



HEADWAY

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE announcement that the French Government has decided to sign the American Peace Pact without any reservations formally embodied in the Treaty seems to remove the last obstacle to the final consummation of Mr. Kellogg's plans. That is profoundly satisfactory both in a positive and negative sense—negatively, because any serious opposition from Europe to the peace proposals would inevitably have had a most unfortunate effect in the United States, and positively because there can be no question that the association of the American Government with the major European Powers and Japan in an agreement which largely reproduces, and to some small extent supplements, the League Covenant is an additional guarantee of substantial importance for the peace of the world. If, as appears probable, the signing of the Pact takes place in the immediate future, the considerations set forth in an article on another page, where Mr. Kellogg's explanation of his own plan, together with the French and British interpretations of it, are summarised, assume some significance. It may be hoped that none of the interpretations there set out will ever have to be discussed in practice, for all of them have regard to some war which might arise, and which the signatories explain they would not regard as a breach of the Pact. The hope is that in the new atmosphere created by this new denunciation of war dangers to peace may be so far diminished that they need no longer fill the whole horizon.

China and Geneva

FEW questions may be of greater moment for the future of the League of Nations, and indeed the future of the world, than the relations to be developed between Geneva and China. So far as can be seen, the transition from what may be termed the Peking régime to the Nanking régime—in other words, the establishment of an effective Nationalist Government in China—is now complete. The possibility no doubt exists that fresh contentions may break out between the victorious commanders, but it is permissible at least to hope that something like stability has now been reached. The Nationalists are not believed to hold any high opinion of the League, partly no doubt because they know so little about it. It is, therefore, of the first importance that everything should be done to acquaint them with what the League stands for and to endeavour to establish cordial relations between the League itself and the new Chinese Government. Most unfortunately, as it turns out, China will cease to become a member of the League Council just at the very moment when that great country would begin to be represented on the Council by a Nationalist delegate instead of a representative of the old Peking Government. China was elected in 1926 for two years only, and her period of office, therefore, expires at the beginning of next September, after which date she will remain ineligible for the next three years—unless indeed the Assembly should decide, by a two-thirds majority, to suspend

the non-reeligibility rule. If the new China should begin at this moment to take a sudden interest in the League the first thing it will understand about it will be that the new China will have no seat on the Council and it will frankly be difficult to make the leaders of the Nationalist movement appreciate the working of the League machinery sufficiently to be satisfied that no slight is involved.

An Appointment to Hope For

THE announcement that Mr. Charles Evans Hughes may become a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice is of very considerable importance. Dr. John Bassett Moore, the present American judge, is resigning in the course of a few months and it will fall to the League Assembly and Council, acting jointly, to choose a successor. That successor need not be an American, for judges of the Court are chosen for their personal qualities without necessary regard to their nationality. At the same time there is very much to be said for having an American on the Bench, particularly as the British Empire and the United States are the two exponents of one particular system of law which otherwise finds inadequate representation. It is, however, more Mr. Hughes' personal qualifications than his nationality which point to him as a singularly desirable candidate. What is needed at The Hague is a sound knowledge of international law, combined, if possible, with common sense and experience of affairs. All these qualities Mr. Hughes possesses to an unusual degree. He was for six years a judge of the United States Supreme Court and after resigning from that high position to stand (unsuccessfully) for the Presidency against Mr. Wilson in 1916, he became Secretary of State under President Harding in 1921, and in that capacity was chief of the American delegation that attended the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference of the same year. If Mr. Hughes is willing to allow his name to go forward it is unlikely that he will meet with any serious opposition. His presence would add marked distinction to the Bench.

A League of Nations Flag

LETTER in another column of this issue once more raises the question of a League of Nations flag. The subject has been fairly frequently discussed in the past, but no conclusion has been reached about it yet. There is obviously everything to be said for the provision of such a symbol for practical purposes. A League flag ought clearly to be flown over such buildings as the League High Commissioner's residence at Danzig, or the Government buildings in the Saar. Quite apart from that there are certain special needs. Dr. Nansen experienced one of them when he wanted to distinguish ships which were carrying returned prisoners of war under his auspices, as being in the service of the League. A later development is the decision that aeroplanes requisitioned suddenly to carry League officials or Members of the Council to some unexpected meeting shall bear a special mark which shall secure them free passage everywhere. The trouble so far has been that no one has as yet made any very happy suggestion regarding the flag. But there is precedent now for the course suggested by our correspondent of offering a prize for the best

design. That has lately been done in the case of architectural designs for the new League buildings and there seems no obvious reason why it should not be done in the case of the flag. It would be well worth while for a British, or some other, delegate to raise the question at the next Assembly. Incidentally, there is every reason why a League flag should be regularly included in those displays, not infrequent in most countries, where the flags of all nations are flown.

Easter Fixed

THE Bill for the fixation of Easter has passed its third reading in the House of Commons without a division. This is a rather remarkable fact and there would appear to be little doubt that the House of Lords will give the measure passage, subversive of established ideas though it is. It does not follow that Easter Day next year will of necessity fall on the date appointed by the Bill, namely, the Sunday after the second Saturday in April, for the new measure will only take effect when the Government decides to put it into operation by an Order in Council. There is not much likelihood that this country will act alone in the matter, though it did so with admirable results in the more revolutionary case of daylight saving. There can be little doubt, however, that action by Great Britain will stimulate various other countries to take a like course and the prospect of a fixed Easter throughout most of Europe at any rate is, therefore, brought appreciably nearer. There remains the more contentious question of the Reform of the Calendar, so as to make months of approximately equal length (and, according to one rather widely supported scheme, ensure that a particular date in every month falls always on the same day of the week). The League Committee which considered these matters felt that public opinion must ripen in regard to this, and in order that the subject may be adequately explored, national committees are being formed in different countries, not necessarily to advance a particular scheme of calendar reform, but to pronounce on the preliminary question of whether any such reform is to be desired at all. It is understood that such a Committee is in process of formation in Great Britain.

Women and Mandates

THE appointment of a successor to Mme. Bugge Wicksell as member of the Permanent Mandates Commission is an event worth noting, partly because Mme. Wicksell herself, whose recent death is so greatly regretted, was a very familiar figure at Geneva and partly because this Commission still numbers only one woman among its members. Mme. Bugge Wicksell, who was a Swede, is succeeded by Mlle. Valentine Dannevig, a Norwegian, and Director of the High School for Girls at Vestheim. The woman member will still, therefore, represent that attitude of Scandinavian detachment which has so often proved valuable at Geneva. In her own person, moreover, she possesses many qualities which particularly fit her for the work the woman member of the Mandates Commission has to do. She speaks English and French fluently and understands German and Dutch well. She

has travelled a great deal, taken part in public work as member of the Municipal Council of Oslo, and has been a leading figure in various women's movements. Her educational experience will be of particular value on the Mandates Commission, as Mme. Bugge Wicksell used always to devote herself to that aspect of administration in Mandate territories, as well as to questions particularly affecting women and children.

Definitions

ATTENTION has more than once been called in these columns to the importance of distinguishing between the different forms of peaceful settlement of international disputes. You may have (a) a legal settlement of disputes of a legal character by the Permanent Court of International Justice; (b) definite and binding settlements by a process of arbitration, *i.e.*, the hearing of a dispute by a special board of arbitrators appointed in virtue of some general treaty or a special treaty between the parties; and (c) conciliation, which means simply a friendly discussion of the situation with the assistance of one or more neutral parties. The important distinction to draw is between (a) and (b) on the one hand and (c) on the other, for (c), unlike the other two, does not necessarily produce a settlement at all. If the case goes to the Court or arbitration, the parties undertake beforehand to abide by the result. In the case of conciliation they do not. Theoretically, therefore, the Court procedure or arbitration will result in settlement, while conciliation may or may not. It will be observed that, to be strictly accurate, conciliation ought not to be included among the methods of peaceful settlement, but only among the methods of peaceful consideration of disputes.

Saving the Minutes

FROM the popular point of view the most interesting feature of last month's International Labour Conference was the experiment conducted for the first time on a large scale in what will no doubt be known in future as simultaneous translation—the process already described in these columns, whereby interpreters speaking into microphones render a speech into two or more languages simultaneously, the hearers being provided with ear-phones and able to determine by pressing a switch whether they shall listen in French or English or German, or possibly (in the future) some other tongue. Without putting it too high, it may be said that at any rate sufficient success was achieved to make it certain that this mechanism will become a regular feature of I.L.O. Conferences, and no doubt, in consequence, of the League Assembly and similar international gatherings. It is estimated by *The Times* correspondent that next year the I.L.O. Conference will be shortened by at least five days through the adoption of this expedient.

Slavery Still

IT is surprising and a little disquieting to find clear evidence that not only slave-holding but slave-raiding still persists in certain quarters of the world. Mr. Robert Hudson put a question on the subject to the Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons on June 18, asking in particular for information as to the nationality of 53 females and

63 children killed in the course of one of the most recent raids from Abyssinia into Kenya Colony. The reply given was that these facts and figures were being included in a White Paper, then in preparation, which would be available for the information of the League. It seems desirable that a full discussion of this question should take place at the next Assembly and explanations be sought from the Abyssinian delegates.

Public Opinion

THE International Federation of League of Nations Societies began its Twelfth Plenary Congress at The Hague on June 30. The Federation, as most people know, links together and co-ordinates societies like the League of Nations Union in different countries of the world, including the United States, which, though it is not a member of the League, possesses, in the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, a body existing to make the work of the League known in the United States and impress opinion in that country with its value. Theoretically the Federation should be a powerful instrument for the mobilisation of public opinion throughout the world behind the League. Unfortunately few of the national societies are relatively as strong as the British League of Nations Union. Some of them, indeed, are so weak as to be almost negligible, and the national point of view not infrequently overshadows the international. But these annual congresses at any rate provide the opportunity for valuable personal contacts, and comparisons of methods of work enable the weaker societies to learn from the stronger.

Is the League an Extra?

THE Manchester High School for Girls is a sufficiently important institution to lend authority to any declaration made by its headmistress on educational questions. That being so it is interesting to find the headmistress in question, Miss M. G. Clarke, expressing the view at the Annual Conference of the Association of Headmistresses, "that such a society as a school branch of the League of Nations Union was of great educational value and could not rank as an extra. She thought that there was a clear case for displacing some of the obsolete lumber of school curricula and examination syllabuses in favour of such activities." It might perhaps be a better way still if examination syllabuses took more account of the League of Nations in one form or another than they do.

Hammering It Home

THE brief account of this year's session of the International Labour Conference, which appears elsewhere in these columns, could not find space for an incident which closed the session—namely, the gift to the Japanese Workers' Delegate, at his request, of the Presidential hammer. The Japanese trade unions have a hard fight against the extremists; with the hammer of Geneva, Mr. Yonekubo will preserve in Japan the order and co-operation of the Geneva Conference. June 16th was M. Albert Thomas' 50th birthday, and it was evident that Mr. Yonekubo's request was a kind of inverted birthday present which touched and pleased him.

THE LEAGUE THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN PROPOSALS THE COVENANT FRAMERS REJECTED

AFTER not far short of nine years, we are most of us beginning to understand something about the League of Nations that is. That knowledge will be worth a little more if at the same time we have some idea about the League that might have existed if various suggestions put forward in responsible quarters had been adopted.



Pres. Wilson

A book* just written by the late Librarian of the League of Nations, Miss Florence Wilson, recalls some interesting facts in this regard. The book itself is a compilation, consisting of extracts from the Minutes of the Peace Conference Commission which framed the League of Nations Covenant, together with a number of valuable appendices containing plans put forward by different Governments. This Commission had to have some document to work on and the actual proposals it discussed and amended took the form of a draft Covenant consisting of a Preamble and 22 Articles.

President Wilson's Draft

How that draft Preamble came into being is explained by a quotation from the Supreme Council Minutes of January 21, 1919, where President Wilson is reported as saying that "he had received the Phillimore Report, which had been amended by Colonel House and rewritten by himself. He had again revised it after having received General Smut's draft and Lord Robert Cecil's Reports. It was, therefore, a compound of many suggestions. He had already seen M. Bourgeois, with whom he found himself to be in substantial accord in principles. He had also discussed his draft with Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts and they had found themselves very near together." The Phillimore Report, which is thus shown to have been the ultimate basis of the Covenant consisted of proposals made by the British Foreign Office Committee presided over by Sir Walter, now Lord, Phillimore. Colonel House was President Wilson's intimate and confidential adviser and a member of the American delegation to the Peace Conference. M. Bourgeois was the leading French authority on the proposed League.



General Smuts

of the League should be reserved for those States which had participated in the War." President Wilson,

* *The Origins of the League Covenant.* By Florence Wilson. Hogarth Press. 10s. 6d.

however, objected to what he thought was too narrow a view and it was decided to invite neutrals to join at the beginning. About the machinery there was never any question. An Assembly, a Council and a Secretariat figure in the earliest draft, though the words for the two former were General Body of Delegates and Executive Council. The Council, however, was thought of at first as consisting of Great Powers alone. When the small States insisted on being represented, Lord Robert Cecil, as he then was, opposed on behalf of the British Empire. But in the end it was decided to have a Council of five Great Powers (United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan), sitting permanently, and four smaller States elected from time to time. As to the place of meeting of the League, Geneva was only decided on by a majority vote as against Brussels, which was advocated by the representatives of France, Czechoslovakia, and, of course, Belgium.

Dominions and Mandates

The Mandate Article was argued at some length, and it was obvious that many members of the Commission were reluctant to abandon the idea of annexation in favour of the idea of the "sacred trust" involved in a mandate. The British Dominions, in particular, consented to the mandate principle only after a hard fight. There were questions, too, as to what territories should be brought under the system. President Wilson wanted to include certain territories formerly part of the Russian Empire. Mr. Lloyd George would have brought in Kurdistan among the former Turkish territories. The Japanese delegate wanted a mandate for his country over the former German territory in Shantung (China). These all remain part of the arrangements of the League that might have been, for none of the territories in question figure under the League as it is.

What France Wanted

The most resolute attempt to make of the League something very different from what it actually is to-day came from the French, who pressed on every occasion for the creation of an international force to compel acquiescence in the decisions of the League. At one meeting the French urged that the League should "establish an international control of troops and armaments" and "fix the conditions under which the permanent existence and organisation of an international force may be assured." At another meeting they proposed "a permanent organisation for the purpose of considering and providing for naval and military measures to enforce the obligations incumbent under the Covenant and make them immediately operative in all cases of emergency," while the draft Covenant put forward by the French themselves (it was never discussed



Viscount Cecil

in detail) contained a section opening with the proviso that "the execution of the military sanctions on land or at sea shall be entrusted either to an international force or to one or more Powers members of the League of Nations, to whom a mandate in that behalf shall have been given," and the rest of the article is devoted to defining in detail the composition and functions of such a force. All that was left of this was the provision for a Permanent Advisory Committee of naval and military experts embodied in Article IX of the Covenant.

Religious Freedom

Finally, the Covenant of the League that might have been would have contained an Article which is not to be found in the Covenant of the League as it is. It appeared in the original composite draft, and runs as follows: "The High Contracting Parties agree that they will make no law prohibiting or interfering with the free exercise of religion, and that they will in no way

discriminate, either in law or in fact, against those who practise any particular creed, religion or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals." The proposal was a good deal discussed, and several members were in favour of the principle; but when the Japanese took the opportunity of trying to run into the Article a pledge of equal treatment for all alien nationals within a country, it was thought wise to drop the whole proposal rather quickly. It may be noted, however, that provisions to practically the same effect appear in the various Minority Treaties.

It is interesting to speculate whether the League that might have been would have worked better or worse than the League as it is. Perhaps a little of each. In any case, it is unquestionably instructive to study the Covenant of to-day in the light of the proposals that were considered and turned down, and Miss Wilson has rendered useful service in making available the materials for such a study.

THE MACHINE-GUN MYSTERY TRUCKS SENT BY NO ONE TO NOWHERE

HERE in England we hardly realise the intense feeling aroused on the Continent by what is commonly referred to as the affair of the Hungarian machine-guns, or, in the technical language of League documents, "the incident which occurred on January 1, 1928, at the Szent-Gotthard railway station on the Austro-Hungarian frontier." The main reason was that the incident brought Hungary under suspicion of secretly violating those provisions of the Treaty of Trianon which prohibit her from importing war material, and that this was the first case in which the League of Nations was called on to carry out those duties of investigation which fall to it under the various Peace Treaties. France in particular was interested, not so much in the question of how the League would deal with Hungary this time, but of how the League might deal with Germany another time.

Where the Guns Came From

Now for the facts about the machine guns, so far as the League's inquiry has brought them to light. There were five truck-loads of them. They were for the most part not complete guns, but a rather job lot of machine-gun parts, most or all of them being old Austrian guns captured by Italy during the war and stamped with the Austrian eagle. They were sent from a firm at Verona, in Italy, called Commercio Universale in Ferramento ed Ordigni, the leading personalities in which seem to have disappeared at an appropriate moment. The gun parts were understood to be on their way to Warsaw, but they were actually consigned to a firm called Berkovics Brothers, at a town named Nove-Mesto, in Czechoslovakia. One point of interest about Nove-Mesto, it may be mentioned in passing, is that though the station is in Czechoslovakia, most of the town, including the warehouses of Messrs. Berkovics, are in Hungary.

Various questions therefore arose. Were the five wagons ever meant to go right through to Warsaw? What part was Mr. Berkovics, of Nove-Mesto, to play in their travels? Were they really meant to remain in Hungary and find their way into Hungarian Government arsenals?

Stopping the Trucks

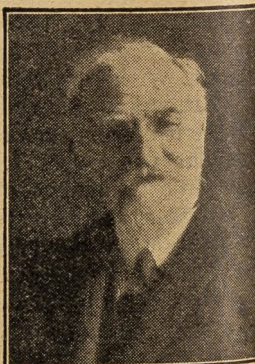
Before answering these questions it is best to recount what actually did happen to the wagons. Having passed from Italy into Austria, and travelled right across Austria, they were held up at the station of Szent-Gotthard on the Austro-Hungarian frontier.

The joint customs examination takes place in a station actually just over the Hungarian frontier, but it was the Austrian customs authorities which discovered that the wagons contained contraband. The Hungarians then said that the wagons had not actually been taken over by the Hungarian authorities, and should, therefore, go back to Austria. The Austrians however, declined to have them back. About this time, the incident became known, and Mr. Cheng-loh, the Chinese member of the Council, who was at that time acting as President, telegraphed urging the Hungarian Government not to take any steps which would make inquiry more difficult. The Hungarians, however, taking their stand on customs regulations which covered such incidents (i.e., ignoring the Treaty and the military aspects of the question), had the contents of the wagons sold as scrap on condition that they should be made useless for war purposes.

A Council Committee

At the March Council meeting of the League a small committee, consisting of the Dutch, Finnish and Chilean Members of the Council, was asked to examine all the documents concerning the case, and if necessary have expert inquiries conducted on the spot. For this purpose they had placed at their disposal the services of two armaments experts, one Swedish and one British, and two experts on customs and railway travelling, one Dutch and one Swiss. The report drawn up as result of various inquiries made on the spot was that the contents of the wagons consisted of a varied assortment of machine-gun parts, some in good condition, some in bad, not sufficient to build up any substantial quantity of complete machine-guns.

Mr. Berkovics, to whom the wagons were consigned as forwarding agent, said he had had no notification of their arrival from anywhere. The transit experts observed regarding this that quite often wagons were started on their journey and the forwarding agent not immediately informed. In this case, no doubt, the discovery of the wagons on the frontier had made the senders change their minds about sending any notification at all. It was also found that the scrap material when weighed came to about four tons less than was specified in the waybill. As to that, both sets of experts observed separately that that was no abnormal variation when such a weight as five truck loads was involved. Regarding the ultimate destination of the wagons no information of any kind could be obtained from any source.



M. Léon Bourgeois

Pointed Comments

When a report to this effect was brought to the Council table last month the representatives of France and the Little Entente (*i.e.*, Hungary's immediate neighbours and former enemies Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania) spoke with some bitterness of the incident. Their general argument, expressed most capably later by M. Paul Boncour, the French delegate, was to the effect that it was a little singular that five wagons should start wandering about the Continent of Europe without any known destination and without notification to the forwarding agent to whom they were addressed. From the fact that the material weighed less than it was said to weigh, the deduction was drawn that some part of it might have been made away with between the time it was seized and the time it was destroyed. The statement that the material consisted only of parts and not of the full material for complete guns prompted the suggestion that quite possibly other consignments had been sent or were to have been sent afterwards, containing the missing parts, and so enabling enough complete machine guns to be put together to arm several divisions of the army of a European State.

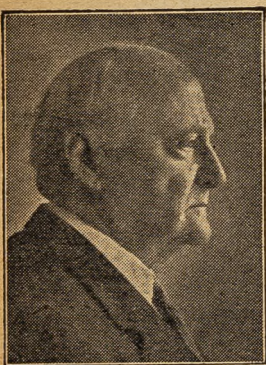
Sir Austen's Doubts

The Council was not happy about the business. The Hungarians sat silent, holding by their former protestation that they had acted entirely correctly according to the approved Customs procedure. Sir Austen

Chamberlain took the rather pessimistic view that the Council must be content to learn by its own mistakes, and that in future cases some more drastic form of inquiry must be ordered. (In regard to that M. Paul Boncour had already urged that the proper course would have been to turn the matter over at the outset to the Permanent Advisory Committee of naval and military men established under Article IX of the Covenant.) The resolution finally adopted, however, gave general satisfaction, though the most that can be said is that it represented all that was possible under the circumstances. It recorded regret that the Hungarians had dealt with the matter purely from the point of view of Customs and transit, and not acted in the light of the gravity of the illicit presence of this quantity of war material on their territory. It recalled the fact that a special meeting of the Council can always be summoned to deal with such an incident, and it laid down fresh conditions for the Secretary-General regarding prompt action in such circumstances.

The ending on the whole was rather tame, but the League has at any rate done enough, and shown a sufficiently firm resolve to do still more another time, to lead any nation bound by special disarmament obligations to reflect long and deeply before it lends itself to any violation of its undertakings. And in any case the wandering of these ownerless bits of metal despatched by an unidentified sender to an undiscovered destination make an interesting enough story in themselves.

THE FIFTIETH COUNCIL PROBLEMS THE LEAGUE HAS NOT SOLVED



Senor Aguerro y
Bethancourt.

WHEN the League of Nations Council assembled on June 4 for the beginning of its fiftieth session, the President, Senor Aguerro y Bethancourt, of Cuba, an elderly and benevolent gentleman, whose function in the past has been to pronounce impressively on the credentials of delegates at successive Assemblies, read a short statement, drawing attention to the fact that having thus reached its Jubilee Council Meeting, the League was beginning to make history. He called attention in particular to the fact that certain regular attendants at the Council now regularly spent a considerable time every year at Geneva, and had thus developed the habit of working and living together for quite appreciable periods. "If we remember," he added, "that in earlier days those who govern the destinies of the peoples hardly knew each other or only met in rare official interviews, we can appreciate the immense practical progress made in good understanding between nations."

Hungary's Troubles

One or two of the more important questions dealt with, in particular the affair of the Hungarian machine-guns, have been treated separately on another page of HEADWAY. As for the Council as a whole, it was occupied with three major questions and a number of lesser ones. Unfortunately two of its principal members, M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann, were both kept away by illness, but Sir Austen Chamberlain attended in accordance with his invariable habit. The major questions

were the Hungarian machine-guns, the Hungarian Optants and the Polish-Lithuanian dispute. In regard to the Optants, which once more brought M. Titulesco, for Rumania, and Count Apponyi, for Hungary, face to face at the Council table, all that can be said is that the Council failed as completely as in the past to reach any settlement, and in the end it adopted a resolution practically washing its hands of the matter. There can be no question at all that failure to achieve anything in this field has seriously injured the Council's prestige. At the same time it is fair to add that probably no question that has ever come up at Geneva has been more hopelessly complicated or more impossible of solving satisfactorily.

Vilna Once More

In regard to the Poles and Lithuanians the Council did better. Its powers were strictly limited, for the present situation arises from the fact that Lithuania, still smarting from the loss of Vilna, refuses to establish terms of normal diplomatic or even commercial intercourse with Poland, and if she insists on maintaining that attitude the League can do nothing to compel her to change it. The spectacle provided at the Council table this time was unusual and unedifying. Last December there had apparently been a partial reconciliation and both parties undertook to open negotiations with a view to getting something like normal relations established. This time the Dutch Foreign Minister, who introduced the subject, had to report that the negotiations had practically made no progress at all, and that the fault lay almost wholly with the Lithuanians. Poland had promised to allow the return of certain Lithuanians whom she had expelled, and she had kept her word. Poland had sent in proper reports of the negotiations. Lithuania had sent none or next to none.

Sir Austen's Severity

At the Council table itself M. Voldemaras, the Premier and Foreign Minister of Lithuania, a little country of no

more than two million inhabitants, maintained an attitude of complete obstinacy, unsupported by anyone. Sir Austen Chamberlain spoke with severity of the provocative action of Lithuania in formally declaring Vilna, which has been in Polish possession since 1920, and was legally awarded to Poland in 1923, to be the permanent capital of Lithuania, and he appealed to M. Voldemaras not wantonly to alienate from himself that sympathy which all the world naturally extended to small States. M. Voldemaras, however, was unmoved. The President of the Council proposed a resolution on the subject. All fourteen members voted for it, and M. Voldemaras against. It was, therefore, lost for lack of unanimity. M. Voldemaras proposed an amendment

vention of 1925 were at last forthcoming to bring the Convention into force (this happens three months after the last of the necessary ratifications has been received). The decision of the Women and Children Committee to proceed, though not quite immediately, with an extension of the White Slave Traffic investigation was approved. A number of very interesting activities on the part of the Health Organisation, some old and some new, received the Council's sanction. Little differences between Germany and Poland over minority questions, mostly concerning schools in Upper Silesia, were smoothed out. The question of the establishment of a League wireless station was sent on to more experts for fuller information, and on the last day an interesting,



The Council in Session

to the resolution. He himself voted for it, and all fourteen Council Members against. Sir Austen Chamberlain then put forward another resolution, which needed only a simple majority, not unanimity, to the effect that the question of the Polish-Lithuanian relations should be placed on the agenda of the next Council Meeting and a report be then rendered as to the position in which things might be at that date. This was, of course, carried, so that the question will be reopened in two months' time.

Minority Grievances

Another small international dispute, between Greece and Albania, raised a not unimportant question of principle. Albania had wanted to bring up some Minority questions of no great moment under Article XI of the Covenant, as constituting a threat to "the good understanding between nations on which peace depends." Greece protested and the Council passed a considered resolution laying it down that for any ordinary minority question the ordinary minority procedure must be followed, though it was quite recognised that grave cases might occasionally arise which would justify an appeal under Article XI. [This Article, it may be recalled, deals with the procedure to be followed in the case of serious international disputes.]

For the rest, the satisfactory announcement was made that sufficient ratifications of the Opium Con-

if rather unsatisfactory, little discussion took place on the activities of the Economic Organisation.

A Question of Cost

These activities are the outcome in the main of recommendations of the Economic Conference of 1927 and the Economic Consultative Committee which sat at Geneva last May. The recommendations were unanimous, and most of the work proposed appeared to be universally recognised. Italy, however, suddenly and without giving notice to anyone, made objection. Signor Scialoja considered that too ambitious a programme was entered on, and that expense would be involved which the League was in no position to afford. Agreement was reached without much difficulty by slight changes in the wording of the resolution. But the Italian intervention appeared to foreshadow an attack on the Economic Organisation's budget when the matter comes up before the Assembly in September. It is to be hoped that the general view then adopted will be that put forward by the German delegate on the Council, who admitted that an increase in expense would be necessary, but insisted that work so valuable ought on no account to be curtailed through short-sighted ideas of economy.

This fiftieth Council meeting had two aspects. The less important work was efficiently and satisfactorily done, but the failure to solve three of the major questions left an unsatisfactory impression behind.

Many English students of international relations are still unacquainted with the admirable American quarterly *Foreign Affairs*. Those who do know it will be glad to realise that it can be obtained in this country through Messrs. Sifton Praed, 67, St. James' Street, S.W.1. The price is 6s. 6d. each issue, and the quarterly is published in January, April, July and October.

The British-American Women's Crusade is holding a demonstration in support of the Kellogg Peace Proposals on Wednesday, July 25, at 8 o'clock. Lady Acland will be in the chair, and the speakers will include Lady Astor, Miss Bondfield and representatives of the different Dominions.

The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches has expressed its warm sympathy with the Kellogg Treaty for the Outlawry of War, together with the hope that the Treaty will be accepted by His Majesty's Government.

The Association for International Understanding, continuing its unpretentious but useful work for the instruction of those concerned in the study of international affairs, has produced a most useful shilling pamphlet embodying, in something under 50 pages, the chronology of events in China from 1911 down to the end of December, 1927. (Address 10, St. James' Square.)

MAKING SAMOA UNDERSTAND SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS AND THE LEAGUE

NOT long ago a representative of the International Labour Organisation in South America was brought into unexpected contact with the chief of an Indian tribe, living somewhere between the Andes and the head waters of the Amazon. The I.L.O. representative happened to be accompanied by a Ford car and a horse. The Indian chief had seen no example of either before (so at least it is authoritatively averred), and was proportionately interested in both. That, however, is by the way. The I.L.O. personage thereupon endeavoured to explain in simple language to the native magnate just what the I.L.O. was, and just what it is doing. He evidently succeeded beyond hope, for the chief observed, "Ah, yes. The witch-doctor tells me we once had something of that sort in our tribe, but it all ended in a massacre."

The only point of the anecdote is to illustrate the difficulties attending any attempt to translate such work as the League and the I.L.O. are doing into terms comprehensible by the natives of uncivilised regions. The attempt, however, is made from time to time. The New Zealand Government, in particular, has just been trying its hand at it, and has issued a circular in Samoan language to the natives of the Mandate area of Western Samoa. The date of the circular is November, 1927, from which, quite apart from internal evidence, it may be divined that this instruction in the mission and duties of the League has some relation to the controversy between a section of Samoan natives and the Administrator of the island—a controversy since transferred to the chamber in which the Mandates Commission was meeting during the latter half of last month at Geneva.

Question and Answer

The circular is in the form of question and answer. It contains twenty-two questions, of which ten may be regarded as general and twelve as particular, referring, that is, specially to the possible interest of Samoans in the League. The ten general questions together with their ten answers are quite unexceptionable, and it can be supposed that the untutored Samoan will have learned from them a good deal more than he ever knew before about Geneva and what it stands for. Now, however, we come to the particular questions, and since they are open as a whole to some criticism it is only fair to quote them as they stand, with the exception of Nos. 15 and 16, which merely contain a list of mandates and mandatories and raise no issues of any importance.

The other questions are as follows:—

11. Does the League of Nations control any country?—No.
12. What Government is Samoa under?—The Government of Great Britain.
13. Is it possible for Samoa to be taken away from the Government of Great Britain?—No.
14. Why is Samoa under the care of New Zealand?—Because His Majesty the King gave Samoa to the Government of New Zealand to control, and to make the welfare of the Samoan people the primary care. Also as New Zealand has the control of many Polynesian countries, and has proved her wisdom in such good work for many generations.
17. What comparison is Samoa to Great Britain territory?—Like a grain of sand compared to a great big mountain.
18. Has the League of Nations any control over Samoa?—No.
19. What is the connection between Samoa and the

League of Nations?—Once a year a report is read by the Committee, called the Mandates Commission, from the countries enumerated in Question 16, to ascertain if the Mandatory Agreement is being carried out, and from the report will be known what good work is being done, so that such good work may be followed by any other mandates.

20. In the event of a Samoan not being satisfied, may such person appear before the League of Nations or meet the Mandates Commission?—No, he will not be received.
21. Should such person send a letter (petition) to the League of Nations, will the League receive it, and give it any consideration?—No, they will return such letter to the Government of the Country, because the League of Nations is not a Government. It has no Flag. It has neither army or navy, but has only committees made up of representatives from different countries, who are there to consider and decide on matters for the advancement of the world and for the abolition of causes of wars.
22. Are there many official positions in the League of Nations?—Yes. £1,000,000 a year is required to meet the expenses of the League of Nations. The different countries forming the British Empire pay together more money to the League of Nations than any other country, as their contributions total £100,000 per annum. New Zealand pays a large portion of that amount annually to the League of Nations, because the people of New Zealand and the other British territories agree that it is money well spent to assist the world in the abolition of wars, but Samoa does not contribute any payments to the League of Nations.

On this it may be observed that the general aim of the statements appears to be to imbue the Samoans with the idea that a Mandate is something which really doesn't matter, that Samoa belongs to New Zealand, and that that's that.

An Indifferent Effort

Certain brief comments may be relevant. In question 17, Great Britain should presumably be British Empire. (It is conceivable that the mistake is that of the translator and not the original author.) The answer to No. 18 is misleading, particularly in view of statement 19, which appears to exclude the possibility of the Mandates Commission having any criticism to make of a mandatory. In this latter statement the last sentence, "so that such good work may be followed by any other Mandates," is attractively naïve, but unfortunately groundless. Statement 21 appears to aim a little too deliberately at conveying the idea that the League is merely a conglomeration of committees, and it is to be observed that this follows an earlier article (10), not so far quoted here, which reads as follows:—

10. How does the League of Nations function?—By the appointment of committees. One is a committee for the prevention of wars, another is for the preservation of the inhabitants, and another is for the abolition of slavery, and then there is a committee to control armies and munitions of war amongst the native people.

There is no need to accuse the official author of this circular, whoever he may be, of dishonesty. But it must be added that the choice lies between dishonesty and incompetence, for it cannot be believed that any normal person sincerely desiring to give the Samoans the most accurate idea possible of the League of Nations could not have succeeded a little better in his intentions than this.

HECKLERS' CORNER QUESTIONS "HEADWAY" READERS WANT ANSWERED

Has not war in the past been proved to be a biological necessity?

No more than cannibalism.

Critics have suggested that the League has done nothing. What is the answer?

It would require a whole issue of HEADWAY.

Is the League of Nations a party organisation?

It is officially supported by all the three political parties in this country—which is another way of saying that in ordinary language it is non-party.

Why does the Government object to the exercise of pressure by the League of Nations Union and not to pressure exercised by such bodies as the Navy League?

Perhaps because it considers the pressure in the former case is the more formidable.

Are the ministers of the churches doing all they can, in season and out of season, to promote the interests of the League?

Few people are doing quite all they can for anything, but it would probably be found that ministers and clergy are at least as strong in support of the League as any other single class of citizens.

Why will not France withdraw her troops from the Rhineland if England is willing to do so?

Because, in spite of the provisions of the guarantee of security given to her by Great Britain at Locarno, France considers it still necessary for her national safety to keep the troops where they are.

Is League propaganda permitted in (1) Italy, (2) Spain, (3) the Balkans?

There are League of Nations Societies in Italy, Spain, Rumania, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Greece. In one or two of these countries there may be rather undue official influence, but they are all societies existing to make the League better known and more widely supported.

What are justiciable disputes?

Disputes capable of being settled on a basis of generally accepted law, as distinct from broader political controversies, where two countries' interests or ambitions clash without the breach of any specific treaty or canon of international law being involved.

If disarmament is accomplished each country will have to keep a small army as a police force. Suppose one country secretly manufactured arms to attack another, what could the League do to stop it?

The League could probably not absolutely prevent a sudden attack, but if its members combined against the aggressor as the Covenant contemplates, they could make it impossible for the attacking State to succeed, and could impose heavy loss upon it. Since States contemplating aggression fully realise that, they would probably think better of their intention.

Is there any intensive attempt in European countries to educate public opinion in favour of the League?

Societies on a similar basis to the League of Nations Union exist in almost every European country, though few if any of them are as strong as our own Union in Great Britain. Many of these societies receive subsidies from their governments. This practice is, from one point of view, open to some objection as tending to make the societies too official. On the other hand, it provides evidence that the governments concerned are

in favour of the education of public opinion in favour of the League. Many governments, moreover, have adopted the recommendations of the League and embodied League teaching in their school curricula.

Is the League of Nations Covenant taught in the schools of other countries?

Yes. (See above.)

Why is America not in the League?

In the first instance because the Republican Party took offence at the fact that no Republicans were included among the American delegation at the Peace Conference where the League Covenant was framed. In the second place because President Wilson, who was regarded as the champion of the League, became unpopular in America and his party was heavily defeated at the elections of 1920. And in the third place because these facts released all America's traditional prejudices against what is termed "entanglement in European disputes." It must not be forgotten, however, that the United States is co-operating regularly and effectively in the League in a number of its most important activities.

Why talk of treating a war of aggression as an "international crime" when it is admittedly impossible in most cases to define the aggressor?

It may or may not be possible to define an aggressor in advance. Opinions differ on that point. But it will rarely be impossible, or even difficult, to identify an actual aggressor in a given instance, for in practically every case aggression will only arise after a dispute has been before the League Council or some form of arbitration, so that the eyes of the world will be concentrated on the two opposing parties. If the aggression is committed without this discussion having taken place, then the attacking State will be flagrantly violating its Covenant pledges (which stipulate that all disputes shall be subjected to peaceful examination), and will stand an aggressor self-confessed.

If the Kellogg Peace Pact is signed and ratified and war in Europe is ruled out as an instrument of policy, what is going to happen about the ragged edges of the boundaries fixed by the Peace Treaties of 1919? Will it be necessary to give the Council of the League some sort of compulsory jurisdiction to deal with such political and non-justiciable questions, similar to the compulsory jurisdiction the Permanent Court exercises between nations that have signed the Optional Clause?

The problem of revising treaties has so far obtained no better solution than that provided by Article XIX of the Covenant:—

"The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world."

Treaties can only be revised by the consent of their signatories, and it is quite certain that the time has not come yet when countries will be willing to give the League Council or any other body compulsory jurisdiction in regard to such matters. Article XIX has never been really tested yet. It might well be that though the Assembly cannot compel revision, the demonstration of its almost unanimous view on a particular point might be enough to induce a reluctant state to accept revision.

THE PEACE PACT BACK TO MR. KELLOGG'S SIMPLE PLAN

THE American proposals for a Treaty for the Outlawry of War remain the most important question in the international field. Conversations regarding them have been steadily progressing, and at the moment this article is being written the position is that favourable replies to the Kellogg Proposals have been received from Great Britain and all the British Dominions, France, Italy, Germany and Japan, while certain other countries, like Poland and Czechoslovakia, have expressed their desire to sign the Peace Pact.

Not all the replies from the European nations confine themselves to a simple acceptance of the American plan. France and Great Britain and some of the Dominions, notably South Africa, accompanied their replies with explanations of their attitude and of the interpretation they put on the text originally proposed by Mr. Kellogg. While these explanations need not technically constitute reservations to the Treaty, it is fairly clear that each signatory would consider itself bound by the pact only in the sense indicated by the interpretation it publicly put on it.

What America Proposed

It is important that the actual situation should be fully understood, and for that purpose it is worth while to summarise the original proposal and some of the replies. The Treaty, as Mr. Kellogg proposed it, was extremely simple. The pledge to be given consisted of the following articles:—

"I. The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the name of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relation with one another."

"II. The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them shall never be solved except by pacific means."

The French Government having, as a commentary on these proposals, put forward an alternative Treaty of greater length, Mr. Kellogg made a speech before the American Society of International Law at Washington, putting his own interpretation on his own proposals. These interpretations were designed to meet the various objections embodied in the French Note, and may be summarised as follows:—

Reassuring France

(1) The inalienable right of every nation to defend itself is incontestable, so much so that there is no need to put any specific provisions regarding this into the Treaty.

(2) The League Covenant imposes no obligation to go to war, only at the most permitting it in certain circumstances. There is, therefore, no inconsistency between the Covenant and the anti-war Treaty.

(3) Regarding the Locarno Treaties, they contain no obligations to go to war, except where one signatory has violated its pledges. If this signatory had also signed the anti-war pact, it would of necessity have broken that also, and thereby have released other signatories from their obligation to keep peace with it. They would, therefore, be free to act under the Locarno obligation, even if they had signed the anti-war pact.

(4) With regard to France's relations to States she has promised to protect, if they themselves sign the anti-war Treaty any other signatory of the Treaty which attacks them would be violating the Treaty, and France would thus be automatically authorised to take action against it.

(5) The principle that violation of the Treaty by one party would release all other signatories from their obligation to the violator is so self-evident as not to need specific mention.

(6) It would be a mistake for the Treaty not to come into force till all nations had agreed to it, for this would enable a single obstructive country to hold up the whole enterprise.

The original American proposals, therefore, with Mr. Kellogg's explanations, represent America's peace plan, with the meaning America intended it to bear. Mr. Kellogg, in a later speech, expressed the hope that it might be signed in the first instance by the six Great Powers—the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan—in substantially its original form. Even if that happens, the various interpretations put in writing by Great Britain, France and South Africa in particular will remain on record, and will, no doubt, determine the action of those particular countries.

Britain's Interpretation

All the points of importance raised in the British comments are covered by Mr. Kellogg's comments, with one exception. In an article—X—of the British reply which has aroused considerable comment, Sir Austen Chamberlain observes that "there are certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. His Majesty's Government have been at pains to make it clear in the past that interference with these regions cannot be suffered. Their protection against attack is to the British Empire a measure of self-defence. It must be clearly understood that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accept the new Treaty upon the distinct understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect." It is generally understood that the reference is to Egypt, and possibly certain regions in Asia, and a passage in a later part of the same article suggests that Great Britain fully recognises America's right to similar freedom of action on the American Continent under the Monroe Doctrine. South Africa, in its reply, stipulated specifically that nothing in the Treaty should restrict or impede her rights as Member of the League of Nations.

The course of the conversations points clearly to the wisdom of signing the original American proposals without specific reservations, with the communications already exchanged left on record.

A FORERUNNER

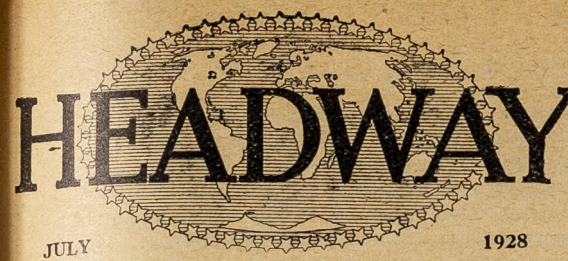
THE discussion regarding the Kellogg peace proposals recalls an interesting and early document in which proposals very similar to those framed by Mr. Kellogg were put forward in this country while the war was still in progress. Mr. C. A. McCurdy drafted for the League of Nations Union in its earliest days a petition to Parliament proposing:—

(a) Declaration by the Allied Governments "that they are desirous of disestablishing war as a means of settling disputes and as an instrument of policy."

(b) That so far as they themselves are concerned, they undertake to abide by this principle.

(c) That a Commission be appointed to study the organisation of the machinery "for the constitution of a world League which may ultimately include all civilised nations and permanently secure the peace of the world."

An interesting and striking anticipation of events to come.



HESITATIONS

IT is just as well not to be satisfied with everything the League of Nations does. Its Council meeting last month is a case in point. The Council was in many respects disappointing. It was unfortunate, of course, that M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann were unable to be present, but it cannot be maintained that such deficiencies as have to be regretted were due to their absence.

In many respects, no doubt, the Council got through its business successfully enough. The various questions brought up to it by special committees, like those on Opium or Economics or Finance, were quickly disposed of, largely because the ground had been so well prepared beforehand. Even here, however, an unexpected criticism from Italy, which objected to expenditure which certain activities recommended by the Economic Conference and the Economic Consultative Committee might entail, should serve as warning that attempts to inaugurate a short-sighted, cheese-paring policy may be repeated when the League budget comes before the Assembly of the League in September.

It may in the end be no bad thing that this question of expenditure should be frankly faced. Unless the League is to stand still or go backwards, it is obvious that its expenditure must gradually expand. That fact will be deplored only by those false economists who fail to grasp that what matters is (of course, within reasonable limits) not how much money is spent, but what benefits are derived from spending it. It would be easy enough to cut tens of millions out of our national budget by eliminating expenditure on health and unemployment insurance, education and numbers of other invaluable social services. Very rightly we prefer to spend what is necessary in those fields and get returns in the shape of national efficiency and well-being.

The same thing applies at Geneva. By removing the barriers to trade, by setting bankrupt countries on their feet, by facilitating the through transit of goods across continents, the League, through the very committees the Italian delegate criticised, is saving the traders of all countries a sum which no one can compute, but which is beyond question incomparably greater than the total of the annual contributions of all countries to the budget.

Suppose it should happen that this country, as a result of a uniform increase in the scale of contributions to be sent to Geneva each year, paid £120,000 instead of £100,000, what is that extra £20,000 on a national budget of £800,000,000, particularly since, as a financial article reprinted in another part of this issue most strikingly demonstrates, what is involved is in no sense a donation, but in every sense an investment bringing a high return in the form of solid dividends.

So much for League finances and economics. But what gave rise to more concern at the Council meeting was the failure of the League Council to settle, or indeed to advance sensibly further towards settlement, any of the many difficulties and disputes it had before it. There was, of course, some reason for that, and it would be unfortunate and unfair to encourage the idea

that, because the League has not settled an international dispute in a single sitting of a single week it has shown itself unfit for its duties. Nothing of that kind is true. But we cannot go to the other extreme and convince ourselves that everything is always well with the League, no matter how much it procrastinates and adjourns. Whatever the explanation, the fact remains that in the case of the Hungarian machine-guns, in the case of the Hungarian and Rumanian Optants, and in the case of the Polish-Lithuanian quarrel, the Council was able to do little more than declare it could do nothing.

That charge, it may be repeated, must be qualified. Take, for example, the Lithuanian affair. If a country like that represented by M. Voldemaras refuses absolutely to live on terms of ordinary comity with its neighbour, the League is not technically capable of compelling it. At the same time it might have been hoped that the moral authority of the League of Nations Council by the time it had reached its fiftieth session would be such that not even the apparently impregnable obstinacy of M. Voldemaras could stand against it.

In the case of the machine-guns, the unfortunate impression was again created that the Council had failed to get to grips with the question. It is incontrovertible that its investigations led to nothing, and Sir Austen Chamberlain himself went far towards admitting that it would have been better if the Council had in the first instance taken different and rather more resolute action. However that may be, a certain unfortunate impression of ineffectiveness has been created.

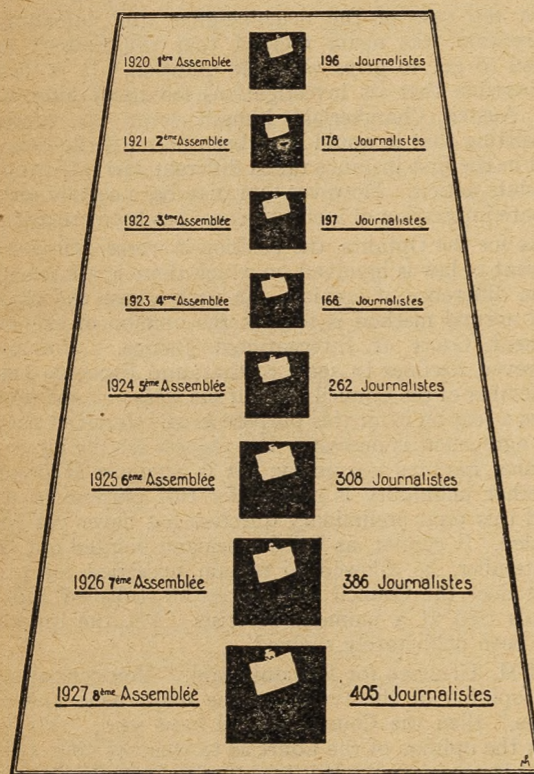
As for the Optants, the position is worse. Obviously a point of law is involved, on which there is a frank and open difference of opinion. In such a case the proper and normal method is to seek the opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Rumania, however, declines to agree to that, and Rumania being a Member of the Council (even if she were not, she would have a seat on it for this purpose as an interested party) her agreement is necessary if a request for the advisory opinion requires unanimity. It is arguable at present whether unanimity is needed for this purpose or not. And this vital preliminary question has never yet been settled. It cannot, as Dr. Stresemann pointed out last September, be allowed to remain unsettled for ever. If it does the Council will simply be stultified and its hands tied at a moment of crisis. Yet the question has been deliberately shelved.

If M. Titulesco for Rumania said, "You cannot seek the opinion of the Court on the main issue unless I agree," then the Council should have said, "We will seek the opinion of the Court as to whether your agreement is necessary." It is true that technically Rumania might have vetoed that and thereby created a hopeless deadlock. But it is incredible that she would deliberately refuse to allow the Council to seek an opinion regarding its own procedure. The Council, in any case, has refused to face this issue, and has consequently found itself reduced to do nothing.

On all these points argument is no doubt possible, and on no one of them taken alone can any unanswerable charge be brought against the Council. But the cumulative effect is unhappy. No one attending the last Council meeting or following its proceedings in any full report could feel that the Council had shown grip or decision or effectiveness. And all those qualities are needed if the Council is to take its proper place in international affairs. It should be the forum for reason and conciliation, but at the same time it must clothe itself with the moral authority sufficient to help it overcome all factious objection and opposition. The conclusion to which the recent session points is that the Council of the League does not yet possess that authority in the measure we should all of us desire.

THE PRESS AND THE LEAGUE HOW JOURNALISTS FLOCK TO GENEVA

A GREAT deal is heard, and very rightly, about the vital importance of publicity in connection with League of Nations meetings. So far as the battle for publicity needed to be fought at all it has virtually been won for ever. But what after all does publicity mean? It matters comparatively little to the world that room should be found during Council or Assembly Meetings for a handful of worthy Genevese residents or another handful of casual tourists who may happen to be in Geneva at the moment. No one except these particular classes themselves would be much the better or much the worse if they were excluded altogether. Publicity, as far as publicity concerns the world in general, means the presence of the Press, for it is through the columns of the newspapers of all countries that the facts about the League and what it does are brought to the knowledge of the voters of the world.



GRAPHIQUE MONTRANT LA PARTICIPATION CROISSANTE DES JOURNALISTES AUX SESSIONS DE L'ASSEMBLÉE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS.

The relations, therefore, between the League of Nations and the Press, or perhaps more properly between the Press and the League of Nations, are, therefore, a matter of capital importance. Recognising that, the Information Section of the League Secretariat has taken steps to see that the League is kept in the forefront in connection with the International Press Exhibition now being held at Cologne, and in connection therewith it has produced a useful booklet of some 60 pages on the League of Nations and the Press. There has in addition been prepared a diagram, of which a reproduction is given here, showing the proportionate increase or otherwise in the number of journalists attending the Assembly from year to year. It may be mentioned in parenthesis that the white hieroglyphic within the black square represents an individual reading a daily paper, the knob above the paper being the individual's head.

As a matter of mere statistics, the figures given are of some interest. It will be noted that the First Assembly, by reason of its novelty, attracted the considerable company of 196 representatives of the Press. The number then fell, only 178 journalists being present at the Second Assembly in 1921. That number rose to 197 in 1922, but dropped back again in 1923 to 166, for no one could foresee before the Assembly opened that the Corfu episode was suddenly to make Geneva a quarry for quite excellent copy.

Livelier Interest

In 1924, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and M. Herriot announced their intention of being present, and in consequence the then record number of 262 journalists installed themselves in Geneva hotels and pensions. From that moment there has been no looking back. The number in 1925 was 308, in 1926 when Germany was to be admitted there were 386, and in 1927 though nothing of outstanding importance was in prospect but attendance at the Assembly had become a matter of necessary routine to any writer professing any knowledge of international affairs, the total registered was 405.

Figures given in the League of Nations booklet on the subject bring out different aspects of the reactions of the Press to the League. It appears that the year 1923, which produced the lowest total of journalists taken as a whole, produced also the lowest total from almost every individual country of importance. Germany in that year, for example, was represented only by 4 separate newspapers and 1 newsagency, as against 50 papers and 6 agencies in 1926; France by 18 papers and 2 agencies, as against 47 and 1 respectively in 1925; Great Britain by 18 papers and 2 agencies, as against 38 and 3 in 1926. Even Japan, whose interests are substantially different from those of western countries, shows the same result, for she was represented in 1923 by 1 Press representative only. Since the upward trend has been steady. The number of individual journalists who have been to Geneva for some meeting or another up to March of this year is 1,400, representing more than 1,000 papers and periodicals from 51 countries.

Always on the Spot

As a better index of the importance attached by the newspapers of the world to League activities, there are now 99 press representatives permanently resident in Geneva, as distinguished from special correspondents who go there only for particular events. Turkey, it may be noted, is among this number, while from Germany 17 papers and 4 agencies are permanently represented in the League city. British papers have 8 correspondents stationed there together with 3 agency representatives.

It may be added (though it is more a technical matter than a subject of general interest) that the arrangements made for the comfort of the Press and the supply of information to journalists are about as near perfection as could be imagined. They are immeasurably superior to those devised for any other international gatherings, and the publicity League activities obtain throughout the world is due, more than the political members of its Council and Assembly fully realise, to the efficiency with which the Information Section of the Secretariat does its work.

The title of Sir Austen Chamberlain's book reviewed in the last issue of HEADWAY under the heading "Sir Austen on the League," is "Peace in Our Time," Philip Allan & Co., Ltd., 12s. 6d.

BETTER WAYS THAN WAR WIRELESS FOR THE LEAGUE

THE Conference on Arbitration organised by the League of Nations Union in London on June 5 and 6 set itself an extremely wide field of discussion, covering practically all the alternatives to war. The establishment of peace was considered under four special aspects: the arbitral principle, the renunciation of war, the growth of judicial decisions in international relations, and other forms of pacific settlement. The speakers included the French and Italian Ambassadors and the Swedish Minister in London, Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, Viscount Astor, Lord Phillimore, Lord Blanesburgh, Sir Henry Lunn, Sir John Simon, Prof. Gilbert Murray, the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, Major J. W. Hills, M.P., Prof. Philip Baker, Mr. A. D. McNair, and Mr. W. Arnold-Forster.

It was inevitable that men representing such widely differing schools of thought in international affairs should view the problem of pacific settlement from very different angles, and should, according to their respective personal views and experience, attach varying degrees of importance to the different forms of pacific settlement. For this reason those of the audience who were unable to attend the whole conference may well have carried away a somewhat imperfect picture of it; since many of the difficulties raised, for example, in connection with the problem of arbitration, were seen at the later meeting to be susceptible of solution through a wider application of the principle of conciliation. It was encouraging to note that although many speakers criticised the imperfections of the existing peace machinery as represented by the Covenant and the Permanent Court, all believed in the definitely pacific sentiments of the bulk of the populations of the world as affording a guarantee that this machinery could be fortified and improved by an extension—gradual or rapid—of the principles of arbitration and conciliation.

All for Mr. Kellogg

Naturally enough the American Peace Proposals, which afford the most obvious and radical method of improving this machinery, were in the mind of every speaker. Few of them failed to refer to Mr. Kellogg's proposals, and the unanimity with which they supported the Union's view that the proposals should be accepted by the Great Powers without qualification or reservation, was exceedingly striking. A number of speakers discussed the possible objections to the proposals, and all were agreed that no objection founded on good faith was really insurmountable. The Kellogg proposals were shown to be something entirely new, in so far as they promised that unification of the American and European proposals which alone can lead to the permanent establishment of peace. Lord Grey, Lord Cecil, Mr. Kerr, and others showed that the pact, so far from running counter to the Covenant, actually supplemented and strengthened it. Once the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy is assured, there remain, of course, a very large number of questions rather of detail and procedure. The debates on arbitration and conciliation turned chiefly on such questions, on their relation to one another and to the larger framework of Pact and Covenant. It cannot be denied that the debates, and, perhaps, even more, the discussions which followed, showed up considerable gaps and defects in the existing machinery, and very deep differences of opinion as to how these gaps should be filled up. The Conference, however, certainly did a very real service in showing an enthusiastically pacific audience that these differences are founded on very real reasons of present policy, real or imagined, and not in any way on a desire to obstruct the cause of pacific settlement as such.

AS readers of HEADWAY are aware, the question of whether the League headquarters should be provided with their own wireless receiving and transmitting station has been under consideration for some time. The first recommendation in favour of such a course was put forward by the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament, which took the view that in cases of emergency it was vital that communication between the League Secretariat and Members of the Council and other interested parties should be both rapid and secure from any danger of interruption.

This latter danger is by no means imaginary, for it has been pointed out that if a war were actually threatening and mobilisation beginning one or more Governments would almost certainly take over all means of communication within their country, and outside messages would stand no chance of getting through, at any rate without considerable delay. The Preparatory Commission, therefore, urged the desirability of perfecting all means of communication which the League might need to use, "more particularly as regards the establishment of a radio-telegraphic station."

A Question of Cost

The League Council last month had before it the report of the Transit Committee, which has now considered the technical aspects of the problem, giving details as to the possibility of erecting the station, its programme of work and the cost of construction and upkeep. The original cost is estimated at £50,000, and working expenses at £8,000 a year. As to the annual receipts, it is more difficult to decide what might justly be looked for, and the experts contented themselves with assuming that it would be something between £4,000 and £6,000 a year. The station would at the same time circulate a good deal of useful information for the Press and public which would come from the Secretariat itself, and therefore not bring in any actual revenue.

Certain further details remain to be supplied, and the whole question is to come before the Assembly in September. Members of the Council, however, had a word or two to say about it, particularly Sir Austen Chamberlain, who agreed that it was clear enough now that a station could perfectly well be established which would give the service required. He raised, however, one interesting point. "Even a well forged weapon," he suggested, "might rust from disuse," and it would be unreasonable to expect an efficient emergency service from the League installation unless it were in regular normal use, and equipped with operators well familiar with its working. It was, therefore, important to decide whether a regular normal service could be assured on a sufficient scale to make the whole proposition financially practicable.

Whole-Time Service

A normal service, it may be explained, would consist of messages between the League Secretariat and various Governments, and also between particular Governments and their own representatives permanently stationed at Geneva. In each of these cases the wireless service would take the place of telegrams, and the ordinary fees would therefore, presumably, be paid. A good deal obviously depends on whether the volume of this service would be such as to bring in a steady revenue to set against running expenses and interest on original outlay. M. Paul Boncour, speaking for France, put the whole question rather usefully in proportion by observing that finance was not the only consideration, the main purpose of the original proposal having been to enable the League to do what might reasonably be expected of it when an emergency arose.

THE LABOUR CONFERENCE RAISING WORLD STANDARDS IN INDUSTRY

THIS year's session of the International Labour Conference ended on June 16. Its President was Dr. Lamas, the Argentine Government delegate, a point of special interest, which no doubt was duly noted by the L.N.U. party, fifty strong, who were part of the audience in the public gallery.

The session was on the whole fruitful in decisions. A draft convention and a recommendation were adopted on the subject of minimum wage-fixing machinery, and though it may be true that the Convention is a less progressive one than this country would have liked, none the less it contains more substance than seemed possible a year ago.

The question of prevention of industrial accidents was only being discussed for the first time. The task

The point of greatest interest in the debate on the Director's report was, of course, the question of the Washington Hours Convention. On behalf of the British Government, Mr. Wolfe made the following formal declaration:—

"The British Government, while adhering to the principles of the Washington Convention, and proceeding in the light of what was discussed at the London Conference, desires, as a means of ensuring progress, to define those principles more precisely, thus laying the basis for uniformity and providing what is needed to secure that international action is practicable."

This declaration was somewhat more nebulous than the quotation which Mr. Wolfe made on the same occasion last year, from a speech of Lord Balfour's in



The President Addressing the Conference.

of the Conference was, therefore, to decide whether the subject should go on the 1929 agenda, with a view to the adoption of conventions or recommendations, and, if so, the terms of the questionnaire to be sent to the various Governments. The subject was divided into three sections—General Accident Prevention, Dock Workers, and Coupling Accidents on Railways. The Conference decided that the first two subjects should go forward next year, and settled the form of the questionnaire; as regards coupling accidents, it was decided to set up a Joint Committee to study the whole question.

The Problem of Waste

This very briefly describes the action taken as regards the items on the "formal agenda." In addition a large number of resolutions were adopted asking the Governing Body to instruct the Office to undertake inquiries and so forth. Two of these may be referred to specially—that presented by the Canadian employer, calling for a study of the methods adopted in various countries to eliminate waste in industry, however produced, and a workers' resolution asking for an inquiry into the effects of "rationalisation" upon wages.

the House of Lords: "It is the object and policy of His Majesty's Government to proceed with the necessary legislation to give effect to the terms of the Washington Convention, and once that legislation is passed to proceed with the policy of ratification."

An Appeal to Great Britain

If, however, this year's declaration indicates that to the British Government "revision of the Hours Convention" means its completion by the terms of the London Agreement, the backsliding is not so complete as hitherto has appeared to be the case.

In his reply to the debate, the Director of the International Labour Office included an appeal to the British Government to help to overcome the difficulties, referring therein to the absence of detailed knowledge of the difficulties in the way of ratification.

There was the usual debate on the credentials of the Fascist Workers' Delegate; and the credentials of the Estonian Employers' Delegate were only approved by one vote—just as everyone began to wonder what ceremony of expulsion would be prescribed.

The experiment with the so-called "simultaneous

interpretation" (by a microphone into head-pieces worn by delegates) aroused much interest. For the first few days it was unsuccessful, but at later stages it worked so well that the ordinary interpretation was dispensed with altogether, and it has been decided to make it part of the regular machinery of the Conference. The general impression seems to have been that it will produce a real economy of time (and so of money) and that it will be of the utmost value to those delegates whose mother tongue is neither French nor English—this, of course, is especially frequent in the International Labour Conference. It has, however, the defects of its qualities. It is almost impossible to translate some languages "word by word"; it is a considerable strain to listen for hours on end to a telephone conversation, however light and convenient the head-piece, and it is especially difficult to note every point in a great variety of speeches; thirdly, the proceedings by this method are so rapid that an abnormally large staff of reporters is needed to take down the stenographic record. Perhaps, therefore, the most probable developments in the near future are either to maintain the system of public "translation into the second official language" and simultaneously to interpret by telephone into a number of other languages (this would overcome nearly all the difficulties and still save time) or else, perhaps concurrently, to limit the replacement of normal interpretation to general discussions where less depends upon the exact wording than where some detailed amendment is under discussion.

Strong Delegations

In any case, the four coloured lights, showing what

languages were being "telephoned" at different times, gave a pleasant touch of brightness to the hall.

It may be added that the first experiments with the automatic recording of speeches also were hopeful. A number of delegates were, it is said, so pleased with the "records" of their speeches, to which they could listen the moment their speeches were made, that they were anxious to buy them and taken them home with them!

It would be wrong to conclude these brief and very inadequate notes without referring to the prominent part played in the Conference by the delegates from this country. Both Sir Malcolm Delevingne and Sir Gerald Bellhouse played leading rôles in the discussions of Accident Prevention; Mr. Forbes Watson and Mr. Gregorson were towers of strength beside the Employers' Delegate Sir David Milne Watson; and the British evidently were the main strength of the Workers' Group. The combination of Miss Bondfield, Mr. J. H. Thomas, Mr. Bevin, Mr. Citrine and Mr. Elvin under the leadership of Mr. Poulton constituted indeed a remarkable team, whose ability was everywhere recognised.

Three points of special interest to the League of Nations Union: (i) In the new Governing Body, elected to hold Office for the next three years, Mr. Poulton (a member of the Industrial Advisory Committee) is one of the two Vice-Presidents—a distinction never before held by an Englishman. (ii) A Deputation from the International Federation of League of Nations Societies presented resolutions to the President and Officers of the Conference. (iii) The Hon. Mary Pickford, a prominent member of the Chelsea Branch of the Union, equalled her 1927 record of being the first non-official member of the British Government Delegation.

"THE FINEST INVESTMENT"

NOTABLE TESTIMONY TO THE LEAGUE'S CASH VALUE

A CERTAIN school of sceptic, usually extremely ill-informed about what the League of Nations has done and is doing, is in the habit of asking from time to time what the League has done to justify the millions that are spent on it every year. If what is meant is millions of pounds, not millions of francs or millions of marks—and that is usually the case, because the most familiar type of speaker of this order is English—it may be observed in passing that only just over £1,000,000 a year is spent on the whole activities of the League, the I.L.O., and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

But whether it be a question of one million or ten, what really matters is whether the money is soundly spent. It pays individual countries, and it must equally well pay international organisations, to have a substantial budget rather than a narrowly restricted one, provided the money received is spent for the welfare of the community that contributes it. Can it be shown that the funds contributed for the annual upkeep of the League are in fact thus wisely and beneficently expended?

Is it Worth While?

The answer to that question shall be taken from a source whose authority and impartiality will hardly be challenged. *The Midland Bank Monthly Review*, dated May-June, 1928, opens with an article of some nine and a-half columns on "The League of Nations as a Force in Reconstruction." It is clearly impossible to quote more than a few paragraphs from so full a study of one branch of the League's activities, but certain passages are particularly relevant.

"Whatever else the League of Nations may or may not have achieved to justify the hopes of its friends

or the doubts of its critics," says the *Review*, "its work in the field of European economic restoration is impossible to ignore and difficult to over-value. Set up primarily as a political entity, for the purpose of peacefully negotiating occasions of international friction, it has come to be an agency of financial and economic assistance without whose services that assistance could only have been forthcoming much later, if at all."

There follows a detailed examination of the Austrian, Hungarian, Greek, Estonian, Danzig and Bulgarian loan schemes, and reference is then made to certain countries, such as Poland, Germany and Belgium, which have succeeded in achieving similar results by other means, though it is noted in Poland's case that the task was only achieved "after long delay and many hitches in the negotiations."

Thirty Millions' Welfare

Finally, the League's international activity is thus summed up:—

"The benefits of the League's work are not to be measured by reference solely to conditions in the countries for which reconstruction schemes have been sponsored. It is undoubtedly true that such conditions, generally speaking, could not have been attained so quickly without the aid of the League, though they might have been secured in course of time with international aid through other channels, or even by the efforts of the countries themselves acting alone.

"Even if it were possible, however, to arrive at such a net estimate, so to speak, of the League's services, the result would appreciably understate their value. It is quite legitimate to say that the welfare of 30 millions of people has been directly affected to the good by the

efforts of the League. In addition, it must be remembered that the reconstruction of one country is bound to affect the prosperity of others. The world is knit together economically to-day as never before, and the health or illness of one country, particularly if it be a vital producing or marketing area, stimulates or depresses its neighbours, and in some cases has marked effects on conditions in non-contiguous countries.

"The services of the League from this point of view are literally inestimable. The comparative prosperity of Europe to-day is due in large part to the League's work of reconstruction. On this account alone, quite apart from any other services, *the League has paid dividends exceeding by many times the expenses of its maintenance. It has proved itself the finest investment in general economic welfare that international action has hitherto brought forth.*"

A High Percentage

Two sentences in the preceding quotation have been printed here in italics, for the truth there embodied is as

BOOKS WORTH READING

A DEMAND FOR REVISION

Justice for Hungary. By Count Albert Apponyi and others. (Longmans. 21s.)

The Tragedy of Trianon. By Sir Robert Donald. (Butterworth. 7s. 6d.)

Each of these two books is an indictment of the Treaty of Trianon, based partly on the principles of abstract justice and partly on the pragmatism of contention that the effect of the Treaty has been actually to reduce to misery the inhabitants of the territory left to Hungary, while failing to benefit, or actually inflicting increased hardship on, the populations assigned to the successor States. The subject is obviously one which is bound to give offence to these latter, and mere common sense would seem to dictate that it should be approached in the most judicial manner possible.

The Hungarian volume—a weighty compilation by nine authors, six of whom are ex-Ministers, one an ex-Lord Lieutenant and two professors—does in parts fulfil this requirement. As was inevitable, however, the tone of the contributors is very various, and the matter of their contributions of very unequal value. The opening essay, by Count Apponyi, is, like all this writer's work, a most accomplished piece of pleading. While laying full emphasis on Hungary's "historic mission," he does not refuse her neighbours the right to claim similar missions, only putting forward the very reasonable argument that their "aggrandisement to the detriment of Hungary . . . obstructs rather than assists the nations thus aggrandised in the fulfilment of their own historic mission."

Count Apponyi naturally writes as a Hungarian; but he keeps his case throughout on a dignified level. The same cannot be said of all his colleagues, some of whom fall into the easy trap of merely multiplying attacks on Hungary's neighbours, while in some cases, notably in that of M. Lukács' essay, British readers should be warned that the historical arguments which he advances often represent a Hungarian view rather than generally accepted facts.

Sir Robert Donald's book is described, accurately enough, as a "striking exposure of the shabby treatment of Hungary through the Treaty of Trianon, and a plea for the revision of the terms of the Treaty before Hungary's resentment leads to another war." Now it is a serious business to suggest the revision of the peace treaties—for what applies to Hungary's treaty must apply in varying degree to Austria's and Germany's

important as it is incontestable. Nothing could be more short-sighted than to curtail on grounds of narrow-minded economy League activities which are showing indirectly a return of 30 per cent. or 50 per cent. or 100 per cent. on the money.

Extravagance can no more be justified at Geneva than anywhere else, but purely on the question of return on money spent it is worth repeating again and again, until even the sceptics are converted, in the words of the *Midland Bank Review*, that "the League has proved itself the finest investment in general economic welfare that international action has hitherto brought forth." General economic welfare, it may be observed in that connection, does not mean merely high dividends for shareholders. It means employment and steady wages for the workers, and as a natural consequence steady trade for those who sell the workers boots and clothes and food and houses and furniture and amusements. That is how the League comes home to the man in the street—though he may not realise it.

and Bulgaria's—under threat of war. The one hope for Central Europe is a period of quiet and stability which may make some agreed revision (the only possible revision) of treaties possible. "The Tragedy of Trianon" will not bring that nearer. Much of Sir Robert Donald's criticism, practically all of which, rather surprisingly, is directed against Czechoslovakia to the exclusion of Rumania and Jugoslavia, may be defensible. Many of the instances of hard treatment he quotes are no doubt authentic enough, though it is difficult to believe that he can have verified them all. Similar instances could be amassed on the other side. Everyone, unhappily, is familiar with the swearing and cross-swearing, the charges and counter-charges, which darken all controversy on nationality and minority questions, particularly in Central Europe. But there is grave reason to doubt the advantage of so writing as inevitably to stir up animosities which are stirred up quite sufficiently as it is. A Czechoslovakian Government disposed to agree to some friendly readjustment of frontiers in Hungary's favour would be absolutely precluded from doing so in the face of the popular feeling such attacks on Czechoslovakia by Hungary's friends must arouse. Sir Robert hardly seems to have thought of that. Nor certainly has Lord Rothermere, who contributes a preface to this book and figures rather largely in it.

THE NAVAL PROBLEM

The Freedom of the Seas. By Lt.-Commander Kenworthy, M.P., and George Young. (Hutchinson. 18s.)

The moment is opportune for the appearance of a good book on Freedom of the Seas; unfortunately, this large and rather costly volume, though containing valuable material, does not really meet the need.

The authors begin by showing how past attempts to reconcile the claims of neutrals with those of belligerents in naval war, and to discriminate between contraband and non-contraband, inevitably broke down, being merely "makeshift compromises conforming to every shift in the balance of sea power." They draw the inference—familiar to readers of *HEADWAY*—that for political and for technical reasons the weapon of blockade will not now be tolerated and cannot now be used effectively as a *private* weapon. Instead of clinging to the weapon of private blockade, we should accept the principle of the second of President Wilson's fourteen points—viz., that the high seas should only

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be closed "by international agreement for the enforcement of international covenants." In other words, we should accept the principle of "Freedom of the Seas," in its modern definition. For "nowadays a claim to command of the seas by any one nation is a shadow that flees ever before each competitor in the armaments race as he hurries towards the darkening horizon of war."

In all this, and in the authors' account of the revolution in warfare that is being effected by the air weapon, readers of *HEADWAY* will find much to accept and make use of.

But on the constructive side the book is likely to be found much less acceptable. It advocates the creation of an Anglo-American "Sea League," which other sea powers might join; this League's members would be associated, it seems, simply in virtue of their possessing sea power, and its business would be to guarantee the peace and policing of the seas. "This Sea League would settle its own maritime and mercantile problems, subject to its solutions being co-ordinated and controlled by the central authority"—the central authority being a sort of super-League, a Federation of Leagues. There would also be several regional Continental Leagues, whose members would be associated, not by reason of their power, but simply on account of geographical position.

We believe this scheme to be wholly unsound. It is not really necessary for the avoidance of Anglo-American rivalry to choose between an Anglo-American sanction and a League one. It is not true that the best way to associate the power of the U.S. with an international sanction is to make an Anglo-American block. It is not true—but the reader may be left to fill in the negatives.

The book seems to be inadequately considered; perhaps it was hastily written. The resulting volume can be recommended more for its stimulus than for its judgment.

MINORITIES' RIGHTS

The Protection of Minorities: The Working and Scope of the Minority Treaties under the League of Nations. By L. P. Mair, M.A., Assistant in International Studies, London School of Economics. 1928. (Christopher's. 8s. 6d.)

It was high time that we had a book of this kind. The crop of post-war literature upon Minorities has been enormous, but from the nature of the subject the task of separating truths from falsehoods is so difficult that study is often more of a hindrance than a help to discovery of facts.

One reason for this is that writers really conversant with the local political conditions in the countries that have signed the Minority Treaties are usually natives, and seldom unbiassed in their views. Another cause is the discouragement of publicity for its own work by the League Council itself. The protection of minorities is the sole activity of the League of Nations where official documents afford an inadequate supply of information.

This is not the place to discuss the wisdom of the principle on which the Council acts with regard to the petitions it receives from minorities. Miss Mair's book does not do so, though it enables us to see how the tendency to avoid public ventilation of minority complaints has increased at Geneva in the last three or four years. It is well that this should be realised, and the chapter on League Procedure is one of the most valuable in the book.

The volume is, in fact, the best introduction that we know of, to a detailed study of minority questions, and for readers who do not wish to go so far it provides an interesting all-round sketch of the Minority Treaties, of the dangers they were designed to remedy, and the results of their working so far.

A NEW LEAGUE HISTORY

The League of Nations : a Chapter in World Politics. By John Spencer Bassett. (Longmans. 15s.)

Dr. Bassett was a well-known American historical writer, and this is the last volume from his pen. He died indeed before the volume was finally completed. That is sufficient to explain defects which otherwise might call for rather serious criticism. For while the book has considerable value as the work of a clear-sighted and disinterested student of affairs, surveying the work of the League with the detachment possible for an American visiting Geneva rarely, and depending for the most part on written documents, it is unfortunately in many respects a dangerous guide by reason of the numerous slips or actual misstatements it contains. Proper names are constantly given inaccurately, and in several cases appear in two different forms on consecutive pages. Passages which imply, or state definitely, that Germany applied for membership of the League at the first Assembly in 1920, or that the mandatory powers have vigorously protested against the reception of petitions by the Mandates Commission, or that the International Labour Conference adopts recommendations for submission to the League, are, of course, entirely erroneous. And such a judgment as that regarding M. Branting, that "he was of an impulsive nature," shows how little the writer was personally acquainted with the leading figures at Geneva.

Revised by someone with detailed knowledge of the League, this book might fill a useful place in the growing list of League histories. As it is, its errors make it a doubtful guide.

THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS

The League of Nations School Book. By Robert Jones and S. S. Sherman. (Macmillan. 1s. 6d.)

From the co-operative mammoth-hunt to world co-operation is a long and painful story. Often the influences for peace have been obscured in the history books by overstressing the importance of war. Rarely has there been a serious attempt to isolate those facts which have had so important a bearing on the origin and development of the League of Nations. Mr. Jones and Mr. Sherman have set out to perform this task. They start from the Stone Age and pleasantly lead their readers through a "Natural History of War" and a "Natural History of Peace," and end with an account of the League of Nations. They discuss much that if it were treated formally would be dull, but their friendly manner gives their matter a peculiar interest. Where a difficult political theory has to be explained, they tell a story. Where facts need illustration, illustrations adequate and apt are forthcoming.

This little book should be a valuable addition to the growing number of histories which are being written in accordance with the principles of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation.

AN OPPORTUNE HANDBOOK

The Law of Nations. By J. L. Brierly. (Clarendon Press. 5s.)

Professor Brierly has written a little book that was badly needed. All of us are talking vaguely about international law in these days. Few of us know what it is, and still fewer have the time to acquire knowledge by the reading of the comparatively formidable treatises of Hall or Lawrence or Oppenheim, or even the Earl of Birkenhead. Professor Brierly has not succeeded in the impossible task of compressing the whole corpus of international law into 222 pages, nor has he, indeed, attempted anything so fantastic. He has, however, made it clear what international law broadly was before the war, and what it broadly is to-day now that the League of Nations is fulfilling, among other things, the

function of a law-making body. This useful little volume can be most warmly recommended.

AN I.L.O. REFERENCE BOOK

There must be many whose interest in the work of the International Labour Office either has not been aroused or has not been sustained. Unless armed with a detailed knowledge of its problems, the average person is sometimes appalled by the voluminous reports of labour questions and is tempted to ignore this most important League activity. Miss Bradfield in her "Little Book on the I.L.O." (P. S. King, 2s.), has done a service to those so troubled. She gives a general sketch of the activities of the Office, supplemented by a very readable summary of the work of the conferences until the end of 1927. This little book should be most acceptable to all who wish for an introduction on this subject, and to some who are already well informed there may be found fresh information of value.

READERS' VIEWS

FREEING THE SLAVES

SIR,—According to the inscription on the Wilberforce Monument in his native City of Hull, Slavery was abolished in the British Empire on August 1, 1834, so that six years hence, viz., on August 1, 1934, we shall be celebrating the Centenary of the Abolition of Slavery by William Wilberforce.

Now we are told that there are calculated to be 5,000,000 slaves still to be freed in the world. We also understand that the League of Nations has this matter in hand. Whatever steps are being taken, Publicity is an essential weapon. Is there not work here for the Union? First, reliable information, progressively reported in your columns, such as the names and geographical description of the 19 countries where slavery exists; classification of different conditions of slavery; consular reports, etc. Then a study of the most up-to-date methods for disseminating the information by the use of wireless, cinematography, and the obtaining of further reliable information by these and all possible means. Get individual members of Parliament to press for information and confirm same to their constituents.

Then think what might result by getting the Prime Minister to put the world position of Slavery to the undergraduates at the universities by pointing out to them the adventurous possibilities of, say, a hundred of them setting out to explore these 19 countries so that their personal reports may be broadcast to the world, and seeing that Sir John Simon has said that freeing slaves is good business, let them tell us the price of a slave, so that we may know the price for freeing 5,000,000, and let us have periodical statistics with the object of showing that, say, during the next five or six years there is steady progress in the downward direction, and by the year 1934 let us be in a position to report, if not the consummation of the work of Wilberforce, then at least that the work is well in hand, and that the great gifts of present-day knowledge are being directed towards the removal of the lowest and most degrading form of human labour.—Yours, etc.,

39, Sandringham Street, Hull. A. E. ENGLAND.
June 20th, 1928.

A FLAG FOR THE LEAGUE

SIR,—Each nation has its own flag, and rightly so, and now that the peoples of the earth are beginning to realise that for all mankind it will be infinitely better to combine to banish even the possibility of that barbarous method of settlement called warfare, would it be well for the League of Nations to adopt some suitable insignia of its own, that can be carried and seen

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CARISBROOKE SCHOOL, Durdham Down, Bristol.—Metric and Oxford Local Exams., inc. Domestic Science. School Hall. Boys under nine. Girls six to nineteen.—Principal: Miss Mary Stevens, LL.A. Tel. 5651 Bristol.

MISCELLANEOUS.

WANTED: second-hand portable typewriter, two-coloured ribbon, in good order. Quote cash price to A. W., 181, Knightsbridge, S.W.1.

at meetings and demonstrations as a "glorious symbol" of that peaceful pact amongst the nations of the world?

Surely, when the pact has become an accomplished fact, then we may well consider it to be a "world epoch," and well deserving to be recognised by the adoption of a universal flag of peace amongst the nations of the earth.

In order that such flag may envisage the most suitable thought of active goodwill amongst all men, it seems to the writer that a prize should be offered by the League of Nations for the design that will best convey to the mind the decisive "unity of aim" of the members of the League.

Assuming that the desirability of adopting such a flag is admitted, we must remember that the League is composed of representatives of a vast variety of thoughts, religions and aspirations, each with its own distinct outlook for the coming horizon, so that the design on the flag must of necessity be one, not only of friendship, but also of tolerance.—Yours, etc.,

JAS. JOHNSTON.

12, Derby Road,
Heaton Moor, Nr. Stockport.
18th June, 1928.

FOR ARMISTICE DAY

SIR,—As Armistice Day this year falls on a Sunday, it seems to me an opportunity that should not be lost in every possible effort being made to urge the claims of the Union's cause in promoting international peace and in its other important activities. I therefore venture to suggest that every branch throughout the United Kingdom should organise great meetings on Armistice Day, and endeavour to secure the sympathetic and active support of the local churches of all creeds, political clubs of all parties, and other institutions. It might also be possible to secure the aid of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

In HEADWAY this month you mention that the membership of the Union is little more than two-thirds of a million. Can we not make an extra special effort to bring the membership up to at least one million before the close of the current year?—Yours, etc.,

MALCOLM LEGGETT.

Bournemouth,
May 25, 1928.

GAS WAR

SIR,—It is amazing that anyone should profess no faith in the League of Nations and state as a reason its failure to secure the entire abolition of chemical warfare.

The greater includes the less. Therefore War includes chemical warfare. The League of Nations has prevented War many times and therefore has prevented the use of chemical warfare many times. There is no doubt whatever that if there is ever another War in which any of the big industrial nations are engaged chemical warfare will be used. The means and methods and appliances of warfare can be abolished by abolishing War and not in any other way. The only way to abolish chemical warfare is to abolish War and that is what the League of Nations is trying to do.

Therefore the only way to abolish chemical warfare is to support the League of Nations.—Yours, etc.,

Red Cottage, J. D. ALLEN,
St. Albans. Rear-Admiral (Retired).
June 12, 1928.

BOOKS RECEIVED

War and Human Values. By F. E. Pollard. (Hogarth Press. 1s.)
Roads to the City of God. By Basil Matthews. (Edinburgh House Press. 1s.)
From Age to Age. Books I and II. By Mary Gould. (Milford. 1s. 6d. each.)

FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT WORKS

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

* * * *

The main organs of the League are—

(1) **The Assembly**, meeting annually in September, and consisting of not more than three delegates from each of the States members of the League.

(2) **The Council**, meeting four or more times a year, and consisting of one delegate each from fourteen different States, five States (Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan) being permanently represented, while the other nine States are elected from time to time by the Assembly.

(3) **The Secretariat**, the international civil service by which the League is served.

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

The seat of the League is at Geneva.

* * * *

Side by side with the League itself there exist—

The Permanent Court of International Justice, with its seat at The Hague; and

The International Labour Organisation, with its seat at Geneva.

The Permanent Court had, down to June, 1928, decided 12 cases and given 15 advisory opinions to the League Council.

* * * *

HUMANITARIAN WORK

The League seeks to co-ordinate the social and humanitarian activity of individual States, particularly in fields where joint international action is of special importance.

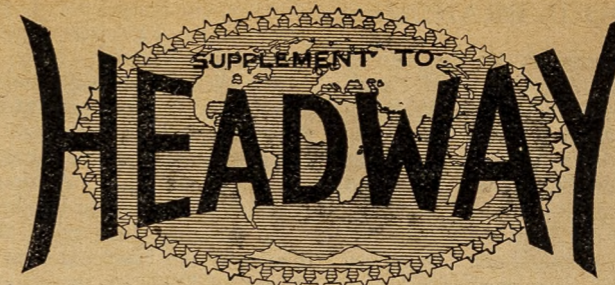
(1) **Opium Traffic**.—The aim of the League is to limit the total world production of opium and other narcotics to the amount required throughout the world for purely medical and scientific purposes, and so to check the distribution of the manufactured drugs as to prevent any country getting more than it genuinely needs. Conventions designed to secure this were framed and extensively signed at Geneva in 1925, and are about to come into force.

(2) **Traffic in Women and Children**.—A standing committee of the League has constantly under consideration measures for promoting the welfare of women and children. A convention aiming at protecting girls from the dangers of the White Slave Traffic was adopted at the Second Assembly in 1921, and further and more effective action was foreshadowed by the publication of an exhaustive investigation into the White Slave Traffic in 1927. The investigation is to be continued.

(3) Various tasks carried out for the League largely through the instrumentality of Dr. Nansen, such as the **Repatriation of 430,000 prisoners of war** of many lands in 1921-2, and the **relief of Russian and Armenian refugees** a little later, have proved the League's capacity for handling other than purely political tasks.

(4) A Convention designed to bring about the **suppression both of the slave trade and of the holding of slaves** was adopted at the Seventh Assembly in 1926.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



JULY, 1928

PUTTING THE HOUSE IN ORDER

A SPIRIT of very intimate co-operation pervaded the Annual Meeting of the General Council of the Union held at Matlock Bath, from June 20 to June 22. Foreign visitors, who watched the Union grappling with its internal difficulties, were impressed with the good-humoured character of the debates, with the friendship clearly existing between Chairman, Executive Committee members, Headquarters officers and branch delegates. If, after nine years of work and experience, the Head Office received something more than the usual recognition for the services which it renders to the movement throughout the country, the Executive's appreciation of the great volume of voluntary work accomplished for the Union in town and countryside, was no less clearly voiced. "In ordinary political work," said Professor Gilbert Murray, "some sort of reward may generally be expected. In non-party work like ours for a remote object, no reward can be expected, and yet we find throughout the country an almost unlimited supply of really devoted and diligent workers. If I may speak for the Executive and for the centre of our organisation, I am constantly impressed by that, and I do feel a profound gratitude."

As the Minutes of the Council will show, the meetings were more concerned with putting the Union's house in order than with questions of foreign policy; but the occasion was taken to state the Union's official attitude with regard to the Peace Pact proposed by Mr. Kellogg, in terms of a resolution which cannot fail to arrest attention on both sides of the Atlantic, coming as it does from the principal organised body of supporters of the League in Europe. The resolution passed by the Council ran as follows:—

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union welcomes the invitation of the U.S.A. to the Great Powers to enter into a treaty open to signature by all nations, for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy in their relations to one another, and urges the British Government to accept the proposals without reservations and to use its full influence in support of the Treaty."

Other resolutions expressed regret at the negative British policy concerning the Hours Convention; drew attention to the disquiet felt at the insistent reports that the assurances given by the Italian Government when the South Tyrol was assigned to it were not being fulfilled in respect of the German minority in that district; emphasised the importance of maintaining the strictly independent and international character of the staff of the League Secretariat; and urged the principal branches of the Union outside London to take

special measures to gain support for the recommendations of the World Economic Conference.

After a thorough discussion of the Annual Report for 1927, the passing of the balance-sheet and the election of the officers and Executive Committee for the current year, the Council took several decisions of importance to the organisation of the Union itself. Of these, the most far-reaching, perhaps, is the introduction of a scheme of Junior Membership of the Union for boys and girls under the age of sixteen. Any child may now join the Union for half the minimum subscription of a senior member, and this is reduced to an even smaller sum in the case of boys or girls who have left school, and who join with the view of forming a Junior Branch. A Sunday School, a boys' or girls' club, a Boys' Brigade company, a Girl Guide company, a Scout Patrol or the like can join in a corporate capacity as a Junior Members' Group of the Union at an annual subscription of five shillings. Taken in conjunction with the widespread teaching about the objects and activities of the League in the schools of all grades, this decision of the Council means that every possible opportunity will now be given to the younger generation to have the right foundations of international peace in heart and mind. It provides the Union with an immense recruiting ground for adult membership in the future.

The representative and non-party character of the Union was much in evidence at Matlock, and there were hardly any repercussions of the controversy upon Disarmament to which a somewhat exaggerated publicity was given not long since. Reaffirming the Union's duty to give practical and constitutional expression to its policy, the Council passed a resolution urging its members to do all in their power to ensure the adoption as Parliamentary candidates of only those persons, irrespective of party, who will be active supporters of a foreign policy working towards the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war.

Matlock, in fact, showed the Union very much in earnest, wide awake to practical difficulties, and setting forth on a new year of work conscious of steady progress in membership and in influence in the country. A practical example of the fact that the Union's press publicity has all but trebled in the past year was the fact that all the daily newspapers of the neighbourhood gave special attention to the Council's proceedings, and it is only right that they, as well as several of the national dailies, should be thanked for the admirable reports, whereby they focussed the interest of many thousands upon this most businesslike and satisfactory annual stocktaking of the League of Nations Union.

A TRIBUTE

THE VALUE OF SCHOOL BRANCHES

DURING the course of a discussion at the Annual Conference in June of the Association of Headmistresses a remarkable tribute to the educational value of school branches of the League of Nations Union was given by Miss Clarke, Headmistress of the Manchester High School for Girls. This school branch was instituted three years ago. Miss Clarke said:—

"The Upper IV's and above are eligible for membership and there are now over 300 members. Over 100 are organised in 11 study circles, over each of which a mistress presides, and which meet fortnightly for 10 minutes in the dinner hour. The aim of study circles is to learn in a conversational way the fundamental facts of the League constitution; a suggested programme is available for their guidance. Some groups have already been provided with copies of the Covenant and all will be eventually. Next year we hope that some senior girls will take study circles, and we intend that fairly soon the whole management of the branch shall be in the hands of the girls. We have a half-hour address from an outside speaker (in school time) once a term, at which all except III's attend.

"The activities of the branch culminated this year in a model assembly, which I think may fairly be described as interesting and successful. The model assembly was organised independently of the study circles. The girls taking part were arranged in 21 groups, each of which had a mistress as guide and adviser. The three delegates for each country collaborated, with help of newspapers and the library, in a review of the events of the year in relation to their own country, and their results were embodied in the speech composed and delivered by the leading delegate for that country. As much national colour as possible was introduced, and racial traits were not forgotten in the choice of delegates. All the speeches led up to a resolution on disarmament, proposed by Great Britain, and unanimously carried. The only adult taking part was the President, and there was a full representation of the 55 member-nations, complete with interpreters and secretariat, though, for reasons of time, the only speech translated (into French) was that of the President. The speeches of the delegates surpassed expectations both as to matter and manner, as did also their general bearing; the one noticeable weakness being their difficulty in condensing under pressure of time speeches written out in full. . . . I feel I am right in claiming that such activities as those which have just been described and many others are of too great educational value to rank any longer as 'extras,' and that they provide a clear case for displacing at least some of the obsolete lumber of the regular curriculum and stereotyped examination syllabuses."

NOTES AND NEWS

Welsh National Council

The Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council which was held at Swansea on May 29 and 30 attracted an enthusiastic gathering of Branch representatives from all parts of Wales and Monmouthshire. To the great regret of all, Mr. David Davies, M.P., Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Welsh Council, was unable to be present owing to illness; a message of greeting and good wishes was telegraphed to him from the Conference.

At the annual meeting of the Council, Sir Harry R. Reichel, M.A., LL.D., was unanimously elected as President for the coming year, and Mr. David Davies, M.P., was unanimously re-elected as Chairman of the

Executive Committee. The retiring President, the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, M.A., becomes a vice-president of the Council, and Sir J. Herbert Cory, Bt., and Mr. John Hinds, J.P., were unanimously re-elected as joint honorary treasurers.

The Welsh National Council has resolved to organise a Memorial Fund to present to the International Labour Office at Geneva a bronze bust of Robert Owen, in commemoration of the services rendered by him to the cause of humanity. All donations for this fund should be sent to Mr. Gwilym Hughes, 23, Ryder Street, Cardiff.

On Tuesday, June 12, on the occasion of the unveiling of the Welsh National War Memorial by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales a wreath was laid on behalf of the Welsh League of Nations Union by Mr. Dudley T. Howe, J.P.

The Peace Panel

The Wood Green and Southgate Civic Branch are to be congratulated on having inaugurated a new form of League publicity by the unveiling of the first Peace Panel on one of the main thoroughfares. The idea originated with Mr. J. W. Neal, the architect of the Panel being Mr. E. M. K. Gillerton. A packed audience gathered in the Baptist Church, on whose ground the Panel is erected, for the unveiling ceremony on the evening of May 22. The chair was taken by Councillor John Joy and the address was given by Dr. Leslie Burgin, who also performed the unveiling ceremony. In the course of his address Dr. Burgin remarked how difficult it was to interest the public in the subject of peace at a time of peace, and quoted a Persian proverb which says that "you cannot interest a lion in a bone immediately after dinner." Nevertheless, Dr. Burgin emphasised the necessity of arousing public opinion in support of efforts towards world peace. After the address and community singing, led by the choir of Christ Church, Southgate, the audience adjourned for the actual unveiling ceremony.

A Splendid Achievement

During 1927 the Hertfordshire Branches of the League of Nations Union contributed £627 19s. 7d. towards the Council's Vote for 1927, the total assessment for the county being only £325. This noteworthy effort on the part of Hertfordshire deserves most honourable mention.

Making the Most of "Dawn"

The Bromley Branch recently became extremely interested in this film of which we have heard so much. It was shown for a week at the local cinema, and, by arrangement with the manager of the cinema and the directors of the film company, the Branch obtained facilities for the exhibition of posters on the theatre premises, the distribution of leaflets and the exhibition of a slide on the screen. This slide, which was shown at the close of the film, read: "If this film makes you hate war, do your share towards world peace. Join the League of Nations Union as you leave this hall." The leaflets were distributed by special stewards and read: "Join the League of Nations Union and help to make the League strong enough to rid the world of war. . . . The League of Nations is making a better world in which brave lives will not be taken in the struggle of conflicting patriotism." Publicity was given to the scheme by paragraphs in the local papers and an announcement was also made from the pulpit of the Congregational Church. The stewarding was elaborately organised. By this means it is estimated that the branch was able to "get at" some ten thousand people.

Plenary Congress of the International Federation

By the time this is in print the Twelfth Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will be in session at The Hague. The

Union's delegation to the Congress will include Mr. David Davies (Chairman of the Overseas Committee), Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Lady Gladstone, Professor Philip Baker, Dr. Delisle Burns, Mr. J. R. Griffin (of the British Legion), the Reverend Gwilym Davies, Sir Arthur Haworth, Mr. H. H. Elvin, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Sir Walter Napier, Miss Ruth Fry, Sir George Paish, Mr. H. D. Watson, and Colonel Carnegie. A report of the proceedings will, it is hoped, appear in the next issue.

Mansfield J.C.R.

Mansfield College Junior Common Room has become a Corporate Member of the League of Nations Union.

Ireland

The League of Nations Society for Ireland is conducting a world-wide campaign for international disarmament. A short resolution, in general terms, has been drawn up, calling on the governments of the world to renounce war and institute measures for speedy disarmament: it is proposed that this memorial should be presented, whenever passed and in whatever country, to the respective governments of the world on the same day August 14, 1928.

The campaign is being run on the "snowball" principle, and the Irish League of Nations Society has circularised all other League of Nations Societies throughout the world, requesting them both to take action themselves and enlist others. The Irish Society has also placed on the agenda for The Hague Conference in July a resolution commending the campaign, and other International Organisations are also being approached.

The scheme is fully explained in the June number of "Concord," the organ of the Irish League of Nations Society, which can be obtained from 4, Monkstown Road, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

From July 8-11 Froken Henni Forchhammer, who has represented Denmark at Geneva, and was the first woman to speak in the Assembly of the League, will visit Dublin under the auspices of the League of Nations Society.

Henry Benson Bobo comes to Europe

Henry B. Bobo won his trip to Europe by capturing the first prize in the second national competitive examination on the League of Nations for High School students in the United States, conducted under the auspices of the Educational Committee of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association. There were 1,604 candidates for this prize, drawn from the High Schools of every State. Massachusetts won the second prize and California third prize in this examination.

Good Membership

The membership of the Hilton, Hunts, Branch has now reached 101. This figure represents more than half of the adult population and two-fifths of the total population. Other branches take note.

At Birmingham

A successful fête was held in the Botanical Gardens, Edgbaston, by the Birmingham District Council, on June 23. The proceedings opened with an address by Professor de Madariaga (late chief of the Disarmament section of the League), who emphasised the fact that the Kellogg proposals were not only compatible with the Covenant, but that they were complementary to it, in that they provided for the complete outlawry of war, at present permissible in certain circumstances under the Covenant after all attempts at arbitration have failed. The chair was taken by Sir Charles Grant Robertson. A vote of thanks was moved by Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett, and seconded by Miss Wilson.

Numerous side-shows added to the success of the proceedings. Our congratulations are due to Miss E. Shanks and the other organisers of this venture.

Canada

Lord Willingdon, the Governor-General, has purchased the first associate membership ticket of the League of Nations Society in connection with the big spring "drive" for membership.

The organ of the Canadian League of Nations Society has changed its name to "Interdependence," and the first number of the new paper appeared in May. The President of the Society, Sir George Foster, is an ex-officio member of the Editorial Committee, and the Editor is Mr. Graham Spry, who was for a time on the staff of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations.

International Disarmament at Hull

Since the Armistice meeting at Hull last year, addressed by Lord Cecil, the Hull Branch has circulated petitions addressed to those members of Parliament representing Hull. These petitions for International Disarmament have obtained nearly twenty thousand signatures.

A Conference on the I.L.O.

A Conference on the Eleventh International Labour Conference at Geneva will be held in the drawing-room of the London Central Y.M.C.A., Tottenham Court Road, W.C.1, on Saturday, July 21. (First session will be held at 3 p.m., second session 5.30 to 7 p.m.) The speakers will be Mr. E. P. Poulton (Workers' Representative on the Governing Body of the I.L.O.), Mr. J. E. Herbert of the I.L.O. staff, Captain L. H. Green (Secretary of the Flour Milling Employers' Federation) and Miss Constance Smith. The chair will be taken by Sir Atul C. Chatterjee (High Commissioner for India and President of the I.L.O. Conference, 1927). As accommodation is limited, application for tickets should be made as soon as possible to 43, Russell Square, W.C.1. The cost of the tickets, including tea, will be 1s. each.

Progress in New South Wales (Australia)

The year 1927 is said by the annual report to be the most successful in the history of the Union; the offices have been enlarged; the effective membership has increased from 626 to 1,013, and a series of very successful public meetings was held in October. In all 112 lectures were given during the year.

The "International Ball" has now been made an annual event, and was given on July 6; His Excellency the Governor and Lady de Chair attended, together with a large number of consular representatives; as a result about £420 was obtained for Union finances.

The Union's film, "The Star of Hope," was secured early in the year, and, by special arrangement with the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Ltd., an abbreviated presentation, under the title of "Pen v. Sword," was released for presentation along with the war film, "The Big Parade," in a large number of cinemas throughout the Commonwealth. At the cinemas in the various State capitals, addresses were given before the film by leading citizens.

At the annual meeting in February, Sir Hubert Murray, Lieut.-Governor of Papua, gave an outline of the work carried out in that territory; and Mr. T. J. Ley, M.P., an Australian delegate to the League Assembly last September, also gave an address.

Runcorn Flag Day

A Flag Day recently organised by the Runcorn Branch realised £51 15s. 10d. The Committee of the Branch generously voted £15 to Headquarters.

Garden Fete at Brigg

The Junior Branch at the Girls' High School, Brigg, recently organised a Garden Fete, from the receipts of which they have kindly sent a donation of £5 to Headquarters. The function was well organised, and included a sale of work, side shows, &c. The speakers were Mr. F. S. Marvin and Admiral J. D. Allen.

"Pax"

The Liverpool and Merseyside Schools District last year produced "Pax," the admirable magazine, of which mention was made in these columns. They have recently produced another issue, which contains, amongst other interesting items, articles by Lord Cecil, Lord Phillimore and Mr. A. McNair. Copies can be obtained from the Liverpool Institute, Mount Street, Liverpool.

From the Youths of China

The following letter from the Central Union of Chinese Students was received on June 2, the day of the Festival of Youth at the Crystal Palace:—

"Confucius says, 'All within the four seas are brethren.' It is only with such a benevolent sentiment of universal love that we can aim at the well-being of a cosmopolitanised world. Your Union assembles 'ten thousand nations in one hall,' and joins the hands of the flowers of youth of the five continents. All endeavour to play their part, and the joint effort will be as strong as a citadel. We soon see that peace reigns on earth, and the shield and spear will give way to the ceremonial 'jade' and 'silk.' The millions of peoples will be happy, rejoicing and praising as if under the sun of Shun and the Sky of Yu (the two kings of the Chinese Golden Age) once again.—With best wishes, THE YOUTHS OF CHINA."

Some July Meetings

July 4.—Cowses. Garden meeting at The Briary, Prince's Esplanade, 6 p.m. Speaker: The Earl of Iddesleigh. July 5.—Albert Hall. Anglo-Catholic Congress, 2.30 and 8 o'clock. Speaker: Sir Samuel Hoare. July 7.—James Allen Girls' School, Dulwich. Afternoon meeting. Speaker: Lord Parmoor. July 9.—Hanley. Bethesda Church, 7.30 p.m. Speaker: Dr. Lyttelton. July 12.—Barrow-in-Furness. Furness Abbey Hotel, 3 p.m. Speaker: The Earl of Iddesleigh. July 17.—Dunstable. Evening meeting, open air; if wet, to be held in the Town Hall. Speaker: Admiral Drury Lowe.

Recent Union Publications

The following pamphlets have been issued by the League of Nations Union since May 1, and are obtainable from Headquarters:—

- 242—A Great Opportunity (Lord Grey on the Kellogg proposals). (1d.)
- 243—The World and the Worker. (3s. 6d. per 100.)
- 244—Traffic in Women. (3s. 6d. per 100.)
- 245—Annual Report. (6d.)
- 246—International Disarmament and the Unemployment Problem. (2d.)

The Festival of Youth

The second Festival of Youth, which was held at the Crystal Palace on June 2, attracted a crowd numbering approximately 28,000. The London Regional Federation are to be congratulated on a successful gathering and an efficiently arranged programme. The weather was kind. One of the most popular items this year was the Review of Youth, organised by the Penge and Anerley Branch, at which the salute was taken by General Sir Leslie Rundle. The children's dancing was even more popular than last year, and proved a great attraction both to participants and spectators. Professor Gilbert Murray and Canon E. S. Woods both gave interesting addresses at the opening ceremony, and Admiral Allen spoke in the afternoon.

The gathering of Young People's Societies in the evening was addressed by Lord Cecil. Twenty-eight nations were represented in the Procession of International Contingents. This figure shows a slight advance on last year. The cordial thanks of the Union are due to the organisers of these contingents for their untiring work. The following message was received from the Prime Minister:—

"This great annual festival of youth of the world is a symbol of goodwill and comradeship. War is bred from jealousy and suspicion, the children of ignorance. To know one another is to understand one another, and a mutual understanding of one another's difficulties is the best guarantee of peace. I hope and believe that the seeds you are now sowing in your youth will bear the fruit of lasting peace, based on international friendship and understanding, that will remain with you for the rest of your lives. You have my best wishes for a very successful gathering."

A message was also received from Mr. Lloyd George, which ran as follows:—

"Heartiest greetings to the Festival of Youth, and earnest good wishes for its success in bringing nearer the reign of international understanding. The task is great but difficult, for the peace of the world is no coward's prize. It can only be won and held at the cost of courage, heroism and high ideal, far exceeding what is demanded for the waging of war. Yet if the youth of the nations will dare to believe in peace, to work for it and to shape the will of the new age to its pattern, they have power to fling war on to the rubbish heap of outgrown barbarisms, and to set up in its place a rule of national justice and goodwill."

International entertainments were given by China, Germany, Ireland, Isle of Man, Japan, Poland and Scotland. There was also an exhibition of Arts, Crafts and Literature. The Sports Meeting proved very successful, the Shields, including the Thames Rowing Competition Shield, being kindly presented in the evening by Lady Cecil.

The Council's Vote

The following is a list of Branches who have completed their quotas to the Council's vote:—

For 1927: Ramsay (Isle of Man). For 1928: Bowness-on-Solway, Burley, Bradford (Salem Cong. Ch.), Boroughbridge, Bathford, Bulwell, Coldstream, Callington, Charlbury, Caterham, Dедham, Edge and Pitchcombe, Eton, Edenhall, Frinton, Frodsham, Godalming, Guildford (St. Martha's), Grayingham, Greystoke, Hawkshead, Herne Bay, Harlsham, Helsby, Hurtwood, Harpenden, Jordans, Kidlington, Lymington, Lyme Regis, Luton P.M. Ch., Low Bow, Long Harboro, Mortimer, Meltham, Newquay, Nafferton, Paulton, Prees, Queensberry, Ramsay (Isle of Man), Radcliffe, Roughton, Silsden, Streatfield, Sherborne, Toys Hill, Terrington, Westbury-on-Tyrm, Wetheral, Winsford.

L.N.U. MEMBERS

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

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,221
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	...	665,022
June 16, 1928	...	...	...	...	701,854

On June 16th, 1928 there were 2,689 Branches, 593 Junior Branches, 132 Districts, 2,632 Corporate Members and 425 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

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

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

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