prevention of war, but it is difficult to see what good purpose is served by representing it as a voluntary system.—Yours, &c.,

May 24, 1925.

E. E. D.

[(1) The Protocol only applies as between States which sign it; others continue under the Covenant régime.

(2) The Protocol follows the Covenant in laying it down that non-members shall be required in case of need to submit to procedure for the peaceful settlement of disputes rather than taking up arms. Such action may appear unwarrantable, but it is the only possible course, unless League members, who have disarmed on the strength of their agreements with one another, are to be exposed defenceless to external attack.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

HARD THINKING AND THE LEAGUE

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—I welcome Mr. Philip Kerr's "plea." The "hard thinking" he calls for is very different from sentimental dreaming or highbrow academical dogmatism. The "Idealists" are always trying to force the League to take action where it is beyond its competency to interfere. One might sum up the present situation by saying that the League has brought much of Europe, and of the world, into a status of organised and statutory interconference, and the League may now easily become in the international sphere a major parallel to those "Assemblies of the Estates" which prepared the way for the founding of our modern Parliamentary States.

The great function that the League of Nations by its very structure is able to fulfil is to promote a policy of equalisation or standardisation of conditions as between European nations—not excluding the East European nations, considered in the whole of their outlook, as to resources, industry, finance, population and cultural ideals. The League in its present constitution is fully equipped to promote conferences on such really vital matters as currency, the European exchanges, the inter-European debts, the equalisation of access to resources, including raw materials, the reserves of necessary mechanical power, tariffs, means of communication and intercourse, the hours of labour, unfair competition and standards of living among the workers. Our coal mines and our steel and ship-building industries are in their present desperate plight precisely because we refused to do "hard thinking" when we supported those cheap-jack devices against Germany that tell now chiefly against ourselves.—Yours, &c.,

Horton Vicarage, Wimborne. RICHARD DE BRAY.

O.T.C.'s AND PEACE

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—Your correspondent, Mr. H. W. Bligh, has attacked in very measured terms the militaristic tendencies of the O.T.C. He says justly that people are apt to keep their militarism in one corner of their minds and their League

of Nations in another, and to take care that the two do not mix.

I do not defend O.T.C.'s as permanently necessary any more than armies, but I would like to disagree with Mr. Bligh on one point. A man may disbelieve in war, but is he justified in declining to learn how to defend those dear to him? This may not be idealism, but ordinary people have to take care to keep their feet on the ground.

The O.T.C. is not as violently militaristic as it is frequently represented. During the war weekly parades were the rule, but most O.T.C.'s now have less than a dozen parades a year. Further, the O.T.C. does not teach a love of war. Some idealists have in the back of their minds a somewhat hazy idea that war is a terrible thing, and an equally hazy and sub-conscious recollection of the glories of war as painted in books. Members of an O.T.C. get a much clearer conception of war than these people can possibly have; and the majority of them do not like it. O.T.C.'s crawl about on their stomachs on dark nights in wet grass; they have a much better notion of war than the idealists can possibly have, and—which is more important—than the average schoolboy can have who does not belong to an O.T.C. Such a boy thinks of war as an adventure; the O.T.C. boy knows that war is not an adventure, and views with apprehension the day when the enemy will not use "blanks"—Yours, &c.,

B. T. STANLEY,

Secretary, Jun. Branch L.N.U., King Edward's School, Birmingham.

ON ARMIES

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—Is it sensible for us to send out notes to speakers on a scheme for "the pacific settlement of all international disputes" while from this same issue (May, 1925) we receive money for helping to keep our war machine alive?

Is it sound for us to give (p. 83) credit to Czecho-Slovakia for reducing her army, while in effect we urge the attractiveness of our own?

On the back page of current HEADWAY you ask me to send one copy to friends overseas and to get another into the public library. I turn over the issue casually, and run through its pages. Overseas or at the library, doubtless, for every one friend who reads our paper through a dozen will casually turn its leaves as I have just done; and then what will they see? HEADWAY, with its ocean and stately ship, clearly; then, passing over columns of close print, just one other item will catch the eye—a full page urging presence at the Royal (Military) Tournament.

What good for peace and reconciliation shall I do by obeying your injunction on page 100, while the guns call so loudly from page 99? Shall I not associate in several minds HEADWAY with "artillery" for years to come?

Can this full page for fighting be justified for a moment beside "the Covenant's definite aim for a general reduction of armaments" (p. 82)?—Yours, &c.,

May 9.

H. G. TOMS,

Member of Committee, Brentwood Branch.

[The British army has been reduced almost to the level of a police force. It is no part of the purpose of the Royal Military Tournament to effect an increase in the army. No such increase is anywhere contemplated. So long as any army survives at all, it can hardly be denied the right to display its efficiency.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

THE BEST PAMPHLETS

The League of Nations Union containing a variety of members of different types and temperaments, it is not surprising that opinions on the League's publications differ considerably. The Union's pamphlets are criticised sometimes on the one ground and sometimes on another. Such criticism is always healthy, and it ought to be possible to derive from it guidance that would be most valuable to the Committees who take actual decisions regarding publications. That being so, we invite the co-operation of readers of HEADWAY in this matter. World any who have a fair acquaintance with the Union's publications, particularly Branch Secretaries, write on a post card a list of the publications they think most valuable, arranged, if possible, in order of merit. The number might be anything up to ten. If, as is hoped, this request receives a fairly wide response, guidance of real value will be obtained. Post cards should be addressed to the Editor of HEADWAY.

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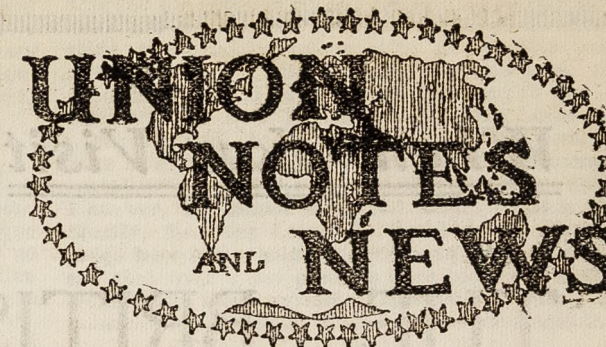
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The Bournemouth Exhibition

The Bournemouth Branch of the Union organised an Exhibition at the end of May on interesting lines. The underlying idea was to illustrate with exhibits as many different sides of League activity as possible. The usual method of the past has been with charts, diagrams, photographs and suchlike, rather dry and uninspiring for all except the already converted and the highly mathematical. Bournemouth went about it on different lines. Each side of League work was taken in turn, and large tracts of Britain were ransacked for exhibits to illustrate each one. For example, the mandate system was represented by specimens of copra, phosphates, palm-oil and wool produced in the mandated territories. Reconstruction in Central Europe was illustrated by handicrafts from the countries reconstructed by the League. The transit and communication side took the form of models of canoes, sailing-ships, steamships, trains and aeroplanes, all kindly lent by various firms and individuals. In this way a whole series of stalls were covered with extremely interesting exhibits, all closely connected with the work of the League. The passer-by might be—and, indeed, often was—tempted to ask: "But what on earth has the League to do with a train?" Instantly followed a brief lecture on the transit work. A question on Persian carpets produced a snappy little talk on the I.L.O. and child carpet-weavers, and so on.

The Irish Free State League of Nations Society sent over the exhibits for a complete stall, one of the most attractive and most generally admired in the Exhibition. In addition, there were dances, dramatic entertainments and lantern lectures.

The arrangements were in every way admirable. Colonel Dobbs and his assistants deserve the very highest praise for their unlimited zeal and energy.

A Local Summer School

The Bradford District Council of the Union is to be heartily congratulated on the organisation of the first summer school to be held in the North of England in connection with the League of Nations Union. The School opened on June 11 and lasted two days.

The Bradford District Council comprises some fifty branches, most of whom were represented. In addition, delegates attended from Huddersfield, the Spenn Valley, Keighley, Skipton and Leeds.

The inaugural meeting, to which the teachers of Bradford were invited, was addressed by Mr. S. Sherman on "The League and the Schools," and presided over by the Director of Education for Bradford. Sir Arthur Haworth gave an inspiring address on "The League Position To-day," while splendid lectures on "The League and Backward Races," "The Social Activities of the League" and "The Work of the I.L.O." were given by Mr. J. H. Harris, Miss Muriel Currey and Captain Lothian Small. The final session of the school was addressed by Dr. Maxwell Garnett, who urged the delegates to increased efforts in the cause of the League. Mr. Bentham, the President of the Bradford Branch, Mr. Charles Wade, Mr. Illingworth, and especially Mr. Walter Brayshaw, deserve the greatest praise for successfully carrying through this summer school experiment.

The New Education Knight and the League

During their visit to the Bradford Summer School Dr. Maxwell Garnett and Mr. S. Sherman took the opportunity of addressing a meeting of the staff and students of the Bingley Training College, to which all the teachers and clergy of Bingley were invited. The meeting was presided over by Sir Percy R. Jackson, the Chairman of the West

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Riding Education Committee, who has just been knighted for his services to education. Sir Percy said he was there to represent his education committee and to give every assurance that, as far as he and his committee were concerned, every assistance would be given to teachers to include League teaching in the schools.

How Castleford Formed its Branch

The organisers of this year's Pageant and Folk Festival at Castleford decided that it should be a League of Nations Pageant. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the League spirit in Castleford had no other outlet, as there was no branch of the Union in the town. Over a thousand children took part in the Pageant, which had thirty-three separate tableaux in the main procession. But age as well as youth was represented. Mrs. Coldreck, aged eighty-five, danced a one-step and won a prize. Her memory of Castleford Pageants goes back forty years, and she declared that the 1925 League Pageant beat them all. Thousands of visitors arrived in charabancs, buses and trains from neighbouring towns and villages. The Union was represented by a member of the Executive Committee, by its County Organiser and by Mr. Whelen, who spoke at a public meeting. Immediately after the Pageant the town was placarded with posters asking "What Next?" Castleford has now supplied the obvious answer, for an influential branch of the Union has already been formed in the town, largely as a result of the enthusiasm roused by the Pageant.

The Union in Ulster

The Belfast Branch held its annual meeting in May. The Speaker of the Northern House of Commons was in the chair. We believe that Ulster sets a precedent in having a Speaker as president of a branch. Mr. J. M. Andrews, Minister of Labour, Sir Robert Lynn, M.P., Mr. George Henderson, M.P., Dr. R. W. Livingstone, Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University, were a few of the distinguished people present. The proceedings opened with a letter from Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., who was prevented by illness from attending the meeting. Mr. Devlin's message was a splendid tribute to the League ideal, and an inspiring appeal for support. It was reported that the membership in Northern Ireland was now 1,150, which included 680 in the Belfast Branch. The resignation of Mr. Rhys-Pryce, the hard-working Branch Secretary, was received with great regret. One of the most striking tributes to the League was paid by Sir Robert Lynn when he pointed out that the League had achieved the almost impossible in getting a Northern Cabinet Minister to offer to meet Mr. Devlin on a public platform and *vice versa*. "It all points," he said, "in the direction of the growth of the spirit of peace."

A Debating Tour
Mr. A. Gordon Bagnall, an ex-President of the Oxford Union, and Mr. E. Porter Goff, of Trinity College, Dublin, are shortly setting out on a debating tour in the United States. They are to join two American students, and the tour is to last for ten weeks. Debates are to take place on practically six days a week, so the tourists will be kept pretty busy. The great majority of the discussions concern the League. Mr. Bagnall has had previous experience of such a tour, as he led the Oxford team to battle two years ago against the American Universities.

Birmingham en Fete for the League
A violent thunderstorm could not diminish the keen interest shown in the fête organised by the Birmingham District Council of the Union. Though the clouds may burst the Union carries on. The fête contained so much that a whole page of HEADWAY would hardly do justice to it. Bands, dramas, a dance, a fashion parade, a treasure hunt, character reading and innumerable side-shows were among the features. Many varieties of games of skill

afforded an opportunity for League supporters to display their athletic versatility. But in spite of all these diversions, the essential *raison d'être* of the fête was never allowed to drop. Union literature was sold, the programme contained an admirable summary of the League's achievements, and Rear-Admiral Drury Lowe delivered a stirring and characteristic address. As usual, HEADWAY is in the invidious position of "mentioning in despatches" some of the workers where all did so splendidly. However, we cannot omit the names of Miss Eleanora Shanks, Mr. Reg Lee and Miss Wilson. Readers may judge how many helpers there must have been when we say that over 1,400 presents were received for the stalls alone, apart from organising assistance. From a financial point of view the result of the fête exceeded expectations.

The British Co-operative Congress

Mr. Tom Gillinder, who attended this Congress on behalf of the League of Nations Union, writes: "The Co-operative Congress at Southport was attended by 2,000 delegates, but, unfortunately, there was only one resolution on foreign affairs, the remainder of the time was taken up with domestic issues. . . . It is unfortunate that such a wonderful gathering and such a very important section of the community did not appreciate the need for a declaration on the greatest project yet put forward for world co-operation and peace. There was no word of commendation of the principles of the Protocol. The foreign affairs debate was a sincere attack on secret diplomacy and modern warfare, but a splendid chance was missed of a really strong resolution on the League or the I.L.O. The international success of the co-operative movement is dependent upon the triumph of the League, and it is strongly to be hoped that future congresses will devote more time to these vital issues. It is very important that next year several of the large societies and the Parliamentary Committee of the Congress should be invited to prepare resolutions that will provoke a useful and stimulating debate."

Two Suggestions

A Branch Secretary suggests that membership will be increased, and a larger proportion of subscriptions renewed, if the

area covered by the branch is divided among the members of the Committee, so that each member visits his district regularly on a house to house campaign armed with the News Sheet and other Union publications. This sub-division makes the work easier for all, and has achieved good results when employed.

Another Secretary is on such friendly terms with the local newspaper that his name and address is published every fortnight free of charge. This must be very helpful to him, and other Secretaries might take the hint where possible.

This Year's Council's Vote

The amount which our branches have agreed to raise during this year towards the upkeep of Headquarters is £20,000. It is called the Council's Vote because the actual amount is decided upon by the Council of the Union at the meeting held in December of each year. When the vote was first instituted, branches were asked to send at least half of their quota by the end of June, and the balance before the end of the following December. At the time of going to press we have received £4,050 during this year. This means that if we are to reach the half-way mark we must receive a further £5,950 immediately. No doubt many branches will be sending further contributions towards their quotas after the June quarter-day. But it is to the branches who so far have not made any response that we wish especially to appeal. Already a number of branches have paid their assessments in full, and to those mentioned in previous issues should be added the following, who have paid the whole of their assessments during the last month: Copredy, Wardington, East Hendred, Ruberry,

MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNION AS ENROLLED AT HEADQUARTERS

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
June 22, 1925	...	...	...	...	472,595

BRANCHES

On June 22, 1925, the number of Branches was 2,103, Junior Branches 245, and Corporate Members 1,211.

Ingestone, Penryn, Cottingham, Barnt Green, Kelvedon, Newbury, Danbury, Northam.

Flag Day at Widnes

Thirty-six pounds net was the result of a Flag-day at Widnes. The branch is thus enabled to pay its quota to the Liverpool District Council and to Headquarters. "We regard this," writes the Secretary, "as extremely satisfactory." So do the Liverpool District Council and Headquarters.

The Union Lantern-Slides in Australia

Many of our readers will be familiar with the Union's set of lantern-slides showing the work of the League. They travel continuously up and down Great Britain. Now comes a report of their appearance in Queensland, where they were shown to an interested audience of over 400 people at Warwick. The lecturer was Mr. P. M. Hamilton, Principal of the Scots College (it would be a Scotsman), who has addressed many meetings on the League in Europe. The reports of the meeting are enthusiastic both about the address and the slides.

A League Service in Geneva

A special League of Nations Service (in French) will be held at the Cathedral in Geneva on September 6, the eve of the opening of the sixth Assembly. The authorities have consented to a United English service being held in the Cathedral on the following Sunday. The sermon will be delivered by Dr. H. E. Fosdick, one of the foremost preachers of America, and indeed of the English-speaking world.

Seaside Meetings

Any summer visitors to Deal or Walmer who would be disposed to address beach meetings on the League would receive full support and co-operation from the local branch of the Union. The secretary is Mr. G. Nasmyth, 72, Strand, Walmer.

New Corporate Members

Since our last issue the following have become Corporate Members of the Union: CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION:—6 Presbyterian; 6 Methodist; 5 Wesleyan; 3 Church of England; 3 Congregational; 2 Baptist; 1 Unitarian; 1 other denomination. OTHER ORGANISATIONS:—3 Trades Union Branches; 1 Branch of N.U.T.; 1 United Kingdom Commercial Travellers' Association Branch; 1 Women's Citizen Association Branch; 1 Labour Party Branch; 1 Women's Co-operative Guild; 1 Boys' Brigade Council.

To Students and Others

The World Association for Adult Education is issuing a series of bibliographies of general books and translations suitable for travellers and readers wishing to become acquainted with the history and literary movements of other countries. No. 1, on Czechoslovakia, is now ready and may be obtained from the Office of the Association, 13, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2, on receipt of a 1d. stamp.

WELSH NOTES

The Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council at Aberystwyth and Tregaron during Whit-week was an unqualified success. The International Rally on Whit-Monday, organised jointly by the Celtic Society, the School of Music and the League of Nations Union Branch at the University College, brought to a most interesting close the first day of the Conference, whilst the town was flooded with the Daffodil, the emblem of the Welsh National Council. On Tuesday, the Welsh National Council held its Third Annual Meeting under the Presidency of the Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of St. David's. It elected unanimously as President for the coming year Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, the leader of the Delegation which conveyed the Memorial from the Women of Wales to the Women of America. The Chairman of the Executive Committee (Mr. David Davies, M.P.), than whom there is no more ardent and zealous worker on behalf of World Peace, was unable to attend owing to illness, and the Council extended to him its deepest sympathy and its

most sincere wish for his speedy recovery. A very warm welcome was given to the Hon. Director (The Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A.), whose account of the work on the Continent and of the prominent part which Wales occupies in the peace movement was received with great satisfaction. The report for the past year showed the continued progress of the movement in Wales and Monmouthshire, especially on the educational side, and the only cause for regret was to be found on the financial side, where a debit balance made an eloquent appeal for greater practical support and personal sacrifice for the cause. The retiring President, The Lord Bishop of St. David's, received the deepest gratitude of the Council for his indefatigable services during his year of office, and responded with a call to still greater effort on behalf of the League of Nations. Resolutions were passed dealing with the Protocol, Arbitration, and the admission of Germany into the League. On Tuesday also was held the Educational Conference, when powerful addresses were delivered on the work accomplished by the Advisory Education Committee of the Council, its missionary aspect, its importance in the teaching of world relationships, and the possibilities, difficulties and encouragements of the future. The record of this Committee hitherto is acknowledged abroad to be of inestimable value and its publications are being issued in many languages. At Tregaron, on Wednesday, the Daffodil was again prominent, and the meetings well attended.

The World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales and Monmouthshire was transmitted from the Leafeld Station, Oxfordshire, on Whit-Sunday morning, and already numerous replies have been received from other countries, including Sweden, France, Finland, Italy and America. This simple act of friendliness and goodwill on the part of the children of Wales is awakening increasingly among their brothers and sisters abroad a real appreciation of the value of the League and of its unchallengeable position as "the Friend of every Mother, the Protector of every Home, and the Guardian Angel of the Youth of the World."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

Membership and monthly copy of HEADWAY, *minimum*, 3s. 6d. (in Wales and Monmouthshire 5s.).

Membership, HEADWAY, and all pamphlets issued, *minimum*, £1. Membership, *minimum*, 1s. The above minimum subscriptions do not provide sufficient funds to carry on the work of the League of Nations Union, either in the Branches or at Headquarters. Members are therefore asked to make their subscription as much larger than these minima as they can afford.

A "corporate member" pays £1 a year and promises to endeavour to secure that every member of the Church or Club or Institute or Branch of a Society shall become an individual member of the Union, and in return receives a copy of HEADWAY, the monthly journal of the Union, together with the various pamphlets and similar literature published by the Union.

All subscriptions run for 12 months from the date of payment, and become renewable on the first day of the month in which the first subscription was paid.

Applications to join the Union should be made to the Secretary of a local Branch or to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to "League of Nations Union" and crossed Midland Bank.

Particulars of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire may be obtained from the Honorary Director of the Welsh Council, the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., 10, Richmond Terrace, Park Place, Cardiff.

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas. Also see that your Public Library has one.

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