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HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE League's finances are for some reason always regarded as an interesting topic. There is a good deal of vagueness, all the same, about what the League does spend, and the people who complain that in contributing rather under £100,000 to the League Great Britain is spending too much are usually the people who complain that the country is not spending enough on £7,000,000 battleships. In the course of this month the Assembly will discuss the Budget for 1928, as presented on the basis of estimates drawn up by the Secretariat, and worked through item by item by a Commission of Control, or Supervising Commission, of which Lord Meston is a member, as representing India. The last completed year, 1926, ended up with a comfortable surplus of over 1½ million gold francs, about £63,620 in English money. That is disposed of in various accounting adjustments; £20,000 is set apart as the nucleus of a furnishing fund for the contemplated new buildings, and the balance of £34,945 goes back to States members of the League in the form of a reduction of the next contributions due. The Budget for 1928 amounts to 24,873,272 gold francs (£994,531), the total therefore being still kept below £1,000,000. This is a slight increase over the figure for the current year, but it is not expected that the amount payable by each State will be higher in view of the return of the balance of the 1926 Budget.

Bar War First

DISCUSSING in the *Manchester Guardian* the failure of the Naval Conference at Geneva, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald insists on the impossibility of achieving any effective disarmament so long as private war—meaning war between individual nations still remains—under certain circumstances at any rate—the ultimate means of settling grave disputes. He throws his influence, in other words, behind what it may or may not be wise to describe as an "Outlawry of War" movement. As one of the authors of the Geneva Protocol he believes that the principles embodied in the Protocol must prevail if disarmament, or any substantial reduction of armaments, is to become a practical possibility. Whether Mr. MacDonald's conclusions are accepted in all their fullness or not it is altogether desirable that the thoughts of students of international affairs should be turned into this channel. It is an open question whether the end most people desire can best be attained by first making the existing Covenant an effective reality and then, on a later stage, filling up its loopholes; or by recognising here and now the deficiencies of the Covenant and seeking to supplement it forthwith; or by making absolutely comprehensive arbitration agreements between pairs or groups of States (as between Germany and France at Locarno) and getting the ground gradually covered that way. All these possibilities should be carefully studied and con-

stantly discussed. Meanwhile there could be no surer guarantee of peace than to give the Covenant itself such authority as to make it certain that every part of the machinery created by that international treaty would be involved forthwith against a violation of the peace. If that were certain, the risks attending an attempt at war would be so great that no one but a madman would venture to incur them.

Mandates and Sovereignty

AN important little argument—it would be going too far to call it a controversy—is being carried on between the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission and the Government of the Union of South Africa over the question of whether the Government has "sovereignty" over the mandated area of South-west Africa. The term occurs, and the claim is definitely made, in a treaty contracted by South Africa and Portugal defining the frontier between South-west Africa and the Portuguese territory of Angola. If the claim to sovereignty in the full sense were admitted, the mandate would have no meaning, for the whole point of the mandate system is that the mandatory state has responsibility, which to some extent limits its sovereignty, towards an external authority, namely, the League. When the Governor of Tanganyika was asked by the Mandates Commission about a speech in which he had spoken of Tanganyika as "part of the British Empire," he admitted at once that he had been using slightly loose language for the sake of convenience and brevity, and readily accepted a suggested amendment which referred to the territory as simply being "within the framework of the British Empire." It is natural enough that under a completely new system situations should arise where none of the old judicial terms exactly fit. The Mandates Commission would be doing less than its duty if it allowed an unjustified claim to pass unchallenged, but there is no need for any acrimonious controversy on the matter.

Lending Men

THOUGH the League of Nations does not itself lend money to any State, confining its services in that sphere to recording its approval of loans issued under conditions it has examined, it is performing the very useful service of from time to time lending men. There have lately been published, for example, reports made by an expert Commission of engineers lent to Poland at the request of that country to report on the development of Polish rivers, canals and ports, with special relation to the export of coal from Silesia. The League Transit Committee nominated three experts, one a citizen of the United States, one a Dutchman and one a Frenchman, all engineers of repute in their respective countries. They have framed a very interesting report, which should be of the greatest value to the Polish Government in shaping its plans for the development of its facilities for coal export.

Open Diplomacy

MR. JEREMIAH SMITH, the former High Commissioner of the League of Nations in Hungary, recently delivered a speech at Harvard containing a passage worthy of reproduction. The purpose of the address was to emphasise the

importance of public opinion as a factor in the maintenance of peace. As an example, Mr. Smith pointed to the handling of the dispute between Greece and Bulgaria.

"When the Greek representative was asked whether he would accept the terms set by the League," Mr. Smith said, "he got up and looked around, and in front of him were eleven different men representing eleven different countries, not one of whom had any interest in this dispute one way or the other. Then he looked over his shoulder, and he saw seventy newspaper reporters with pencils all ready to write down what he said. He looked farther back in the room, and there was some of the public who had been admitted to these proceedings. It was, obviously, impossible for him to get up there and say in public that the Greek Government would not accept any such solution as that, because immediately it would be telegraphed all over the world that the Greeks were bent on war, and it meant a declaration of war on Bulgaria."

"In my opinion," added Mr. Smith, "that is the best way in which you can prevent outrageous claims from being made, the best way in which you can prevent a country from undertaking an improper course of policy."

An admirable presentation of League methods.

Damming the Blue Nile

EUROPE watches with interest the progress of Abyssinia as a member of the League. The proposals for damming the Blue Nile at the point where it leaves Lake Tsana, and thereby making use of its waste waters, have long been in being, and the question of League arbitration concerning the technicalities of this scheme is still under consideration. It is understood, however, that some results will soon be forthcoming. The British would not, of course, undertake the scheme without the fullest consent and co-operation of the Government at Addis Ababa. The scheme would, moreover, provide employment for many Abyssinians. A fear is understood to exist at Addis Ababa that the scheme might involve the attendance of British native troops. The recent attack on a British Somali caravan in the Jijiga district may have given rise to this; but, as was mentioned in *The Times* of August 19, the presence of troops should be in no way necessary, and if any doubts do exist it is for the Abyssinian Government to clear them away. Certainly Abyssinia has everything to gain and nothing to lose by attaching herself yet more firmly to the League of Nations.

Private Air Trips

ANY form of co-operation between nations, however humble, is a blow to xenophobia and its attendant evils." This dictum forms the closing sentence of a letter in a recent issue of *The Times* on the need for proper aerodrome equipment and weather intelligence in different countries for the benefit of the increasingly numerous owners of private aeroplanes, used for pleasure trips or business tours. (Xenophobia, it may be convenient to explain, means hostility towards foreigners.) The writer of the letter in question, describing a recent tour in a "Moth" aeroplane which he owns, mentions that he set out for a visit to 14 countries in Europe, but came to grief before half his tour was completed because there was no co-ordination in the matter of weather information, facts about aerodromes, or even, in some cases, telephonic communication, between different countries. He urges that the whole matter be taken in hand at once, and suggests the Fédération Aéronautique

Internationale as the suitable body. It may be, but clearly the Transit Section of the League, whether or not it is the right authority to handle administrative details, ought to have general supervision over a question of international relationships which may have both economic and political aspects, in view of the part the aeroplane can play in smuggling food into a country or criminals and agitators in or out. On the general doctrine that the more contacts between citizens of different countries are developed by air-travel the more world-peace will be cemented, it is permissible to quote an observation of the Belgian Senator M. de Broukère, who remarked benevolently but a little drily when he heard this argument used that "he only hoped aeroplanes would prove more successful in this respect than railways had been."

Turkey's Desires

IN view of the fact that Turkey now takes part regularly in practically every League activity with which States not members of the League are invited to associate themselves, it is naturally being asked whether the Turkish Government does not intend definitely to apply for League membership. The difficulty appears to be one of *amour propre*. Turkey is understood to consider herself a Power of such importance in the world that it would only be compatible with her dignity to enter with a permanent seat on the Council. That demand would, no doubt, not be pressed if there were a prospect that immediate election to a non-permanent seat could be assured. But, that, of course, is also entirely out of the question. It would be altogether improper for a State, unless it were a recognised Great Power like Germany, to be elected to the Council till it had served its apprenticeship as an ordinary Assembly member. Now that all States except the Great Powers will have to retire for a period from the Council and become mere Assembly members it should be easier for Turkey to reconcile herself to taking her place among the rank and file. Meanwhile it is interesting to observe that two Arab States formerly under Turkish suzerainty—Iraq and Nejd—are both considering the question of League membership, though neither is likely to make an application this year.

How Prussia Does It

THE following interesting memorandum has been circulated by Dr. Becker, the Prussian Minister of Education, to the educational institutions of Prussia:—

"Many opportunities are already in existence in the curricula of the primary and secondary schools of Prussia, as well as in the high schools, for giving instruction upon the League of Nations. Now, however, in view of the fact that Germany has become a member of the League, it has become more than ever necessary that the schools should provide thorough teaching of the League's constitution, work and aims.

"It follows from the nature of the League itself that such teaching should be impregnated with national self-respect, with sympathetic respect for other nations, and should inculcate the doctrine that the development of every nation will be fostered by membership of an all-embracing community of nations.

"I direct that the subject shall be dealt with in this manner in the higher classes of the elementary schools, in the secondary schools, in the institutions for higher education, in the Teachers' Training Colleges, and also in the Students' Textbooks.

(Signed) BECKER."

Transatlantic Peace

THE article on another page on Professor Shotwell's Draft Treaty of Peace between America and other States should be read in connection with the discussions understood to be now in progress between France and the United States regarding a Treaty of Peace between these two countries in particular. These discussions arose out of a rather casual remark made by M. Briand to a journalist who was interviewing him, that obviously war between the United States and France was unthinkable, and that France would have no objection to signing a definite Treaty outlawing war between the two countries for, say, a hundred years. The American Ambassador in this country, Mr. Houghton, has made a rather similar suggestion, speaking in a personal and not an official capacity, in regard to Great Britain and America. The idea of such Treaties is, therefore, being fully ventilated. Unfortunately the American Senate, which has to ratify any Treaty before it can become effective, always shows considerable reluctance in entering into any such obligations as this. It would, therefore, be quite undue optimism to suppose that practical developments are at all immediately imminent.

Russia's Yes and No

THE Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, having stated officially that it would be represented at last month's League conference on Communications and Transit, subsequently stated officially that it would not be represented after all. It accordingly was not. The reason given was that the Russians, if they came, would not be on a complete equality with other States, because they would not be able to vote in the election of members of the League's standing commission on Communications and Transit. This is obviously a privilege which (for what it is worth) must be confined to States members of the League, and the fact that this is so has not deterred countries like the United States or Turkey from taking part officially in the conference. There is little doubt that Russia's withdrawal, under cover of an obviously transparent excuse, was due to some change in the current of her internal politics. It is a pity, all the same, for international transit is a field in which Russia's co-operation is more than usually desirable. Not only all Europe, but all Europe and Asia, must be regarded as a single unit for transit purposes by anyone who looks a few years into the future and foresees the inevitable development of road and rail communication in Asia and of air communication in both continents. But if Russia's co-operation is not forthcoming all the League can do is to wait till it is, going on meanwhile as far as it is possible to go. The Soviet Government obviously compromises itself in no way by joining in a technical activity of the League, and it is as much in the interest of Russia as any other State that communications everywhere should be improved.

INTERNATIONALISM FOR PATRIOTS

By SIR GEORGE ASTON

AS time passes, most of us find it more difficult to remember our emotions and aspirations during the years of warfare, or our sense of values in those days of sacrifice for a great ideal, but few of those who attended the funeral service of Edith Cavell in Westminster Abbey can fail to ponder at times over the last thought that she expressed: "Patriotism is not enough." Enough for what? Enough to die for, was her own reply to the question; but the message that she left behind her was that it is not enough to live for. She saw the need for a wider outlook; for lives devoted to thoughts of other countries as well as of their own; for work for the well-being of all nations to speed-up the arrival of the time when they will live in harmony instead of in senseless and perpetual bickering over misunderstandings; for that sort of internationalism.

"Nothing to Kill With"

Most of us, I suppose, were brought up on Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies* and remember the people of Old-wives-fabledom, who "luckily had nothing to shoot, hang, or burn with . . . the fairies had hid all the killing-tackle away"; and we all of us wish the best of luck to the good folk who are working for the reduction of armaments as a means of abolishing the fears that cause wars. If we are wise, we also bear in mind that the people in the fable still had stones to pelt with after they had been deprived of more lethal weapons, and that they hurled those stones at anybody who tried to compound their idiotic differences of opinion. The causes of wars go deeper than the mere possession of armaments, and one of these causes is said to be patriotism. We are told sometimes, for that reason, that patriotism ought to be derided, not commended, and that internationalism, if it is to produce goodwill between nations, should be something nebulous, anaemic, and unpatriotic. To my mind this idea is utterly misleading and harmful. It means trying to build upon a foundation of nothing, instead of upon our experience of evolutionary and other constructive processes of the past. Get hold of something that exists, and develop it, is the lesson taught by experience. To promote international goodwill, find some other sort of goodwill, of which there is more in the world than one would imagine from certain types of journal.

Building Up Goodwill

How was the goodwill displayed by truly patriotic folk towards each other built up? Surely upon a basis of goodwill in individual homes, families, towns, counties, or classes of the population, and without destroying the family, town, county, or class loyalties. If individuals can be so grouped in families and then in larger groups, up to the nation, is not the next step forward to group the nations? The establishment of the League of Nations, in spite of the attitude of the U.S.A. and of Soviet Russia, is a step in that direction.

I cannot, of course, go into the distinction between nations and States, in so short an article as this, but I do not think that to be necessary to my argument, which rests on the assumption that goodwill and loyalty to the larger group rests upon similar qualities in the smaller—and I go further than that. I think that the deeper the loyalty to family and so forth, the deeper the loyalty to country—in other words, patriotism. If this is true, it is permissible to believe that the right sort of internationalism can best be built up by the

most patriotic nations; patriotic in the right way, of course, and here I make a short digression, to find a parallel in *esprit de corps*, of which I have had a lifetime of experience.

Merit Without Talk

There is a good form of *esprit de corps*, and a bad one. The good sort inspires the members of a regiment to combine in order to make their corps better than all others, without talking about it, and above all without any boasting, on the principle that "good wine needs no bush." The second-rate sort causes the members to try to enhance the reputation of their own regiment by depreciating others, to which an attitude amounting almost to hostility is assumed. We can easily find parallels in the various forms of patriotism that are displayed by different nations; but we do not want to destroy patriotism for that reason, any more than we want to destroy *esprit de corps* in the army. We value it too highly.

To return to the process of evolution towards a better understanding of wide-spread issues, or internationalism. Some may hold that what I have written about the development of goodwill and, through that, of loyalty to larger human groups, is all nonsense; that it is not a question of goodwill at all, but purely of self-interest, because experience proves that slaughtering foreigners is not a profitable proposition; that you can kill them, but you cannot kill the ideas that they represent, and by killing them you reduce your own prospects of peace and prosperity. It seems to me that this tends only to strengthen the case for patriotism. It puts things on a lower plane, but it is easier to secure the support of many people for a cause proved to advance their own interests, than it is for one to promote the interests of other people. If it can be proved that, in these days of industrial inter-dependence, the prosperity of each nation depends upon the goodwill of others, and that hatred and aggression towards other nations does harm to one's own country, then the more patriotic we claim to be, the more we shall try to abolish such sentiments, and, in that sense, to advance internationalism.

Study the Assembly

From whatever angle we approach the subject, it seems to me that the best form of internationalism can only be advanced through patriotism. The debates in the Assembly at Geneva are worth studying, from that point of view. My own impression, after reading many of them, is that delegates from the most truly patriotic nations provide the best contributions towards international progress; and, to glance for a moment upon the other side of the picture, the example of Soviet Russia—where the ideal of future internationalism is based, not upon patriotism, but upon class hatreds that make true patriotism impossible—offers little encouragement to those who are working for internationalism of the type that we have discussed. It must, however, be acknowledged that, while avoiding that Scylla, we must steer clear of the Charybdis of the pseudo-patriotic, whose patriotism, nurtured on false history, resembles the second-rate form of *esprit de corps* that involves boasting and depreciation of others.

The best form of patriotism is the surest, and I believe the only possible, foundation for the best form of internationalism.

THIS MONTH'S ASSEMBLY
WHAT WILL COME OUT OF IT?

IT is always a mistake to expect too much of the League Assembly. The Assembly does not exist in the main to take great decisions. Its general character and function is indicated much more by a clause in Art. III of the Covenant—"The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world." Put briefly, the business of the Assembly delegates is to discuss the general policy of the League, and lay down its broad lines, leaving it to the Council or some standing committee to work out the policy later in detail. That is true, even though the discussions at recent Assemblies have been so far definite as to lead to the adoption of resolutions providing for the calling of a World Disarmament Conference and a World Economic Conference.

The official agenda of the Assembly is not much guide as to what will actually happen. No one would have guessed in August, 1923, that the Assembly of the following month would be overshadowed by the Corfu crisis, or in August, 1924, that some five weeks hence the document known as the Geneva Protocol would have been conceived, framed, revised and approved. The unexpected indeed is almost commoner at an Assembly than the expected. The actual agenda for this month's meetings has already been analysed in HEADWAY. It makes no reference to one question which can hardly fail to dominate all others in importance—disarmament. So far as the League itself is concerned that problem remains where it was left at the end of the Preparatory Commission's sittings in June. But since then the Coolidge Conference has been held at Geneva indeed, but outside the framework of the League, and devoid of any direct connection with it. The outcome of the conference is profoundly disappointing, and the smaller States who genuinely desire to see the disarmament provisions of the Covenant executed are likely to speak plainly on the failure of the Greater Powers to give a clear lead either at the Preparatory Commission or in the limited discussions of the Coolidge Conference.

About Those Tariffs

Another debate of importance may be expected on the Economic Conference. Here everything depends on the action of Governments, and Governments have not so far acted. Action means reducing tariffs, and as no country is likely to knock its own tariffs down regardless of what other countries are doing a good deal of discussion and negotiation between individual States will be needed before tariffs actually stop increasing, and begin "to move in the opposite direction." But speakers at the Assembly will certainly want to know whether Governments whose Ministers have declared that they intend to carry out the Economic Conference's recommendations really do mean to lower their own countries' tariffs, and if so, when. The establishment of personal contacts at Geneva will provide an admirable opportunity for discussion between Ministers of different States who may desire to pave the way for commercial agreements between their respective countries.

The importance of the routine work of the Assembly must never be under-rated. The men and women who perspire the afternoon through at one or other of the six commissions which digest the Assembly's food for it do quite as valuable service in those stifling committee rooms as they can ever render on the platform itself. It is here indeed that the real constructive work

leading up to the Preparatory Commission in Disarmament and the Economic Conference was done and it is here that the disarmament and tariff and cartel problems will be hammered out in detail this month. It is here that every department of the League finances—compressed this year into budget estimates which still keep below £1,000,000 for the whole League, including Court and I.L.O.—will be picked over with the finest of tooth-combs.

The League's New Home

Here, too, a decision will have to be taken and recommended to the Assembly on the question of the League's new buildings—whether, that is to say, the award should be given to some design which exceeds the financial limits set (a course which would be hardly fair to competing architects who have scrupulously observed the conditions laid down), or whether a new competition, either open or limited, should be arranged.

The Fifth Commission, on humanitarian questions, ought by the exercise of a little tactful pressure to secure enough further ratifications of the Opium Convention of 1925 to bring that instrument into force and get the Central Opium Board definitely set up. The same Commission will have before it the whole question of the White Slave Traffic, for the now famous report on the subject has been published since the last Assembly. Discussion will be a little restricted by the fact that the second part of the report, containing detailed observations on each of the 28 countries investigated, has not been issued yet; but quite enough information is available to provide a basis for valuable and instructive debates.

Mandate Problems

When mandates come up for discussion in Commission VI the Permanent Mandates Commission is likely to find some support, against the Council, in respect of the questionnaire which certain Mandatory Powers on the Council criticised rather strongly. Another mandate question that can hardly be ignored is the unrest in Samoa, held by New Zealand under mandate. The facts about the alleged deportations in Samoa are still obscure, and it is far too soon to pass judgment against the New Zealand Government; but the New Zealand representative at Geneva will no doubt welcome an opportunity of explaining just what has happened at Samoa and why.

Health will, as usual, provide Commission II with some interesting sittings, and such reports as may be forthcoming as to measures taken by different States to suppress slavery should give rise to discussions of some importance in Commission VI. In another sphere several reports will be before the Assembly, and therefore before one Commission or another, on steps that might be taken to strengthen the hands of the Council when it is dealing (under Art. XI) with a threat of war, or (under Art. XVI) with a breach of the Covenant by an aggressor.

But, valuable as all this will be, the really important feature of the Eighth Assembly will be the atmosphere it creates. There is at present a quite undeniable severance between the smaller and the larger States at Geneva. If the great Powers, by their declarations and their general policy, can do anything to foster the sense of unity and general collaboration, the Assembly of 1927 should carry the League confidently forward, instead of leaving it stationary and uncertain.

SAMOAN UNREST TROUBLE IN A MANDATE AREA

By FREDA WHITE

WHEN a mandated area becomes "news" you may be sure that it is in trouble. Peace may have its victories in the South Seas, but they have no newspaper renown. Now Western Samoa has occupied much space in the press of late, and accounts are so conflicting that it may be useful to try to estimate them in relation to the general record of the territory.

That record is excellent. When New Zealand was confirmed in her rule of Savii and Upolu by the mandate of 1920, she faced her task hopefully. True, the islands lie remote, 1,500 miles north of New Zealand. Also the coconut plantations which make their prosperity had run to ruin during the War, and the influenza of 1918 had destroyed a fifth of the population. But land and people, both were good; the land fertile, able to produce cocoa and cotton as well as copra; the people handsome, cheerful and artistic—"the aristocrats of the Pacific." They number now above 35,000. The Europeans are about 2,000 strong, and include missionaries, officials, planters and merchants. There are also about 1,000 imported Chinese labourers, but they do not come into this story.

Samoa for the Samoans

From the first, the New Zealand Government proclaimed a policy of Samoa for the Samoans. In March of this year the Administrator, General Sir George Richardson, said to the European Council: "In this native country, in cases where interests appear to be in conflict, as between the small number of Europeans and the overwhelming population of Natives, the interests of the latter will be considered by me as paramount." And the mandatory Government has put that policy into force. Native planting has been increased, native crops improved. Seventy-seven per cent. of the 1925 copra crop was Samoan grown, and it was a record, twice as large as the greatest pre-war crop. Education is universal, conducted in Samoan, and directed to the needs of island life. It is still mainly in the hands of the missions, but training in agriculture, and crafts such as carpentry and building are being developed, and the cleverest boys will go to New Zealand to be educated as the officials of the future. Regular health campaigns are making inroads on the characteristic island diseases; child-welfare work is catching on among the women. Roads are being made, sanitation improved, pure water piped to the villages. Political power is vested entirely in the Administrator, but the natives have a share in administration, as officials, and advisory functions as members of the "Fono of Faipules," a council representing districts. The Europeans also have an advisory council, mainly official.

A Model Area

With all this, it is small wonder that Samoa has been nicknamed "The Model Mandated Area." Yet there is unrest in the islands. This has been brewing since 1926, when a "Citizens' Committee" was formed of the three elected members of the European Council, three other Europeans, and several natives. When members of this committee first tried to visit New Zealand to lay grievances before the Government, they were refused passports. The tension increased, however, and in June, 1927, a petition was laid before the New Zealand Parliament, attributing good intentions but oppressive Ordinances to the Administration. It asked that the Fono of Faipules should be selected by native custom, that hereditary chiefs should be re-established,

that punishment without trial should be abolished, and that Samoans should be allowed to petition the New Zealand Government on purely native affairs. It asked for an inquiry by a New Zealand judge.

It is an odd thing, by the way, if Samoans may not petition the Mandatory State; for every Samoan, though he may not be aware of it, has the inalienable right to petition the League of Nations.

Deporting Chiefs

Meantime native unrest is very serious, and has been met by deportation of chiefs to other parts of the territory—"confino," as Fascism would call it. Sir Joseph Carruthers, ex-premier of New South Wales, visited Samoa recently, and afterwards protested in New Zealand against the putting aside of British justice in punishment without trial. But the New Zealand Government, fortified by a testimonial of support, signed by 150 Samoan Europeans, backs the administrator. Ministers say that some of the Citizen's Committee are suspect, that they have engineered the agitation because white merchants resent prohibition, and that they have misled the susceptible Samoans. The Government in July rapidly passed a Bill increasing the penal powers of the administrator, on the ground that deportation is essential to prevent armed revolt.

This view was explained by the High Commissioner, Sir James Parr, to the *Manchester Guardian* on July 27, and he was obviously right in implying that it is impossible here in Britain, to judge the circumstances. Certainly no one seems to doubt General Richardson's sincere devotion to native welfare. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that white annoyance at prohibition accounts for such a pitch of Samoan excitement.

A Possible Cause

What follows is guesswork. When tropical peoples are upset, it is a good rule to inquire what is being done that affects labour conditions, land tenure, or tribal custom. Labour conditions do not come in here, for the Samoan does not want, or need, to be any white planter's wage-slave. Land tenure and custom are relevant. Cultivation in Samoa is communal, and controlled by family chiefs called "Matais." The administrator is very keen to substitute the more efficient system of individual cultivation. But as he sadly reported in 1925, land reform was opposed by the massed conservatism of over 3,200 Matais. Now the 1926 Report, in its list of Ordinances made with the knowledge of the Fono of Faipules, includes one introducing individual ownership of native lands, and one on succession to titles of chiefs. That looks like an attempt to over-ride and perhaps get rid of those Tory Bolsheviks, the Matais. If this be so, General Richardson, with the purest intentions, may have run up against native custom; and it is a fact that races which accept novelties like motor-cars and drains without blinking, will offer surprising resistance to slight changes in tribal habits. It will be remembered that a land reform of a similar kind was one of the causes of the Djebel Druze revolt.

It may be hoped that the New Zealand Government will accede to the request to send a non-political Commission to clear up the facts of the trouble; for while misunderstanding continues, peace cannot be restored. It is understood that the position in Samoa is in any case to come before the Permanent Mandates Commission in October.

AN ASSEMBLY IN AMERICA ELEVEN UNIVERSITIES SEND DELEGATES

By PROFESSOR H. DUNCAN HALL

A MODEL Assembly of the League of Nations which eleven universities and colleges participated has been held under the auspices of the new School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, New York State. So far as can be ascertained, this is the first time a Model Assembly of the League, participated in by a number of universities, has been held in the United States.

Several factors played a part in bringing about the Assembly. Interest in international affairs is rapidly growing in most American universities. The League of Nations is so dead as a political issue that many Americans are now suddenly able for the first time to see it as a living factor in world affairs with an existence independent of the exigencies of American politics. And with this awakening has come a keen desire on the part of many to know just how the League functions and what it is doing. A Model Assembly was welcomed as providing an opportunity of seeing in action the most important organisation for world co-operation ever established; an organisation which, whether the United States is a member of it or not, is at present the largest single factor in America's foreign relations. It was not without significance that the meeting of the Model Assembly coincided with the highest point yet reached in America's relationship to the League. This peak is indicated by the fact of American participation, either officially or unofficially, in half of the 22 important international conferences held under the auspices of the League between March and June of this year. It is not strange that both former advocates and former opponents of American entry into the League find no difficulty in agreeing upon the necessity of studying a body which is not only becoming more and more the centre of world affairs, but is now a vitally important field of American activity.

Hoing the Ground

In the organisation of the Model Assembly formidable difficulties were encountered. These were partly due to the novelty of the idea, partly also to the almost complete lack of familiarity with League procedure, but most of all to the problem of co-ordinating the preparation of eleven widely separated universities. They were overcome, however, by the persistence and enthusiasm of the students. In each university committees were formed whose task it was to study the point of view and problems of the countries to be represented by the university in the Assembly. In addition, practically every university prepared one or more reports on special items on the agenda of the Assembly which they presented as rapporteurs for the appropriate Assembly committees. This preparatory work extended over a period of seven weeks, and in most cases was done very thoroughly.

The Assembly lasted for two days. It was attended by over 150 student delegates from eleven universities in New York State. There was present also a large audience of students, faculty members and general public. A feature of the proceedings which helped to attract widespread public attention to the Assembly were two brilliant addresses delivered by Professor George Blakeslee and Sir George Foster, two outstanding exponents of the American and Canadian attitude to the League. The discussions in the Assembly were

carried through by the student delegates with great seriousness and at an unexpectedly high level. Amongst the questions discussed were the Coolidge Disarmament Conference, the World Court reservations, the International Economic Conference and the Chinese crisis. With regard to the latter there was almost unanimous agreement that the League should advise the revision of the "unequal treaties." M. Briand's proposed Franco-American arbitration treaty (which has aroused widespread interest in the United States) was unanimously endorsed.

Taking it for Granted

A marked feature of the proceedings was the way in which all the participants took for granted the existence of the League as an indispensable organ of world co-operation, and enthusiastically applauded its achievements. Acceptance of the League was, if anything, rather too uncritical. But one reason for this was that the delegates had not come to criticise the League, but to show it in action. They projected themselves easily and naturally into the characters of the countries which they represented. Most of the delegates expressed themselves with freedom and sincerity, without violating the realism required of them as representatives of particular States in the League. The impression left was that there was a very real, and perhaps neglected, educational value in this process.

Another interesting feature of the procedure was the prominent part taken by foreign students representing their native countries in the Assembly. A Chinese delegation from Cornell University made an admirable presentation of the Chinese point of view, and were forced to go through the valuable experience of having their credentials challenged by the delegate from Poland on the ground that China had no central government to accredit delegates. An Indian, the leader of the delegation from India (by way of Syracuse University), protested strongly against the exclusion of immigration from the agenda of the Economic Conference.

Asiatic Views

A Persian gave a touch of realism by speaking in Persian on opium and having his speech translated into English. A Korean and a Filipino were able to discuss some of the items on the agenda from the Asiatic point of view from the vantage ground of the Siamese delegation. It is doubtful whether in an ordinary American student conference any of these delegates would have been able to put their points of view as effectively as in a Model Assembly under League procedure. The whole experience was so obviously valuable and interesting that the Assembly will be repeated at other universities in the coming year, and already students are planning to go to Geneva in order to equip themselves to play their parts.

The striking success of an experiment of this sort is significant. It indicates what the university students of this generation in America are thinking. It is a matter of no small importance to the world that the largest university student body which any country has ever had at any time in history is taking a serious interest in international affairs. The United States may be slow to adopt a policy of co-operation in world politics, but a solid foundation for such action in the future is being laid.

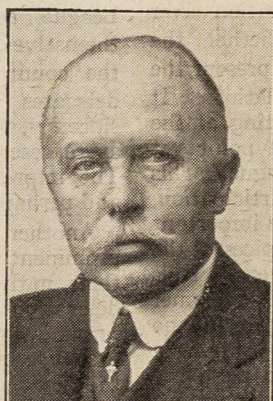
THE NAVAL CONFERENCE FAILURE SHOULD THE LEAGUE COMMISSION GO FORWARD?

THE story of the Conference on the Limitation of Naval Armaments was carried in the last issue of HEADWAY to the point at which the two principal British delegates, Mr. Bridgeman and Lord Cecil, were summoned home for consultation with the Cabinet in regard to the proposals which were then being laid before the American delegation on the joint initiative of the British and the Japanese. As a result of the Cabinet discussions, the delegates returned to Geneva with concrete proposals, differing, it is understood, slightly though not greatly from those already under discussion. The main features of the scheme were:—

- (1) That the number of 10,000 ton cruisers should be limited, America and Britain building twelve each and Japan eight;
- (2) That cruiser, destroyer and submarine tonnage should be treated as a whole and that America and Britain should each receive 590,000 tons and Japan 385,000;



Mr. Gibson



Mr. Bridgeman



Viscount Saito

THE HEADS OF THE DELEGATIONS

- (3) That over and above this, each Power might retain 25 per cent. of this tonnage in vessels over an agreed age limit;
- (4) That with certain exceptions, the maximum size for cruisers, other than the limited number of 10,000 ton cruisers allotted to each Power, should be 6,000 tons and the gun calibre six inches;
- (5) That these provisions should hold good till the year 1936.

It is hardly necessary to spend time now on these technical details. The proposals in question were not accepted by the American delegation, which never formally agreed even to the 12:12:8 ratio in large cruisers and which insisted on the retention of the 8-in. gun, while the British desired a limit of 6 in. The Conference, therefore, broke up on August 4 with nothing achieved. Nothing is gained by attempts to gloss over this unwelcome fact. There is equally little advantage in endeavouring to attribute responsibility for the failure. It is more pertinent now to ask certain questions, the answers to which may point the way to more fruitful discussions of various fundamental issues which cannot be evaded.

1.—Is War between Great Britain and America “Unthinkable”?

As to how far it is morally unthinkable, everyone can judge for himself. Technically, it would be a pretty bad business for this country, as Canada and the West Indies would fall into the hands of the United States in the first week, or at any rate the first month, of war and we could strike no effective blow at so vast and self-contained a country.

2.—If War between the Two Countries is Unthinkable, Why Should There be any Necessity to Measure the Two Navies Against One Another?

In point of fact, the two navies were being measured at Geneva not against one another but against Japan. War between the United States and Japan, or between Great Britain and Japan, is not unthinkable, however unlikely it may be. If America builds a big navy,

Japan will feel impelled to follow suit and Great Britain will feel it essential to build because Japan is building.

3.—How Will the Failure of the Three-Power Conference Affect the Meeting of the League's Preparatory Commission in November?

It is to be hoped that it will not affect it at all. There may be a tendency to argue that since Britain, America and Japan cannot agree now, they will not agree then, and if they do not agree then the Preparatory Commission must fail too. Against that it may be observed:

- (i) That by November public opinion in Great Britain and America may have asserted itself to some purpose in the direction of agreement;
- (ii) That the fact that the naval question takes its place as part of a much larger general issue, and that the question of parity between Great Britain and America is not directly raised, should tend to make agreement rather easier;
- (iii) That France and Italy, which declined to attend the Three-Power Conference, will be under almost an obligation of honour to make special efforts to bring success out of the November discussions;

- (iv) That as a matter of principle, the League ought not to be deterred from continuing its own endeavours by the fact that three States have gone apart to discuss the naval question by themselves and have done so without success.

Certain observations on the general situation need to be added. The Three-Power Conference would almost certainly have succeeded better if it had sat in public, as the League Preparatory Commission does, for misunderstandings which persisted to the last could hardly have stood the test of public debate. At Geneva, for example, Mr. Bridgeman assured America and the world that Great Britain completely accepted the principle of naval parity between the two countries, and the world, remembering that parity had been expressed at the Washington Conference in 1921 in actual figures of tonnage, in the size limit of ships and in the number of ships, naturally took parity to mean the same thing to-day. It was left for Mr. Churchill to explain, after the Conference ended, that equality and parity were two different things and that Great Britain would never agree to mathematical parity.

It is not unreasonable to draw from the failure of the naval conversations the conclusion that a political understanding must precede a naval agreement. A treaty between Great Britain and America, and Japan and America, to the effect that all disputes between the countries concerned would be settled by some form of

arbitration would revolutionise the naval question. Japan did apparently propose something of the kind. Such a treaty is not so easy to negotiate as it sounds, for it would at once bring up for consideration the question of the treatment of neutral, commerce in wartime. America, for example, would never agree that in a war in which she was a neutral, Great Britain, or any other nation, should have the right to stop her ships as they were stopped in 1915 and 1916. The difficulties that arose then were surmounted by skilful statesmanship, but America would be extremely unlikely to admit the principle in a formal treaty.

That is not a fatal obstacle if a broad enough view is taken. If the League of Nations strengthens its position in the world, and the provisions of the Covenant are not only accepted but applied, then there will be no private war between individual nations. The only war will be one in which the League States as a whole combine to coerce or restrain a State violating the Covenant, or the accepted principles of international law. To action taken in vindication of the Covenant America would have no moral right to object, and it may still be hoped that even if she remains outside the League, she may some day consent to sign a treaty recognising that principle. That, again, would revolutionise the naval question. To look so far ahead may be to take a distant view, but in the end to see the question as a whole probably means shorter work than to blunder forward uncertainly a few yards at a time.

THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE

EXAMINING A NEW ARGUMENT AGAINST SIGNATURE

By W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

IN the important debate on July 11 the Government were strongly urged by a number of speakers to undertake to accept the principle of arbitration for all our international disputes of whatever kind. They were urged, in particular, to accept legal judgment for legal disputes, by signing the Optional Clause. In replying to this debate, Mr. Locker-Lampson, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, advanced a new argument against signature of the Optional Clause; the argument deserves to be dispassionately considered, for if it is sound it not only makes a hash of some of the most important of the resolutions of the League of Nations and of the Union, but it strikes at the foundation of the whole existing fabric of international relations. In particular, it implies that the commitments accepted by our Government in the Treaty of Locarno are far more wildly perilous than has hitherto been realised.

Mr. Lampson was speaking of legal disputes held to affect “honour, or vital interests, or independence”; and he was giving reasons why we cannot undertake to accept any arbitral judgment, whether by the Permanent Court or anyone else, on these legal issues. “No constitutional Government,” he said, “can guarantee that the necessary legislation that would arise in case of an unfavourable arbitral award, would be passed by Parliament. We cannot possibly guarantee that . . . and in the future we have no guarantee whatever that if an arbitral award went against us, we should be able to carry on legislation in this House.”

What Others Have Done

Now a great many guarantees of this character have, in fact, been given by constitutional Governments. For 130 years Governments have been pursuing the pioneer example set by Britain and America in the Jay Treaty of 1794. At first there was only agreement to accept the judgment of reason for a particular dispute; then Governments learned to commit themselves in

advance to accept judgment for all disputes of certain kinds, those held to affect “honour or vital interests” being commonly excepted; and by the beginning of this century a few Governments were willing to accept pacific settlement for all their disputes with certain other countries. Argentina and Chile then bound themselves in 1902. In 1904 Denmark and Holland did so, and they extended the offer to any country in the world. But up till the late war almost all of the comprehensive arbitral engagements were between countries widely apart and little likely, in any case, to come to blows. Then came the war, and the great advance of the Covenant; but there was still a “gap in the Covenant.” If the Council deals with a dispute and is not unanimous in its report, then after three months' delay the parties are free to fight. Many States have signed the Optional Clause and many steps have been taken to close the gap. The Protocol would have done so, as regards all kinds of international disputes, legal or not; but since we rejected the Protocol others have had to be content, not with a general treaty, but with treaties between pairs or groups of States.

In September, 1924, Italy and Switzerland made their famous all-in Treaty;—but since then such treaties have multiplied amazingly, and they now fill a wide and varied field. Our Government has refused every method of advance in this direction, and in 1925 they even rejected the offers of all-in treaties made to us by Sweden, Switzerland and Holland, for reasons not yet made public: but even we have one “General Obligatory Arbitration Treaty,” ratified on February 11, 1919, with Uruguay, and still in force. France has lately offered some kind of all-in treaty to America, and the negotiation of this is expected to begin this month. The whole of this vast structure of international engagements must be built on sand, if Mr. Lampson is right. He says that “no constitutional Government” can thus bind its successors to accept

pacific settlement in any important issue, even if it be purely legal in character.

Our Scrap of Paper

Mr. Lampson says in particular that if we were to sign such an undertaking, binding ourselves to accept legal judgment in legal disputes, our bond would be worthless; we should be liable, if we disliked an important verdict, to tear up our scrap of paper. We are so ignorant, he holds, that even over a question of existing international law, or the interpretation of existing international treaties, or the amount of damages to be paid, we might insist on taking the law into our own hands and executing our own judgment. We are so unreliable that we ought not to trust ourselves to honour the obligations we have commended to others. Instead of protesting hotly that Mr. Lampson libels his countrymen, it is more profitable to consider coldly whether he may be right. Why does he hold this view?

Take the most important legal issue you can think of—an international issue, of course, not a domestic one. Take a dispute with the United States over our legal claims in regard to blockade. What vote would you cast if a plebiscite were taken in cold blood tomorrow on the question: Ordeal by battle, or judgment of reason? Would you undertake to accept the principle of arbitration for such a quarrel, or would you choose to retain the right to commit so lunatic a crime as war with the United States? Sir Austen Chamberlain said on July 11, in that debate, that war with America is "already outlawed in the heart and soul of every citizen in this country." If that is not mere clap-trap, an empty phrase, it means that we are willing in our relations with America to accept the alternative to war, pacific settlement for all our international disputes, of whatever kind. It can only mean that in the Foreign Secretary's opinion a plebiscite would yield an unanimous vote against retaining the right of private war with America.

Locarno

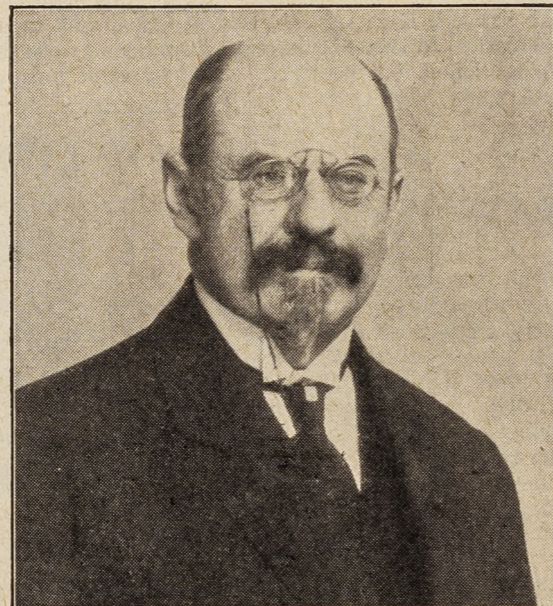
Lastly, consider the bearing of Mr. Lampson's Doctrine upon the Treaty of Locarno. When that Treaty was being planned we joined in urging upon Germany the need of accepting pacific settlement *in advance*, and for all kinds of dispute. The object, according to the Allied Note of August 27, 1925, was to "render impossible . . . any fresh resort to force." We feel that this object can only be attained by means of some obligatory pacific settlement applying to all the issues which may arise. In our opinion, the principle of compulsory arbitration thus conceived is an indispensable condition for any pact of the nature proposed by the German Government in their Note of February 9. And this Treaty does, in fact, bind Germany and France, Germany and Belgium, to "settle by peaceful means . . . all questions of every kind which may arise between them"; in particular, it binds them to submit to and comply with legal decision for all legal disputes between themselves. The Seventh Assembly declared that these principles of Locarno "may well be accepted amongst the fundamental rules which should govern the foreign policy of every civilized nation"; and in January Sir Austen Chamberlain, as a member of the Council, joined in recommending all state members to "put these principles into practice." And, what is more, our Government have placed such trust in the loyal fulfilment of these extended obligations by Germany and France that they have pledged the very greatest stake at our command, our co-operation in a possible European war, as a guarantee for their strict observance. If we could thus trust ancient enemies to honour their bond and keep their peace, if we could thus recommend the principle of the bond to "every civilized nation," is it not time that we extended such a trust and such a recommendation to our own not uncivilised people?

GENEVA PERSONALITIES

VIII.—M. EMIL VANDERVELDE

M. EMIL VANDERVELDE has not been a Geneva personality very long, and he ceases this month to hold the place he has filled so effectively in the last couple of years as Belgium's representative on the Council. That is because Belgium, obeying the inexorable laws of rotation, goes off the Council now for a period of three years.

M. Vandervelde's great value from the League point of view is that he happens to be a Socialist. That is not to say that Socialists are any better than other people. They may well be the reverse. But since it takes all sorts to make a world, so it takes all sorts to make a representative Assembly or a representative Council. Most of the Council members are not Socialists. Sir Austen Chamberlain has never been mistaken for one. M. Briand was once, but not lately. Dr. Stresemann wears no red tie. In such company the Belgian Foreign Minister supplies something the same element as a still greater European Socialist, M. Branting, once did. Working in complete harmony with their colleagues (though Branting sometimes found that rather

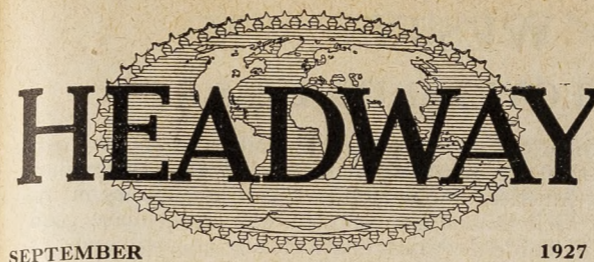


M. Emil Vandervelde

hard) they nevertheless succeed in putting a point of view that might otherwise get less than its share of attention.

Vandervelde is in a more difficult position than Branting. The latter represented a country neutral in the war, and, quite apart from his personal attitude, was able to speak with more detachment than a representative of an Allied State. Belgium stands, as everyone knows, in a special relation to France, and in a lesser degree to other Allied Powers, and a delegate from Belgium has, therefore, to walk warily. But M. Vandervelde was a signatory of the Locarno treaties, and he represents essentially the Locarno spirit, not the spirit of Versailles.

Deafness rather seriously handicaps M. Vandervelde at the Council table, but he has been an extremely useful member, attending regularly since he took office as Foreign Minister in the middle of 1925. Now that he performs retires from the Council, the opportunity presents itself of taking a place of some prominence in the Assembly. In the interests of the League, it is to be hoped he will not let the occasion slip.



SEPTEMBER

1927

A NEW BIG FOUR?

THE circumstances under which M. Henry de Jouvenel has declined to be a member of the French delegation to the League Assembly this year have rightly attracted a good deal of attention. M. de Jouvenel is accustomed to take his own line in politics, and he is acting independently in this connection, as he has more than once acted independently before. But he is a sufficiently well-known figure at Geneva, where he first came into prominence as one of the two protagonists in the security debates in 1922 (Lord Cecil being the other) to make his decision to absent himself from this year's Assembly important.

It is not, however, on the personal question that attention is, or should be, concentrated, but on the reasons given by M. de Jouvenel for remaining in Paris when his former colleagues go to Geneva.

"I have," he says, "expressed this year in a number of despatches my regret at seeing France refrain from submitting to the League of Nations problems which, in my judgment, can only be solved by that body, while at the same time persisting in the policy of adjournment which can only accumulate difficulties in the future. If at any time the delegates of other countries should express in the Assembly views similar to my own upon this matter, I should find myself in the position of having to run counter either to the wishes of my Government or to my own convictions. This is a situation from which it is one's duty to escape as soon as one sees it take shape."

There is nothing novel or unfamiliar with these views. They have been expressed repeatedly in the columns of HEADWAY, as in other places. What is new is the light that is shed upon them by the action of one of the best known supporters of the League of Nations on the Continent of Europe. M. de Jouvenel, in a subsequent article in *Le Matin*, has elaborated the views he had expressed in the letter already quoted to M. Briand. He asks quite frankly why the great Powers should since Locarno have appeared to abandon the methods of the League and to return to the policy practised by the Big Four during the Peace Conference. It is true, he observes, that the Big Four are not quite the same, Germany having taken the place of America, a fact which does not tend to make their solidarity easier to accomplish. The League, he says, has no more reason to congratulate itself on the fact that the Big Four meet at Geneva than a regular tribunal would have at finding itself deprived of its right to administer justice. Among the questions which he considers should have been dealt with by the League Council were the Russian situation, the situation in China, and the Italo-Yugoslavian dispute.

Into the details of M. de Jouvenel's indictment of diplomatic methods, as his own country, in common with Great Britain, has permitted them to be practised, there is no need to enter here. But broadly, his charges hold good. There is an unquestionable and most disquieting tendency for the four Great Powers, with or without the passive assistance of Japan, to consider themselves the arbiters of the fate of Europe, and indeed of some regions outside Europe, and to treat the League Council as though it were suitable only for the handling of secondary questions.

This month's Assembly may well see matters brought to a head, and the development is the more likely in view of M. de Jouvenel's sharp expression of his views. The small States have no great reason to tolerate the reconstruction of what M. de Jouvenel openly calls the revival of the European concert. If they cannot prevent it, they are at any rate not called on to indicate their implicit acquiescence by coming to Geneva to watch from a distance without protest the more or less formal conversations of the representatives of four or five great States.

There must, of course, be no misunderstanding about this question of personal contacts. The personal contacts of individuals are invaluable, but it is an essential condition of them that they should be devoted to furthering the effective conduct of international affairs, and in particular the settlement of international disputes, not merely in the vicinity of the League Headquarters, but in the spirit of the League, and through the machinery of the League. It is sometimes possible to lay too much stress on prestige. It is equally possible to lay too little. The prestige and authority and influence of the League of Nations are, in fact, elements of the first importance in their bearing on the future of the world. A League where the greater Powers co-operate to their utmost with the smaller, and through whose machinery they invariably conduct any business that can reasonably be brought within the sphere of activity of the League, is a body which will command sufficient respect to deter any State, whether great or small, from challenging it from motives of self-interest. A League whose most important members prefer to conduct their business among themselves is a League which may almost become more of a danger than a safeguard, because it may raise false hopes, and induce some States to rely on it only to find themselves disillusioned if a crisis arises.

There is a tendency, the development of which must be carefully watched, expressed by Sir Austen Chamberlain, when he said in the House of Commons that British foreign policy was based on support of the League and on appeal to the League *in the last resort*, and by M. Briand, when, in answer to M. de Jouvenel, he said that he considered it desirable to deal outside the League of Nations with "such international difficulties as can be settled by the normal processes of diplomacy before they constitute any real danger to peace." There may be something to be said for that principle, but it ought never to be accepted as a general rule of procedure. Individual cases must be considered on their merits. There are no doubt some in which the intervention of a friendly third party can smooth out difficulties between two States that have got across one another, but normally that third party ought to be the League, for an invaluable element in the League Council or Assembly is, or should be, the influence of a number of States quite disinterested in the dispute (if it be a dispute) that is under consideration, and concerned only to effect a settlement without violating any of the principles of justice and equity on which the League rests. A direct settlement between a powerful State and a weak State may be very much prejudiced by the consciousness on the part of the smaller of the pressure, financial, economic or otherwise, which the greater State can indirectly bring to bear on it.

The argument for buttressing the authority of the League of Nations with all the support every individual State, great or small, can give to it might be developed much further. It ought not, of course, to need developing, but there can unfortunately be no question that it does. M. de Jouvenel has rendered great service by emphasising certain dangers which he sees. It is to be hoped that the British delegation, at any rate, can be counted on to exert its power to the utmost to strengthen the League against these dangers.

LOOKING WEST WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS IN U.S.A.

THERE have been several missions, both official and unofficial, to the United States of America during the past two or three years, to inquire into the relations between employers and workpeople and the state of industry generally. As a result we, in this country, have been bidden to look to the West for a new industrial policy of which high wages and contented workpeople are held to be the satisfactory outcome—a new kind of orientation which might be described as “Light from the West.”

Mr. Butler has published a really valuable Report* as a result of his visit to America last autumn, which puts facts in their proper perspective. Indeed, so comprehensive is Mr. Butler's survey that we wish he would make an equally careful investigation into British Industrial Relations. The result of such an inquiry would surprise a good many people who are accustomed to the megaphones in the Press and elsewhere that are always turned on whenever a strike or dispute occurs, but are completely unaware of the quiet constructive work that is going on all the time.

We have to remember that the United States is largely a geographical expression. It is not a country, but a Continent. English is the common language of the whole country, but there are millions of inhabitants who have only the most elementary knowledge of it. Eleven million, or 10 per cent. of the total population, are negroes. There are thirty-six million persons one or both of whose parents are of foreign origin. “Strike meetings at which the orator has required ten or fifteen interpreters are commonplaces in American industrial history.”

A Variety of Conditions

Parallel with this variety of nationalities is an almost equal variety of industrial conditions. At one end of the scale one finds the highly mechanised organisations with employee representation on the Boards of Management, Profit-Sharing plans, and Stock-Ownership, at the other one finds the Cotton Mills of the South where labour is cheap and the conditions patriarchal. Thus:—

“The mill-village is a curious institution. It is built behind the mill and is an adjunct to it. It has no life of its own. . . . It is private property. The State may not enter in without a warrant. The school-teacher is paid by the mill man. So is the church. The grocery-store, the moving-picture, the drug-store, the doctor, everything is in the hands of the mill man. Everything is owned and bought by him.”

Nor must we lose sight of the fact that the United States consist of 48 component States each with its own legislature, and each jealously on the look-out for any encroachment on its autonomy by the Federal Government. Thus there is not one Labour Code, but 48 Labour Codes “framed on no common or uniform plan.” In States such as New York, Massachusetts, California, “there are advanced schemes for workmen's compensation, the labour of women is carefully supervised, and the law is enforced by adequate machinery. In the South, on the other hand, there are States where women work all through the night, where no compensation is provided for accidents, and where factory inspection is largely ineffective.”

There is one leading feature, however, which is the product, partly, of all these varying conditions of race,

geography and government, and in part due to the atmosphere of a new country: it is the feature known as American individualism. The possibilities in front of each individual workman who can “make good” are limitless. Class divisions are as yet barely perceptible; there are no fixed layers of social status; machinery, like people, does not become hallowed by tradition, but is replaced the moment it gets obsolete. Buildings are not patched up, nor extended piecemeal, but are pulled down and rebuilt to meet new conditions as they arise. Every skilled workman feels that he may become a Ford, or a Swift or a Rockefeller if he can raise some money and has a little luck.

Mobility of Labour

In particular, industry is expanding so rapidly that the ordinary worker can reasonably hope for rapid promotion. He is assisted, of course, in this by the unprecedented prosperity of America in the last ten years, a prosperity which has been stimulated by the policy of high wages. The fact that many thousands of workers have a margin above the bare necessities of life means an increased demand for all kinds of articles, in other words, a steadier market and a stimulus to further production. “On these grounds, the principle is now widely accepted among American employers that it is good policy to avoid reducing wages if possible, and that economies should be looked for in every other direction before reducing wages.” But when we refer to high wages we have to remember two things which help to modify the rosiness of the picture. The first is that the American workman has to carry his own liability in regard to insurance and old age. And the second is even more far-reaching. The workpeople who are sharing in the present industrial prosperity of America are the skilled men. In no other country is so sharp a distinction to be drawn between the skilled and the unskilled. The American Federation of Labour, comprising 3½ million of the 4½ million Trade Unionists in the U.S.A., consists for the most part of skilled men; and of the 1¼ million Trade Unionists who are not in the Federation, half a million represent the highest skilled men employed on the railways.

The skilled man is scarce and commands a correspondingly high price, and alone possesses any effective trade union organisation which can safeguard his interests. As a rule the ordinary labourer has no organisation to support his demands for higher wages, and “he has usually been drawn from the immigrant or negro sections of the Community, which are accustomed to a lower standard of comfort.”

Therefore when we read that a married workman with three children in a large town needs and gets an annual income of from £300 to £360 to enable him to maintain a reasonable standard of life, and that an annual income of from £220 to £280 represents the “minimum of subsistence level,” we have to remember that the “high wages,” of which we hear so much, apply mainly to the skilled men, and that it has been estimated that over 50 per cent. of the workmen engaged in American industry are earning less than the subsistence wage set out above.

In English Trade Unions the tendency has been to concentrate more upon the wages of the unskilled man than of the skilled. The result is a general levelling-up of conditions. This seems to us a sounder method than the more spectacular method of America. America's real industrial problem will begin when the inarticulate, unorganised, unskilled workers wake up and demand better conditions and more security.—L. H. GREEN.

*“Industrial Relations in the United States,” by H. B. Butler, C.B., Deputy Director of the I.L.O. (Published in the United Kingdom for the I.L.O. by P. S. King & Son, Ltd. 2s. 6d. net. Studies and Reports Series A, No. 27.)

MR. FRANSEN AND OTHERS TRACKING DOWN THE DOPE SMUGGLERS

YOU probably know little about Mr. Fransen, and not very much more about Bluefields, where he lives. Well, Bluefields is in Nicaragua, and Nicaragua, to complete the docket of information, is in Central America. The reason Mr. Fransen finds his way into HEADWAY is that he found his way, first, into a report of the British Home Office on the illicit opium traffic. The Home Office is the department of the Government that deals with narcotics, and through it the British Government co-operates with other countries in attempting to stamp out the traffic wherever they see it. A report on these endeavours is sent to the League of Nations every year because it is through the League that the Governments co-operate for this purpose.

It is the most recent of these reports that brings Mr. Fransen to light. Before we hear of him we hear of his opium. A case of it was detected at Kingston, Jamaica, on board a vessel arriving from Amsterdam and going on to Bluefields, Nicaragua. Great Britain is a signatory to various treaties on the opium traffic, and the shipping company concerned was told that the opium would stay at Jamaica unless an import certificate from the Government of Nicaragua was forthcoming, testifying that the import of the drug had been approved and that it was needed for legitimate purposes. The answer to this was the production of an alleged certificate in favour of the firm of Messrs. Fransen & Co., of Bluefields. His Majesty's Government, however, had heard of Mr. Fransen before, and got into direct touch with the Government of Nicaragua itself, asking a straight question whether the importation of this particular consignment was really authorised. The answer of the Nicaraguan Government was decisive. Mr. Fransen, they said, was not the owner of a legally-inscribed establishment for the sale of drugs, and, therefore, under Nicaraguan law, was not authorised to import opium at all; and, further than that, the amount he was endeavouring to import would have served the medical needs of the whole of Nicaragua for 15 years. That was the end of Mr. Fransen's adventure.

It is extremely useful that incidents of this kind should be brought to light in the reports which the British and other governments send annually to Geneva, for the greater the publicity the less the temptation to indulge in the lucrative enterprise of opium-smuggling will be.

A Seller of “Snow”

Mr. Fransen is not the only would-be smuggler run to earth in this report. There is an interesting story of an Englishman named Richard Cadbury Butler. Mr. Butler felt the hand of a policeman on his shoulder while he was trying to dispose of a pound of cocaine in what is described as “a low neighbourhood in the West End of London.” Becoming thus interested in his welfare, the police called at Mr. Butler's lodgings, where they found 12 1-lb. tins and 12 smaller tins filled with cocaine. Inquiries were set on foot, and the drug was traced back to its source. Mr. Butler, it appears, had obtained it from a German named Herr Murhard, of Bonn, and he entered England a little distended, owing to the fact that the cocaine was stowed in a waterproof belt inside his shirt. This information the Home Office presented to the German authorities, who discovered that Herr Murhard, of Bonn, got the drug from one Herr Schiefer, of Munich, a chemist. A brisk little illicit traffic had, in fact, been maintained for some time between the two. Probing the matter further, the German police pushed their

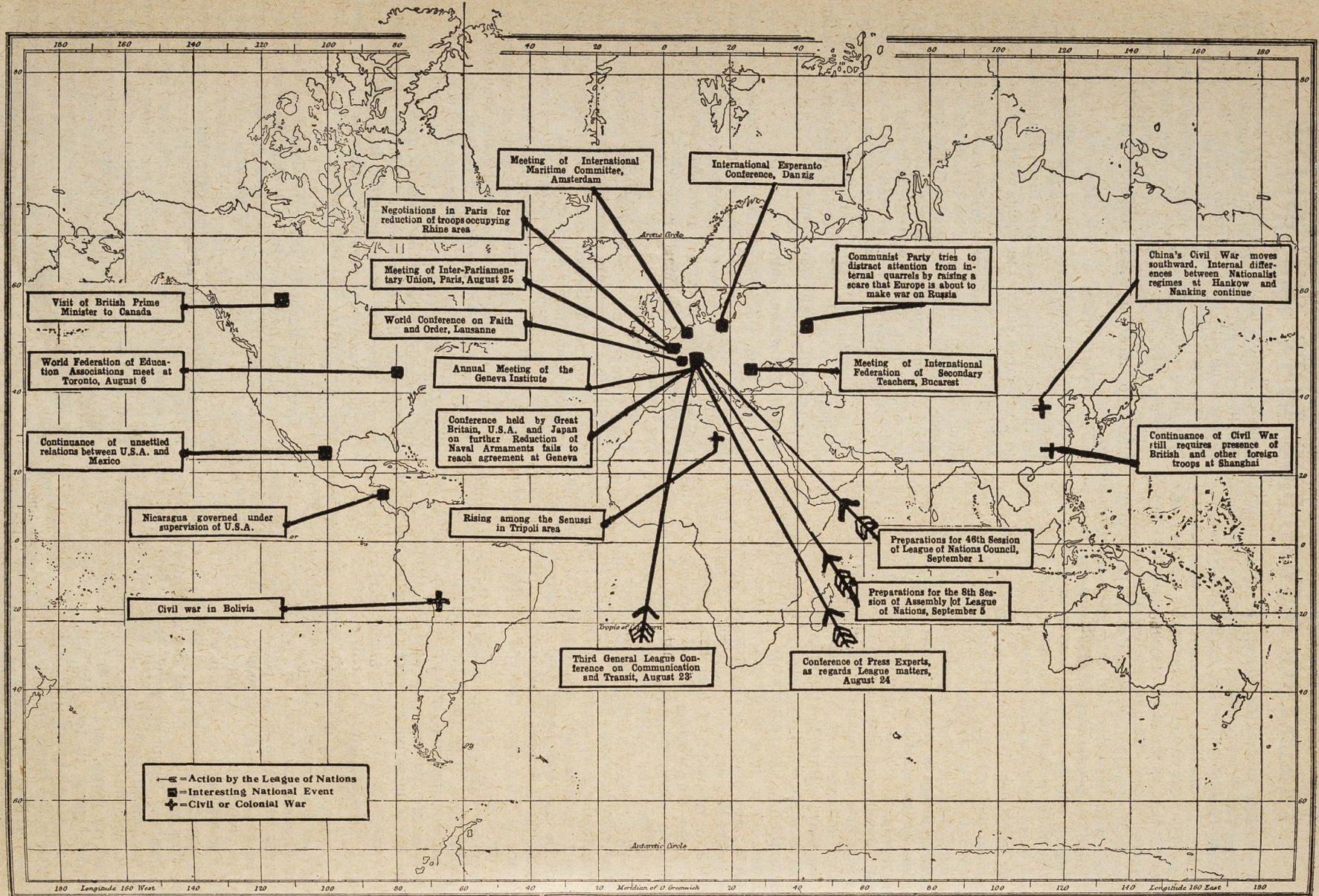
inquiries across another frontier, and found that the cocaine came first of all from Austria, where a German named Lang and two Austrians, named Biemann and Branker, were involved in the deal. The three former were tried and sentenced under German law. Herr Branker, who had actually provided the cocaine, judiciously shot himself. Curiously enough, the report omits to mention what sentence our Mr. Butler got.

The report brings a new device to light. It is mentioned here for the benefit of such opium traffickers as may be subscribers to HEADWAY. A French manufacturer consigned from Havre to Southampton 88 lbs. of a substance called Lubrinole, which, says the Home Office report, “on analysis proved to be a mixture of morphia and some unctuous substance” with which the drug had been mixed in order to conceal it, but from which it could easily be separated out and recovered. The Lubrinole was not intended to stay at Southampton, but was, in fact, on its way to the Far East via Canada. Its transit, however, was arrested by the police. Unfortunately its owner apparently was not, as he seems to have remained safely in France. Lubrinole is officially described as a chemical product containing 28.5 per cent. of anhydrous morphia.

Stopping Up the Gaps

Apart from the inherent interest of anecdotes such as these, they have their importance as showing that the British Government is persistently vigilant in this matter. Often, of course, more than one Government is concerned in an illegal transaction. For example, the huge amount of 8,200 ounces of heroin was seized at Hong Kong from a passenger in a steamer coming from Europe, and it appeared from documents found on him that the trunks containing the drug had been despatched from Switzerland to Marseilles and had gone on from thence to Hong Kong. The Swiss and French Governments were informed, as well as the League itself, but without further light being thrown on the matter. Similarly, two seizures of morphia of British manufacture were made by the Shanghai Post Office during 1926. It turned out on inquiry that they formed part of two separate consignments despatched from Great Britain to a firm at Prague, on the strength of an import certificate issued by the Government of Czechoslovakia. The British manufacturers, therefore, were perfectly in order, and the Czechoslovakian Government was asked to look into the matter of the import certificate it had granted.

Every document of any value issued on the opium traffic shows how essential it is that the most vigilant scrutiny should be exercised at every point, from the growth of the poppy to the handling of the manufactured drug. Great Britain, it is satisfactory to learn from the Home Office Report, tightened up considerably in the course of last year the regulations concerning the supply of dangerous drugs by chemists and others. In particular it is made an offence for a person being supplied with drugs on the prescription of one doctor to attempt to obtain them on the prescription of another, unless he informs the latter of the facts of his treatment by the former. This is, of course, to prevent addicts from obtaining supplies simultaneously from two or more doctors. A further hold on the traffic is provided by the fact that there are only three ports—London, Liverpool and Southampton—through which raw opium may be imported or narcotic drugs exported. Any taking any other route are liable to seizure.



LEAGUE AND WORLD AFFAIRS AT A GLANCE—AUGUST, 1927

PEACE WITH AMERICA

A PROPOSAL FOR A TREATY

AT the Institute of Pacific Relations which held its meetings at Honolulu in the latter part of July, Professor J. T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, New York, who is well known for various constructive proposals designed to secure closer co-operation between the United States of America and the League of Nations, submitted what he called a Draft Treaty of Permanent Peace. A lively discussion took place regarding the Treaty, but opinion as to its merits seems to have been unanimous. This is not unimportant when it is remembered that the members of the Honolulu Conference were persons of considerable influence, all of them unofficial, from such countries as Great Britain, Japan, China, Canada, Australia and, of course, the United States itself.

Now that the Naval Conference has failed, men of insight on both sides of the Atlantic are beginning to realise that the real basis for disarmament must be some clear and formal agreement between the two Anglo-Saxon Powers that whatever disputes may arise between them, they will not be settled by war. This gives added importance to the Treaty Dr. Shotwell has drafted and makes it worth while quoting the principal sections of it.

Part I of the Treaty is an agreement for the renunciation of war. That, of course, involves the substitution of some other means of settlement than war in the case of any disputes that may arise, and the second part of the Treaty is accordingly devoted to elaborating an arbitration and conciliation procedure. It is unnecessary to discuss this latter Part here. Arbitration can take different forms and it is not a matter of supreme importance which particular form is adopted. The one fundamental principle is that disputes should be settled by some kind of arbitration or conciliation and not by war. The first six clauses of Dr. Shotwell's Treaty, behind which a good deal of influential opinion in America is mobilised, run as follows:—

ARTICLE 1.—The United States of America and Ruritania mutually undertake that **they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war** against each other.

ARTICLE 2.—The stipulation in the above article shall not, however, apply in the case of—

(a) The exercise of the right of legitimate defence, that is to say, resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the previous article,

provided that the attacked party shall at once offer to submit the dispute to peaceful settlement or to comply with an arbitral or judicial decision;

(b) action by the United States of America in pursuance of its traditional policy with reference to the American continents,

provided that the United States will use its best endeavours to secure the submission to arbitration or conciliation of a dispute between an American and a non-American power.

ARTICLE 3.—For the furtherance of universal peace among nations, the High Contracting Parties agree:—

that in the event of a breach of a treaty or covenant for the compulsory peaceful settlement of international disputes other than this covenant, **each of them undertakes that it will not aid or abet the treaty-breaking Power**. In the event that the treaty-breaking Power is one of the High Contracting Parties, the other Party recovers full liberty of action with reference to it.

The measures to be taken in this regard shall be determined in the case of the United States of America by the action of its own Government, in the case of Ruritania in accordance with its existing treaty obligations.

ARTICLE 4.—Recognising the importance of accepted rules of law in the preservation of peace, the High Contracting Parties agree that **they will undertake to further a progressive codification of international law based upon the renunciation of war** as an instrument of policy, as set forth in this treaty.

ARTICLE 5.—In view of the greater degree of security provided by this treaty, the High Contracting Parties **undertake to co-operate with one another in furthering the progressive reduction of armaments** and to that end to study the appropriate ways and means in international conferences on disarmament which shall meet at regular intervals.

ARTICLE 6.—The High Contracting Parties agree to **submit disputes arising between them to arbitration or conciliation** as set forth in the following articles of this treaty,

provided that the dispute does not concern a matter which under international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of one of the High Contracting Parties;

nevertheless in every case the provisions of Part I shall apply.

Certain of these clauses call for comment. In 2(b) the reference to the Monroe Doctrine is in accordance with Article 21 of the League Covenant, which lays it down that "nothing in the Covenant shall affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace," though the recognition in a formal Treaty of the right of America to take armed action in pursuance of the Monroe Doctrine is rather more controversial.

The really important Article from the point of view of the League of Nations is No. 3, which is designed to meet the grave difficulty that would arise if States Members of the League had to combine to take action (under Article 16 of the Covenant) against a State violating the Covenant. They might have to prevent any country, including, of course, the United States, from continuing to trade with the offender. That would involve very serious consequences if America, as she well might, objected to her commerce being thus impeded. Article 3 of the Shotwell Treaty would dispose of this danger completely because America would, by signing it, agree not to "aid or abet" such a treaty-breaking Power.

It is not to be suggested for a moment that Dr. Shotwell's Treaty obtains anything like general acceptance in the United States. On the contrary it is certain that it would have no chance to-day of being ratified by the Senate. Its importance lies in the fact that it does indicate a definite objective towards which American believers in international co-operation can direct their efforts. It is probably the line of least resistance to the forces hostile to the League. On that ground, and not because there is any immediate prospect of the acceptance of the principles embodied in the Treaty, the document is well worth the study of everyone in this country who is giving thought to the difficult problem of the League's political relations with the United States.

A CHARTER FOR PRISONERS

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

WE are all internationalists nowadays, and the prisoner is no exception. Criminal operations overstep all national boundaries, and a barbarous or stupid penal code in one country not only violates the principles of humanity, but threatens the safety of society in other countries. Prisons in which men and women, young and old, first offenders and habitual criminals, are herded together without employment or education are breeding grounds for crime and an international menace.

Extradition treaties throw on the contracting parties responsibility for the apprehension and delivery of their neighbour's criminals. In a very literal sense, each nation which enters into an Extradition Treaty becomes its brothers' keeper.

Last, but not least, the political prisoner, a source of terror to his opponents in power, of admiration to his friends in conspiracy, and of pity to the outsider, who cares nothing for political creeds, is one of the most potent causes of international friction in Europe to-day. A "Red" Government which makes "White" martyrs, a "White" Government which makes "Red" martyrs, creates ill feeling and distrust beyond its own boundaries, and where those "martyrs" are of political or racial minorities, there are the makings of an European conflict. The right of every Government to safeguard the State against revolution is fundamental, and the political prisoner is inevitable in our present unhappy divisions. But common sense and humanity alike demand that they, as well as the criminal prisoners, be accorded fair trial, reasonable conditions as to food, light, warmth, ventilation, immunity from torture, and the other features of a civilized penal system. It is bad policy to make bad citizens—either of a national state or of the commonwealth of nations. The appeal lies to Geneva, for only through the League can the public opinion of the civilized world be brought to bear on the backward nations whom it cannot force, but on whom it can exert irresistible influence.

There will be represented at Geneva in September countries under whose laws men and women are imprisoned without trial and without a charge being preferred against them for months, and even for years; in whose prisons and police cells they are flogged to extort confessions, and tortured; under whose penal administration young offenders are shut up with master criminals, healthy prisoners kept in windowless cells with others suffering from active tuberculosis and venereal disease, women left at the mercy of armed warders, without a single female officer, and boys and girls executed for purely political offences.

The truth of these statements is beyond challenge. Instances could be multiplied, and chapter and verse given, were it not for the danger of reprisals on the victims. Many of the abuses have been reported by eye-witnesses of unquestioned integrity, to the Howard League for Penal Reform, which, in conjunction with the League of Nations Union and the Society of Friends, has drawn up a draft convention embodying certain conditions regarded as a bare minimum of humanity, efficiency and decency, in prison and penal administration. This draft was submitted as a basis for discussion to the Federation of League of Nations Societies, which thereupon passed the resolution which is the text of this article.

It remains for the League to take the matter up and to do for the prisoner what it has done for the slave, for the victims of the traffic in women and children, and for the refugees and the typhus stricken people of Eastern Europe. This can only be done if some country will move a resolution at Geneva calling for an international prison enquiry, and, though it is

almost too late so far as the Eighth Assembly is concerned, there is even yet time for an emergency resolution.

WAR IN THE AIR

A GOOD deal was heard, and some little seen, by the inhabitants of London of the air manoeuvres which took place over and around the Metropolis in the last week of July. The ordinary civilian is, of course, hardly in a position to appreciate the lessons to be drawn from the theoretical success of some of the attacks on London and the theoretical failure of some others. The full verdict of the experts on the subject has not been published, and it may be doubted whether in its completeness it ever will be.

Meanwhile, there is one chastening reflection which can hardly fail to come home to everyone concerned—and everyone concerned means not merely the seven million inhabitants of Greater London, but the population of a score of other large cities within the zone of possible attack. There is no need for us to develop that conclusion here, for it has been forcibly and alarmingly presented in a leading article which appeared in *The Morning Post* of July 27, as follows:—

The aerial manoeuvres may, and doubtless will, furnish valuable strategical and tactical information; but there is one thing they cannot show, and that is the possibility, under existing conditions, of adequately defending this country against invasion by air. There is here no reflection upon the efficiency of the Royal Air Force, nor upon the zeal and skill of the anti-aircraft defence forces. All that can be done with the men and material available has been done, and excellent progress has been made in observation and technical knowledge. Nor is it the fault of the Government, whose financial resources are limited, that men and material are insufficient. It must be remembered that the air raids of the Great War were but forestates of the destruction which has since become possible. During the war, London was defended by hundreds of guns placed in concentric rings of fire from the city to the coast, and by squadrons of fighting and night-flying aeroplanes. Although the last attack was checked, the number of hostile machines was between 30 and 40—no more—and the total damage wrought by the raids altogether was considerable. What must be anticipated as a possibility is an attack by 500 or 1,000 bombing planes, preceded by squadrons of fighting scouts to deal with the defending craft.

Does any intelligent person suppose that this nation or any other can afford to maintain a force of aeroplanes and a force of anti-aircraft artillery capable of dealing with such an invasion? Were only half or a quarter of the assailants to come through, that number would suffice to asphyxiate the inhabitants and destroy the buildings of a great part of London. These are the crude and disagreeable facts. The deterrent from aerial invasion consists not in the defence it must encounter, but in the knowledge that the same measure may be meted to the invader on the following day. Fear of reprisal may be effective. On the other hand, it may not. And that is the fear which dwells deep in the minds of those who remember the war, and which it is of some moment that the new generation should understand. They should be warned that we cannot maintain, because we cannot afford, any security in defence. We can only trust in the good sense of Governments and the fears of peoples, and keep dry what powder we have.

There is not very much to be added to this, but if we are actually to trust in the good sense of Governments, it is necessary to see that such Governments as we can in any way influence, primarily of course our own, should, in fact, be imbued with sufficient good sense to take every step possible towards the prohibition of war, except such war as may be necessary during a transition stage if the law-abiding States of the world find it necessary to combine to discipline a violator of the peace. In other words, the one security lies in the strengthening of the League of Nations.

THE GIFT OF TONGUES

By ANTHONY SOMERS

I HAVE discovered a remarkable method of learning Foreign Languages, a method for which I have been looking all my life. I only wish I had known of it before; what toil, what drudgery, what disappointments I should have been saved!

It has sometimes been said that British people do not possess the "gift of tongues." Certainly I never possessed that gift. At school I was hopeless. When the subject was French or German, Latin or Greek, I was always somewhere near the bottom of my Form. And yet in other subjects—English or History or Mathematics—I held my own quite well. I have now come to the conclusion—my recent experience has convinced me of this—that the reason I failed to learn languages was that the method of teaching was wrong.

Now, although I never could "get on" with Foreign Languages, I have always wanted to know them—especially French. I have wanted to read the great French authors in the original. I have wanted to read Racine and Victor Hugo and Balzac, and that great critic whom Matthew Arnold so much admired, Sainte Beuve, in French, and not merely through the medium of a characterless translation. Besides, I have wanted to spend holidays abroad without being tied to a phrase-book. So I have often tried to find a method which would really teach me a Foreign Language. And at last I have found it.

How to Learn Languages.

Some time ago I saw an announcement entitled "A New Method of Learning French, Spanish, Italian and German." Of course, I read it, and when I saw that this method was being taught by the well-known Pelman Institute, I wrote for their book, "How to Learn French," and this so interested me that I enrolled for the Course in that language. Frankly, it has amazed me. Here is the method I have wanted all my life. It is quite unlike anything I have seen or heard of before, and its simplicity and effectiveness are almost startling.

Consider, for example, this question with which the book (which, by the way, can be obtained free of charge) opens:

"Do you think you could pick up a book of 400 pages, written in a language of which you do not know a syllable—say, Spanish or Italian, German or French—and not containing a single English word, and read it through correctly without referring to a dictionary?"

Most people will say that such a thing is impossible. Yet this is just what the Pelman method of languages instruction enables one to do, and so remarkable is this method that I am not surprised to hear that it is revolutionising the normal method of teaching languages in this and other countries.

The Pelman Language Courses are based upon an original yet perfectly sound principle, and one of their most striking features is the fact that they are written entirely in the particular language (French, Spanish, Italian or German) concerned. There is not an English word in any of them. Even if you do not know the meaning of a single Foreign word you can study these Courses with ease, and read the lessons without a mistake, and without "looking-up" any words in a French-English, Italian-English, Spanish-English or German-English dictionary. This statement seems an incredible one, yet it is perfectly true, as you will see for yourself when you take the first lesson.

Grammatical Difficulties Overcome.

Another important fact about this new method is that it enables one to read, write and speak French, Spanish,

Italian or German without bothering one's head with complex grammatical rules, or burdening one's memory with the task of learning by heart long vocabularies of Foreign words. And yet, when the student has completed one of the Courses, he or she is able to read Foreign books and newspapers and to write and speak the particular language in question accurately and grammatically, and without that hesitation which comes when a Foreign Language is acquired through the medium of English.

Thousands of letters have been received from men and women who have learnt French, Spanish, Italian or German by the new Pelman method. Here are a few of them:—

"I have managed, during the past few months, to obtain a better knowledge of colloquial and idiomatic French than I acquired in three years at school." (C. 146)

"This is the easiest and quickest way of learning foreign languages. I was not able to study very regularly, but in the space of eight months I have learnt as much Spanish as I learnt French in eight years at school." (S.K. 119)

"I have obtained a remunerative post in the City, solely on the merits of my Italian. I was absolutely ignorant of the language before I began your course eight months ago." (I.F. 121)

"I am more than satisfied with the progress I have made—I am astonished! It would have taken me as many years to learn by any ordinary system as much as I have learnt in six months by yours." (P. 145)

"I have learnt more and better French in the last four months than previously I had learnt in thrice that period." (M. 241)

"I am enclosing my last work sheet for correction. I cannot speak too highly of your system. I calculate that I have spent some 100 hours on German studying by your methods: the results obtained in so short a time are amazing. With the aid of a dictionary, on account of the technical vocabulary, I now find I can master German scientific reports published in their own tongue. I cannot tell you what a help this will be in my work. The whole system is excellent." (G.P. 136)

By learning languages in this way you will be able to read the leading French, German, Italian and Spanish newspapers and reviews, and thus keep in close touch with Continental opinion on subjects connected with the League of Nations.

The Pelman method of learning French, Spanish, Italian and German by correspondence is fully explained in four little books (one for each language), and I strongly advise those who are interested to write for a free copy of one of these books to-day.

Everyone who wishes to learn FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN or GERMAN without difficulty or drudgery should post this coupon to-day to the Pelman Institute (Languages Dept.), 114, Pelman House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1. A copy of the particular book desired will be forwarded by return, gratis and post free.

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LEAGUE EDUCATION

THE controversy in the *Times* about the League and the Schools has been largely based, as controversies often are, on a confusion of two separate issues. There is firstly the obligation of the British Government, as a member of the League, to carry out somehow the Assembly Resolution about League teaching. (This resolution is set forth, with various practical recommendations, in the League document A 26.) Secondly, there is the problem for teachers, how in actual practice such teaching can best be introduced. This is a matter for individual suggestion and experiment.

Some of the writers to the *Times* seem, in a confused way, to have supposed that there was a scheme to have the views of Mr. Marvin on history, or of certain unnamed and sinister members of the Union on other subjects, somehow officially imposed on schools. Of course, no one ever thought of such a thing. Live teachers are always changing their methods, and the best teachers' methods are individual.

The general duty of all states members of the League with regard to League teaching is another matter, and has been clearly explained by the Chairman of the League Committee of Experts, who is also Chairman of the Union, in the following letter to the *Times* :—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—I do not wish to break my head against either the general anti-League propaganda of Dr. Rouse or the peculiar anti-Marvin propaganda of Dr. Morison, but I should value the privilege of trying to explain objectively a subject which is in danger of being gravely misunderstood.

The reasons for teaching the League in schools are twofold. First, as a mere matter of history, the signing of the Covenant by nearly all the civilised nations is a fact of cardinal importance, all the more so because it came as the result of the Great War. To teach the history of modern Europe without knowledge of the Covenant would be like telling the story of the wars between England and Scotland without realising that those countries are now united, or, as they once did in Turkey, teaching the history of France while not mentioning the Revolution or the Republic.

But there is a more practical reason than this for teaching the League in schools. The engagements of the Covenant are very far-reaching, and Governments have to carry them out. They cannot do so unless their peoples live, or at least have some idea of living, in the spirit of the Covenant. How can this be even attempted unless the younger generation, which has neither experience nor memory of the War, is made to understand what the Covenant is? We must teach the League in order that the nation may understand its national obligations.

But further, such teaching, to be effective, must be given in all nations alike, for no nation will go on conscientiously training its youth in the principles of the League if it knows, or believes, that its neighbours are not doing the same by theirs. This difficulty can, as far as I can see, only be met in the way in which the Assembly of the League, on the motion of Dame Edith Lyttelton, as British delegate, has proposed to meet it. All the nations must take common action in familiarising their young people with the "aims and work of the League": that is, with the engagements which the members of the League have undertaken and the manner in which they are so far carrying them out. To make proposals to this end is the chief task of the International Sub-Committee of Experts appointed last year by the Council of the League. How far the suggestions of this Committee may be useful it is not for me to say, though in their first form they have had a most generous and encouraging reception from teachers and local authorities in Great Britain. But the point that I would venture respectfully to put to Dr. Rouse and others is this: that in view of the proposals made by Great Britain and the engagements undertaken in consequence by all the nations of the League it is not only desirable that our education authorities should do their best to have the League taught in schools, but it would be perilously like a breach of faith not to do so.

One last point. Dr. Morison complains of "propaganda." It is an ambiguous word. I agree with all his general statements about it, though not with his particular applications. But if he feels an element of propaganda to be present in the treatment of this matter in Great Britain, I believe that is mainly due to our voluntary system of education. In most European countries the Minister of Public Instruction issues an order that the League should be taught in schools, and immediately it is taught. No propaganda is necessary. In England it will only be taught as each local education authority, and one might almost say each individual teacher, is gradually convinced that such teaching is a good thing, and to try to convince them is "propaganda."—Yours faithfully,

GILBERT MURRAY,
Chairman of the International Sub-Committee
of Experts.

July 22.

COMING EVENTS

September 1.—Forty-sixth session of the Council.

September 5.—Eighth Assembly.

September 19.—Interchange of Public Health Officers, Berlin.

October 17.—Conference on Import Prohibitions and Restrictions.

October 24.—Twelfth session of Permanent Mandate's Commission.

November 15.—Meeting of special body of experts on the traffic in women and children.

December 12.—Forty-seventh session of the Council.

THE LEAGUE IN A NUTSHELL

"A Little Book of the League of Nations," by Miss B. Bradfield (Librarie Kundig, 1, Place du Lac, Geneva; 2 frs.). This attractively written little book will appeal greatly to all those who happen to lay hands on it. It contains a picturesquely written account of the League of Nations at work, describing its various sections and its world-wide activities. A vivid account of the sessions of the Council and the Assembly give the reader a true and unbiassed idea of what the League really is and what it really does. The whole is compressed into 111 short pages. It can be confidently recommended as one of the best booklets that has yet appeared on the League of Nations. An English edition is shortly to be published by P. S. King & Son, and copies of this book will be stocked by the League of Nations Union as soon as supplies of the English edition are forthcoming. The price of the complete book will be 2s. The separate chapters dealing with various aspects of the League will be published separately in pamphlet form at 2d. each or two for 3d. The book and pamphlets will fill a very distinct need, and should be widely read.

READERS' VIEWS

UNIFYING EUROPE

SIR,—The Economic Conference has come and gone, and it seems that there is no prospect of a United States of Europe—without which Europe cannot compete commercially with the United States. But the difficulties in the way of anything of the kind are no doubt very considerable, and for the present insuperable.

Meanwhile, however, is it necessary to continue having different languages for the transaction of business, different systems of weights and measures, different rules of the road, railway time-tables on different systems, some with twelve and some with twenty-four hour days? Cannot the League of Nations Union in any case make a real push for the adoption of one language to be used in all international Conferences

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Do what many others are to-day doing: sell your stocks and shares and buy a "Sun Life of Canada" Annuity with the proceeds. A retired professional man has just doubled his income by making this safe exchange. This "two years' income in one" will be paid to him every year as long as he lives. It will never fail. No more worry, no more wondering how to make ends meet. Life is now a different thing for him.

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MISCELLANEOUS

BRITISH EMPIRE POLICY, LEAGUE OF NATIONS.—Special Course of Thirteen Lectures by famous speakers will be given at the Hamstead Garden Suburb Institute throughout the winter on alternate Thursday evenings, commencing October 6. Lecturers include Norman Angell, Sir Horace Plunkett, Sir George Paish, Lord Meston, Mrs. Swanwick, John H. Harris, Miss Freda White, Prof. Darnley Naylor, and others.—Write Hon. Sec., E. C. ELSMORE, 44, Meadway, N.W.11, for full particulars.

NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS

All communications concerning Advertisement space in HEADWAY should be addressed to—

THE ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER,
FLEETWAY PRESS, Ltd.,
3-9, Dane Street, Holborn, London, W.C.

of the League of Nations after a certain date, what that language shall be to be decided by an Expert Commission to be appointed for the purpose. Must we continue having every speech not delivered in English or French more or less spoilt by being translated into those two languages, and the time of the audience wasted in the process? And must we keep on our absurd system of weights and measures in face of the fact that the metrical system is infinitely simpler and has been adopted by most other civilized nations outside the British Empire. In the future we may hope for a common gold coin with subsidiary decimal coinages, and some common postage stamps; but the immediate and pressing needs are for a common language and a common system of weights and measures. Could not the League of Nations Union take up these two pressing matters, and use their influence to secure the consideration by the League of Nations of the question of a common language? And I would observe incidentally that it would be easier to ask people to become members of the Union if the Union had some definite policy beyond merely supporting the League of Nations.—Yours, etc.,

Petersfield.

ARTHUR A. PEARSON.

ANOTHER KIND OF LEAGUE

SIR,—I was very interested in reading Mr. Leonard F. Smith's and Mr. W. Stanley Anderton's letters in the last two issues of HEADWAY as to what the League of Nations really is, and am glad you are giving the subject ventilation. There are some very vague ideas about the League of Nations and sometimes one hears rather exaggerated claims made for it. I have heard it suggested that the League is the fulfilment of the words of Tennyson, "The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

It may be a step towards it, but at present as a League of Governments, it is a long way from being a Parliament of Man, or a Parliament of the Nations.

League decisions are arrived at by representatives of each country's Government for the time being; and the Government point of view on a matter of international concern may be vastly different from the general opinion in a country. Governments, it must be remembered, come into power mainly on domestic issues.

This is a weakness in the League as present constituted, and I believe it is because of the fact that the League is not a democratic Parliament of the Nations, that our American friends fight shy of it.

Each country in the League ought to be represented in proportion to the size of its population, and these representatives ought to be elected direct by the votes of the people.—Yours, etc.,

Exmouth.

H. EDWIN TOMLIN.

[With China sending more than 10 times, and India more than 8 times as many delegates as France, and with those delegates elected directly by the votes of Chinese and Indian peasants?—Ed. HEADWAY.]

DOES WAR PAY?

SIR,—I submit, and hope all members will agree, that the chief argument on the League side is that "War doesn't pay anyone, conqueror or conquered." The War of 1870 first brought this out clearly, when Bismarck sarcastically said, "Next time we'll take care not to win. France is now (1875) better financially than we are." The Great War has brought this home forcibly to everyone. Financial chaos! not yet over. The wonderful agreement at the World Economic Conference shows that the business brains of the world, who are not arguing from humanity or morality, but from economy, agree that War doesn't pay anyone.—Yours, etc.,

Horley.

FRANCIS SPRING RICE.

FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT WORKS

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

* * * *

The main organs of the League are—

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

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

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

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

The seat of the League is at Geneva.

* * * *

Side by side with the League itself, and as integral parts of it, 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 August, 1927, decided 7 cases and given 13 advisory opinions to the League Council.

* * * *

MANDATES

By a unique departure, the Treaty of Versailles gave the League of Nations supervision over the colonial territories taken from Germany and Turkey. The Powers administering these areas have not annexed them, and they render annual reports to the League Council on their administration.

The Council is advised on these questions by the Permanent Mandates Commission.

The mandated territories, with the names of the Mandatory Powers responsible for them, are—

In Asia: Iraq* (Great Britain); Syria (France); Palestine (Great Britain).

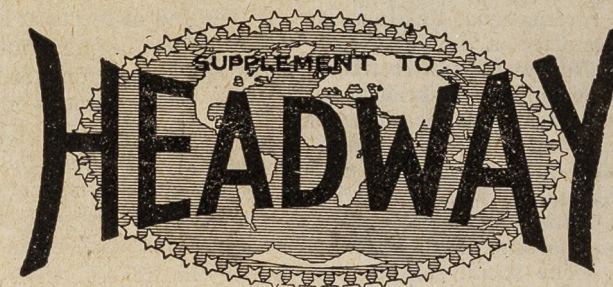
In Africa: Tanganyika (Great Britain); Ruanda and Urundi (Belgium); South West Africa (Union of South Africa); Togoland and Cameroons (parts to Great Britain, parts to France).

In the Pacific: Part of New Guinea (Australia); Samoa (New Zealand); Nauru (British Empire); Caroline, Marshall and Mariana Islands (Japan).

* Strictly speaking, Iraq has passed beyond the mandate stage, and is in alliance with Great Britain, which however, renders an annual report to the League regarding it.

A cardinal principle of the mandate system is that the areas concerned shall be administered primarily in the interests of the inhabitants, and not of the Mandatory. The inhabitants have a right to send petitions and complaints to the League.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



SEPTEMBER, 1927

De Summer Schoole

[An Extract from the diary of a correspondent—with apologies to the late Samuel Pepys, Esq., of Whitehall, S.W.]

FRIDAY, JULY 29.—To-day to Oxford with many fashionable folk to hear talk of the League of Nations. Travelled in my grey habit, with which the sky-blue ornaments on my baggage did look very pretty. We were very comfortably housed, the men in St. John's College and the women in St. Hugh's College. This latter a new building but very pleasing withal, and the garden did much delight us, there being in it great spaces of grass and shady trees, with courts for tennis and paved paths and terrace for walking.

My Lord Hugh Cecil did speak to us on this first evening after we had dined, the manner and matter of his words being very pleasant to hear and wholesome to think on. Up betimes on two mornings during the week to hear Doctor Delisle Burns, whose presence did please me as much as his name. I thought that he joined the world together by his talk and perceived clearly that he who would live in a world must think with that world and that they who scorn or deny this League of Nations must count themselves sadly behind the times. This conclusion I was mightily pleased to have found for myself when I did hear it confirmed by Doctor Garnett, who collected his scattered thoughts (as he saith) about the opinion of sundry folk on the League.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 2.—The sun shining very brilliantly for two or three days, we were brought to our meeting in the garden, where I was much diverted by the hats of paper which some folk made to protect them from the sun. Sir George Paish did say one morning that the money matters of the world were in serious jeopardy unless the nations should agree to work the one with the other in the League. (Resolved that I should forgo tea this afternoon and pay the shilling to join the League of Nations Union). Doctor Carlyle discoursed quaintly but with much reason and thought, saying that the nations of Europe had long been joined together in art and science. I was vastly entertained by his amusement of himself. We did hear sound talk of the navy and of war by land, of which information we all had need, and many persons did ask questions on disarmament. I was much edified by the talk of Mr. Manning, who showed how this League doth settle those quarrels

which might lead to war, which the world can ill afford. Several other folk did speak in the sun or shade who greatly pleased us and we were made thoughtful by all.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 4.—Was right to take summer habits as well as mine umbrella. On three fine afternoons the whole assembly did go very pleasantly into the country, the first visit being to the seat of Sir Arthur Evans at Youldbury, a place very fair to see and where we were most graciously received and entertained. With tennis and visiting the colleges and town spare hours were passed by some of the company. I thought that all did seem very pleased with their hours of leisure and came with the more eagerness to the evening meetings. One of these meetings ending at an early hour, we did spend some time in dancing. Thursday being our last day in Oxford, we were summoned into the dining hall of St. Hugh's on the evening of that day, when sundry summer scholars (as someone did call us) entertained themselves vastly in singing and talking for our entertainment until a late hour.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 5.—The next day, after a final meeting, back to my house. I was very pleased to find how little I had disbursed in this week, yet had from it very great pleasure and much to think on concerning the affairs of all the world. Was somewhat weary with travel and much thought—and so to bed.—M. L. D.

The Woman Voter and the Future

The Women's International League is offering a week's holiday (with travelling and all expenses paid) at an International Summer School in 1928 to the young woman under thirty who submits the best essay on "The Vote and Foreign Affairs." Essays should be completed and sent in before December 1, 1927. The object of this competition is to make the future voters realise that their responsibilities will be of an international as well as a national character, and that on their shoulders will rest the task of procuring world peace. Amongst others, Professor Gilbert Murray, Mrs. Swanwick and Miss Sybil Thorndike have consented to act as judges for this competition. All particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, Women's International League, 55, Gower Street, W.C.1.

December at the Guildhall

A conference organised by the Union on the work of the World Economic Conference is to be held at the Guildhall on December 12, 13 and 14 next.

IN THE GLASS ROOM THE GENEVA INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THE Geneva Institute of International Relations is organised by a joint committee of the League of Nations Union, the American Non-partisan Association and the Secretariat of the League and the International Labour Office. It has developed from the Geneva Summer Schools which were organised by the Union in 1921-22-23. Attendance at the sessions of this Institute, which take place each August, is open to all and provides an admirable opportunity of combining a holiday with the absorbing study, at close quarters, of the work of the League and the I.L.O. The social side of the Institute is by no means neglected, and delightful excursions, entertainments and receptions are arranged by the Committee, of which Mr. S. Sherman and Mr. T. Chamberlin are Secretaries. This year the Institute held two sessions, the first being from July 30 to August 5, and the second from August 6 to August 12. Addresses were given and discussions were opened on a large variety of League and I.L.O. subjects by eminent members of the Secretariat and others.

One of the most pleasant features of the summer courses is the fact that the lectures, as a rule, take place in the Glass Room of the Secretariat. In this room history has been made, as both Mr. Whelen, our own League of Nations Union lecturer, and Dr. Manley O. Hudson, of the American Non-partisan Association of New York, pointed out in their opening addresses to the respective courses. In this pleasant room, one might even say, the Geneva atmosphere has been caught. The light streaming in through the open windows may be taken as symbolising the publicity which the League gives to international problems. The cool air fanning our faces, despite the heat in the sun outside, we may imagine to be the calm, dispassionate way in which such matters are treated and settled.

It was in this room that Dr. Seipel made his dramatic appeal for the reconstruction of Austria. Here, too, during the Corfu dispute, Lord Cecil had Articles 12 and 15 of the Covenant read in the presence of the Italian and Greek delegates. Here Germany first took her seat as a member of the Council and the Locarno treaties came into effect. Here took place the first meeting of the recent Coolidge Conference, dissociated though it was from being actually a League affair. Here, too, for the last four years, during a week in August, English and Americans have sat, cheek by jowl, learning something of the work of the League, getting that larger view of the world without which it is impossible to keep the correct outlook, and thus becoming, willy nilly, missionaries for the League in their respective countries, able to stir up public opinion in its favour.

No matter how often one pays a visit, as we did, to the new International Labour Office, it is always a pleasure. More and more is it borne in mind to what extent the liberality of Governments and the generosity of trade associations are responsible for the excellence of the place. More and more, too, does one appreciate the invariable courtesy and willingness of the officials, from the Director downwards. One enters the hall—what does one see? In front at the end a picture in glazed tiles given by the International Trades Union Congress. On the left a fresco of lumbermen floating logs down a river, given by Finland. On the right, lighting the staircase, a stained-glass window, given by the German Government, which has been a member of the organisation since its inception. The doors were given by Canada, the mats and rugs by Greece and other countries. And that is only the entrance hall!

Such are a few of the delights we have experienced. Would that many more people could make the trip a portion of their holidays.—O.B.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP THE TEACHERS' CONFERENCE AT OXFORD

THE end of the term had come; gay farewells had been exchanged with pupils and staff, and we were off to the Conference on the Schools of Britain and the Peace of the World.

This Conference, held by the Union at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, from July 27 to 29, delighted us from the first by its atmosphere of warm friendliness. We were fortunate in having Mr. Fisher to give the inaugural address. His declaration that citizens of this country ought to realise their responsibilities under the Covenant, as clearly as they realised the value of the navy, impressed us all.

The first day was chiefly devoted to the teaching of history with relation to world peace. Mr. Sidney Herbert, in a stimulating address, showed that our mental picture of the world was hopelessly out of date, and said that mental pictures should be like the film, always changing. Miss Tanner, Headmistress of Roedean, in one of the finest speeches of the Conference, proved that the proper study of history produced just the qualities needed by the modern world—tolerance, understanding and good judgment. Mr. J. A. Arnold, who followed, showed how far the Union could help the history teacher in his work.

The afternoon speakers, Miss Stewart, Principal of Lincoln Training College, and Mr. Gunton, Headmaster of the Franciscan Road School, both advocated the teaching of world history, in addition to that of our own country. Mr. Gunton's account of the new graphic methods employed in his school aroused great interest. After hearing the speeches of the day, those of us at the Conference, to whom history had been a lifelong study and delight, felt relieved of all fear lest enthusiasm for peace should lead teachers to "doctor" history. All the speakers showed their anxiety to give the League its due place in history, and only its due place. If good citizenship required a fuller knowledge of the League than was legitimately afforded by the history lesson, they were determined to give it through other channels.

In the evening Dr. Garnett spoke of Britain's obligation to join with the rest of the world in teaching children the work and aims of the League, this having been suggested to the Assembly, in the first place, by a British delegate. Mr. Hankin followed with a breezy account of how the Experts' Report on League Instruction (the famous A.26) came to be drawn up. The Director of Education for Kent then told us, in a speech so charming that we forgot it was the eighth we had heard that day, how Kent was helping to promote League instruction in its schools.

Next morning, Professor Roxby, in a wonderful address on geography and the League, urged that geography, even more than history, was the natural and normal approach to the work of the League. The discussion that followed was led by Mr. Milward.

At the afternoon session on Junior Branches of the Union and other societies working for world peace, the extraordinary devotion of junior members to the League was described. Sir Donald Macgill showed how the International Boy Scouts' organisation created comradeship and understanding between boys of many different countries, and Mr. Gwilym Davies told us of answers received by the children of Wales in reply to their wireless message. A French school this year sent back a message, "We are learning to spell a language which our fathers never knew." When the Conference closed we felt that we, too, had learnt more of that language through our two days' stay in Oxford.—W.J.

The Union and the Universities

The British Universities League of Nations Society had the honour last month of receiving in this country the fourth annual Congress of the International Universities Federation for the League of Nations. In the course of his address of welcome to the 75 delegates, given at the public opening session in the Guildhall, Lord Eustace Percy, President of the Board of Education, remarked that the League of Nations provided the means for constant practical co-operation between governors of the different nations, and it was by using these that the will to peace and the chances of peace could alone grow. The Federation may be said to provide the means for constant practical co-operation between students. Without it, the work undertaken by the various national groups would be in danger of becoming academic and unrelated to human problems.

The first part of the Congress took place in London, where an effort was made to give the delegates an insight into the practical problems of Great Britain. Lord Parmoor received them on the evening of their arrival and spoke on the question of the teaching of History in schools, the dangers incident to "propaganda" for the League through History teaching, and the methods by which they might be avoided. Dr. Garnett extended a welcome on behalf of the League of Nations Union, and later in the week spoke on the working of the L.N.U. in this country. The delegates were entertained also at a ball in the University of London Union.

A day was spent at Toynbee Hall where representatives of the three political parties expressed their points of view, and, on the Sunday, the delegates took part in the services at Westminster Abbey and Cathedral and went on an excursion to Hampton Court where, long after the fluency and imagination of their British guides had given out, they vied with each other in exposition of the Historic sights . . . they indicated, for instance, the armoury which Great Britain was quite prepared to scrap at the Disarmament Conference!

The Lord Mayor received them at the Mansion House, where the traffic was held up in order that they might be photographed, and the opening session, referred to above, took place in the Council Chamber at the Guildhall. In the elections of office bearers for the coming session, the Secretary-General was chosen from Belgium, the Treasurer from Jugo-Slavia, while the Secretary of the B.U.L.N.S. was appointed President.

At Oxford, in the second part of the Conference, with French the prevailing language and continental procedure holding sway, the Federation discussed, under the aegis of M. Slavik of the League Secretariat, and Mr. Johnston of the I.L.O., the economic work of the League and the I.L.O., and reviewed its own work during the past year with a view to making plans for the coming session. With groups in all but two of the countries of Europe and a flourishing group in Japan, the tasks of "roping in" the Dominions and America yet remain. The British Group (B.U.L.N.S.) is accordingly calling at Geneva in September a conference of Rhodes scholars and other students from the Dominions who have been studying in this country and are about to return home. Professor Zimmern, Professor Rappard and representatives of the League and I.L.O. have promised their support, and the Conference, although a quiet and unpretentious affair, should prove successful.

Behind the Footlights

In the winter months many branches find that a meeting preceded or followed by a dramatic entertainment draws a big crowd. There are several plays which deal with the League and Peace and which might well be performed on such occasions. An excellent play entitled "The Quaker," by Miss Mary L. Pendered,

has recently been brought to our notice and is worthy of mention in this connection. It contains twelve characters and might be found a suitable subject for dramatic enterprise on the part of a Branch. It is published by the Echo Press, Rushden, Northamptonshire, price 1s. 6d. net.

Learning About the League

A Junior Branch has recently been formed at Southlands School, Exmouth. Both pupils and staff, before becoming members, have to pass a simple examination on the Covenant. The activities of the Branch have taken the form of study circles, debates, model Assemblies and some ingenious League games which have been invented by the members of the Branch.

Girl Guides and Subs.

The Swaffham Branch has enlisted the services of the local Girl Guides in collecting subscriptions. The Guides deliver to members envelopes on which is printed a reminder that subscriptions are due, and the next day call round again for these envelopes. In this way subscriptions are successfully gathered in, and at the same time the Girl Guides become interested in the work of the branch.

Windermere Gets Busy

The Windermere Branch is carrying out a fully-organised poster campaign which is lasting for six months. A constant succession of posters is being displayed on all the public hoardings in the Windermere area and, in addition, a succession of smaller posters is being shown in the porches or precincts of 11 out of the 12 places of worship in the district. A publicity campaign of this nature is sure to stimulate interest, and other Branches might well consider a similar undertaking. The price of most Union posters is 2d. each. Blank posters with the "World and Stars" heading are 1d. each. All posters can be obtained from Headquarters.

A Branch Donation

In addition to its poster activities, the Windermere Branch has sent to Headquarters a special donation of £70, apart from its quota to the Council's Vote. This gift is to be used in meeting some of the expenses connected with the recent conference of education authorities. The grateful thanks of Headquarters are due to the members of the Windermere Branch for their splendid donation.

Four Hundred Schoolgirls

By kind invitation of Miss L. Godwin Salt, Headmistress of the Bromley County School for Girls, some 420 schoolgirls met recently at the County School to hear an address on the work of the League of Nations by Mr. Salter Davies, Director of Education for Kent. The meeting, as usual, was most successful. It has now become an annual function and is to be followed up by a mass meeting of boys and girls on Armistice Day in Bromley Central Hall, when another address on League matters will be given. The interest and enthusiasm thus created in youthful circles should prove a valuable stimulus to the League movement in this district.

Maps and a Globe

The interesting Tariff Wall map which is now on view in the Library at Headquarters is much appreciated by the many workers, readers and visitors who come in daily. Will any reader be kind enough to give to the Library an up-to-date globe, thereby providing a very useful addition to its equipment? The Library has lately been excellently furnished with part of the money

set aside for equipment out of the Carnegie Fund. We hope that as many members as possible will avail themselves of it, both for borrowing, reading and research purposes.

The Branch Letter

The last Branch Letter dealt with the Naval Conference at Geneva, and called attention to the forthcoming Disarmament Meeting in November. The revised resolution on the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments (D.S.820a) and the minutes of the General Council meeting at Harrogate were sent to all branch secretaries, whose attention was also called to No. 221 in the Union's pamphlet series: "Why Have a League of Nations Union?" This pamphlet, priced at 1d., gives a short, popular account of the Union and its work, and should prove of great interest to many.

A Conference in Surrey

A Conference of representatives of branches in Surrey was held at the end of July in the Municipal Buildings, Reigate. The Chair was taken by Brigadier-General Sir George Cockerill, who addressed the assembled delegates on the all-absorbing subject of the World Economic Conference. Mrs. W. T. Layton also delivered an excellent address on this subject. Mr. H. D. Watson proposed the resolution recently passed by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, urging the Government to labour unceasingly for the forthcoming Disarmament Conference. The resolution was carried with enthusiasm. In the afternoon, Dr. W. H. Edwards gave an interesting address on "German Public Opinion and the League," which was warmly received. It was announced that the aggregate membership of the Union in Surrey was 5,831, that Haslemere had the largest percentage of population in membership—800 per 10,000, that Reigate and Redhill was the largest branch with 1,224 members, and that other branches in Surrey were doing excellent work. The Conference was most successful, nearly 100 branch representatives being present.

Listen In

Readers of HEADWAY will be interested to know that Lord Cecil, leader of the British Delegation to the Eighth Assembly at Geneva, will be broadcasting an address on the work of the Assembly on September 28, at 7 p.m.

The Council's Vote

The following is a further list of Branches which have completed their quota to the Council's vote:—

1926.—Beechen Cliffe United Methodist Church, Ravenstonedale, Ryde, Sutton-on-Sea, Wakefield.

1927.—Carnforth, Driffeld, Godalming, Hesse, Keswick, Mortimer, Nafferton, Nutfield, Paulton, Pangbourne, Oxted, Ross, Ravenstonedale, Sheringham, St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe, Thetford, Terrington, Woking, Wooburn.

Corporate Membership Notes

Last month we were able to publish some interesting figures showing the numbers of Churches and Christian communities who have become Corporate Members during the present year. But it must be remembered that the Union's Corporate Membership roll does not consist entirely of churches and organisations whose members, being avowed worshippers of the Prince of Peace, are naturally drawn to the League of Nations. Many other organisations have publicly demonstrated their belief in the League of Nations by having joined the Union in Corporate Membership. Among them are the staffs of no less than eleven Telephone Exchanges, nine Hebrew Congregations, Branches of the British Legion, Conservative and Liberal Associations, National Union of Teachers, Trades Unions, Friendly Societies, etc. Not the least interesting is the Lotus Association,

an Association primarily intended to promote friendly co-operation among the workers of the Lotus Shoe factories.

NOTES FROM WALES

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council, recently held at Shrewsbury, under the chairmanship of Mr. David Davies, M.P., Miss S. Pugh Jones, B.A., of Llangollen, was appointed as travelling organiser for North Wales, under the Welsh League of Nations Union, and Mr. D. Hughes Lewis, B.A., of Maesteg, as travelling organiser for South Wales.

Through the kindness of Mr. David Davies, M.P., the Welsh Council was permitted to have a stall at the Montgomeryshire Hospitals Fête at Plas Dinam on July 26, 27, 28.

Especial gratitude is due to the Swansea District Committee for the successful stall arranged by them at the Royal Welsh Agricultural Show at Swansea. For four days the Officers of the Committee and a loyal band of lady helpers were untiring in their efforts to bring before the visitors to the Show the claims of the League of Nations to their attention.

At the National Eisteddfod at Holyhead, the Annual Overseas Reception was attended by over 200 visitors to the Eisteddfod from the United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa and other countries all over the world. The chair was taken by the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A. A warm welcome to the visitors was given in Welsh by the President, the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, M.A., to which Judge David Davies of Cincinnati responded, on behalf of the visitors, in a rousing speech. A cordial vote of thanks to the hostess, Miss A. M. Davies of Tynycaeu, Menai Bridge, was moved by Mr. Derry Evans, M.A., seconded by the Rev. Waldo Roberts, B.A., and supported by Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, the ex-President of the Welsh Union and the head of the delegation which visited the United States with the Memorial from the Women of Wales to the Women of America. The Welsh Union was represented on the grounds of the Eisteddfod by a stall which attracted much attention throughout the week.

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	...	...	...	...	587,224
Aug. 6, 1927	...	...	...	...	634,183

On August 1, there were 2,519 Branches, 475 Junior Branches, 125 Districts, 2,341 Corporate Members and 352 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.