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82f

HEADWAY

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE general prospect opened up by Mr. Kellogg's draft Treaty on the renunciation of war and the alternative Treaty forwarded by the French Government, as representing France's ideas on the same subject, is discussed more fully in another column of this issue of HEADWAY. But a word may be added here specifically on the French counter-proposals. It is only just to France to recognise that it was her Foreign Minister, M. Briand, who made the first suggestion for a Treaty with America on the renunciation of war between those two countries. In doing that he was following a doctrine often enunciated by British Ministers and applying to a particular case principles which would not necessarily be applicable on a general scale. America, however, gave the proposal a new turn by broadening it out, and indeed suggesting that such a Treaty should ultimately become universal. France is hampered by the fact that neither she nor anyone else knows exactly what the United States' Government means, and attractive though the simplicity of Mr. Kellogg's proposals is at first sight, it is certain that they will have to be explored very fully and made much more definite and explicit before any final agreement can be reached. Regarding the vital question, for example, of the relations between the American proposal and the League Covenant no definite assurance has been given, though it is taken for

granted that the American plan is not designed to prevent the kind of collective armed action the League might possibly have to take in certain contingencies. France, however, is concerned with more than that. She is bound under certain conditions to help Poland if Poland is involved in war. How would that square with a pledge never to go to war at all? Since this country, though the fact is commonly forgotten, is similarly pledged in certain circumstances to go to the help of Portugal, we are as much interested in clearing up this point as France is. It is impossible to believe that the broad principle Mr. Kellogg has laid down will not be accepted by all civilised States, and by Great Britain first and foremost. But a good deal of patient discussion will be needed yet. It must be added that the French Note, which seems deliberately to emphasise points of difference with America, was not at all happily phrased.

What We Die Of

IT is rather a long way round to go to Geneva for facts about one's own country, and indeed the information about Great Britain contained in the new edition of the League's International Health Year Book, which has just appeared, could no doubt be dug out of various Blue Books and other publications. But for the Health Year Book it has been carefully summarised, with a view to

clear presentation, by the Ministry of Health, whose report takes its place side by side with those of 26 other countries, the whole making a solid volume of 800 pages. It is to be noted that Great Britain, or, to be more precise, England and Wales, figures here for the first time, for up till 1927 the Ministry of Health, for some occult reason, declined to prepare the necessary information. That attitude, however, has now been changed, owing partly to the question having been raised in Parliament. It is to be observed that the Year Book for 1927, which appeared in April, 1928, contains the national reports of 1926. The delay no doubt is unavoidable—the British report, for example, is dated August, 1927—but it would clearly be an advantage if some speeding-up were possible. It is to be noted among other matters of interest that the mortality figures for England and Wales show that no fewer than 117 out of every thousand deaths are due to some form of cancer, while heart disease is responsible for 142 out of every thousand. These two diseases come highest in the list. The British report covers a wide field, including such questions as housing, town planning, smoke abatement and milk grading.

Great Britain's Record

TO an interesting question put in the House of Commons by Mr. Rennie Smith, before the Easter adjournment, Sir Austen Chamberlain replied that 34 international conventions of one kind and another had been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, and that of this number Great Britain had signed 30, and that of the 30 it had ratified 24. This, as things go, is a creditable record, and examination of the four conventions Great Britain has not signed and the six which, having signed, it has not yet ratified show that no grave omission has to be charged against the Government, though on at least one point, the Optional Clause, there is, of course, room for strong difference of opinion. The four unsigned conventions are the Optional Clause, the agreement constituting the International Relief Union and two amendments to Article XVI of the Covenant. The six conventions which the Government has signed and not yet ratified are the conventions on the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions (two different agreements) and on the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards, the Arms Traffic Convention, the Protocol on the use of chemicals and gas and a mysterious instrument known as "the Declaration regarding the territory of Ifni." Ifni, it turns out, is a bit of the Spanish zone in Morocco and the declaration regarding it is attached to the Arms Traffic Convention. This main Convention Great Britain, as is well known, will not ratify until other nations which produce munitions on a considerable scale are ready to do so simultaneously.

Organising Africa

MR. RAYMOND BUELL, Research Director of the American Foreign Policy Association, has just written an important book, embodying the results of a year's investigation into native questions on the African Continent. The volume will be

noticed more fully in HEADWAY. Meanwhile one feature of it may be noted with satisfaction. Mr. Buell speaks with high appreciation of the endeavours General Hertzog, Prime Minister of South Africa, is making to solve the extraordinarily difficult labour questions which face the Union. He speaks with equal warmth of the policy of indirect rule—i.e., rule through the traditional native organisation in Nigeria, under British rule, while Uganda and the Gold Coast are quoted as other British Colonies where native needs and European industrialism are being successfully reconciled. On the other hand, Mr. Buell points to Kenya as one of the Colonies where far too large a proportion of the natives are required, or induced, to leave their reserves and work for Europeans. Touching on mandated areas the writer mentions that traditions in the French mandated territories of Togo and the Cameroons are superior to those in the ordinary French Colonies, and he believes that the future of East Africa lies largely with the League's Mandates Commission through its control over the mandate for Tanganyika territory.

An Ancient Controversy

NEGOTIATIONS between Poland and Lithuania regarding the resumption of normal relations between those long-estranged countries have been set on foot at a Conference held on neutral ground at Königsberg in East Prussia. Not much more can be said of them than that they have not completely broken down. That, however, is something, and the reference of various questions to three joint sub-committees may, further, be regarded as a hopeful sign. For the more questions are handled by technicians on a technical basis and taken out of the hands of politicians with various ulterior ends to serve, the more prospect there is of some satisfactory agreement. The Polish-Lithuanian controversy is a small thing in itself, but it means the continued existence of a danger-point in Eastern Europe very close to the frontier of Soviet Russia. For that reason the discussions now in progress will be watched with more than ordinary interest.

A Notable Centenary

HEADWAY has already dealt at some length with the life and work of Josephine Butler in connection with the centenary of her birth, which has been observed throughout Great Britain in the past month. It is an event of special concern to all who are interested in the League of Nations, and in particular, of course, in the work of the Women and Children Committee, for the task Josephine Butler so nobly and courageously initiated the League is effectively carrying to its appointed conclusion. Neither the traffic in women nor the licensed house system, which Mrs. Butler so ceaselessly denounced, has as yet been completely abolished, but year by year through the brief period of the League's existence some new step on the road to abolition has been taken, and it is not

too much to say to-day that the complete disappearance of licensed houses of prostitution in every country at no distant date is inevitable.

Mandates and Postage

IF you buy a book of stamps at a British Post Office you will find one page devoted to Inland and Foreign Postal Rates and discover that "letters to British possessions, Mandated Territories (except Iraq), H.M. ships of war abroad, Egypt, U.S.A. and Tangier," go for 1½d. an oz., whereas letters to every other foreign destination cost 2½d. The same discovery has been made by the Permanent Mandates Commission at Geneva, not indeed regarding Great Britain alone, but also other countries which have put similarly reduced rates into force for correspondence with their mandated territories. "This system," says the Mandates Commission, "is bound to favour to some extent the postal rates between the mandated territories and their mandatories. It appears necessarily to involve in international competition a certain advantage for the commercial relations between mandatory powers and the mandated territories entrusted to them." This is an interesting example of the vigilance of the Mandates Commission, whose members recognise that possibly the matter was not of sufficient importance for definite representations to be made by the League itself. They have, however, asked the Council to invite the views of the mandatory powers on the subject, and the Council has agreed to do so.

Athens, Geneva, Canberra

PARTICULARS have appeared from time to time in HEADWAY about the progress of the Refugee Settlement Scheme in Greece, and it is hoped that a full article on the subject will appear next month. Meanwhile, one interesting fact is worth noting. Some of the settlers under the League scheme are growing vines and some tobacco, but many are producing wheat, and it has been necessary to experiment with various strains to see which suits the conditions best—one serious obstacle arising from the fact that the harvest is often destroyed before it is ripe by a hot wind known as the *livas*. Australia, however, has produced a grain called Canberra wheat which defeats the intentions of this wind by ripening before the wind begins to blow. It is, therefore, found particularly satisfactory in Greece, and the League Settlement Commission has just ordered a further 400 tons of it from Australia, while the Greek Government, wisely profiting by the Commission's experiments, has ordered 2,000 tons on its own account—another small example of League activity benefiting British, or, at any rate, Dominion, trade.

Learning the League

AN interesting League competition in France has been officially announced by the Minister of Public Instruction, following a precedent set a year ago, when prizes were offered to competitors from training colleges of Paris (both men's and women's) for the best essays on different aspects

of the work of the League. This year the competition is open to the training colleges at Aix, Dijon, Grenoble and Lyons, and the principal prizes will consist of travelling expenses for a journey to and stay at Geneva. The prize money is provided by the National Council of Frenchwomen.

The League in School Books

The work of examining school books and manuals and purging them where necessary of sentiments likely to produce international antagonism goes steadily forward. The Belgian Universities' League of Nations Federation has had the matter in hand and finds, as a result of its investigations, that more than three-quarters of the historical handbooks in habitual use are open to no objection on this score. The Committee is now turning its attention to geography books, for it finds that in many cases no mention is made of mandated areas or of League participation in the government of certain regions like the Saar and Danzig.

A New League Loan Proposal

AN article by the French Socialist leader, M. Leon Blum, in *Palestine* brings to light an interesting proposal that the League should be invited to support an international loan for the Jews in Palestine. This, of course, would be on a different footing from any of the loans so far issued by constituted Governments with the League's support, for the loan, it is suggested, should in this case be raised by the Jewish Agency which is mentioned in the Palestine Mandate, and which is, in effect, the Zionist Organisation itself. The matter is clearly in an early stage as yet, but the development of the suggestion is well worth watching.

That Optional Clause

THE attention of readers is drawn to a letter in our correspondence columns signed "F. P."—initials which conceal (or reveal) the identity of one of the greatest living British jurists. Our correspondent is unquestionably right in insisting on the distinction between the Permanent Court of International Justice and the decisions it may give on the one hand, and decisions of *ad hoc* Boards of Arbitrators, on the other. His letter, as its closing sentence shows, is, in effect, one more argument, and a convincing one, for the acceptance of the Optional Clause by the British Government.

The Empire and the League

THE fact that Empire Day falls this month makes it particularly apposite to call attention to the Hicks Memorial Lecture, delivered by Professor Gilbert Murray, at Sheffield University, a few weeks ago, on the future of the British Empire and the League of Nations. It is understood that the Lecture is to be published by the Sheffield University at a date which will enable any who desire to draw inspiration from it for Empire Day addresses to do so.

THE MONTH IN BRIEF

KELLOGG PROPOSALS—FRENCH ELECTIONS—WOMEN AND CHILDREN—OPIUM

(This page is provided in response to requests for the benefit of those who like their mental food predigested. Most of the subjects mentioned are dealt with at greater length on later pages of this issue.)

THE principal events in the field of international affairs in the period since the last issue of HEADWAY went to press are the negotiations between the American Government and various Great Powers regarding a treaty for the renunciation of war. The discussions which have been going on for a year between America and France have now been extended to take in also Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan, before all of whom Mr. Kellogg has laid his proposed treaty. France has sent to the same Powers counter-proposals, in the form of an alternative draft treaty, specifying in detail the cases in which, in her view, war must still be permitted.

Another event with an important bearing on European affairs is the French Elections, the voting for which took place on April 22 and 29. The results are not available as this article is being written, but it was generally anticipated that M. Poincaré would emerge triumphant, his success in improving the exchange value of the franc from 240 to the £ to 124 being sufficient to justify his claims to the confidence of the country. The German General Election takes place this month.

The civil war in China continues to rage and it is as difficult as ever to follow the threads of it or predict the result. In the South, however, which seems to be becoming increasingly important, relations with foreign Powers, particularly Great Britain, have substantially improved.

Polish-Lithuanian negotiations have been in progress with a view to ending the controversy between the two countries and M. Zaleski, the Polish Foreign Minister, has been visiting Signor Mussolini at Rome. The Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers have also visited the Italian Prime Minister at Milan and Signor Mussolini has further expressed himself in terms rather pointedly favourable to Hungary, in relation to the possible division of the Treaty of Trianon. The impression has been created in some quarters that Italy is endeavouring to supplant France as the friend of some of the secondary European States.

So far as the League of Nations is concerned, the month has been one of normal routine activity. The Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference sat till the end of March without reaching any conclusions of importance. The original Russian proposals for immediate and wholesale disarmament were withdrawn and a gradual scheme of partial disarmament submitted instead. This is likely to be discussed at the Commission's next meeting, after the Governments have had an opportunity of considering them. It was mentioned that conversations on naval matters and also on some important principles of land disarmament had been in progress between the experts of some of the Great Powers.

The Women and Children Committee sat at the end of March and the beginning of April. It decided to continue at a later date the investigation in traffic in women already carried out in America, Europe and North Africa. It discussed the question of the abolition of licensed houses and the strengthening of laws against souteneurs. The Child Welfare Committee considered the raising of the age of marriage and decided to spend on an investigation into the problem of the neglected child the sum of 5,000 dollars offered from American sources.

The Opium Committee had a long and in many ways unsatisfactory sitting, irrefutable evidence being produced of the serious growth in the illicit drug traffic. The increase in the production of raw opium in China is a grave symptom, which clearly cannot be handled until the country settles down politically. Quite apart from that, however, manufactured drugs, such as morphine, are being produced in altogether excessive quantities and are being smuggled freely into many countries in Europe and the Far East. Various plans for combating this evil were discussed.

A report has been issued by the League Communications and Transit Committee on the proposal to equip the League with a wireless station of its own, so as to enable it to communicate with member States without delay in a sudden crisis. The cost is estimated at some £50,000 and the maintenance about £80,000 a year. An alternative suggestion put forward was that by arrangement with the Swiss Government, the Secretary-General should be authorised in case of crisis to commandeer the local Swiss wireless station.

The League Economic Committee has held its twenty-fourth ordinary meeting and dealt with a number of technical questions, with the object of simplifying and standardising the economic relations between States and so reducing the hindrances to international trade. The discussion, for example, on the possibility of unifying the legislation in different countries on bills of exchange and cheques, though highly technical, is of the first importance to all traders. The first meeting of the Economic Consultative Committee, which is practically last year's Economic Conference on a small scale, is to be held this month.

SPAIN AND THE LEAGUE

In response to a request from the Editor, His Excellency the Spanish Ambassador in London has courteously sent to HEADWAY the following message on the decision of his country to resume her old place at Geneva:—

No better definition of Spain's spirit and attitude at the hour of her re-entry into the League can be framed than in the words lately used by His Excellency the Marquis de Estella, Prime Minister of Spain.

Spain takes up once more her part in the League animated by that spirit of peace with all nations, and among all nations one with the other, which so particularly qualifies her to be a member of the great international association founded for the establishment of peace and goodwill throughout the world. She is as firmly resolved as ever to exert her utmost endeavour with the same zeal and unselfishness which has proved up to a short time ago a factor of decisive importance for the League.

Spain has of late concluded several Treaties of Arbitration and Conciliation with other States on the pattern of the Locarno Convention. Her Government's one aim is to multiply these pacts so as to ban war altogether from among the peoples.

Embajada de España, MERRY DEL VAL.
1, Grosvenor Gardens,
London, S.W.

April 20, 1928.

REAL WAR

WHY MEN FOUGHT AND WHAT THEY THOUGHT

By PROFESSOR P. J. NOEL BAKER

MR. WELLS says of this book* that it is one that "every boy with a taste for soldiering should be asked to read and ponder." Perhaps it may be good for boys. I feel a stronger conviction that it will be good for grown men and women, for men and women who lived through the years between 1914 and 1918, but who have already forgotten what the war was like. To them, unless their memory and their imagination have been rusted totally away, it will bring back with a stabbing sensation of present and acute discomfort what they really thought and felt like while those endless years were going by. It is plainly for that reason, to make men remember, that Mr. Gristwood undertook his task; and for its powerful success in that respect his book is notable indeed.

It is notable, too, as a contribution to the written history of the war. There are not many authors who have given to the world a plain account of what the operations of the field of battle meant to the men who carried out the orders of the staff. But without this human individual history of the war, the students of the future will never really understand the meaning of the text-book descriptions of its campaigns and battles, as they were viewed and thought of by the generals and the politicians who planned them on a map.

Vivid Pictures

But it is most notable of all, I think, for the quality of Mr. Gristwood's writing. Far less "literary" in its pretensions than the classic of its kind, Henri Barbusse's "Le Feu," without a single paragraph of "fine writing," from the first page to the last, without grandiloquence or exaggeration or appeals to sentiment, the story creates a vivid atmosphere that grows in intensity with every line. And its very simplicity is its master merit. Mr. Gristwood has set out to tell his readers what the plain private suffered, and what he thought about the fighting he was sent to do. He describes the thoughts and feelings of a single man in each of two episodes; the first, an attack in the middle stages of the battle of the Somme, which ends in total failure and in the wounding of his "hero," Private Everitt; the second, the German onslaught on the 21st of March, 1918, and the intolerable strain of waiting for that onslaught to begin—a strain that made his second "hero" commit the treasonable crime of a self-inflicted wound.

"Atmosphere"

Each part of his story can be read through in an hour. But each part must be read through without a break, if its meaning and its power are to be understood. Read it in snippets, and it crashes; infallibly you lose the atmosphere; sentences which as part of the whole movement of the story are tense and compelling with compressed emotion, become pale and ordinary and even dull.

Mr. Gristwood's straightforward sincerity, his steady progress from incident to incident, his absolute freedom from sham or hesitation, give his book the same gripping quality of Turgenev. He speaks of "a road that led through darkness and hidden horrors towards Bapaume." He imagines it "crossing the last British outpost line, threading no-man's land, passing the successive lines of enemy trenches"; and with those simple phrases he re-creates the whole impenetrable fascinating mystery

* "The Somme; including also The Coward," by A. D. Gristwood; with a Preface by H. G. Wells. (Jonathan Cape. Pp. 189. 5s. net.)

of what lies "beyond the line." "Everitt," he says, "exchanged the sickliest of smiles with his neighbours"; and he makes you think you understand the feelings of men walking slowly in broad daylight across the open and in heavy mud to carry out what was euphemistically described as "an attack."

Remember and Learn

Mr. Gristwood has succeeded because he has had no false reserves. "The face of a man advancing against shell-fire is not good to see." "The misty God of the Christians will do nothing to help me!" "The Germans had buried their dead in the floor of the trench. . . . A foot treading unwarily here sunk suddenly downwards, disturbing hundreds of white and wriggling maggots. In one place a hand with blue and swollen fingers projected helplessly from the ground." These sentences fail to convey even a vague impression of the picture of mental and physical desolation which he has drawn. And no one has been less afraid to describe fear than he has, and no one does it better. Nor has anyone spoken so plainly of the resentment in the Army against the Bairnsfather romances about the "jovial Tommies." For all these reasons Mr. Gristwood's is a book which members of the League of Nations Union and others ought to read. And having read, let them do what he desires that they shall do—remember. Sleepless memory is for our generation perhaps the first of the public duties of the age.

RUSSIA REVISES

AT the close of the March sitting of the League of Nations Preparatory Commission—too late, that is to say, for inclusion in the April HEADWAY—the Russian delegation withdrew, in face of the general opposition, its December proposals for immediate and wholesale disarmament and substituted a plan involving a more gradual process.

The proposal may thus be briefly summarised:—

Land Armies.

States with armies of over 200,000 to reduce by 50 per cent., those with between 40,000 and 200,000 to reduce by 33 per cent., those with armies below 40,000 to reduce by 25 per cent., those already disarmed to be left unaffected. Various other provisions are attached, including the destruction of all tanks and long range guns.

Naval Disarmament.

States with tonnage of over 200,000 to reduce by 50 per cent., those with tonnage between 40,000 and 200,000 to reduce by 25 per cent., those already disarmed left unaffected.

Aerial Disarmament.

States with more than 200 aeroplanes to reduce by 50 per cent., those with between 100 and 200 by 33 per cent., all others by 25 per cent.

All apparatus for chemical warfare to be immediately destroyed. An international control committee to be set up with full right of inspection in all countries and composed of representatives of governments and trade unions in equal numbers.

This plan, which it will be observed ignores the existence of the League of Nations altogether, remains on the agenda, and may therefore be discussed at the Commission's next meeting, the date of which has not been fixed.

CANADA AND THE LEAGUE THE OLDEST DOMINION'S FIRM FAITH

By Col. DAVID CARNEGIE

UNDER the auspices of the League of Nations Society of Canada, I recently completed a rapid tour of seven Provinces, covering about 8,000 miles.

My programme was arranged by the Society's able General Secretary, Col. Meredith. It included addresses to Universities, Collegiate and Normal Schools, Canadian Club lunches, Rotary, Kiwanis, Gyro, Engineers' Clubs, Boards of Trade (trade unions) and other similar organisations, and also to public meetings.

The cities I visited were St. John, Halifax, Quebec, Ottawa, Port Arthur, Fort William, Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary, Olds, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Toronto, London and Hamilton.

Canada Leads

From what I saw of League teaching in the universities and schools, I thought that in some respects Canada was in advance of Great Britain. It seemed to be no trouble to the masters and professors to arrange meetings on short notice. In fact, they heartily welcomed them. At Winnipeg, for instance, Judge Stubbs and Dr. David Christie took me to the University soon after my arrival, and Prof. Martin, who was giving a history lecture, welcomed me without previous notice and asked me to address his students. The principals of the Collegiate and other schools usually presided at the gatherings of the students who heard me. Most impressive attention was given. Usually boys and girls of 15 years and upwards and numbering from 350 to over 1,200 listened with great eagerness.

The work of the Canadian women in maintaining world peace is also remarkable. It is not only noticeable in connection with the League of Nations Society, but in the women's Canadian clubs, the Daughters of the Empire, the International League of Peace and Freedom and other kindred clubs. I had the pleasure of addressing branches of these organisations and was struck with the common-sense and business-like methods employed in carrying out their aims.

Pervasive Effort

As to the work of the League among the men's organisations, as distinct from the work done by the branches of the League of Nations Society, it is not specific, but general, in the sense that the various clubs welcome any information relating to the peace of the world and what the League of Nations is doing to that end. In some cases, such as in the Canadian Club of Hamilton, the branch of the League works in co-operation with the club. Excellent work is being done by the Rotary and Gyro Clubs. Sometimes at their evening dinners discussion follows the addresses and real constructive suggestions are made for world peace.

I was very greatly inspired at a meeting of the young men's Board of Trade held at Fort William. About 50 sat down to dinner, and after a speech on the armaments problem, a most enthusiastic discussion followed on the subject of Canada's place and opportunity to help world peace. These young men resolved to send a message to their Member of Parliament asking him to take immediate steps to urge the Government to sign the "Optional Clause."

Perhaps the most instructive gathering I addressed was a dinner of the Winnipeg Branch of the Institute of International Affairs, presided over by Mr. T. A. Crear, where 25 of the representative men of Winnipeg and of Canada discussed the "Optional Clause." The

Attorney-General and two ex-Attorney-Generals; Dr. McLean, president of the University; several professors, journalists and other professional men were present. Every angle of the "Optional Clause" was considered and what effect Canada's action would have upon the British Empire, Great Britain, the U.S.A. and the nations generally if she signed the "Optional Clause."

War to Bring Peace

At every public meeting I found an eagerness to know more about the armaments problem. I found also a natural curiosity and surprise that I should be in Canada urging Canadians to assist in arresting world competition in armaments and to promote conditions for the reduction of armaments to police force dimensions, when during the war I helped manufacturers to produce munitions. On the surface, I admitted my position appeared inconsistent, but on a moment's examination they saw that both were peace missions. I reminded them that during the war Canada poured out its best treasures, at immeasurable sacrifice, believing that it was a war to end war. I had urged Canadians to produce munitions to put out a blaze in Europe we did not light, and now urged Canadians to help pull down the armaments faggots being piled up throughout the world for another blaze. At every meeting I tried to prove that Canada stood, as no other nation, in a position to give a lead to the world in preventing war. Its youth; its freedom from entangling relations with her neighbours; its tradition of the settlement of international and industrial disputes by arbitration rather than by war—even when the settlements have involved sacrifices; its geographical position, with its 3,000 miles of peace boundary—the finest example to the world of what can be done; its position on the Council of the League of Nations; and other important considerations gave it a place of responsibility and privilege in leading the way to world peace.

For the Optional Clause

When I dealt with the "Optional Clause" at a Convention of School Trustees at Saskatoon, where over 1,200 delegates from the Province of Saskatchewan were assembled, a resolution was moved from the body of the hall and passed unanimously by all standing.

From private interviews with editors of different papers, with statesmen, judges, leaders of religion, education, commerce and industry, I am convinced that Canada is ready to sign the "Optional Clause."

That grand old man, the Rt. Hon. Sir George Foster, has done more than anyone to carry the gospel of peace to Canadians. Everywhere I visited I found the fire which burned in the branches had been lighted by him. Although over 80 years he travels thousands of miles with the torch and never fails to command a great following.

Sir Robert Borden and Senator Dandurand, Canada's representative on the League of Nations Council, as well as Sir Herbert Ames, for six years Financial Controller of the League at Geneva, have devoted much time and wealth of knowledge in spreading information about the League in Canada.

I found the ground thoroughly prepared and the harvest ready for reaping. I believe that Canada will sign the "Optional Clause" and urge Great Britain and the other Empire States to throw in their weight with the States that have signed and ratified already, and thus give confidence to the nations in reducing their armaments.

METHODS OF SETTLEMENT FRIENDLY AGREEMENT OR BINDING DECISIONS?

By PROF. GILBERT MURRAY

[In last month's HEADWAY General Sir Alexander Gordon suggested that League of Nations Union speeches and pamphlets laid too little stress on the settlement of disputes by conciliation. Prof. Murray has been asked to discuss this criticism.]

WITH most of Sir Alexander Gordon's letter to HEADWAY there will be general agreement. Peace and concord among individuals are not produced by a habit of going to law about every dispute that arises, nor will they be among States. On that we are all agreed; and if League of Nations Union speakers have seemed to emphasise overmuch the need of compulsory arbitration that is only because they were taking other and simpler processes for granted.

Yet there is a profound difference between the policy of the Union and that which would leave matters to the methods of conventional diplomacy unaltered, except by the frequent meetings of the Council. In the first place, we believe that another war among the great nations would probably be the downfall of the British Empire. Consequently, we are not content that Great Britain should merely jog along in an unprovocative routine. We want quite definitely to see a general renunciation of the so-called "Right of War," either on the lines of Clause 2 of Locarno, or those of the Kellogg proposal, or the Polish proposal or the treaties proposed to us by Holland, Sweden and Switzerland.

In the second place, believing that peace cannot be secure unless it is tolerable in its conditions and based on something like justice, we want to have as much security as possible that international disputes will be settled fairly. This cannot be as long as every strong nation insists on being the judge in its own cause. The weak nations will feel that the dice are loaded against them and will seek to safeguard their interests, not through fair play, but, as in the Balkans before the war, by intrigue and mischief-making. To bring about peace and goodwill the great Powers must consent to some sort of "acceptance of public right as the common law of nations."

Cards in the Game

Both these proposals bring us into conflict with the typical diplomatist of the Great Powers. Both of them seem to him mad. "If you agree beforehand not to go to war," he says, "you deprive me at the outset of my best card in the game of negotiation." "I do not want to go to war," he explains, "but you might at least let me hint at the possibility of so doing." And, further, he will hate the idea of arbitration or judicial settlement. "Even without using the threat of war," he will say, quite justly, "I can always undertake to do better for my country, in conflict with a weaker State, if my hands are quite free. I can always get better terms than the mere law will give me." Conciliation he will not so much mind, as long as he is not bound to accept the result.

Our answer to this plea is, of course, that for most Great Powers, and most emphatically for Great Britain, the permanent advantage of having a peaceful and law-abiding world utterly outweighs the loss of these occasional rich pickings. As a pure matter of *£ s. d.*, a general prevalence of honest dealing pays a large merchant better than any number of irregular gains, though with an itinerant tinker it may be different. And the way to obtain such a world is well typified by the Treaty of Locarno. There France and Germany agree (1) "in all disputes about rights" to accept the judgment of the Court, i.e., to accept the rule of law in the sphere of law, or at least in that part of it which is, according to the Court statute, indisputably

clear; (2) in other disputes, where it is not a question of "rights," to use the fullest machinery of conciliation, in the hope of reaching an agreed settlement; but (3) in no case to go to war.

Get Away from War

This seems to the present writer to represent in outline as good a treaty as can well be made. All three principles are important. Cases obviously suitable for legal decision should be got as quickly as possible out of the passionate and unwholesome domain of politics into the reasonably healthy atmosphere of law. In cases not suitable for legal decision we have to admit that no immediate and infallible means of settlement can be provided, but the alternative must not be war: it must be merely the failure to settle. Such a failure may be comparatively harmless or may be intolerable; and if it is intolerable, it seems certain, war being ruled out, that the dispute will be handed over, from sheer necessity, to some form of arbitration. Nations can go on for centuries leaving their boundaries within the Arctic Circle unsettled, but a point may be reached where it is absolutely necessary to decide at once, even by tossing a coin, whether or no a lobster is a fish.

Obstacles Removed

Now, of course, at every stage of this process ordinary diplomatic negotiation and conciliation may come in, and probably will. Almost all cases are better settled out of Court. But I doubt whether the particular form of diplomatic preparations admired by Sir Alexander Gordon is very desirable or likely to recur. When nations were shy of arbitration altogether and no International Court was in existence it was inevitable that there should be a long process of bargaining before they consented to arbitrate at all. Conditions are now different. Arbitrations are far smoother, and the Court itself decides as a matter of course many technical points about which the litigants themselves might argue for years. But the essential consideration is what alternative should be present as a last resort to the minds of the negotiators. "If you are not reasonable I will declare war," was the old unspoken threat. The question is how near can we get to a new one: "If you are not reasonable I will bring the matter before the Court, or at least before some disinterested body which can say what it thinks fair."

Progress in Law-making

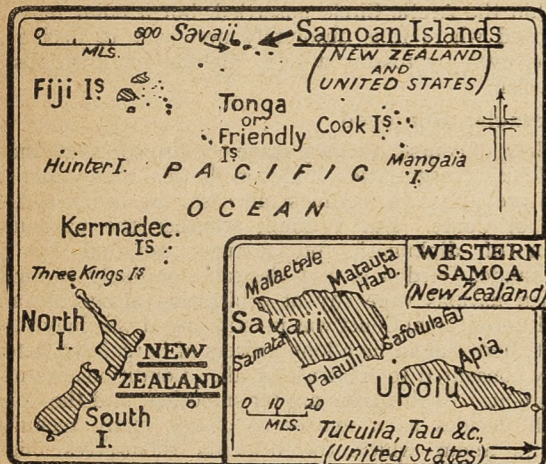
The reservation of "points of honour of vital interest" has always seemed to me to come perilously near making nonsense of any treaty in which it occurs, and I am glad to see that the British Memorandum proposes reconsidering it. But there may always be points, not numerous, but sometimes important, on which arbitration or judicial settlement will be unsatisfactory, because the law itself needs alteration. In municipal law such alteration goes on continuously, and it may be hoped that the decisions of the International Court will inevitably have some influence toward the continuous development of international law. But the adherents of the Rule of Law must never forget Article XIX of the Covenant on the Reconsideration of Treaties. When once the general rule of law is secured, the next step will be to provide for its development and its occasional revision.

THE TROUBLE IN SAMOA BANISHED LEADER TO APPEAR AT GENEVA

ONE of the most important tasks the League Mandates Commission will have before it when it meets next month at Geneva will be the investigation of the curiously involved dispute which has arisen in Western Samoa. Western Samoa (which may more conveniently be referred to merely as Samoa) is a mandate area administered by New Zealand, and the good name of the Empire is therefore involved when charges are brought against the Mandatory.

Curiously enough, in spite of the fact that New Zealand sent a special and impartial Commission to investigate the situation, the real causes of the trouble are still obscure. The two leading figures in the controversy are Sir George Richardson, the Administrator, and a Mr. Nelson, the principal trader in the island, who is the son of a Swedish father and a Samoan mother. Both Sir George Richardson and Mr. Nelson will be at Geneva in June, the former to represent his Government, and the latter to represent a petition on behalf of a section of the Samoan natives, for whom he claims to speak.

Now for the facts, so far as they are ascertainable. The Administrator of Samoa is advised by two separate bodies: (1) A legislative council consisting of six official members and three unofficial members, the latter elected



by the European community in the island; and (2) a native advisory committee called the Fono of Faipules, Faipules being native chiefs. The members of this body are selected by the Administrator himself, and its duty is to advise him on purely native affairs. It seems clear that the administration down to October, 1926, and apparently, indeed, down to the present day, has been completely beneficial to the natives as a whole, medical services of great value having in particular been successfully developed.

Towards the end of 1926, however, the three European elected members on the legislative council, together with six other Europeans and six Samoan chiefs, formed themselves into a body called the Citizens Committee, consistently hostile to the administration. Simultaneously a body called the Mau, consisting of native Samoans only, was organised in opposition to the Government. Its activities at one time became so threatening that a warship was ordered to the islands.

Cross-swearing

From this point we come at once into a region of charges and cross-charges. The Citizens Committee, headed by Mr. Nelson, accused the administration of punishing natives without proper trial, of banishing them from one island to another, and of imposing an unwarranted medical tax to maintain a medical service

which was unsatisfactory. The Administrator, on the other hand, strongly supported by the New Zealand Government, insists that the real cause of the trouble is incitement of the natives by the Europeans, who are bitter against the régime of complete alcoholic prohibition imposed throughout Western Samoa, and also annoyed because the Government has instituted a system of direct purchase of copra (dried kernel of the coconut) from the natives in order to protect the latter from the traders, who, it is alleged, were exploiting them shamelessly. The Commission which went from New Zealand, consisting of the Chief Justice of New Zealand and the Judge of the Native Land Court, produced a report entirely favourable to the Administrator. The agitation, however, continues, and last December Sir George Richardson took the strong step of deporting the three European leaders, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Smyth and Mr. Gurr.

Rivals at Geneva

Sir George himself is now superseded by Colonel S. S. Allen; but solely, so it is stated, in order that the former may be free to go to Geneva to give the Permanent Mandates Commission every information in his power. In view of the strong pronouncement of the League Council against hearing petitioners in person, it is not likely that Mr. Nelson will himself appear before the Mandates Commission, but he can, of course, establish contact freely with individual members of the Commission at their hotels.

[The map is reproduced by kind permission of the *Daily Telegraph*.]

COMING EVENTS

- MAY 14.—Economic Consultative Committee.
MAY 30.—Eleventh International Labour Conference.
JUNE 4.—League Council Meeting.
JUNE*.—Thirteenth Session of Mandates Commission.
JUNE 15.—Ordinary Session of Permanent Court of International Justice.
JUNE*.—Arbitration and Security Committee.
JULY 2.—Second Conference on Abolition of Import and Export Prohibition and Restrictions.
JUNE 5 and 6.—L.N.U. Arbitration Conference.
JUNE 9.—L.N.U. Party to Eleventh International Labour Conference.
JULY 26 to AUGUST 2.—L.N.U. Summer School at Oxford.
AUGUST 4 to 10.—Geneva Institute of International Relations First Session (Elementary).
AUGUST 11 to 17.—Geneva Institute of International Relations Second Session.

* Precise date not yet fixed.

A Conference on Arbitration, organised by the League of Nations Union, is to be held at 10, St. James's Square on June 5 at 10.30 and 2.30, and at the London School of Economics on the following day at the same time. The subjects to be discussed are "The Arbitral Principle," "The Renunciation of War," "The Growth of Arbitration" and the "Growth of Judicial Decision." Lord Grey of Fallodon, Lord Astor and Lord Phillimore are among the Chairmen at the different sessions, while the speakers who have so far accepted include Lord Cecil, Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. Philip Kerr, Professor Philip Baker and Mr. R. S. Hudson, M.P. The Ambassadors of France, Italy, Japan and Belgium and the Ministers of several other countries will attend.

DISHING THE MICROBES HOW THE LEAGUE FIGHTS DISEASE IN THE EAST

THE map which appears on the back page of HEADWAY this month is well worth looking at. It is also well worth explaining. On the face of it, it consists of an outline of Africa, most of Asia and Australia, peppered over with black dots and a



Dr. Rajchman, Director of the League Health Section

hundred or more place-names. A few of the place-names are marked not merely by a dot, but by a symbol which looks like a combination between forked lightning and a broad arrow. See for example Karachi, Tama-tave, Batavia, Yokohama, Saigon, Sandakan, Madras—if you know where to look for them.

Now for the explanation. The map is, in fact, reproduced from the annual report of the League of Nations Health Organisation, and it shows what the Eastern Bureau of the Health Organisation at Singapore is doing in broadcasting information as to the presence of various contagious diseases (such as cholera, plague, typhus, yellow fever) at ports at which ships habitually touch and from which they may all too easily carry the contagion to another port.

The black dots represent the ports, from Alexandria and Cape Town in the West to Honolulu and Panama, clean off the map, in the East, which are regularly sending health reports to Singapore. The reports would not be of much use if they simply stayed there, but Singapore is merely a receiving station, where a weekly health bulletin is compiled and sent by cable or wireless to all the same 140 ports again. The authorities, therefore, at a given port, say Colombo, when an incoming ship is approaching, know at once whether the port at which it last touched has a clean health record or whether the ship may, in fact, be bringing infection with it, in which case, of course, the necessary precautions are taken.

How Wireless Helps

Viewed from any one of several different angles, this is a singularly interesting aspect of the League's work. The very names of the ports that have fallen in line with the scheme in the past year are suggestive. There is Pondicherry, with its memories of Clive's wars; Apia and Samoa, with all its atmosphere of R. L. S., and Kipling's Moulmein ("By the old Moulmein pagoda looking eastward on the sea."). There is the story of the gradual supersession of the cable by wireless as agency for circulating the weekly reports, and there is a good deal of instructive international co-operation about that. Most of the work, for example, is done by the powerful French station at Saigon in Indo-China, and the French lend a hand again in Madagascar, where their station at Antananarivo catches the Saigon message and rebroadcasts it over a large enough area for the coast stations of Africa from Jibuti southwards to pick it up. The Persian Gulf is reached by wireless from Karachi, thanks in this case to the co-operation of the Indian Government, and the Italians in Somaliland are arranging to rebroadcast the bulletins from their station at Mogadiscio. The Japanese Government has just offered to do the same thing on its own account.

Wherever in the vast area covered conditions arise favourable to the carrying of contagion, there the facts

are at any rate discovered and announced as a warning. Regular returns, for example, are sent to Singapore regarding health conditions among the pilgrims at the time of the pilgrimage to the holy cities of Arabia, for there is obviously danger, at the time of such an aggregation from different quarters, of serious epidemics breaking out and being carried back to many different regions as the pilgrims return home.

This League undertaking has many other aspects of interest, and equally, it may be added, of importance. Apart from the technical value of the work on its medical side, it has considerable political significance in bringing to Asia the realisation of what international co-operation is. Anyone who has heard delegates from Asiatic countries like India and Japan testifying at the Assembly to the importance attached by those countries to the work of the Singapore Bureau will recognise how notable a service the organisers and administrators of the Bureau are rendering.

STRANGE DOINGS AT GENEVA

MR. PETER OLDFELD has added a singularly lively mystery novel to the now respectable total of mystery novels which take Geneva as the centre and scene of action.

One odd thing about Mr. Peter Oldfield is that he is in reality neither Mr. nor Peter nor Oldfield. The Mr., if all the truth were told, should be Messrs., and the Peter Oldfield, if all the truth were told—but since the able collaborators have chosen this pseudonym and decided not to tell the truth about themselves, it is certainly not for me to tell it about them. Suffice it to say that when they take Geneva as their theme there are the best of reasons for believing that they know what they are talking about extremely well.

Well, about this novel. A diplomat, as the title indicates, dies, and as no diplomats in Geneva novels could ever die in their beds, the coroner's jury bringing in a verdict of natural causes, it follows of necessity that the diplomat in question, a German (from which the unerring commentator will divine that the incident took place after September, 1926), was murdered. The question, of course, is, who murdered him? The reason why his prostrate body was found extended on the floor of the sitting-room in the Hotel Astoria is obvious. The German and French Foreign Ministers had just signed a secret treaty in the Hotel des Bergues. Though secret, it was a laudable treaty, making indeed (here our dual Mr. Peter Oldfield strains our imaginations a little) for ties of friendship between the two countries so strangely tight that Nationalists, both on the Seine and on the Spree, might have been infuriated to the extent of precipitating open war if they got to know the facts too soon.

But international war-mongers are lynx-eyed. Futile for the guileless Foreign Ministers to imagine that the secret known only to themselves, their respective private secretaries and the stout John Lavington of the League Secretariat, could remain five minutes hidden from those whose business it was to tear down the fabric of peace before it was fairly built. So the war-mongers make for the treaty, and ill goes it with the unhappy von Waechter, in whose charge the momentous document temporarily rests. That is why the blood of von Waechter made the red Turkey carpet of the Astoria sitting-room redder still.

Then, of course, there is a lady, very charming, very alert, very courageous, very American, displaying, in

fact, all the more engaging qualities of the woman journalist of the third decade of the twentieth century. Obviously her name will have to be coupled sooner or later with someone else's, and to save time it may as well be mentioned now that the someone comes inevitably into the last chapter—John Lavington. Oh, yes, and there was a diamond that vanished, too—a diamond that was to have been presented officially to someone or other on some ground or other. The disappearance of that was sufficient to send the Swiss police providentially off on the falsest of scents and prevent them from guessing anything about the treaty at all.

That is nearly enough to tell you here, for if I go on much longer you will hardly need to buy the book, and I should be doing, all unwittingly, the worst of turns to Mr. Oldfeld. But if you spend the necessary 6s. you will find yourself led a most enticing dance

round Geneva; out along the south bank of the lake to Vésénaz or thereabouts; up the other way to the historic Thoiry, which will be littered with several corpses before you leave it; back to the Old Town (the lady always hottest on the scent); and finally, as the climax is coming near, up the secret pathways that lead to the summit of the Voirons, that great ridge which closes in the skyline opposite the Secretariat somewhere to the left of where the Salève leaves off.

Plenty of excitement on the Voirons, plenty of shooting, plenty of dangerous climbing, and at least one more corpse—the corpse this time of the mysterious murderer, who proves, startlingly enough, to have, like Mr. Peter Oldfeld himself, a dual personality. Finally, of course, the wedding bells, not quite literally audible, but casting their echo before them, so to speak. A good novel. Read it.—W. P.

THE DRUG SCANDAL

MORPHINE FIGURES: DISQUIETING INCREASE

THE April sitting of the League of Nations Opium Committee was more than usually interesting, being conspicuous mainly for some healthily plain speaking on a number of unsatisfactory reports.

The unwelcome fact is that, in spite of all the League's endeavours, the opium and drug situation is in some respects getting worse instead of better. The problem is divided into two distinct parts. On the one hand, it is essential somehow to reduce the production of opium throughout the world, and, on the other hand, equally necessary to control with the utmost rigour the manufacture, export and import and sale of the finished drugs of which the opium poppy or coca plant (the raw material of cocaine) are the main constituents.

Poppies and Drugs

The first half of this problem can practically not be touched at the moment, for the obvious but unfortunate reason that the main producing country, China, is in a condition politically which makes any effective control of poppy-growing futile. Consequently the Opium Committee is concentrating for the moment on the second half of its task, the creation of effective measures of control of the manufactured drugs. The chief method it favours—a method which was the basis of the Opium Convention of 1925—involves the creation of a Central Board at Geneva, to which shall be supplied regularly statistics of each country's legitimate needs (i.e., needs of narcotic drugs for purely medical and scientific purposes), together with figures of imports and exports and manufactures. By this means it will be possible to see at once whether any country is receiving supplies of drugs in excess of its declared needs, and it is hoped that in this case, as in so many, publicity will provide an effective remedy for abuses.

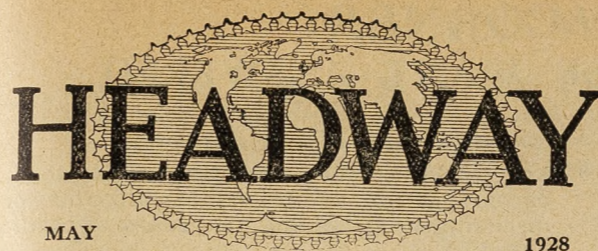
But unhappily the Control Board contemplated by the 1925 Convention is still not in existence, because the Convention has not been ratified by enough States to bring it into force. Seven members of the Council have to ratify, and that number is not yet forthcoming. Great Britain and France and Poland signed long ago; Finland has just followed suit; and during the sitting of the Opium Committee, Canada got its Ratification Bill through its House of Commons. That means that five ratifications are forthcoming, or virtually forthcoming, and, in addition, it is understood that Rumania has ratified but not yet deposited the necessary documents at Geneva. As it is believed that Japan and Holland are taking similar action very shortly, it may be hoped that the Control Board will soon be in existence,

Meanwhile, however, the evil continues, and a good many sittings of the Opium Committee were occupied in criticisms by different members of the Committee of the record of other countries regarding drugs. The American representative, for example, complained that there was a higher consumption of drugs in the Philippines because smuggling from other countries could not be put down. Mr. Lyall, the expert assessor on Chinese questions, pointed out that in the Malay States (a British colony) 55,000 kilograms of smoking opium were sold in 1926, as against 43,000 in 1925. Sir Malcolm Delevingne, the British delegate, said that hundreds of kilograms of morphine were being exported from France and lost sight of, most of them being stated to have gone to Germany. The German delegate on this point declared that 750 kilograms of morphine, apparently exported from France to Germany, had never been received. Japan's record regarding cocaine also came under severe criticism, Sir John Campbell (India) pointing out that the record of imports and manufactures of cocaine in Japan disclosed a total sufficient for a consumption four times greater than the world average. Mr. Sato, the Japanese delegate, replying, said, in extenuation, that Europe had tried 80 years ago to convert Japan to opium smoking.

Tightening up Control

For this unsatisfactory state of affairs various remedies were suggested. The Italian delegate, Signor Cavazzoni, who said that morphine manufacture had increased by 100 per cent. in the years 1921-26, has an elaborate plan for direct Government control of all factories where drugs are manufactured. The German delegate, Dr. Anselmino, is for the creation of a great international drug trust, on which the League itself should have representation. Sir Malcolm Delevingne, the British delegate, doubting, like many others, the practicability of the Italian suggestions, has been helping to draft a model scheme of administration which individual countries might adopt to increase the efficacy of their control over drug manufacture.

All this plain speaking is to the good, for it brings public opinion to bear on countries in default, but the general situation revealed is not reassuring. In particular the extensive manufacture of a new drug, codeine, which is not included in the 1925 Opium Convention at all, is creating considerable disquiet. Large quantities of morphine are being used for this purpose. The Health Committee of the League is to report on the technical side of this question.



MAY

1928

EXORCISING WAR

LORD CUSHENDUN has renewed in a letter in *The Times* the attack he made in the House of Lords a couple of months ago on the League of Nations Union. The burden of his complaint is that the Union still advocates the signature by this country of the Optional Clause and the conclusion of all-in arbitration treaties, in spite of the declared attitude of the Government on those subjects.

It would be a pity to magnify these differences. Lord Cushendun himself has since conceded that those who differ on method can be at one on the ultimate aim. It is only necessary to observe therefore that Lord Cushendun himself publicly declared at Geneva that he was in favour of the signature of the Optional Clause by all countries except those of the British Empire. The Union differs from him only in holding that it should be signed by all countries, including those of the British Empire. Is that illegitimate? The various Governments of the Empire disagree on this question. Canada and almost certainly other Dominions are in favour of signing the clause. The Union agrees with Canada. Why not?

The question of venturing to differ from the Government of the day deserves a moment's consideration from another aspect. If Wilberforce and Clarkson had thrown up the sponge because, to begin with, the Government was against them, how long would it have taken to abolish slavery? If Shaftesbury had dropped his agitation against factory abuses because he could not convince the Government in ten minutes, how long would it have taken to get the Factory Acts passed? If Josephine Butler, whose centenary we are celebrating at this moment, had acquiesced in the claim that the Government's attitude on the C.D. Acts must be the right one, because it was the Government's, when would those Acts have been repealed. No. When men and women have firm convictions on national questions their business is to express those convictions constitutionally, whether the Government of the day shares their views or not.

There we may leave it. For there are greater matters afoot at the moment than differences between Lord Cushendun and the League of Nations Union. In point of fact the very measures he opposes and the League of Nations Union advocates—signature of the Optional Clause and the conclusion of all-in arbitration treaties—seem likely after all to be thrust irresistibly on this country, no matter what Government may be in office, by the agency not of any political party or non-party organisation in Great Britain, but of the Secretary of State of the United States of America.

That, it may be said, is going a little far. Mr. Kellogg's peace proposals have not been accepted by this country yet, and if they are accepted it does not follow that they will involve acceptance of the Optional Clause and the signing of comprehensive arbitration treaties. That is perfectly true, and it would be unfortunate if anyone by spoken or written word for

a moment created the impression that the greater proposal—the renunciation of war—should be put on a level with the definitely less important one of choosing certain particular methods of settling international disputes. All that can be said or should be said is that if the Kellogg proposals are accepted in anything like their present form some machinery for the settlement of disputes between nations must be adopted, and that the best machinery so far devised or suggested is the Permanent Court for legal disputes and arbitration for non-legal—with the important proviso that conciliation could, and often should, be tried in both cases first.

But this provision of the machinery of settlement comes second in point of time as well as in point of importance. The immediate question is the acceptance or rejection of the Kellogg plan. Not that there can actually be any question about that at all, for the rejection of the American proposals by the British Government is unimaginable. All that is doubtful is the exact form the proposals will assume after Washington and London have discussed them. There are of course other important factors in the case. France, Germany, Italy and Japan all have Mr. Kellogg's suggestions before them, and their views may not accord in all respects with those of Great Britain.

Our concern, however, is with the views of Great Britain, and in regard to that national opinion seems in all essentials solid. The Kellogg initiation—or rather the Briand initiation, as it originally was—is unreservedly to be welcomed. As it stands the American is so simple that a child can understand it. There is to be no war between individual States; all differences between individual States are to be settled peacefully. That is the whole of the proposed treaty. Clearly there is nothing there which conflicts with the League Covenant. The Kellogg proposal goes beyond the Covenant, in that it rules out war between individual States under all circumstances, whereas the Covenant permits war in certain circumstances, but it nowhere conflicts with it. The League itself will be the stronger and more effective if the Kellogg plan is accepted in substantially its original form.

But it would be a profound mistake to look for rapid progress. While the simplicity of the proposed treaty is at first sight attractive, it becomes the more essential to know beyond possibility of misunderstanding what these simple pledges mean. France has asked several questions about them already. Is armed action in self-defence ruled out? Is police action by the League ruled out? What happens if a country that has promised not to go to war does go to war? Suppose a European State that had signed the new treaty broke it, and other States blockaded it as a measure of coercion, would the United States recognise the blockade, and agree that her own ships should be stopped if they tried to pass through it?

These are questions the British, and all other Governments, will have to ask in the friendliest spirit, and it is certain they will not be resented at Washington. And if agreement on all these points is reached, as there is every ground to trust it will be, League States, at any rate, will then have to set about perfecting their machinery for the peaceful settlement of all disputes, since settlement by war is ruled out for ever. But that will come later. At the moment the predominant feeling must be one of profound gratitude to Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Kellogg for their courageous persistence in the endeavour to give practical realisation to one of the greatest of ideals.

HECKLERS' CORNER

QUESTIONS SOME PEOPLE WANT ANSWERED

(It is proposed to deal on this page from time to time with some of the more interesting or more important questions addressed to HEADWAY or put to speakers at meetings on the League of Nations.)

(1) What is the Optional Clause?

PART of the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Whereas all States which become members of the Court sign the rest of the Clauses of the Statutes, this one is optional—i.e., each State is free to sign it or not as it prefers. A State which does sign it declares thereby that it is prepared always to allow any legal dispute (i.e., any dispute suitable for the Court) to be settled by the Court, if it is a dispute with another State which has also signed the Clause.

(2) Why does Great Britain not sign the Optional Clause?

The Government has given various reasons. One is that some disputes, even though suitable for the Court, are better settled by conciliation (which, however, could quite easily be tried first). Another is that, though we might be willing to settle disputes with some countries before the Court, we should not be willing so to settle disputes with other countries. A third is that, if we gave a general undertaking to submit disputes to the Court, a verdict might some day be given which the British people would not be ready to carry out. A fourth is that it is more difficult for the British Empire to sign the Optional Clause than for other States, because the British Empire includes seven self-governing nations which must act together.

(3) Is there any constitutional bar against Dominions signing the Optional Clause without waiting for Great Britain, apart from the declaration of prematurity in the Balfour report?

There would appear to be none.

(4) Why transfer British Government from London to Geneva?

No one has ever suggested anything so fantastic. No one at Geneva can compel the British Government to do anything against its will. British delegates go to Geneva to reach free agreements with delegates of other States, not to compel or be compelled.

(5) Why does not the League ask to take over Egypt and the guarding of the Suez Canal?

Egypt is an independent State, subject to some reserves, and there is no question of any one taking it over. In due time it will, no doubt, join the League. The suggestion that the League should be made responsible for preserving free passage of the Suez Canal (and other similar waterways) is well worth considering.

(6) Is it not a fact that one of the chief obstacles to Great Britain making a larger reduction in armaments is that there are so many people who have money invested in firms that manufacture armaments?

The shareholders in armament firms are relatively few compared with those who have shares in railways and industrial concerns, and the firms themselves are now mostly developing other sides of the business—e.g., ordinary engineering work, such as bridge-building or locomotive construction. There is not much evidence to suggest that shareholders in such firms deliberately try to resist a reduction of armaments or that they would succeed if they did.

(7) What is the Little Entente?

A loose alliance of the three Central European States, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, entered into primarily for mutual support against possible aggression by Hungary.

(8) Are partial treaties and agreements to be encouraged as in the right direction or discouraged as leading to groups of hostile powers?

It depends on how such agreements are framed. If they are merely for mutual protection against some outside State they are clearly open to great objection. For that reason it has been insisted (in the discussions of the League's Security and Arbitration Committee) that such agreements ought only to provide for mutual defence against attack by a State party to the agreement, not by some State outside. In other words, if States A, B and C wanted to undertake to support one another against D, they ought to bring D into their agreement, so that he would get support equally if attacked by one of them.

(9) When the delegate of the British Empire votes at Geneva whom does his vote represent—(a) Great Britain, (b) Great Britain and the non-self-governing Colonies, or (c) the whole Empire?

In the Assembly it certainly represents (b), for the self-governing Dominions are represented in their own right. Regarding the Council, the position has never been quite clearly defined, though the fact that Canada now has a Council seat suggests that the position is the same as in the Assembly, for Dominions cannot be represented twice over.

(10) If armaments suggest insecurity, why are the Powers still engaged in piling them up?

The answer is because they suggest insecurity for other States, and each nation tries to get security for itself by making its own armaments larger. In point of fact, however, armaments throughout the world are not increasing, but diminishing, though too slowly.

(11) Is not the League of Nations, judged by its impotence to bring about disarmament, an expensive futility?

The League of Nations is not expensive. It is extremely inexpensive, costing only about £1,000,000 a year for the whole work of the League itself, the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice. In any case, to judge it by its failure or success in the field of disarmament alone would be to ignore all the extremely valuable work it has done in the settlement of disputes, in European reconstruction, in humanitarian effort and in removing obstacles to international trade.

(12) What is the practical value of the International Court of Justice in the admitted absence of international law, and is it not impossible to frame a code of international law until all nations unite for that specific purpose?

There is already a substantial body of accepted international law, based in some cases on general treaties, in some on tradition and precedent, in others on the writings of distinguished jurists. This body of law is being gradually extended, partly through the decisions of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and partly through general treaties and conventions negotiated at Geneva. It may be said that a code would not bind all nations until all nations had united to frame it, but if, for example, 50 nations out of 60 accept a general agreement (like the Covenant of the League) that agreement becomes international law as between the whole of the 50—i.e., five-sixths of the States of the world. That, at any rate, is a good beginning.

HUMAN WELFARE

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND PROTECTION OF CHILDREN

THE body rather ponderously known as the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People sat at Geneva at the end of March and beginning of April. This Commission is divided into two separate Committees, one on the Traffic in Women and Children and the other on Child Welfare. The discussion on the Traffic was of particular importance this time, in that a decision had to be taken on various questions arising out of the report of the Special Body of Experts, which recently investigated the Traffic in three continents. It is interesting, by the way, to note that Dame Rachel Crowley reported to the Committee that the sales of the English edition of the Report had been very much larger than the French, the actual figures being 259 French and 4,245 English copies of Part I sold, and 222 French and 1,800 English of Part II. The contrast is the more striking when it is considered that normally the French language is far more generally used than English in League discussions.

The main question arising was whether the investigation which has already been carried on in 28 countries in Europe, America and North Africa should be extended to the rest of the world. The general view was that this should certainly be done, and in particular that the conditions in the Far East should be studied. It is obvious, however, that no investigation could be carried out satisfactorily in China at the present time, and it was, on this and other grounds, decided (a) that the investigation should be continued, but (b) that no immediate action in that direction should be taken. The question is to be discussed at the Committee's next meeting.

An Iniquitous System

The discussion of an Assembly resolution suggesting that the Committee should now consider the desirability of recommending to all governments the abolition of the licensed house system was distinctly animated. Some of the representatives of the countries where the system still prevails considered that it was premature to take any such action. It was made clear, however, that practically all these representatives were personally in favour of the abolition of the system, but they were placed in a somewhat difficult position, because their governments did not in all cases take that view. The resolution, therefore, confined itself to urging the governments of countries where the system still exists to consider their attitude afresh in the light of the Report of the Experts, which, of course, dwelt emphatically on the evils of licensed houses.

An interesting conversation took place on women police, the most notable contribution coming from the German delegate, who explained how women police had been introduced into Germany as a result of the good work British police women had done at Cologne during the period of the occupation. The question goes on to the agenda of the next meeting. Other matters discussed were the possibility of securing special legislation or administrative action for the protection of girl artistes taking engagements abroad and the importance of stiffening up national legislation against souteneurs (men who live on women's immoral earnings). To this end the Secretariat is to make a resumé of those laws in different countries dealing specially with souteneurs. Mr. Bascom Johnson, who organised the recent investigation, insisted that the suppression of the souteneur was practically the key to the suppression of the traffic.

At a subsequent joint meeting of the two committees, on Women and Children and Child Welfare, two subjects in the main were discussed, the raising of the legal age of marriage and the use to be made of the offer of 5,000 dollars received in 1925 from the American Social Hygiene Association. Various countries were reported to be taking steps to raise the age of marriage—the question is of special importance in India—and after a full discussion the Commission contented itself with pressing this subject further on the attention of Governments. The American gift has been more or less under consideration for the past three years, and it was felt that at last something definite should be done about it. The discussion took a curious turn, a proposal that the money should be used to finance an investigation into the important question of biological teaching for children being strongly opposed by certain representatives, avowedly on the ground that in some subtle way it might lead to birth-control propaganda. That proposal was thus defeated, and it was decided in the end to spend the 5,000 dollars on a restricted investigation into the problem of the child brought up in evil or morally dangerous environments.

The Child Welfare Committee also considered an interesting report on the influence of the cinematograph on children, another on the protection of blind children, and a third, prepared mainly by the International Labour Office, on family allowances in relation to children's moral and physical well being.

I.L.O. EXPANSION

STRENUOUS efforts are being made to secure the entering into force of an amendment to the Peace Treaty, increasing the size of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office before the next meeting of the International Labour Conference on May 30, because the three-yearly election of the Governing Body is then due.

The Governing Body is composed of 24 members, 12 representing Governments and 6 each the employers and workers. The question of amendment was raised at the Conference in 1922. "The experience of three years has shown that there was considerable dissatisfaction among the States outside Europe regarding their representation on the Governing Body, which they claimed was inadequate," said a writer at that time. "It had also shown that this 'World Labour Committee' could be made much more representative if its numbers were increased."

The Conference therefore adopted an amendment to Article 393 of the Peace Treaty, increasing the numbers to 32 delegates, 16 representing the Governments and 8 each the employers and workers, with the stipulation that 6 of the Government representatives and 2 each of the employers' and workers' representatives should belong to States outside Europe.

That was six years ago, but diplomatic machinery moves slowly, and amendment to the Treaty needs ratification by 42 States. The Director, M. Albert Thomas, has made many appeals on this subject, and his last effort has been answered by Luxemburg, which brings the number received to 35. Uruguay and Salvador have promised ratification without delay, so that only five more are needed.

It would be a pity for another three years to pass before the change could be made, and the I.L.O. has great hopes that the full number will be reached in time for the coming election to be carried out on the new basis.

CANADA'S LEAD

IN an article on another page of HEADWAY Colonel Carnegie has given some interesting personal impressions of the attitude of Canada regarding various League problems, and in particular regarding signature of the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice.



The Prime Minister of Canada

Since that article was written important official confirmation of Canada's attitude has come to hand in a question and answer put in the Canadian House of Commons on April 12. Mr. Adshear, an Alberta Labour member, moved that the Canadian Government should at once discuss with Great Britain the desirability of Canada accepting Article 36 of the Court Statutes (the Optional Clause) and thus dissipate what he described as "the erroneous idea prevailing in certain quarters in Great Britain that the objections of the Dominions, including Canada, were preventing the British Government from accepting the compulsory arbitration clause." To this the Attorney-General, Mr. Lapointe, replying officially on behalf of the Government, said (according to *The Times* report) "that the imminence of the adjournment only permitted him to say that he was sympathetic to the subject-matter of the resolution and that he would at some other time give the reasons supporting his view."

This is no sudden change of attitude on Canada's part. Ever since the days of the Geneva Protocol in 1924 the Canadian Government has always indicated, as clearly as its relations with Downing Street permitted, that it was in favour of signing the Optional Clause. The following expressions of opinion are worth noting:—

March, 1925.—Official telegram from the Canadian Government to the League Secretariat, stating that Canada is "prepared to consider the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in legal disputes, subject to certain reservations, and to study means whereby the Covenant might be supplemented with a view to the settlement of non-legal disputes without prejudice to our right of final decision in internal questions."

September, 1927.—Senator Dandurand, first Canadian delegate at the League Assembly: "Canada remains a firm supporter of the principle of arbitration, and we still think it is preferable to run the risk of an injustice rather than have recourse to arms, for even an unfavourable settlement is better than a victorious war."

January, 1928.—Senator Dandurand (in his capacity as Government spokesman) in the Canadian Senate: "It is our duty to preach and to continue to preach the gospel of arbitration between peoples. It is not an easy matter for great nations to forgo their power and place themselves on a level with smaller nations before a World Court, but I cannot help thinking that it is the only way whereby we can make any advance towards permanent peace throughout the world."

April, 1928.—Mr. Lapointe, as Government spokesman in the Canadian House of Commons, declares himself favourable to a resolution urging that Canada should raise with the British Government the question of accepting the Optional Clause.

These statements, as a whole, show the attitude of the Canadian Government on this subject to be clear and decided, and it is noteworthy that the last of them

goes further than the others, in that it signifies Government approval of a suggestion that the matter should be taken up with Great Britain.

The South Australian Branch of the Australian League of Nations Union forwards resolutions which have been unanimously adopted at its annual meeting, and presented to every member of the Federal Parliament. They declare that it is an essential condition of peace and disarmament to extend the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice; that to achieve this it is sufficient for States adhering to the Court to accede to the Optional Clause; and that the Government of Australia in particular should take this course, subject to such reservations as may be decided on in consultation with other members of the Empire.

ENDING WAR

WHAT are generally known as the Kellogg peace proposals, whose progress has been noted from time to time in HEADWAY, have now reached what promises to be a critical and, let it be added at once, an entirely hopeful stage.

Early in April M. Briand sent to Washington a Note, in which he said that France would be willing to join the United States in submitting to Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan the draft of a proposal for a new multilateral peace treaty. The Powers signing such a treaty would make a solemn declaration condemning war as an instrument of national policy, but with the clear understanding that that would not affect their right of legitimate self-defence or their obligations under the League Covenant. They would, moreover, bind themselves to settle all disputes of every kind between them by pacific means only. It was stipulated, however, that the treaty should become effective only if signed by all States (unless there were some special agreement to the contrary), and that if any signatory violated the treaty the other signatories should be relieved of their promise not to make war on that State.

The next step, and by far the most important, was the despatch of a Note by the United States Government to the Governments of Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan, enclosing the whole of the Franco-American correspondence, and also the draft of a proposed treaty. The treaty itself is extremely brief, containing only two effective clauses, which run as follows:—

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

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

It is made clear that this draft is merely submitted for discussion, and full discussion will, in fact, be needed, for it is essential that States signing such an agreement should know exactly what the obligations mean, and should all of them understand the same thing by it. For States Members of the League, the vital question, of course, is whether signature of such an undertaking would prevent them from taking joint action, in case of need, against some State which has gone to war in violation of the League Covenant. Many other doubtful questions arise, and the discussion between the six Powers concerned is likely to be prolonged. More harm than

good would be done by attempting to speed matters up, but the mere fact that an agreement abolishing "private war," and providing for the peaceful settlement of all disputes should be under serious discussion by the Great Powers of the world is manifestly in itself of the first moment.

The French Government, instead of issuing detailed comments on the Kellogg proposals, drafted an alternative treaty of their own, and this was forwarded to Great Britain and other countries on April 20. While accepting the main Kellogg principle of the renunciation of war, the French draft lays it down definitely that this renunciation shall not cover cases in which nations find themselves involved in war "by an application of a treaty such as the Covenant of the League of Nations or any other treaty registered at the League of Nations." The last few words involve singularly wide exceptions, and are, no doubt, intended to cover France's treaty obligations to Poland and certain other countries. France also desires that the treaty shall be universally, or almost universally, accepted before it becomes operative. There is thus revealed a considerable gap between the American and the French conceptions of the renunciation of war.

THE CHILD AND THE FILM

SINCE 1895, when the brothers Lumière gave the first public cinematograph performance at Paris, in the basement of the Grand Café, in the Boulevard des Capucines, and the box-office receipts amounted to 35 francs, what progress the new invention has made!

In 1925 the Italian delegate, the Marquis of Calboli, gave the Committee these remarkable figures:—

"In a single year 1,400 cinematograph theatres were opened in England. At Milan, the number of tickets sold by the cinemas is said to have shown an increase of 2,000,000 in the course of a year; at Birmingham, according to Mr. Troughton's estimate, the weekly attendance in the town's 66 cinematograph halls was 500,000—in other words, 26,000,000 a year."

The figures are certainly very much higher to-day." This interesting observation is taken from the report on the child and the cinema, presented to the recent meeting of the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations. The report as a whole deals with the question from several aspects. The child, for example, may be a performer and may be a spectator. In either case there are certain dangers, both physical and moral that have to be guarded against. Physical danger to the child as spectator consists mainly in possible danger to the eyes, whereas the child actor may easily suffer from late hours, nervous strain, and so on. The moral dangers consist, in the case of the spectator, in the display of unsuitable films, and in the case of the child actor in unwholesome associations.

Child Actors Demanded

All these points are dealt with in the report, which, quoting from certain American investigations into the question, shows how important it is that the matter should be fully considered by reason of the great demand for child actors. It is stated, for example, in Los Angeles that "the whole world is calling out for child films," and it is added that, while the children are naturally excited at the idea of acting in a film, the parents are "governed by the tremendous idea that there is in the family a little Mary Pickford or a little Charlie Chaplin." For some inscrutable reason no reference is made to the almost equally famous Master Coogan.

As things are the child can be employed in most countries at almost any age. The only minimum age limit appears to be that laid down in Germany, the age in that case being three years. Babies, it is stated, are usually represented by dolls, but in some cases permission for the employment of children under three for this purpose can be obtained.

As to the mental effect on the child, a paragraph quoted from the American report is suggestive:—

"The greatest evil is the fact that these children live in an unreal world, where the set and the surroundings intended to produce the illusion are often cheap and tawdry. On the screen you see the picture of the Colosseum at Rome or some old cathedral; that is taken from some small set represented by the size of an average room. The children quickly become blasé and seem to have grown old prematurely. Hours passed among actors, whose only employment is the simulation of emotion, have the most disastrous effect on the children's mentality."

Needed Reforms

With regard to these child actors, the following suggested requirements have been drawn up by the Child Welfare Committee: (a) A minimum age should be fixed; (b) above this age permit strictly limited to one scenario should be required, and only for suitable films; (c) maximum hours of work, and none before 8 a.m. or after 8 p.m.; (d) safeguards for compulsory education; (e) precautions for safety, health and morals; (f) special supervision and control.

As to the films preferred by children as spectators, some interesting evidence is produced. A report on an inquiry conducted by the French Red Cross says that:—

"At all ages," says this document, "the great majority of school-children give their preference to instructive films and films dealing with the events of the day (cars with caterpillar wheels, travel or historical films); comic films come last in the order of preference."

A Berlin testimony is to the effect that children prefer stories of foreign lands, things that really happen, nature films and the life of animals. An investigator at Hollywood was told by film producers that melodramas brought in money, but producers who made educational films ruin themselves. Another report states that girls show a preference for more sentimental themes—for example, "the lives of princes," "lives of counts," "furniture of drawing-rooms," "the tragedy of a soul," etc.

The conclusion, however, is that children's preferences can be effectively influenced in the right direction by intellectual and moral training.

Movies and Crime

On the other hand, it is declared that the influence of the cinema on child criminality can hardly be doubted, and this is to some extent borne out by statistics prepared by a German neurologist showing that 250 films analysed include 97 murders, 51 adulteries, 19 seductions, 22 abductions, and 45 suicides. The chief heroes and heroines of these films comprised 176 thieves, 25 prostitutes and 35 drunkards. To those who believe in the influence of suggestion on the child mind these figures will be eloquent. The number of actual cases of crimes committed as a definite result of film suggestion are quoted.

The general views of the Committee which were formulated in 1926 have been maintained at this year's sitting. These recommend in particular that a censorship, so far as exhibition to children is concerned, should be established, that certain hygienic standards should be enforced in theatres, that every means should be employed to encourage the exhibition of wholesome and educational films, and that ultimately an international agreement should be concluded to prevent the circulation and use of demoralising films.

BOOKS WORTH READING

FOR GOOD EUROPEANS

Europa Year-Book. (Europa Publishing Co. & Routledge. 21s.)

A French General Election is just over. A German General Election is just coming. The papers are full of articles quoting names of people and names of political parties that most of us never heard of. We should like to understand, but there is nowhere to go for a basis of knowledge, short of an encyclopædia, and encyclopædias can never be expected to keep up to date. A new edition every ten or fifteen years is the most we can ask for.

For that reason there ought to be an overwhelming welcome for a volume like the "Europa Year Book," now in its third year, and getting better every time. So far as my own knowledge of such publications goes, it is unique, and so far as serious students of international affairs are concerned, it is perfectly invaluable.

Why? you may ask. Because it covers the literary and economic and industrial sides of national life, as well as the political. Because it tells what the different parties in every country are called, and who are the chief figures in each. Because it explains the attitude of the principal newspapers, and shows what they stand for politically. Because it contains a European Who's Who under the heading of separate countries. Because it covers churches and banks and trading organisations and publishers and music and arts for each European country. Because it includes an exhaustive list of international organisations (headed by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies), with details of their aims, their officers and their national branches. Because, in addition to all that, and in spite of the fact that the "Year-Book" deals properly with Europe alone, a section has been added dealing with American (North and South) diplomatic, journalistic, commercial and other representatives in this continent.

As a piece of intelligent and thoughtful compilation the "Europa Year-Book" is beyond praise. No other annual publication comes near covering the same ground. On the financial side, such an enterprise must involve serious risks, and Mr. Michael Farbman and his co-editors have rendered a sufficiently notable public service to entitle them to the largest measure of public support. M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann have both at different times called on their countrymen to show themselves good Europeans. It is hard to see how anyone can be that in the fullest sense without possessing the "Europa Year-Book."—H. W. H.

Economic Problems in Europe To-day. Edited by W. Henderson Pringle. (A. & C. Black. 5s.)

There are to be found persons who hold that the strongest links of European peace will be forged on the anvil of economics rather than of politics. That is, perhaps, only to say that commercial interests are a more potent motive force than the ideas of professional diplomatists. Certainly Sir C. Grant Robertson is right in stating in his introduction to his book that "those engaged in any category of commerce or business cannot have too much knowledge of the Europe of to-day." This knowledge of France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Germany and Belgium was given in lecture shape at Birmingham last autumn and is now made available for a much larger public at a price which puts it within their reach. The seven lecturers are either by the fact of birth or of prolonged study men who know what they are talking about and they have crammed an enormous amount of information into their lectures.

Civilisation Remade by Christ. By the Rev. F. A. M. Spencer. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. Spencer has set a wide field of investigation before himself and his steps are necessarily far-spaced. War and criminals, marriage and eugenics, wealth and poverty, education and prayer are examples of the subjects which he discusses in the light of the teaching of Christ. Readers of HEADWAY will naturally be interested in the chapter "From War to Peace." Here Mr. Spencer deals very briefly with the position of the citizen and the soldier who may be called to take part in what they consider unjust wars, and he is inclined to leave the judgment to the individual conscience. He then examines the causes of wars arising from the human instinct of combativeness, fear, self-assertion and acquisitiveness, and proceeds to show how they may be removed or transformed by a frank and practical application of the Christian ethic. The treatment of this great subject suffers from its compression into one chapter in which there is a great deal of quotation, and it would have been more satisfying if Mr. Spencer had developed his own arguments in greater detail. But, perhaps wisely, he has contented himself with setting his readers thinking and arguing.

The Pre-War Mind of Britain. By C. E. Playne. (Allen & Unwin. 16s.)

This is a book not to be lightly dismissed because it deals with tendencies which were apparent in the years before 1914. The adjectival "pre-war" is not necessarily the same as "bygone," and thus Miss Playne presents us with more than an historical review; her book should be taken to heart as a warning that is still needed. In her previous volume, *The Neuroses of the Nations*, she gave us an analysis of the pre-war minds of France and Germany; here she turns her attention to the parallel conditions in our own country. She traces the growth of militarism and of an offensive imperialism as fostered by politicians and the Press, which slid almost inevitably, if unconsciously, into the Great War. The final breaking of the prolonged and growing tension came almost as a welcome relief; nerves which had been increasingly on edge were tautened for the moment by the actuality of war. The great catastrophe, in fact, was the result of our nerves having gone wrong, of a state of national and international insanity produced by fears. The criticism may perhaps be made that a good deal of the evidence which Miss Playne adduces is that of extremists on both sides; but, unfortunately, it is the extremists who prevent ordinary people from forming sane judgments. There is a good deal of post-war nervousness abroad to-day, and it is well that we should be reminded here of its dangers by this survey of years that we have almost forgotten.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Within the Walls of Nanking. By Alice Tisdale Hobart. (Jonathan Cape. 6s.)

Enter China. By George G. Barnes. (Edinburgh House Press. 2s.)

Daughters of India. By Margaret Wilson. (Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d.)

Outlines of Local Government of the United Kingdom. By John J. Clarke. (Pitman. 4s.)

The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford. By B. M. Ward. (John Murray. 21s.)

Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards. By Salvador de Madariaga. (Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d.)

India in 1926-27. By J. Coatman. (Government of India. 3s. 6d.)

THE GIFT OF TONGUES

By ANTHONY SOMERS

I HAVE discovered a remarkable method of learning French, Spanish, Italian and German. I only wish I had known of it before. It would have saved me much drudgery, toil and disappointment.



It has sometimes been said that the British people do not possess the "gift of tongues." Certainly I never did. At school I was hopeless. When the subject was French, German, Latin or Greek I was always somewhere near the bottom of my Form. Yet in other subjects 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.

Although I never "got on" with Foreign Languages, I have always wanted to know them—especially French. I have wanted to read Racine, Balzac, Anatole France, Marcel Proust, and that great critic whom Matthew Arnold so much admired, Sainte Beuve, in French, and not merely through the medium of a characterless translation. And 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.

Some time ago I read that the well-known Pelman Institute was teaching French, Spanish, German and Italian by an entirely new method. I wrote for particulars, and they so interested me that I enrolled for a course in French. Frankly, it has amazed me. Here is the method I have wanted all my life. It is quite unlike anything I have ever heard of before, and its simplicity and effectiveness are almost startling.

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READERS' VIEWS

"ARBITRATION OR WAR"

SIR,—I thank you for your courtesy in printing my letter of March 15, and for telling me that your Editorial Note should read: "There is always room for conciliation before arbitration is tried."

The gist of my complaint is, however, that the Union itself leaves little or no room for conciliation in its policy. Hitherto, it has usually been a case of "Arbitration or War—take your choice," and, of course, everybody votes for Arbitration!

I refrain from troubling you with another long letter, in the hope that your courtesy will extend to finding room for this short one.—Faithfully yours,

Stratton Croft, ALEX. H. GORDON.
Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks.

April 10, 1928.

[See article, "Methods of Settlement" on another page.—ED. HEADWAY.]

CHEMICAL WARFARE

SIR,—Unlike your correspondent Rear-Admiral A. H. Smith-Dorrien, I would deprecate any attempt to prohibit "Chemical" warfare.

It is the function of war to kill or disable; the more effective the means one belligerent possesses the better are its chances of success. Any pre-war treaties made to limit destructive methods are forgotten in wartime (as we all must know very well). "All's right in war." Hence the only means of abolishing "Chemical" warfare is the abolition of war itself. Put the horse before the cart!

The Rear-Admiral would limit the horrors of war to the fighting forces. Why? Are the fighting forces alone responsible for the war? Let all those who are responsible share the consequences of their responsibility. While the ill-effects of war can be limited to a few the others are likely to remain indifferent. Their indifference will vanish when war is brought to their own firesides. The more terrible the prospects of a war become, the less likely are nations to indulge in it.—Yours faithfully,

26, Philip Sidney Road,
Sparkhill, Birmingham.

April 16, 1928.

ARBITRATION AND THE COURT

SIR,—It is too late, I fear, to protest against the indiscriminate use of the word Arbitration to include proceedings before the Permanent Court established under the Covenant. This tends to obscure the difference between (a) the award of persons chosen as judges by the parties to a dispute, which only settles that particular dispute, and (b) the judgment of a standing court of justice, which counts towards forming a body of law having a real, even if not directly compulsory, authority. Arbitration in the former sense will never make a law of nations. In truth, it is an extension, and by no means a new one, of the ordinary diplomatic methods, which (it should be superfluous to say) are not obsolete. All honest lawyers know, and tell their clients, that settlement without litigation is best for the parties if only they can agree. The chief exception is when a matter of principle is at issue, in which case a binding judicial decision is properly sought.

Schemes of conciliation, such as the rather elaborate one provided by the "Bryan" type of treaty, are not a form of decision at all, but machinery for gaining time. That gain, however, may be of capital importance in some cases.

The Hague tribunal created before the war is in form no more than auxiliary to arbitration, but may be regarded as a halfway house to a real judicial court. Do all the people who talk about the Optional Clause

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HUMANITARIAN AND HEALTH HOLIDAY CENTRE from Aug. 3rd to Sept. 8th, 1928, Southbourne-on-Sea, Hants. Large mansion, several acres beautiful grounds, meatless diet on New Health lines. Tennis, Croquet, Dancing, League of Nations Lectures. 10% reduction to League of Nations Union members. Illustrated Prospectus from Mr. F. de V. SUMMERS, 32, Sackville Street, London, W.1. Tel.: Regent 6551.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

BADMINTON SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol. Recognised by the Board of Education. Chairman of Advisory Council: J. Odery Symes, Esq., M.D. Headmistress: Miss B. M. Baker, B.A. The school estate of 114 acres is situated in a bracing position, on high ground close to the country and within easy reach of Bristol. Individual timetables. Preparation for the Universities. Junior Branch. Frequent school journeys abroad and to Geneva while the Assembly is sitting, increase interest of the girls in languages and international affairs.

clearly understand that it has nothing to do with extra-judicial arbitration, but concerns only the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court? Those who do understand, and are a little impatient of the difficulties about adopting the clause, may take some comfort from the reflection that, according to historical precedent, a Court which proves itself efficient (as the Permanent Court has done) will attract business and enlarge its jurisdiction without any compulsion, and even in despite of technical obstacles. This is not to deny that the moral effect of general adherence to the Optional Clause would be considerable, nor are the objections to that course obvious. The ordinary business of the world would never get done if men of affairs were always troubling themselves over remote contingencies.—Yours, etc.,
F. P.

[See "Matters of Moment,"—ED. HEADWAY.]

WAR FILMS

SIR,—The following resolution was passed some time ago by the Rotary Club of which I am a member:—

"In view of the fact that a large percentage of the public viewing war films are young enough not to have had any practical experience of war, and are probably impressed more with the glory and glamour portrayed in the film than with the horror, waste and loss of life, the Government of this country be urged, through the film censor, to only allow war films conditionally upon the producers embodying therein at least three minutes of film carrying propaganda for the L. of N. and L. of N.U."

I have since been assured that the scheme is impracticable, and should like the opinion of any of your readers.—Yours, etc.,
R. CLWYD WILLIAMS.

Fairholme, Dunbar Avenue,
Norbury, S.W.16,
April 16, 1928.

GAS WAR

SIR,—There are many plain men who profess no faith in the League of Nations, and one of the reasons for that is the League's failure to secure the entire abolition of chemical warfare. If the League cannot do that, how can it do many very much harder things which it has in view? Admiral Smith-Dorrien's letter touches a very weak spot in the League.—Yours, etc.,
HENRY D. A. MAJOR.

Ripon Hall, Oxford.
April 8, 1928.

GOWN AND TOWN

SIR,—I seek the publicity of your columns since the lack of space in the "News Sheet" does not admit letters to the Editor. A paragraph in this month's "News Sheet" says:—

"The Light Blues are on top so far as the Union is concerned! The University Branch has a membership of over 1,000. Unlike Oxford, the University Branch is distinct from the town branch."

A natural bias perhaps clouds my judgment on the first sentence. I only ask that the evidence of the Public Meetings Department at Headquarters be taken into account in the decision of the case! But the last sentence is wrong, and makes a mistake which appeared in a Sunday newspaper a few weeks ago. The Oxford University Branch of the L.N.U. is identical with the University Branch of the B.U.L.N.S., but is quite distinct from the City Branch of the L.N.U.—Yours, etc.,
NORMAN H. POOLE,
General Secretary, O.U.L.N.U.

The Queen's College, Oxford,
April 12, 1928.

[B.U.L.N.S. = British Universities League of Nations Society.—ED. HEADWAY.]

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J. F. Junkin (General Manager), Sun Life of Canada, 99, Sun of Canada House, Victoria Embankment, London, W.C.2.

PROGRESS IN INDIA

SIR,—On Friday, March 16, 20 members of the Women Graduates' Union of Madras met at Queen Mary's College, when four papers were read on different aspects of the League of Nations. A great deal of interest was aroused in the work of the League, and as a result we are planning for a much bigger programme during the next college year, which begins in July of 1928.

All the matter, HEADWAY and booklets which the speakers used in preparation for this meeting, had been sent to me by the kindness of many readers of HEADWAY in response to an appeal made in the pages of that paper about a year ago. I have written personally to thank some of the senders, but of the majority I don't even know the names. I would, therefore, like you to make known to them through HEADWAY our gratitude; and it will make them feel, I hope, that the trouble they take every month is bearing fruit. Others who have benefited by the literature sent out are a group of men, law students, business men and teachers, who have met at the Y.M.C.A. during the cold weather in a small study group on the League. Still other copies have been sent to other parts of India to men doing either educational or Y.M.C.A. work. One young man who was in our first study group in Madras two years ago has written and asked me to keep on sending literature to him. He has written a small book on the League in one of the vernaculars and is waiting until money is forthcoming to publish it.—Yours faithfully,

AMELIA TAFFS.

65, Poonamallee Road,
Vepery, Madras.
March 29, 1928.

ALL ABOUT ARMAMENTS

ARMAMENTS are nowadays "news," and Disarmament a topic of the hour. So nothing comes more pat than the fourth edition of the League's Armaments Year Book.* This is quite the best of the series, and no one who wishes to speak authoritatively on armaments can afford to omit a study of the facts and figures given so plainly here. Portions of the book are printed in large type for the general student and anyone who is interested in the disarmament question; those in small type are for the expert.

A valuable novelty has been introduced this year. To enable the reader to get an instant view of certain aspects (chiefly naval) of the armaments situation in various countries, or in all countries together, a number of graphs and statistical tables are reproduced. Next year, it is anticipated, similar graphs and tables will be given for the Armies and Air Forces as well. In an Annex there are statistical tables—one, most valuable (pp. 1008-1009), showing the nature of each army, the system of recruiting and duration of military service—and more graphs giving the navies of the whole world for these three years as well as the navies of the six chief maritime Powers. Thus, from the graph on p. 131 the reader sees instantly what an enormous reduction in naval tonnage the British Empire has made since 1913, or he may obtain a certain light on the meaning of the word "parity" if he looks at the Naval Armaments "fever-charts" on pp. 1023-1027, which show that in all the main classes of ships, including cruisers, the United States have already a larger total tonnage than Great Britain. It must, of course, be borne in mind that tonnage alone is no criterion of a fleet's strength. The age of the vessels is at least as important.

* Armaments Year Book, 1927-28. Fourth year. Obtainable from Messrs. Constable & Co., London, price 20s.

George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Armenia and the Near East

by Dr. FRIDTJOF NANSEN. Illustrated. 15s.

This book is the result of investigations into the Armenian Question carried out by Dr. Nansen on behalf of the League of Nations.

The Outlawry of War

by CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON. 10s. 6d.

Foreword by Prof. John Dewey.

"The chief merit of the book is that it explains the hostility of American opinion to the League, which it regards not as an agency of peace, but as a politico-military alliance enforcing its will by the threat of force."
—The Times.

The Pre-War Mind in Britain

An Historical Review.

by C. E. PLAYNE. 16s.

"Her book should be of absorbing interest, not only to the student of history, but to the casual reader."
—Northern Echo.

The Mirage of Versailles

by HERMANN STEGEMANN. 12s. 6d.

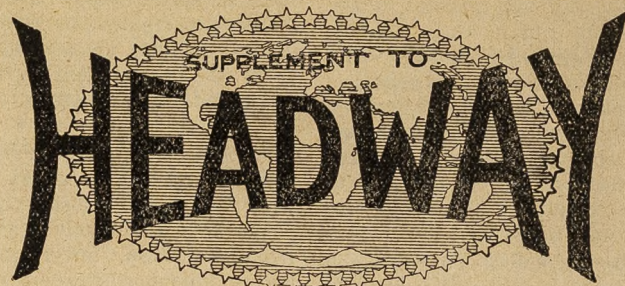
Translated by R. T. Clark.

The author of "The Struggle for the Rhine" here examines critically the geography of the new Europe; the position of Germany is to him the crux of the situation, and upon that depends the equilibrium of Europe.

40, Museum Street, London, W.C.1.



LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



MAY, 1928

THE MOTIVE FORCE PUBLIC OPINION, THE LEAGUE, AND THE UNION

PUBLIC opinion is the motive force of the League of Nations. To get rid of war and to organise peace, the League needs the whole-hearted support of public opinion, especially in the great democracies of Europe and of the English-speaking world. Fortunately, all political parties in Great Britain officially support the League, but there is still much indifference, ignorance and misunderstanding to be overcome.

* * *

Of all the ways to win British public opinion for the League, the spoken word is still the most effective. On public meetings, therefore, the Union must mainly rely to win over the British public. This country has yet to realise the *supreme common interest* it shares with the rest of the world. It has still to grasp the cardinal fact that the greatest of British interests is world peace, and that the welfare of the British Empire is indissolubly bound up with that of Western civilisation as a whole.

"No other crusade can compare with this one, for on its success all the others depend," the Bishop of Winchester has said. And whoever will arrange a meeting on the League gives good service to this greatest of causes.

But—it is a big BUT—so much effort is so often wasted; so many meetings leave so little trace. One positive achievement, one permanent result, is always possible. No meeting need fail to make plain to members of the audience that their personal help is wanted to make the League succeed and to win the world for peace. Every meeting should drive home Lord Grey's message that "the first answer to every citizen who wants to help the League of Nations is *Join the League of Nations Union*."

* * *

"Governments," said Sir Austen Chamberlain recently, "are the servants of their peoples in regard to foreign policy." And how is a British Government to know to what extent the people of this country are prepared for a whole-hearted League of Nations policy except by looking at the membership of the League of Nations Union, and at the Union's rate of growth? The membership to-day is little more than two-thirds of a

million, and the growth is no more rapid than when there were only half as many members. We have gained the support of most of the thoughtful people who had already learned the lesson of the War, or who already cared for Peace and International Justice; we have now to convince the average man in the street.

* * *

Moreover, it is not enough to say "Join the Union: it costs only a shilling," or even to add "and if you want the Union's literature you can get it for £1 a year." The audience ought to be shown with the utmost clearness that their money is needed to carry on the Union's work. To Lord Grey's appeal for members there should always be added Lord Cecil's appeal for Foundation Members—members who subscribe not less than £1 a year. His words were (in *HEADWAY* for February, 1928):—

Three-and-sixpenny and one shilling members are very desirable and important politically, but financially they do not contribute much. . . . We must broaden the basis of our finance. That is why I venture to appeal for a great increase in the number of Foundation Members.

Lord Cushendun at Lincoln

Recent remarks and letters in the Press appear to have given colour to the rumour that Lord Cushendun differs from the majority of his fellow-members of the League of Nations Union on several matters of importance. It is, therefore, interesting to note that Lord Cushendun, speaking at a League of Nations Union Meeting at Lincoln on April 20, said:—

"Such differences as there may be among us—and we could not avoid differences of view in such a powerful organisation—are, I think, entirely confined to comparatively unimportant matters of method and matters of machinery. There is no difference of opinion, I believe, among us as to the aims which we hold before us, and the principles which we desire to see carried into practice."

THE FESTIVAL OF YOUTH A YEAR IN THE BRANCHES

THE Festival on June 2 at the Crystal Palace bids fair to be the largest Union gathering yet held in this country (or probably in any country). In the morning Professor Gilbert Murray will preside at the opening ceremony, supported by Canon E. S. Woods, and many London mayors, clergy and ministers. The proceedings will probably terminate with a League of Nations play. In the theatre a service celebration will be directed by Dr. F. H. Hayward. In the afternoon there will be athletic sports, and also folk and country dancing. Admiral Allen has kindly consented to address the Tonic Sol-fa concert, at which a choir of 5,000 young people will perform.

A notable event will be the Review of Youth, which is being organised by the Penge and Anerley branch. It is hoped that this will be one of the greatest youth demonstrations yet held in the cause of the League of Nations. All youth organisations, junior branches of the Union, schools, Sunday schools, etc., are cordially invited to join in this demonstration. Branch secretaries are specially requested to endeavour to get into touch with the various youth organisations in their areas with a view to arranging for them to take part in the Festival. *Communications concerning the Review of Youth* should be sent to Miss S. A. Smith, 4, Harcourt Mansions, Anerley, S.E.20.

The Exhibition Section (Arts and Crafts, Literature, etc.) will prove of great interest, many applications for space having already been received from different adult and youth societies, brigades, etc. The Union will be strongly represented.

The chief feature of the day will be the Great Massed Gathering in the Centre Transept to be addressed by Lord Cecil at 6 p.m. A feature of this gathering will be the entry of The International Contingents in National Dress (States members of the League), followed by community singing.

Mr. Eric Godley, with the Scots Guards band, the Handel organ, and a choir of 1,000 voices, will direct the singing. This meeting has been fixed for 6 p.m. specially to suit those coming from a distance. There is accommodation for nearly 20,000 people, which is likely to be fully taxed, as in 1927.

All are urged to secure their *Admission Tickets and Seat Tickets in advance*. Applications, enquiries and offers of help should be sent as soon as possible to the General Secretary, L.N.U. Festival H.Q., Crystal Palace, S.E.19. Tel.: Syd. 6021.

THE WELSH ANNUAL CONFERENCE AT SWANSEA

The annual conference of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union is to be held at Swansea on May 29 and 30. A Branch Representatives' Conference, a "Youth and the League" meeting, and a Welsh public meeting will also be held, and the Conference will close with a large public meeting at the Central Hall. Mr. David Davies, M.P., will preside, and the speakers will be Mr. Norman Angell and Dr. Charles K. Webster. Other speakers during the conference include Mr. Rhys J. Davies, M.P.; the Rev. Principal Maurice Jones, D.D.; Major W. P. Wheldon, D.S.O., M.A.; the Rev. Elvet Lewis, M.A., and the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A. An official reception will be given by the Mayor and Borough Council of Swansea. There are prospects of a record attendance at the conference. Copies of the programme and further particulars may be obtained from the Welsh headquarters, 10, Richmond Terrace, Cardiff.

A YEAR IN THE BRANCHES

MORE POINTS FROM ANNUAL REPORTS.

IN the last issue of HEADWAY Supplement an attempt was made to make mention of some of the many Branch reports which have been received. Many more annual reports have recently arrived, telling of meetings, lectures, films, at homes, pageants, plays, concerts, carnivals, not to mention debates, study circles, school work and many other activities.

* * * * *

Manchester and Salford Wesleyan Mission Branch have sent in a very satisfactory account of their first year's work, which shows a substantial increase in membership. We have also received a report of a first year's work from *Beckenham*. Several public meetings have been held, and arrangements were made for some 600 school children to see the Union's film, "The World War and After."

Wishaw report a year of steady and persistent work, and show a large increase in membership, together with that essential corollary—a large percentage of paid-up subscriptions.

Clapton Park Congregational Church Branch have arranged many meetings during the year, and have co-operated effectively with fellow Branches of the Union and several other societies. The *Record*, the official organ of this Branch, is now published quarterly.

The eighth annual report of the *Harrogate Branch* makes interesting reading. The past year has been very eventful; the General Council having held its Annual Meeting for 1927 in Harrogate, and many other meetings having been arranged by the Branch. Much work also has been done in the schools. *Cheltenham* report good progress.

Bude and District have had a successful second year, and have arranged lantern lectures, plays and public meetings. This Branch, together with the help of the Salisbury Branch, entered a car for the Bude Carnival, with a tableau, "Law, not War," which received a prize.

Littlehampton and District tell of an active and successful year. *Burnham-on-Sea* have arranged an essay competition and some public meetings. The Branch also shows an increase in membership.

Clifton present an interesting report. During the year an office has been acquired in Bristol, which is shared by the Regional Representative for the District and the Bristol District Council. There is to be a library of books of international interest, and also Union literature.

NOTES AND NEWS

The General Council

The Ninth Annual Meeting of the General Council will be held in the Central Hall, Derby, on June 20, 21 and 22. Branch Secretaries and others are reminded that all resolutions for inclusion in the Agenda paper should reach the Secretary of the Union not later than May 20, 1928.

Welsh Children's Wireless Message

As mentioned in our last issue, the World Wireless Message of the children of Wales will be sent out on May 18. This year it will be broadcast by the B.B.C. in the Children's Hour, at 5.15 p.m. and by other stations throughout the world. Replies from abroad to this message came in large numbers last year, and it is anticipated that many and various responses will be forthcoming this year.

A Hampstead Garden Party

Mrs. Gasque, of "The Elms," Hampstead, is kindly lending her grounds for a garden party to be held by the Hampstead Branch on June 9, at which Admiral Allen will speak. Members and others wishing to attend should apply to Miss Hammond, 95, Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.

To Geneva

Applications to join the Union's party to Geneva for the International Labour Conference on June 9 are coming in quickly. In addition to special provisions made for members of the party to attend the different sessions of the Conference and the meetings of the Commissions, the arrangements are now nearly completed for lectures on different aspects of the work of the International Labour Organisation and the League of Nations. Most of the afternoons will be devoted to visiting the International Labour Office and the Palais des Nations, or places of interest in and around Geneva. The fee for one week is ten guineas and for ten days twelve guineas. Fuller particulars may be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

New Branches in Scotland

The fact that public opinion has been roused by Lord Cecil's visit to Scotland is proved by the large number of branches which have been formed in the West of Scotland since January 1. Since that date thirteen new branches have been inaugurated. On March 12, in Lanark, Professor Bowman gave the inaugural address at a meeting presided over by the Earl of Home. Eighty new members were secured for the branch. On March 28 a very successful meeting was held in Largs, when the Earl of Home delivered the inaugural address, and the branch was formed with a hundred members. The following night a branch was opened in Irvine, when the Earl of Home again gave the inaugural address, and eighty members joined the new branch.

Sixth Boeke International Conference

For each of the past five years the Bournville Works Councils, with the help of certain funds which are at their disposal, have arranged an International Conference dealing with some subject of international importance. The idea behind the Conference is to draw together people of various nationalities to discuss mutual problems with a view to contributing—if only in a small way—to laying the foundations for better international understanding. The next Conference will take place in England at Woodbrooke Settlement, near Bournville, during the week August 18-25, 1928. The subject will be some aspect of International Relations.

A host and hostess, together with members of the Boeke Trust Committee, will be in charge of the social arrangements, and the excellent amenities of Woodbrooke will be maintained by a housekeeper and staff.

It will be clearly understood that the Conference will be non-committal. No resolutions will be brought forward, and no one (because of attendance at the Conference) will be committed to any particular point of view.

All travelling and incidental expenses, with cost of hospitality and outings, will be paid by the Bournville Works Councils.

Altogether there will be invited about 60 men and women, about one-half of whom will be British and the other half from Continental countries. It is desired that a proportion of these shall be actual workers, or in close touch with some form of productive industry. Further, it is hoped to secure a fair number of women as delegates, and special consideration will be given to those who in the ordinary way would not be able to afford to attend such a conference.

All names submitted will be considered by a committee, whose decision will be communicated in due course.

In cases where more than one delegate is nominated from any one country, it would assist the committee if such nominees are placed in order of preference. To minimise the language difficulty, it is very desirable that Continental delegates should have some knowledge

of English, as this may be the deciding factor in making a final choice.

All inquiries and communications should be addressed to:—The Secretary, Boeke Conference Committee, Works Council Office, Messrs. Cadbury Bros., Ltd., Bournville, Birmingham (England).

Adjourning the Town Council

Under the auspices of the Peebles Branch Lord Balfour of Burleigh addressed a crowded meeting on Tuesday, April 10. Mr. Joseph Westwood, M.P., and his two prospective opponents, Mr. James McGowan and Mr. H. R. Murray Philipson, also took part. At a meeting of the Peebles Town Council held the same evening it was agreed by a majority to adjourn the meeting in order to enable members to hear Lord Balfour. The Provost, in moving the adjournment, thought it was the duty of the Council to help on such a cause in every way possible.

A Public School Branch

Just over a year ago a Junior Branch of the Union was started at Westminster. Since then excellent progress has been made. Eighty per cent. of the staff and more than 140 boys have joined, and meetings are held twice a term. Lectures and several addresses have been given, including one by Professor Gilbert Murray and one by Mr. Duff Cooper, M.P. It is hoped that similar progress will be made in other public schools.

At Bournemouth

At the monthly "Social" of the League of Nations Union in Holy Trinity Hall, on April 4, a lecture was given by Mr. R. K. Cardew on the educational aspect of the League; his remarks were based upon the Bulletins of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies for 1927.

These societies, said Mr. Cardew, exist to educate, whilst the League itself exists to act, and they are found in 46 nations—about half the countries in the world. Difficulties were, however, great, especially in connection with racial and cultural minorities.

The lecturer spoke of what was being done in various countries with regard to the teaching of peace principles in schools and universities. The German and French Teachers' Unions (120,000 and 80,000 members respectively) were in international collaboration for the study of text-books on War and Peace, and the peace activities in Japan, Poland and Switzerland were mostly to be found in their educational establishments.

Australia

On Wednesday, February 8, Sir Littleton Groom, Speaker of the Federal Parliament and Australian delegate to Geneva, spoke on the League at a meeting of the Queensland Y.M.C.A. The chair was taken by the newly-elected President of the Association. Sir Littleton outlined the methods of the League in preventing the growth of disputes and the results already achieved, and reminded his audience of the many technical organisations founded under the League and of the work done by them; he especially mentioned the Court of International Justice and the Disarmament Commission.

The Annual Report for 1927 of the New South Wales League of Nations Union shows that the membership has increased from 262 to 1,013 (effective membership). A series of public meetings launched in October has been very successful and is to be continued. A hundred and twelve addresses and lectures were arranged by the Union in 1927 and 500,000 leaflets have been distributed.

Trade Unions and the League

Following precedent, the Swansea Branch of the Union will hold a meeting in the Central Hall, Swansea,

on Friday evening, September 7, during the meetings of the Trades Union Congress. Already Mr. Ben Turner, the President of the Trades Union Congress, has promised to preside, and it is hoped to secure the services of other prominent Trade Unionists to speak on that occasion.

For the first time a similar demonstration will be held at West Hartlepool during the time of the Co-operative Congress meetings there at Whitsuntide. The meeting is to be held on the evening of Wednesday, May 30, when Mr. A. Whitehead, General Secretary of the Co-operative Union, will preside, and the speakers will be Mr. A. V. Alexander, M.P., Mr. R. J. Davies, M.P., and Mr. Tom Gillinder.

Canada

The "Bulletin" publishes the annual report for 1927 of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Society in Canada. The paid-up memberships were 6,251, an increase of 2,350 over 1926, to which should be added the Youth Membership, making a grand total of 7,026. Gains have been made in every Province except Nova Scotia, British Columbia leading in gains with 1,178 new members.

Tuesday, April 17, has been fixed as "League of Nations Day"; a drive for membership will be made from coast to coast.

The Toronto Branch has held five meetings during February and March, at which Colonel David Carnegie, Consulting Technical Ordnance Adviser to the Canadian Government and member of the Mixed Commission for the Reduction of Armaments, spoke on "The Armaments Problem"; Dr. F. Burke, Director of Medical Services in Toronto, on "The Health Work of the League"; Dr. Adam Shott, member of the Canadian Delegation to the 1927 Economic Conference, on the work of that Conference; Mrs. J. A. Wilson, President of the National Council of Women, on "The League's Mandates"; and Mr. J. M. Godfrey on "The League and Minorities."

A Week-end Conference

The London Regional Federation has arranged a week-end Conference for branch officers and members of the Union. This Conference will be held at Jordans, near Beaconsfield, from May 5 to 7. The subject will be "Public Opinion and the League." The opening address will be given by Mr. Vernon Bartlett.

The sessions of the Conference will deal with different forms of branch activity, making for the mobilisation of an effective public opinion in support of the League of Nations. The fee, including board, accommodation and lectures, is 27s. 6d. per head. Further particulars can be obtained from the London Regional Federation Office, 43, Russell Square, W.C.1.

France

On March 7, under the auspices of the Paris Branch of the League of Nations Union (to be known in future as the Paris Committee of the League of Nations Union), Professor Zimmern, of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, gave a lecture on "Education and the League of Nations Union." Professor Brunschwig, member of the "Institut de France," presided.

On March 27 upwards of 200 persons attended a debate organised by the Paris Branch at the American University Women's Club, under the chairmanship of M. Pierre de Lanux. The subject for debate was "Can International Arbitration be Made a Complete Substitute for War?" and it was presented in its various aspects by a jurist, the Marchese de Villa Longa; an historian, Dr. Robert Eisler; and an economist, M. F. Delaisi. Several members of the audience took part in the discussion, including Colonel Stokes, Vice-Chairman of the Branch, and Sir Thomas Barclay. The majority was strongly in favour of all-round arbitration.

The 1928 Summer School

The Union's Summer School at Balliol College, Oxford, will be held during the week July 26 to August 2. The fee, which includes board and accommodation, and attendance at lectures and social functions, is 4½ guineas. Those who wish to attend should apply early. The following is the provisional programme:—

Thursday, July 26, 8 p.m.—Inaugural Address.

Friday, July 27, 9.30 a.m.—The Teaching of History. Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher. 11.15 a.m.—The Teaching of Geography. Professor H. J. Fleure. 3 p.m.—Teaching of Aims and Work of the League of Nations in Schools. Gwilym Davies, M.A. 8 p.m.—The Creation of Public Opinion. Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett.

Saturday, July 28, 9.30 a.m.—The League in Development—Lecture I: A Survey. Frederick Whelen. 11.15 a.m.—Course on Arbitration, Security and Disarmament: Lecture I. W. Arnold-Forster. 3 p.m.—Reception by Oxford Branch. 8 p.m.—The Union's film, "The World War and After."

Sunday, July 29, Morning.—Service in Cathedral.

Monday, July 30, 9.30 a.m.—The League in Development—Lecture II: A Survey. Frederick Whelen. 11.15 a.m.—A Course on Arbitration, Security and Disarmament: Lecture II. W. Arnold-Forster. 2 p.m.—Visit to Colleges. Special guides will be provided. 8 p.m.—The Foreign Policy of the U.S.A. Sir Henry Lunn.

Tuesday, July 31, 9.30 a.m.—The British Empire and the League. 11.15 a.m.—A Course on Arbitration, Security and Disarmament: Lecture III. W. Arnold-Forster. 2 p.m.—Optional Excursion. 8 p.m.—The Effect of Public Opinion on Foreign Policy. C. Delisle Burns.

Wednesday, August 1, 9.30 a.m.—World Economic Problems. Hartley Withers. 11.15 a.m.—The World's Industrial Parliament. G. A. Johnston. 2.30 p.m.—Optional Excursion. 5.30 p.m.—Discussion on work of League of Nations Union. 8 p.m.—The International Spirit.

Thursday, August 2, 10.30 a.m.—Some Fundamental Arguments. Norman Angell.

The Council's Vote

List of Council's Vote completed by branches in 1927:—

Buttershaw and Shelf, Leighton Buzzard, Leominster, Portslade, Southwick and Shoreham, Rayleigh, Walsall and Wisbech.

1928 quotas completed:—

Brangore, Beaminster, Barton Hill, W. D. & H. O. Bristol, Gratwich, Lyme Regis, Salcombe and Sidmouth

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	...	...	...	...	230,450
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,370
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,224
April 26, 1928	...	...	...	...	687,501

On April 26, 1928, there were 2,641 Branches, 580 Junior Branches, 130 Districts, 2,582 Corporate Members and 413 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.