

# HEADWAY

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

IF British supporters of the League, even more than Continental delegates to the Assembly, were somewhat depressed by Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech at Geneva on September 19, to which we refer on a later page, they have good ground for optimism on reading the news which reaches us as we go to press. The desire to create in Europe a feeling of security which would make it really possible to press forward the work of the Preparatory Disarmament Committee of the League, was most vigorously expressed in the early days of the Assembly, by one speaker after another. Undeterred by the realisation that a revival of the Protocol was no longer practical politics, Polish, Dutch, Norwegian and French delegates all contributed practical proposals for extending the system of arbitration or for organised guarantees, which have happily been harmonised by the Third Commission in a way agreeable also to the British Delegation and Dr. Stresemann. It can hardly be doubted that the full Assembly will, by now, have adopted the Commission's recommendation and constituted the new Security Committee to work alongside of the Disarmament Committee. Its purpose will be to encourage States Members of the League, individually or collectively, to enter into Arbitration and Security agreements; to suggest whatever means are required for making the Covenant effective in a time of crisis, and in

general to extend the Locarno system of local pacts, without prejudice to the obligations of the Covenant.

### As to Arbitration

AS the first of the three pillars of the edifice erected, or rather planned out, by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and M. Herriot at Geneva in 1924, arbitration invariably figures largely in Geneva discussions. This year M. Briand, speaking immediately after the judgment by the Permanent Court in the "Lotus" case had been given against France, declared that France would of course accept the decision unhesitatingly and that her faith in the principle of arbitration remained unimpaired. Sir Austen Chamberlain on the same day recalled how the immediate result of the League Council's decision in Great Britain's favour over Iraq had been the opening of friendly negotiations between Britain and Turkey. At the next sitting of the Assembly M. Motta, the President of the Swiss Republic, mentioned that the number of international arbitration treaties, which in 1924 stood at 120, amounted to 220; and later the same morning Senator Dandurand of Canada (who spoke by the way, in French) mentioned that as the result of arbitration Canada had lost vast tracts of territory to the United States and had just had to transfer a territory as large as Italy to Newfoundland. That did not prevent her from holding to the principle of arbitration as firmly as ever. These are notable and encouraging testimonies.



### Principles and Persons

THE rejection by the League Assembly of Belgium's claim to stand for re-election to the Council is on every ground satisfactory. Under the rules of election adopted last year, a State when it has sat for three years must stand aside for the next three years unless the Assembly by a two-thirds majority gives it special permission to present itself as candidate immediately. Belgium sought this permission, though she has sat for nearly eight years without a break. She needed thirty-two votes to secure her two-thirds majority and actually got twenty-nine, nineteen being cast against her. The result, as has been said, was satisfactory, and that on at least three grounds. First, because it is highly important that the principle of rotation of the non-permanent Council seats should be preserved. Secondly, because the rejection of Belgium's claim was an assertion of the Assembly against the Great Powers, all of whom favoured it. And thirdly, because the atmosphere of complete goodwill in which the verdict was given and accepted is precisely what one would desire to see at Geneva. In point of fact, the temporary retirement of Belgium is a real loss to the Council, just as the temporary retirement of Czechoslovakia, also under the rotation rule, is. M. Vandervelde and M. de Brouckère, who often replaces him, have been admirable Council members, and on personal grounds there is every reason why they should remain; but the principle of rotation is obviously just and to depart from it lightly would cause considerable discontent among Assembly members. It may be hoped, however, that so far as the Belgian delegates are concerned, what the Council loses the Assembly will gain. For though the interests of the two bodies are in no sense opposed there is often a feeling that the Assembly is stripped of leadership if its most notable figures regard themselves primarily as Council members.

### Canada's Seat

THE election of Canada to a seat on the League Council raises several interesting problems. The principle of the right of a British Dominion to hold a Council seat was theoretically established last year, when the Irish Free State rather precipitately decided to stand, and the Canadian delegate in the Assembly gave formal notice that though his country was not desiring election that year, she wished it to be understood that she considered herself fully entitled to stand. But to assert a principle and to put it into practice are two different things. The fact that a Canadian delegate now sits side by side with Sir Austen Chamberlain on the League Council emphasises afresh in the eyes of the world the absolute equality existing between Great Britain and her Dominions. So far as the Empire is concerned what has happened at Geneva is only part of an inevitable process which it would be folly for anyone to attempt to withstand. Whether there will develop any feeling among League members generally that there is too large a British Empire representation on the Council remains to be seen. If any such feeling existed at the present time Canada would clearly not have been elected at all—though it must be remembered

that seven British Empire votes in the Assembly were a substantial factor in her success. On broad grounds, there would be a good deal of wisdom in the choice of a French Canadian, like Mr. Lapointe, who is also a Cabinet Minister, to represent Canada. Apart from that consideration, it would be hard to think of anyone as good as Mr. Newton Rowell.

### The Premier and Geneva

ONCE more the Prime Minister of Great Britain has been spending his holiday at Aix-les-Bains, some fifty miles from Geneva, while the League Assembly was sitting, and once again he has followed his unbroken rule of not attending. Mr. Baldwin's absence has provoked a good deal of comment, but there is more than might appear to be said for his decision. For one thing, Britain, France and Germany are all on a level with their three Foreign Ministers regularly attending, and Mr. Baldwin's presence would only be obviously called for if Dr. Marx and M. Poincaré proposed to be at Geneva too. Again, Mr. Baldwin speaks no language but English—at any rate not with comfort. Finally, it is argued with some justice that the Prime Minister would not visit the Assembly without making a speech of international moment on some burning issue—and such speeches, if the occasion arises, he prefers to leave to Sir Austen Chamberlain. These contentions taken together make a fair case for the Prime Minister's absence. But in spite of them there would be a great deal to be said for his appearing for a day during the general discussion in the first week of the Assembly, taking his place at the head of the British delegation and making a speech which, under those conditions, need be no more than a considered affirmation of faith in the League.

### Support for Lord Cecil

IT is doubtful whether any political act of renunciation by an English public man has appealed in so direct and personal a manner to many who realise the paramount importance of a consistent policy of peace, as did Viscount Cecil's retirement from the Cabinet. Within a few days of the report of his resignation appearing in the Press a number of generous and unsolicited gifts of money were sent by sympathisers to the League of Nations Union for the purpose of helping forward that great effort of winning the support of public opinion for a bold policy of arbitration and disarmament to which Lord Cecil, with his new independence, has committed himself.

### Assembly Services

ONE of the happiest customs which has grown up around the Assembly is that of providing the delegates as well as the staff of the Secretariat and the I.L.O. with opportunities for corporate acts of worship. This year a remarkable congregation filled the Church of Notre Dame on September 11, when Mass was celebrated by the Catholic Vicar-General of Geneva "to invoke the Divine blessing on the work of the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations." The sermon was preached by Mgr Kaas a member of the German delegation, who made a fervent appeal to his

### Piccadilly and the League—A Comparison

THE League, as usual, during the Assembly has been engaged on a rigorous control of its finances, and has brought its budget down to the lowest possible figure. At the beginning of September one of our contemporaries, the *Daily Express*, published a leaderette, in which it was stated that the cost of the League was about £4,000,000. This is not likely to deceive our readers. The budget for 1927 was 24,512,341 gold francs, and in 1928 the proposed expenditure is 24,873,373 gold francs. 25.20 gold francs go to the pound; so the total cost of the League, including the Permanent Court and the I.L.O., is still under a million pounds sterling. Of this the British Empire pays just over one-tenth. The contract for relaying Piccadilly was £31,554. Piccadilly is just under a mile long. The League of Nations, therefore, costs the British Empire almost the same as it costs London to relay three miles of main streets.

### The Secretariat Dog

THE Alsatian hound who resides at night on the premises of the League of Nations Secretariat, in company with the watchman, played a distinguished part on the night, in the latter part of August, when the Geneva Communists indicated their indignation at the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti by a rather illogical assault on the premises of the League. The fort was held by the night watchman, a "Securitas" official, two women members of the Secretariat, who courageously entered the building when they heard what was on foot, and the dog. The mob first assailed the front door; but the Alsatian flung himself against the door from inside with such vigour, and emitted sounds so menacing, that the attacking party transferred their attentions to the tempting windows of the library and of the large glass room where the Council meets, shivering them to good purpose with miniature boulders taken from the lakeside. By this time, candour requires it to be recorded, the hound had suffered a reaction, and stood—or rather, lay—the remainder of the siege under an opportune sofa. It was not this hero, but a predecessor, whose subsistence allowance of one gold franc a day figured regularly in the League's annual budget.

### League Pioneers

RATHER belated extracts from articles in South American papers regarding the Conference on Infant Mortality, held at Montevideo (Uruguay) in June, show how successful the Conference was in provoking interest in the League of Nations, quite apart from its immediate technical objects. *La Nacion* announces that it is intended to establish at Buenos Aires an international institute of puericulture (child study) under the auspices of the League, and that the President of the Argentine Republic has shown much interest in the development of this proposal. Altogether, it would seem that just as the Health Organisation of the League has been instrumental in increasing interest in the League as a whole through its new bureau at Singapore, so it is doing service to the League in general in Latin-America through its attempt to stem infant mortality in that region.

colleagues to labour for the true brotherhood of mankind in the spirit of Christ, and to continue the League's work, not merely with material comfort and well-being as its end, but for the love of God. The Swiss President, M. Motta, and the Secretary-General of the League knelt in the front of the Church, and members of nineteen delegations were present. At the same time the usual special service in English was held in the Calvinist Church of S. Pierre, at which a moving sermon was preached by the Rev. J. D. Jones, of Bournemouth, whose admirable work for the League of Nations Union is so well-known in the South of England.

### Visitors to the International Labour Office

MOST admirable arrangements have now been made to enable English-speaking visitors to obtain as fair an idea as possible of the growing work of the International Labour Office. Throughout the summer months they can be received at any time during working hours, under the auspices of the American Committee for the Geneva Institute of International Relations. A special room has been prepared containing not only popular descriptions of the work of the International Labour Office, with photographs, diagrams, lantern slides and other educational material, but also all the official publications of the Office. Explanations are given of the work of the International Labour Office and facilities granted for seeing the building. Special permission has also been given by the Director, M. Albert Thomas, for students to be directed to documentary sources, admitted to the library, or put into touch with the particular department of the Office dealing with any industrial or Labour subject in which they are particularly interested.

### A New League Library

THE League of Nations, of course, has a library of its own. It is housed in the Secretariat building, and a Dutchman has just succeeded an American woman as librarian. But it is on a modest scale, and the allotment for the purchase of books is inconsiderable. It is, therefore, of very real importance that a group of American citizens should have offered to the League a sum of no less than 2,000,000 dollars (£400,000) for the construction and endowment of a League research library. The present institution is for the use of members of the League's own staff, though students of international affairs are permitted to make use of it. The library now offered would be on a really imposing scale, and would add enormously to the value of Geneva as a centre of political study. The Council has, as might be expected, accepted the gift with enthusiasm, the more so that it is unfettered by any conditions whatever. The Council, that is to say, may decide freely what portion of the money shall be spent on the construction of the building, and how much retained for endowment. It is not intended that the new enterprise shall involve the League in any fresh expenditure for upkeep. On the other hand, it is stipulated that the ordinary regular allotments for library maintenance shall be continued, the American gift being in addition to, not in substitution for, them. The library building will no doubt form a special block on the League's new building site.



## GENEVA, 1927

## FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF THE EIGHTH ASSEMBLY

By H. WILSON HARRIS

TO give any detailed account even of the first half of the League of Nations Assembly within the limits of a page of HEADWAY is manifestly impossible. All that can be attempted is something in the nature of a general impression. That, fortunately, is a simpler matter this year than at some earlier Assemblies. For the Geneva meetings of 1927 have been marked by a good deal more individuality than most of their predecessors. An estimate framed at the end of the Assembly's second week may have to be revised in the light of subsequent events, but if the present promise is maintained throughout, the Eighth Assembly will probably be regarded by most competent observers as more broadly successful than any of its predecessors.

**Value of the Assembly Reasserted**

Where the Assembly was expected to be dull, it has shown itself astonishingly full of life. Where the smaller powers seemed likely to stultify themselves by undue deference to the great, they assumed an attitude of resolute, if courteous, independence in every field. Where there appeared to be no prospect of any question of more than secondary importance emerging, the perpetually insistent question of arbitration, security, and disarmament rapidly took new and encouraging shape as the outcome of a series of constructive speeches, first in the Assembly itself and then in its Third Commission.

Two or three facts of varying importance go to confirm the good impression which attendance at the meetings of the first two weeks insensibly created. In the first place, the attendance of Foreign Ministers was a record. Over 20 of them took part in the Assembly proceedings, besides a Prime Minister or two, and various holders of other portfolios. That means, of course, that the authority of governments was engaged to an extent never before quite equalled in the work and decisions of the Assembly. In the second place, the "hotel conversations," towards which criticism was directed in more than one speech from the Assembly platform, as it had been by many articles in the Press in different countries, were notably absent, apart, of course, from the perfectly right and desirable contacts of individual statesmen with one another.

The failure of Belgium's application for leave to present herself as candidate for the Council elections was another sign of the Assembly's independence. It was known that Britain, France and Germany were all in favour of waiving in Belgium's favour the rule against re-election, but in spite of that the Assembly decided that the sound principle of rotation must be upheld and, valuable though the services of Belgium's representatives on the Council have been, it was decreed that they must stand aside in accordance with the general rule for the next three years.

**Less Rhetoric: More Business**

The general tone of the speeches delivered during the general discussion in the Assembly's opening week was another encouraging feature. They were much more practical and constructive than usual. They dealt much more with the League and its tasks than with the history or the sentiments of the speaker's country, and they were in many cases justly critical instead of being perfunctorily appreciative. There was, moreover, this year a notable absence of the suggestion from any quarter that the League was

expanding too light-heartedly and adopting tasks either unworthy of its attention or beyond its strength. There was an increased appreciation of the value, even of the indirect political value, of the League's humanitarian activities under their varying heads, the attitude adopted by Major Walter Elliot, a British member of the second Committee, towards the League's Health Organisation being in marked and welcome contrast from that of British delegates handling the same subject in previous years.

**The Security Question**

The Assembly soon focussed its thoughts and attention on one problem beyond all others. No one who was not actually present during the Assembly meetings could fully realise how widespread and how deep-rooted was the anxiety of almost every country in Europe regarding security, and the conviction that in that field some forward step must be taken if the armament question were to be handled with any prospect of success. The meetings of the Third Commission were thronged daily, for it became clear before the opening discussions in the full Assembly had ended that no problem held such a place in the minds of delegates as that of how a continental State could furnish itself, through its membership in the League, with that security which alone would reconcile it to disarm.

In an article written while all conclusions are still in suspense it is as well to avoid prediction. The Third Commission has approved a Polish proposal for the condemnation of all wars of aggression as international crimes, and has had before it a Dutch proposal for a fresh study of the principles of arbitration, security, disarmament; a Nansen proposal for the framing of a general arbitration treaty which any State could sign; and a more ambitious French proposal which, more or less embracing the other three, calls on the League Council to charge the Preparatory Commission with studying not only methods of effecting disarmament, but also methods of establishing security by three or four specific methods. This may or may not be done; but even if the discussions of September lead to no positive action at all, they will yet have their place and their permanent value in the gradual evolution of the next step, which the League will take within the next two years if it does not in 1927.

**Dramatis Personæ**

Meanwhile, a word must be said of two or three personalities conspicuous in the Assembly discussions. There was M. Hambro of Norway, with his vigorous criticisms of the Council and the Great Powers. There was M. Politis, the almost too clever Greek jurist, with his subtle explanation of why, having helped to frame the Geneva Protocol in 1924, he was for dropping it now. There was the solid and attractive Foreign Minister of Holland, Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland, with his unexpected proposal for a new study of the Protocol. There was the octogenarian Count Apponyi with his minorities speech from the Assembly platform, and his astonishing 70-minute argument on his country's dispute with Rumania before the Council. To sum the meetings up in a sentence—life, unity, purpose, these were the outstanding characteristics of a gathering which, as the German Foreign Minister rightly said, was perhaps the most important and the most notable Assembly so far held.

BRITISH POLICY DEFINED  
THE FOREIGN SECRETARY'S SPEECH

*In view of the importance of Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech in the general discussion at the opening of the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations, we here summarise some parts of the speech and quote certain passages verbatim.*

THE British Foreign Minister opened with a warm tribute to the Foreign Minister of Germany, followed by a declaration that any misgivings about the future of the League were unjustified. He dissented from the criticism that the Assembly contained too many professional diplomatists and made a strong defence of the action of representatives of some of the great powers in holding meetings in Geneva outside the Council and Assembly.

On disarmament, he said: "Our interest in disarmament, our effort for disarmament, lies not only in words and speeches. It lies in facts. We have proved

was violated as proof of Britain's readiness to honour her obligations. "You ask us to do more," he said. "Could not some of you do as much before pressing us to go further? . . . You say it is not enough. You invite us to take for every country and for every frontier the guarantee which we have undertaken for one by treaty. . . . If I held out to the world the hope that we could undertake such extensive obligations, I should deceive you. . . . You do not know what you ask us. You are asking nothing less than the disruption of the British Empire. I yield to no one in my devotion to this great League of Nations,



A PLENARY SESSION OF THE EIGHTH ASSEMBLY

it by our deeds. The British Army was reduced immediately peace was secured to less than pre-war level. . . . Our navy cannot be compared with the navy which we maintained, I do not say during the war, but before the war. Year by year the budget for the armed forces of our country has grown less."

Passing from disarmament to arbitration, Sir Austen observed in that connection: "We are a great community of free and equal nations, each autonomous, united in the oldest league of peace in the world. It is not easy for an empire so constituted always to accept obligations that can be readily undertaken by a state homogeneous, compact and speaking by the voice of a single government."

On the third great problem, that of security, Sir Austen observed that the Empire had accepted all the obligations of the Covenant and urged that the importance of that should not be under-estimated. He then dwelt on the guarantee given to the Rhine frontier under the Locarno treaties and pointed to the action of Great Britain when the neutrality of Belgium

but not even for this League of Nations will I destroy that smaller, but older, league of which my own country was the birthplace and of which it remains the centre."

Finally, Sir Austen Chamberlain deprecated the proposed discussions on the principles of the Geneva Protocol. "Keep all your hopes for the revival of the Protocol," he urged. "Keep all your hopes that its principles may in time prevail to the full and universally. But what useful purpose could we serve, what evil consequences might we not incur, if we reopened those troubled debates before there has been from any quarter any indication of a change of mind?"

The speaker brushed aside talk of sanctions and emphasised the moral authority of the League. "I have," he said, "been among you only three years, but since I have held my present office I have made it my business, because I felt it my duty, to attend every meeting of your Council and every meeting of your Assembly. I have done so because my Government bases its whole policy upon this League."



## THE GREAT ISSUE

By Professor GILBERT MURRAY

LORD CECIL'S resignation did not come as a surprise. Like most resignations it was the result of a long process of tension, though unlike many, it has had in it no element of irritability or personal ambition. Lord Cecil has made an immense political sacrifice at a time when he was one of the best known and most universally respected members of his party, and he is not likely to form ties with any other. Gifted with a great power of compromise, he felt that he could compromise no further without placing himself before the world in a false position.

He mentions in his letter of resignation that, in the League Preparatory Conference on Disarmament, he was over and over again compelled by his instructions to maintain propositions which were calculated to wreck the negotiations. But he still worked on. The Naval Disarmament Conference with America and Japan seemed to present an easy problem, and he believed that its successful solution would make much easier the way to general disarmament. The particular point on which the Naval Conference broke down is a very instructive one.

At Washington in 1921 we had accepted the principle of "parity" with America, and the standard of 5:5:3 for the battleships of Great Britain, America and Japan. It was now proposed to hold a new Conference on the same basis, and extend the principle of "parity" between Britain and the U.S.A. to all other classes of ships. The meaning of this principle can be best illustrated by two other points in British-American policy. Why do both sides leave the frontier between the U.S.A. and Canada entirely undefended? Why did Great Britain before the war, when maintaining a navy "equal to any two other Powers," always refuse to take the American navy into account as a possible enemy? Simply because, whatever preparations we make, we do not prepare for war with America. Both sides consider—or at least used to consider—that possibility as ruled out. On the same principle, at the Washington Conference, we accepted without hesitation the claim of America to parity—a limit of total tonnage, and a limit of size. We recognised that it was impossible for us to insist on a claim to superiority over a nation with twice our population and twenty times our wealth, and we accepted America's proposal that we should not engage in a competition of armaments, as a mark of friendship. We would no more compete in armaments at sea than on the frontier of Canada, and Great Britain frankly accepted America as an equal.

### The Parity Fallacy

On such a basis agreement was easy. "Parity" was a matter of status and only general formulæ were wanted. But during the negotiations the Admiralty put forward a totally different view. It was that "parity" meant not abstract or "mathematical" parity, but what they called "maritime parity," i.e., an insistence that at no point should the U.S.A. have an advantage at sea over the British fleet. Since we have many more points to defend and are absolutely dependent on imported food, this meant, in the last resort, that to attain "maritime parity" Great Britain must have a cruiser fleet vastly greater than the Americans! The Americans did not regard that as "parity!" The excellent technical proposals put forward by the Admiralty for limiting the size and lengthening the life of ships never received proper consideration. The Conference failed, certain British ministers uttered exclamations of relief, and Lord Cecil resigned.

In a world organised for war the Admiralty were quite right. In a world organised for peace they are blindly wrong. If we are arranging for a possible war with America, of course, we must strain every nerve to prevent her having an advantage anywhere, but then we need not seek for Naval Agreements. Lord Cecil considered that he was arranging for the building-up of permanent peace with America; and the fact that such-and-such an agreement about 6-inch or 8-inch guns would give America an advantage in such-and-such an eventuality was as unimportant as the fact that at certain spots on the Canadian frontier the Americans have a strategical advantage. We do not try to neutralise that advantage by building forts and placing garrisons. The thing that matters is not the incidental strategic inequality, but the great peaceful frontier unguarded on either side by a single gun. It matters because it is the sign and guarantee of permanent peace. It builds up peace by its faith in peace. We want a similar frontier with America on the sea.

### Prepare for War or Prepare for Peace?

The cleavage that is here revealed is one that cuts across all national frontiers, and is deeper than any ordinary divisions of party. No nation and no party is entirely on one side or the other. On one side are those who still pin their faith on "preparedness," and feel safest in a society organised for war, with stores of tanks and aeroplanes and spies and poison gas, and no Arbitration Treaties to "tie our hands." On the other, are those who believe in a world organised for peace, who see that the British Empire is absolutely dependent on peace, and who feel secure only when peace is secure. The first will curse the Covenant under their breath, and rejoice openly at the failure of the Coolidge Conference. The second fix their hopes on the Covenant, but wish to make it a stage rather than the end of the journey. They remember that the Third Object of the League of Nations Union is "ultimately to free the world from war and the effects of war."

On towards permanent peace or back towards the days when war was a mere matter of policy—that is the issue. One cannot tell, amid the tangles of the moment, who will come out on either side. Some Conservatives are frankly against the League, and regard the organisation of peace as a delusion; but we know that the true leaders of the party, like Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Baldwin and Lord Balfour, are at heart friends of the League and of peace. Liberals and Socialists are, by their political creed, advocates of peace; but some Liberals are sceptical about the League, and a few wish to preserve the institution of war as a sort of safety valve for liberty, as some few Socialists are afraid that a secure peace would stabilise too much the present order of society.

On this issue there is no party advantage at stake. It is a question of converting the country, not of turning out Governments. A man must think whether he is ready to stake his faith and his energies on work for the real "outlawry" of war, and the organised maintenance of peace between civilised nations as firmly as it is maintained within nations.

Our cause is doubtless on the whole the winning cause. That is proved by the actual progress of the League; by the attitude of the leading statesmen in all constitutional countries; by the immense tide of feeling from all nations that is now articulate at Geneva. But peace is not yet won, and will not be won without a great and enduring effort for the education of opinion in all nations.

## THE PRESS AT GENEVA WHAT IT MIGHT DO FOR PEACE

IT is a commonplace that the League depends for nine-tenths of its ultimate success on public opinion; and public opinion is instructed more effectively by the written than by the spoken word. Hence the part played by the Press in relation to the League. For it is to the Press first of all that the ordinary men must look for the plain, unvarnished facts about the day-to-day activities of the League.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the idea should have occurred to a member of the Chilean delegation at Geneva a year ago that a conference of Press experts should be summoned at Geneva, to consider how the Press could best help on what the delegate in question called the work of moral disarmament. That conference duly met, after suitable preparation, just before the Assembly of the League, occupying the same hall and following broadly the same procedure. It was an experiment of considerable interest, which in the end achieved a marked success. The field was strictly limited, for it is hoped that this first conference will only be one of many. The majority of the questions were technical, and the delegates represented in most cases, not individual newspapers, but great news agencies like Reuters, or Havas, or the Associated Press of America, as well as trade or professional organisations like the British Newspaper Proprietors' Association, or the National Union of Journalists.

It does not matter much to the British citizen, who runs his eye down the columns of *The Daily Tribune* over his coffee and bacon, whether the men who have telegraphed from the ends of the earth the news which fills those columns enjoy quite all the technical facilities they desire; whether, for example, their messages are given precedence over private telegrams when they are wiring them to their papers; and, in particular, whether they can express their honest views without fear of censorship or expulsion. All that, however, matters very much to the journalist, and it is all to the good that he should be able to make his legitimate needs understood at Geneva.

Another point raised was the question of taxes on foreign newspapers. Switzerland, for example, taxes foreign newspapers by weight, with the result that papers bought for a penny in London cost fourpence halfpenny in Geneva. This is a serious matter, for nothing is more important than that the people of one country should keep themselves acquainted with the trends of thought elsewhere. The Conference, therefore, passed a strong resolution calling on the governments concerned "to consider the urgent need for early abolition of any taxes and other restrictions on newspapers which hinder a fuller and more extended circulation of the international Press."

At the same time, nothing that can be done to secure the unfettered circulation of a journalist's writings can be half so important as the production of journalists qualified to produce articles worth circulating. It is no doubt to some extent true that a journalist is born rather than made. But a certain amount of making does him no harm, and the Conference took the view that the journalist who deals with international affairs in particular will be all the better if he can occasionally be taken, together with colleagues of other nationalities, on a travel tour through three or four foreign countries, provided that his visit is not utilized as an opportunity for charging him with national propaganda.

A necessary resolution was adopted on the subject of the censorship in peace time, Italy and Russia being two countries where the lot of the journalist, both native and foreign, is singularly hard. Finally, there was drafted one resolution, to which Sir Austen Chamberlain made particular reference when the conclusions of the Conference were laid before the Council of the League. In it an appeal is made to the Press of the world "to contribute by every means at its disposal to the consolidation of peace, to combating hatred between nationalities and between classes as the greatest danger to peace, and to preparing the way for moral disarmament." It is of some interest to find that kind of doctrine enunciated by a gathering containing few, if any, of the well-known writers on the League of Nations but consisting mainly of the proprietors and directors who control the mechanism of news-gathering and news-distribution.

This Press Conference was a good deal of an experiment, but everyone who attended left Geneva feeling the Conference had succeeded considerably beyond expectations. Mere personal contact with the headquarters of the League was a revelation to many of the most influential figures in modern journalism, and a cordiality was created between the Press so represented and permanent officials at Geneva which should at any rate serve to protect the League in the future from ill-informed and malevolent attacks. The contact, moreover, is likely to be permanent, for the view was strongly expressed that, after a reasonable lapse of time, another similar conference should be convened at the seat of the League. Meanwhile, the League's Transit Committee and the different Governments concerned will be considering what active steps can be taken to give effect to the main recommendation of the Conference, which was that every facility should be given for the early dissemination of accurate news, on the ground that knowledge of the facts works effectively for the preservation of peace.



The Viscount Burnham  
President of the Conference of Press Experts



## AN ECONOMIC "ANNUS MIRABILIS"

By MAURICE FANSHAWE

IT is highly probable that the year 1927 will not be remembered for the failure of any conference or work of the League upon Disarmament, but on the contrary for a signal and conspicuous success—the Geneva Economic Conference. In many ways it was the most remarkable event since the War, marking as it did a definite climax in the arduous work which had been undertaken in Europe for organising peace.

Once the problem of monetary stability had been largely solved, or, at all events, had receded into a manageable background, the larger problem of Economics and Economic Peace more and more seized on the attention of the world.

The extent to which this has been the case, and still is the case, is remarkable. So much so that it is worth while emphasising the impressive stages of the progress that has been made in this enormously important field during the last eleven months.

First, a highly significant move was made in October, 1926, by a widely representative body of world opinion, in what is generally known as the "Bankers' and Business Men's Manifesto," which incidentally bore the signature of the governors of at least a dozen of the central banks of Europe. This manifesto declared that "it was difficult to view without dismay the extent to which tariff barriers, special licences and prohibitions since the war had been allowed to interfere with international trade."

Then in May, 1927, after one-and-a-half years careful preparation, came the *Geneva Economic Conference*\*—which stood for the most authoritative body of experts that has ever met to discuss economic policies. Nearly 200 delegates, appointed by the governments of 50 nations (including U.S.A. and Soviet Russia) declared that "the time has come to put an end to the increase in tariffs and to move in the opposite direction." Better still, they suggested what should be done—*independent action by the several states to remove or diminish tariff barriers, concerted action through commercial treaties, abolition of "bargaining tariffs," and examination by the League in consultation with the International Chamber of Commerce and other such organisations, and the governments of the best methods of securing further action.* In a word their advice was the proclamation of a policy of "freer trade," on which all were and are agreed.

In June the League Council met to discuss the Report of the Conference. The Governments of *Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Germany* declared their adherence to the resolutions of the Conference and their readiness to enter into direct negotiations with other countries to carry them out. Here were already positive results. The British Government was favourably impressed with the conclusions of the Conference, but had not had time to study them fully in detail. The Council unanimously passed a resolution commending "this valuable Report and their important recommendations to the favourable consideration of all governments."

Early in July *Austria and Holland* followed the example of the three States mentioned above and decided to take definite action. Five governments were now pledged to carry out the policy of "freer" trade.

\* All the official documents relating to this Conference, including the Final Report, may be borrowed from the L.N.U. Library (on payment of postage where necessary).

In the same month the *International Chamber of Commerce* held a *Congress at Stockholm*, which gave proof in the most public fashion of the intimate association between this body and the League of Nations which has been a special feature of the past year. This Congress, of some 800 business men from a large number of countries, placed on record its "emphatic approval of the proposals of the Economic Conference." In certain respects, as for example, in the matter of free international circulation of capital, it went further in demanding the removal of obstructions to commerce. As regards action to be taken it called upon "national committees of the chamber to urge their respective governments to follow the policies recommended by the World Economic Conference," adding their emphatic opinion that "any government which has not already made a declaration as to its intention in regard to these matters should be urged to do so without delay." There is no question that the International Chamber of Commerce has realised to the full the need of educating public opinion on Economic policies, and is ready to take its share in the burden of propaganda.

Everywhere there are signs showing the way the wind blows. The German and English industrialists who met in June at *Leverkusen*, and the conference of British and German industrial federations who met in July, had the same welcome to give the Report of the Economic Conference. More recently still the German Government has given definite instructions to the Economic Council of the Reich to prepare a revised tariff "for the purpose of lowering duties." Germany has begun to act.

During September, at the bar of the world's opinion at Geneva, among delegates, "observers" and the Press, perhaps the most talked of subject was this work of the Economic Conference. Sir *Hilton Young* declared to the Assembly that Great Britain, which provides the largest and freest market in the world, welcomed the resolutions in favour of greater liberty of trading, for they showed the path to be followed if war was to be avoided. The delegate for India stated that the Report was in general conformity with the principles already followed there, and where there were differences they could be adjusted. There were other notable speeches in support. There is little doubt that when these lines appear the Assembly will have unanimously endorsed the Report, with a strong recommendation to carry its suggestions into effect.

It really looks as if at long last the world realises that "trade is not war, but a process of exchange; and that in time of peace our neighbours are our customers, and that their prosperity is a condition of our own well-being."

Yet the most important thing still remains—action by all the governments. Government approval in principle is not enough. Unless the recommendations of the Economic Conference are put into practice, it will have failed, in spite of initial success. *A prompt, strong lead by the British Government might make the whole difference.*

Here, then, is an opportunity for public opinion; perhaps the greatest opportunity of contributing to the welfare of our generation. The effective mobilisation of public opinion can do more than anything to translate here and now the words of the Report, "a substantial improvement in economic conditions," into plain human terms.

## ASSEMBLY ECHOES

## SOME OPINIONS FROM GENEVA

JONKHEER BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND  
(Netherlands)—September 5.

## The Council's Responsibilities

"I am inclined to question whether it would not be dangerous to reduce the number of the Council's meetings. I think that anything which might be interpreted by public opinion as lowering the Council's authority or as a sign of slackening in the work of the League as a whole ought to be avoided."

## The Outlawry of War

"Has not the moment come to resume our efforts to bridge the gap in Article 15 of the Covenant by excluding legitimate warfare in the future and by stigmatising a war of aggression as an international crime? The principle of compulsory international jurisdiction is a necessary complement of these ideas. But if this end is to be achieved, the Great Powers must not continue to shirk obligations."

M. LANGE (Norway)—September 9.

## Strengthening the Permanent Court

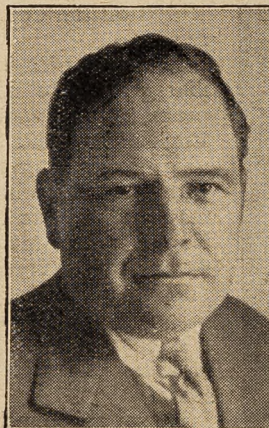
"Above the heads of the hesitating Governments, I and my friends appeal to the peoples of the great

If that is so, are we proposing to substitute one form of force for another? I am not prepared to say that our industrial arbitration systems have failed, but none can claim that they have been an unqualified success. What have been some of the results of this system? Because compulsory arbitration presumes a dispute, the system has encouraged the organisation of employers and employed into separate armies which tend to regard each other with hostility and suspicion. It has led to the propagation of what we call paper disputes; that is, artificial disputes, generated by one or other of the parties, inspired with the hope of gaining something by an award and consoled by the fact that even if the reference fails the party creating the dispute is in no worse position. Because of these results opinion in Australia is turning from the compulsory principle in the direction of conciliation and conference."

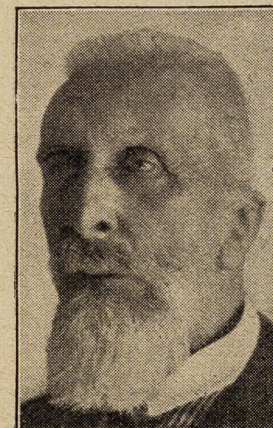
COUNT APPONYI (Hungary)—September 8.

## Unfair Distinction between Victors and Vanquished

"The maintenance of these inequalities between nations which are contained in the treaties of peace is absolutely contrary to the spirit of peace. . . . To



M. HAMBRO  
(Norway)



COUNT APPONYI  
(Hungary)



JONKHEER BEELAERTS  
VAN BLOKLAND (Holland)

Powers, asking them to insist that their chiefs should subscribe to the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice."

M. DANDURAND (Canada)—September 12.

## The Empire and the Court: Canada's View

"Canada remains firmly convinced that it is necessary to submit international disputes to arbitration and has signified her willingness to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in disputes of a legal character, subject to certain reservations, and to study means for enabling the provisions of the Covenant to be completed with a view to the settlement of disputes of a non-legal character."

SIR GEORGE PEARCE (Australia)—September 10.

## The Empire and the Court: the Australian Objection

"We in Australia are probably unique in that we have applied the principle of compulsory arbitration to industrial affairs. . . . I draw attention to the term 'compulsory arbitration.' Does it not contemplate ill-will and dispute? Does it not contemplate force?"

make such a state of things permanent, to keep up forever the character of belligerents and the distinction between nations according to the sides which they took during the Great War, that is simply to perpetuate a state of war. True peace, that peace which consists in the pacification of men's souls, in spiritual tranquillity and in the acceptance by the will of the existing legal position—that peace cannot exist in the world so long as there remains this unfair distinction in international law between different nations."

## What is to Become of Minorities?

"The representative of Brazil declared (to the Council) that the object of the treaties for the protection of Minorities was not to preserve within the new states a community of another race, but to proceed to a slow absorption of these Minorities, so as to bring about gradually a single nationality. . . . If this absorption simply means an affirmation of the loyalty of citizens towards the state, whatever be their race, I make no objection, for every state has the right to expect from its citizens, whatever be their language and nationality, loyalty and obedience to its laws. But if absorption means the complete disappearance of racial and cul-



tural character, if it means substituting a painless death for a violent death, I must protest with my whole might against such an interpretation. I am sure the enlightened men who are in the Council can only understand that word 'absorption' in the sense that I have indicated." (Here Sir Austen Chamberlain vigorously assented.)

M. BRIAND (France).—September 10.

#### France and Disarmament

"France well understands the importance of the obligations she has undertaken in signing the Covenant of the League of Nations, and certainly Article 8 of the Covenant seems to her as sacred as the rest. Having undertaken this solemn engagement to limit armaments, it is a duty for all States Members of the League to press forward to that end without misgivings, conscientiously and loyally."

DR. STRESEMANN (Germany).—September 9.  
First Fruits of the Economic Conference

"The conclusion of the Franco-German Commercial Treaty was greatly facilitated by co-operation in the International Economic Conference, and by the ideas which were advanced in that Conference. For more than sixty years there has been no commercial treaty between the two countries."

#### Arbitration: a lead to the Great Powers

"Among the discordant voices which have arisen recently the voice giving a clear lead would soon be heard, if the responsible statesmen were willing to proclaim their determination to control the destinies of the world, and if they once more proclaimed in solemn form their determination to abolish violence and aggression. . . . I consider it essentially my duty, as the representative of the Reich in this Assembly, to state that I fully subscribe to those views. Regrets have been expressed at the fact that up to the present, so few nations have adhered to the Optional Clause of the Court of Arbitration at the Hague. The policy of the Reich is entirely in keeping with that clause. We have given many proofs of that for many years past by concluding a series of treaties of arbitration with other countries. I desire, therefore, to state that I am going to append my signature during the present session to the Optional Clause."

SENATOR CAVAZZONI (Italy).—September 9.  
Italy and the League's Social Work

"The purpose of the League of Nations is the development of civilisation, and when we say 'civilisation' we must be quite clear what we mean. Civilisation does not merely mean well-being, it also means morality. It is a fact that modern society is suffering from many evils . . . such as the neglect of children, infantile criminality, traffic in obscene publications, and so on. These destructive evils can only be stopped with the concerted action of the nations,

and the time is past when it can be argued that the principle which is honoured in one country is condemned in another. Everywhere we find the same ideals and the same realisations, and in order to stem this tide of evil we must adopt concerted action by all the nations of the world; and such action can only be planned on the basis of the social and humanitarian work of the League.

"It might, therefore, be well to lay down certain principles by which the work of the League of Nations is guided. The training of the individual takes place in the family and in the nation. According to our traditions, the family, the country and mankind are three concentric circles. A sound family gives sound citizens to the State, and a sound and well organised state is a rampart of civilisation. Therefore any national or international action in respect of child welfare must be based upon these principles."\*

## GENEVA PERSONALITIES

### IX.—SENOR GUANI

SENOR ALBERTO GUANI, the first delegate of Uruguay, did not need election as President of the Eighth Assembly of the League to bring him prominently into the public eye. He attained that distinction, if distinction it be, during the term of office he so usefully served on the Council of the League.

Latin America is not familiar ground to most Europeans, at any rate to most Englishmen, and not quite nine of every ten could say with certainty where on the map Uruguay can be located. Nor does that matter much. At any rate it is a singularly progressive State, and its principal delegate at Geneva is a man of average ability and more than average good sense.

He sat as Council member from 1922 to 1926, and was then displaced because the Latin-American states at Geneva, for reasons known only to those who follow their internal politics, chose to put their money on Salvador instead. As a Council member Senor Guani formed one of the committee of three which handled the Mosul question, and was by no means a silent member of it.

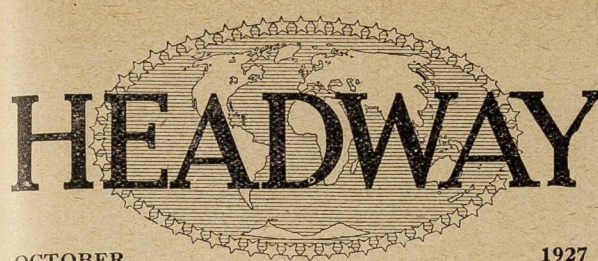
It was felt a year ago by the British delegation that his disappointment at failure to secure election to the Council might fitly be compensated by his choice as President of the Assembly, a post to which he was duly elected by a narrow margin over Count Mensdorff, of Austria. The choice was justified, for the Uruguayan delegate presided with competence and firmness, and had the additional and unusual advantage of being audible.

In one capacity or another he will be looked to for further service to the League.

\*It has not been possible to check all the above extracts with the official English text.



Senor Alberto Guani  
President of the Eighth Assembly



OCTOBER

1927

## SIR AUSTEN'S SPEECH

Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech, the essential features of which are reproduced on another page, was in many ways the most important event of the League Assembly. M. Briand's address was superior in form, Dr. Stresemann's commended itself much more to the majority of delegates, but neither of these was a factor in the discussions and decisions to the same extent as the pronouncement of the Foreign Minister of Great Britain.

The first impression made by Sir Austen's speech was one of pure negation. The speaker was conscious of that himself. He recognised that Great Britain was regarded as an obstacle to the progress of the League, and the policy he laid down as that of his country was certainly not calculated to change opinion on this point. Broadly speaking, what he had to tell the Assembly was that Great Britain would honour the obligations she had incurred, but would incur no new ones, and that she would not so much as tolerate discussion of the principles of the Geneva Protocol. These were hard words for a body even more concerned to-day than in 1924 to find a solution of the problem of security, and thus of the problem of disarmament, through agreements providing for concerted action by the whole society, if need be, against an aggressor. It was because he seemed deliberately to throw himself athwart the current of League thought and hope that Sir Austen assured for his speech the attention, not to say the notoriety, it secured at Geneva.

The importance of the speech does not diminish as the period since it was delivered lengthens. It is essential for the world to know where the British Government stands in regard to certain of the more important of its obligations under the Covenant. It is still more important for the British people to make up its mind where it wants its Government to stand. Sir Austen defined the position in part, and in part left it studiously obscure. He repudiated no commitments already accepted, which means that he stands by the Covenant as a whole. But a good many questions were left unanswered. What, for example, would the policy of this country be in the event of armed action by a League State, let us say in Europe, constituting so flagrant a violation of the Covenant as to fall manifestly under the articles of that instrument providing for united action against the aggressor? That question has often been faced in theory, but rarely as yet in practice, and no one desires circumstances to arise which would force it to the front again. But a great deal hangs on it. Security would be a different thing in Europe, and the armament problem would therefore assume a new complexion altogether, if the nations could feel a reasonable certainty that illicit aggression against any one of them would be repelled by adequate joint action by the countries, including the Great Powers, and that even though the aggressor were a Great Power itself,

The Foreign Secretary in his Assembly speech deliberately avoided encouraging any such confidence. He made no reference to Article XVI of the Covenant, which deals with the measures to be taken by the League in such an eventuality as just described, and he has never made it clear the action he personally, as a loyal member of the Assembly and Council, would desire his country to take should the need for action arise. There may be more reasons than one for such reticence. It may be personal hesitation on Sir Austen's part. It may be uncertainty as to what his colleagues in the Cabinet would stand for. It may be—and for immediate purposes this is the most important contingency of all—that he does not know how far the country itself would tolerate armed action in defence of the Covenant of the League. How far, in fact, would it? Here is a nation which has deliberately joined, has indeed taken a prominent stand in founding a society one of whose fundamental tenets is the substitution of law for arms, the abolition of what is known as "private war" between individual States, and the inauguration of an era in which, if war should break out through the illicit act of an aggressor, the rest of the members of the League, or those of them whose assistance was most readily available and most urgently required, should combine to quell it. How does the nation itself understand and desire the Government to understand this latter obligation? Does it prohibit the use of British ships, of British troops in the defence of any interests not specifically British? Or does it, on the other hand, regard the preservation of peace, quite apart from its moral value, as so essentially a British interest that it is prepared to approve the co-operation of British armed forces with those of other nations to stamp out a war which in any case might never have touched Great Britain directly?

These are not merely rhetorical questions asked only for the purpose of eliciting an obvious answer. The answer is by no means obvious. If the Government takes the view that it could not count on the country to back it, if it in its turn were anxious to back the League to the extent of co-operating in naval and military operations, can the Government's misgivings be dismissed as misguided and baseless? Is it even certain that the country would tolerate the dislocation of British trade involved in the application even of merely economic sanctions against a Covenant breaker? Again an answer cannot be given with any certainty. What this means is that little as we may like Sir Austen's speech, it is no use simply to castigate its author unless we are satisfied that he has grossly misinterpreted the sentiment of his country. And suppose he has not? The task before us then is to do what is possible to get the country's sentiment changed. Talk about discussion of sanctions, particularly of sanctions involving armed force, is distasteful. The League exists to keep peace, not to make concerted war. But concerted war unfortunately may still be needed against a breaker of the peace, just as something representing the concerted restraint of the whole community has still to be exercised against occasional law-breakers at home. Is Great Britain prepared to take her share in that as the price to pay for the elimination of "private war" and the creation of a new order of society in which the possible use of force to compel recognition of law (law in this case being merely the obligation to execute agreements voluntarily contracted) has still to be contemplated?



## LORD CECIL'S RESIGNATION

## TEXT OF LETTERS

AS the discussions about the motive and circumstances of Viscount Cecil's resignation from the Cabinet are bound to occupy the minds of most supporters of the League of Nations in this country, we print below the text of his communication to the Prime Minister and of Mr. Baldwin's reply.

## Lord Cecil's Statement

On August 25 Lord Cecil sent the Prime Minister the following minute with a covering note:—

I am sorry to say that I have arrived at the conclusion that I ought to resign my office. Let me in the first place assure you that this conclusion is not due to any personal difficulty. On the contrary, I feel that I owe you and all my colleagues much gratitude for your kindness and consideration. Least of all have I any grievance against Bridgeman. He will, I hope, have already told you that throughout our time at Geneva we worked together in the closest agreement. Apart from one or two questions of procedure, I do not think that we had any difference of opinion. Certainly we had none with respect to the policy to be pursued at the conference.

It is true that in technical matters I had to rely chiefly on the advice given to us by the naval experts. Here, again, we were extremely fortunate in having as our chief adviser so able and wide-minded an officer as Admiral Field.

The difficulty is, I am sorry to say, much more serious, for I cannot conceal from myself that on the broad policy of disarmament the majority of the Cabinet and I are not really agreed.

I believe that a general reduction and limitation of armaments is essential to the peace of the world, and on that peace depends not only the existence of the British Empire, but even that of European civilisation itself. It follows that I regard the limitation of armaments as by far the most important public question of the day. Further, I am convinced that no considerable limitation of armaments can be obtained except by international agreement. On the attainment of such an agreement, therefore, in my judgment, the chief energies of the Government ought to be concentrated. I do not say that it should be bought at any price. But I do say that it is of greater value than any other political object.

Much that happened during the session last spring of the Preparatory Commission for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments was to me of a disquieting nature. Over and over again I was compelled by my instructions to maintain propositions in the Commission which were difficult to reconcile, with any serious desire for the success of its labours. For the most part these instructions turned on smaller points, but the cumulative effect on the minds of the Commission was very unfortunate, and was largely the cause of its comparative ill-success.

Nevertheless, when you were good enough to ask me to be one of the British representatives at the recent conference I gladly accepted. I thought that there was little doubt of agreement being reached, and I believed that an agreement between the three great naval Powers to a reduction of their armaments would be of great assistance in facilitating the efforts of the Preparatory Commission for general limitation. Its failure would, of course, be a corresponding disaster. But I did not contemplate failure.

Unfortunately, failure followed, and the causes of that failure may have to be probed when Parliament meets. It is enough now to say that I found myself out of sympathy with the instructions I received, and believe that an agreement might have been reached on terms which would have sacrificed no essential British interest.

What of the future? I look back on the refusal to accept the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the unconditional rejection of the Protocol, the Ministerial declaration against compulsory arbitration, the partial failure of the Preparatory Commission, and now the breakdown of the Three-Power Conference. An advance in the direction first of security, then of arbitration, lastly of disarmament itself, has been tried, and in each case has made little or no progress. In each case the policy I advocated has been more or less completely over-ruled. As it has been in the past, so will it be in the future. The same causes will produce similar effects. For the truth is, however unwilling I am to recognise it, that in these matters my colleagues do not agree with me. I can see no way then in which I can be of further service in the Cabinet to this cause, which I regard as supremely important. But outside there is much to be done. The hope of the future lies in an aroused and instructed public opinion. That is an object which may employ all, and more than all, the energies which remain to me.

(Signed) CECIL.

## The Prime Minister's Reply

MY DEAR LORD CECIL,

August 29, 1927.

I deeply regret that you have reached the conclusion that you ought to resign your office. It is, indeed, a source of satisfaction that your resignation is not due to any personal difficulty, and I am glad to add my witness to the good personal relations which have always existed between us.

I am concerned at your statement that "on the broad policy of disarmament the majority of the Cabinet and I are not really agreed." When, however, I examine the statement of your views on this question, I incline to the opinion that, having decided upon resignation, you exaggerate any differences that have arisen, whether recently or in the earlier days of the Government. Shortly after we came into office our own views on the broad question were stated by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at Geneva in a speech on the subject of the Geneva Protocol in terms previously discussed and approved by the whole Cabinet. From it I take the following extract:—

"It is unnecessary to lay stress upon the sympathy felt throughout the British Empire with any effort to improve the international machinery for maintaining the peace of the world. Arbitration, disarmament and security are the main themes of the Protocol, and on all these great subjects the British Empire has shown by deeds as well as words that it is in the fullest accord with the ideals which have animated the Fifth Assembly of the League. Successive administrations in Great Britain, with the full approval of the self-governing Dominions, have not only favoured arbitration in theory, they have largely availed themselves of it in practice. They have not contented themselves with preaching disarmament; they have disarmed to the limits of national safety. They have taken their full share in creating and supporting the League of Nations and the Court of International Justice, while the immense sacrifices they have been content to make in the cause of general security are matters of recent history."

In essence, and apart from emphasis, this policy does not appear to differ materially from your own views, even as now stated by you. We have pursued it ever since with results on the peace of the world and on disarmament which, as I shall presently show, have not been inconsiderable.

It is not, I think, on the broad policy of peace and disarmament that our differences, so far as there are differences, arise so much as on the means by which that policy can be most effectively forwarded. Even here there was at least a large measure of agreement.

As regards the work of the Preparatory Committee of the League, you presided over the sub-committee which prepared the British case and practically drafted your own instructions, and in your absence your place as chairman of the sub-committee was taken by a colleague whom you certainly will not accuse of lukewarmness in the cause.

As regards the recent conference of the three Powers, I will enter into no details at this stage, since you refrain from doing so, though here again I think you exaggerate whatever difference existed between the Government and yourself. But this much I must say. I can take no blame for its failure, either to myself or to my colleagues, who, after my departure, and up to the very moment when a telegram from the delegation at Geneva informed them that the conference was at an end, were still working for such a compromise as might yet attain the twin objects of limitation of armaments and national security which the conference was summoned to achieve.

As to the future, I refuse to share your pessimism. It is true that no great progress has as yet been made on the lines of the great world-conferences to which you refer. The Geneva Protocol did not commend itself to us any more than did the Treaty of Mutual Assistance to our predecessors. But, as I have already noted, progress has been made by other, if less ambitious, methods. The Washington Conference, the Locarno Treaty, and the settlement with Turkey have all led to some measure of disarmament, and indicate that progress can be made on the lines we are pursuing. Year by year our own aggregate expenditure on armaments has fallen, and year by year in the world at large the importance of this question is becoming more deeply felt alike by Governments and peoples. I am not without hope that even the Three-Power Conference, notwithstanding its apparent failure, may yet result, not only in a possible early reduction in naval armaments, but in the long run in a better understanding of each other's problems and difficulties by the nations concerned.

I do not under-rate the difficulties. They are, as we have always known, many and great; but that is not, in my opinion, a reason for throwing up the sponge. It is the task of statesmen to learn from failure no less than from success, and this is more especially the case in an age-long problem that has hitherto baffled all efforts to find a permanent solution. I can only regret that you are no longer willing to continue as our principal representative in the international discussions on disarmament, and that I must now seek elsewhere for the help for which I have hitherto turned to you.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) STANLEY BALDWIN.

## THE LEAGUE IN THE PACIFIC

By Professor H. DUNCAN HALL

WHAT does the League of Nations look like when viewed from a remote island in the Pacific? That was a question much in the minds of the men and women from England and Geneva who came to Honolulu last July to attend the second conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. They realised for the first time what the representatives from Australia and New Zealand, China and Japan and even Canada and the United States had known before.

In the mid-Pacific the League looks smaller, less world-filling than it does in Europe. It has settled no disputes and redeemed no Austrias in the Pacific. It is true that as regards Mandates, health, drugs and so forth, the League is functioning in the Pacific, but hardly in a way that has made its presence there figure largely in the thoughts of most of the Pacific peoples. When men from Pacific countries meet in international conference in the Pacific they tend to remember the League only with some effort.

Yet it is noteworthy that the League was more easily remembered and loomed bigger at this second meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations than it did at the first meeting in 1925. Then, one felt, there was something almost like a conspiracy of silence, a tacit agreement not to commit the indiscretion of mentioning the League as an instrument to deal with the international problems of the Pacific. In 1927 it was not only mentioned, but mentioned freely. The presence for the first time of a British delegation—including such men as Sir Frederick Whyte, Mr. Lionel Curtis, Professor C. K. Webster and others—helped to bring this about, as did also the presence of observers from the Secretariat of the League, and from the I.L.O., who had been invited to attend by the Council of the Institute. But the most important factor was the League itself. Its steady, persistent, highly organised work for humanity, and the failure or exhaustion of other alternatives, makes it begin to stand out in men's minds—even in the Pacific—as the only sure path out of many international difficulties.

The Institute of Pacific Relations is in no sense a rival to the League in the Pacific. Its *personnel* (about 140 people drawn from ten countries) might not unfavourably have been compared with the *personnel* of a League Assembly. But the members in no sense represented Governments. They came unofficially to meet each other, to discuss in an intimate personal way the most controversial problems of the Pacific Area, to analyse the difficulties, to discover facts, and, where the facts were not known, organise research and investigation.

I noticed that discussions often began with little thought of the general interests of the League, but that these interests inevitably asserted themselves as the debate continued. The discussions of the China situation led back strongly at a number of points to the League. The Chinese have a deeply rooted suspicion of international conferences. But a round table with an American chairman and leading Chinese representatives facing the problem of Shanghai and the Concessions exhausted alternative after alternative, and found themselves at the end face to face with the technical organisations of the League as apparently the only machinery in the world able at short notice to deal with a problem of such great complexity and urgency.

Similarly the discussions on the organisation of research into many matters of great importance affecting the Pacific, such as foodstuffs and population and the

Industrialisation of the Orient, brought into prominence the value of the League and I.L.O. for such work, and the importance of co-operating with these bodies so as to avoid duplication of effort.

But the most important of all the discussions from the League point of view were those which took place upon the question of international machinery for the settlement of international disputes in the Pacific. These discussions emphasised the progress made in this matter in the European area—notably by the Locarno treaties and recent arbitration treaties—as contrasted with the lack of similar progress in the Pacific. It became clear that the Pacific is a weak link in the world's chain of peace machinery. The Covenant can scarcely function there effectively in any major dispute in which either Russia or the United States, both non-members of the League, would almost certainly be involved. The Four Power Pact in itself is the weakest of all multi-lateral treaties providing for conciliation in international disputes. What value it possesses is largely derived from the disarmament and demilitarisation provisions of the other Washington Conference Treaties. Moreover, there is not even a "Bryan" treaty as between America and Japan.

Discussion of possible remedies for this situation proceeded far enough to emphasise three main points—(1) the possibility of developing bilateral treaties—*e.g.*, a treaty between Japan and America; (2) the possibility of a further strengthening of the Four Power Pact; (3) the necessity in any such developments of safeguarding the ultimate interests of the League of Nations in the Pacific. The League stands for the encouragement of regional arrangements providing for arbitration and conciliation provided that any such arrangements do not run counter to the provisions of the Covenant. It is questionable, however, whether the proposal sometimes suggested of a separate conference system in the Pacific is in accordance with the best interests of the League.

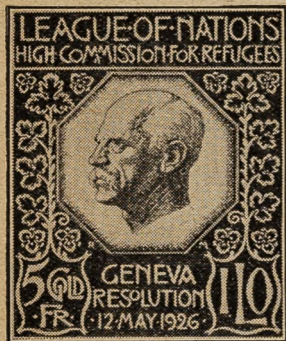
## BRITISH OPINION AND THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

IN order to give publicity and prominence to the resolutions and recommendations of the World Economic Conference, the League of Nations Union is arranging to hold a conference during December 13, 14 and 15 in London. The programme, not yet completed, will, we hope, appear in our next issue. Already the President of the Board of Trade has agreed to open the conference on the morning of Tuesday, December 13, and addresses will also be delivered by the following delegates, who attended the Conference at Geneva: M. G. Theunis (who was President of the Geneva Conference), Herr Dr. Richard Schüller (Austria), M. H. Colijn (Netherlands), Mr. Arthur Pugh, Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman, M.P. and Mr. W. T. Layton. Other speakers will include Professor Gilbert Murray, Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden, M.P., Sir Alan Anderson, Sir Arthur Balfour, Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Alfred Mond, Sir Atul Chatterjee, Sir Daniel Hall, Mr. A. V. Alexander, M.P., the Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., and Mrs. Barbara Wootton. The conference will be held in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall, and is to be followed on the final (Thursday) afternoon by a public meeting in the Guildhall itself. Applications for tickets to attend the conference should be addressed to the L.N.U., 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.



## NANSEN'S CHARGES WHAT THE LEAGUE HAS DONE FOR REFUGEES

IT is not a good thing to be a refugee. Unfortunately, there are several hundred thousand persons in Europe and Asia who can't help it. In that case, the first thing to do is to let Nansen know. Dr. Nansen is League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. For some years he worked primarily through what is commonly known as the League part of the League. Now he works primarily through the Labour Office part of the League. That matters comparatively little. The important thing is the work he is doing, of which far too little is known.



Some of it, of course, is an old story. That part can be summed up in a sentence or two from a report presented to the Eighth Assembly of the League:

The repatriation of 430,000 prisoners of war of 26 nationalities at a cost of £1 per head; the transfer of 30,000 Russian refugees from Constantinople to 45 different countries at a cost of 30s. per head; the settlement of 6,000 Denikin refugees with funds made available by the British Government; the measures undertaken which culminated in the floating of a loan for the settlement of nearly one million Greek refugees; and the emergency measures on behalf of some 30,000 Anatolian refugees in Constantinople.

That is a brief summary of past achievements. Coming down to more recent efforts, it is reported that in the last two and a half years more than 38,000 Russian and Armenian refugees have been transferred to employment in 30 different countries as a result of the direct efforts of the League organisation, and in addition over 5,000 Russian refugees, mostly of German origin, have through its co-operation been transferred to Canada.

But these figures only tell part, and the dull part, of the story. A refugee's troubles are by no means confined to the fact that he has no money. What may be worse, he has no nationality. If he has fled from Czarist Russia, for example, the only passport he has is one issued by the Imperial Russian authorities, and that is a mere valueless piece of paper now. In the general unsettlement of the war and the months immediately afterwards he was somehow swept to where he is—Greece or China or Germany, or one of the various States in Central Europe. And there he has to stay, for you cannot cross frontiers without passports, and Greece will only issue passports to Greeks or Germany to Germans. There may be work waiting for the refugee across the Atlantic, but even if he has money for his fare he cannot get to a European port or land at an American one.

That, at least, was the position till Nansen came along and devised a special identity certificate, issued only to bona-fide refugees, which some fifty governments undertook to accept in place of the ordinary national passport. That largely solved the passport problem, but the financial problem remained, and remains still. But even that has been solved on a small scale by an ingenious expedient. Not all the refugees are penniless. Some of them, though they have no nationality, have some little funds, and it has been arranged, therefore, that when the identity certificates are issued by a Government it shall put on the certificate a Nansen stamp, and make the recipient, unless he is completely indigent, pay the small sum of 5 gold francs (4s.) for the stamp.

The proceeds of this transaction go to form a revolving fund—that is to say, a fund which never gets exhausted, because it is used for loans, or repayable advances, the repayments gradually balancing the outgoings. The total is small enough—it only runs to some £6,000; but repayments are beginning, and the money is being used effectively and with economy.

But how, it may be asked, is it being used, and what is the magnitude of the whole problem presenting itself to-day? As to the latter point, it is calculated that so far as Russians and Armenians are concerned the refugees needing help have been reduced from 400,000 to 250,000 in round figures. Some of them want money to settle them with tools and equipment where they are, some want assistance in emigrating to other lands; and help of both kinds is being gradually provided. What the Refugee Organisation can do, and is doing, besides providing money, is to persuade governments to reduce transport charges and to open up channels of employment, particularly in South America. At the present moment there are available offers of employment and settlement for 30,000 refugees in the Argentine, Bolivia and other countries in that region, if only the money necessary (£20 a head) can be raised from some quarter, not as a gift, but as a loan.

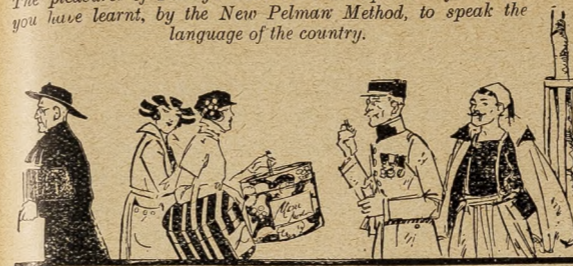
The kind of practical help the Organisation gives is illustrated by its intervention in favour of Russian refugees in Turkey, thousands of whom were to be expelled in August of this year. Thanks to the representations of Dr. Nansen's agents, the decree was suspended till the refugees could be properly evacuated. Another problem being tackled is that of the Russian refugees in China, who are faced with the alternative of taking service in one of the civil war armies or doing coolies' work at wages on which a white man cannot live. Some hundreds of these have been got away to Canada or Australia.

The Armenians are being dealt with at present mainly by settlement schemes in Syria, a revolving fund of £120,000 being needed to do what is essential there. Endeavours are being made to raise that through the League. The general list of applications for assistance makes singularly interesting reading. There are, for example, 80,000 Cossacks in France who want to emigrate somewhere. There are 1,050 refugees in Germany anxious to move to Brazil, where an offer of work awaits them. There are 2,000 in Poland for whom employment can apparently be found in Mexico. Fortunately it has already been proved that Russian refugees do well and make good in South America, where the right kind of labour is badly wanted. A report on that subject mentions rather significantly that, "as a result of their precarious existence during the last few years, the refugees have acquired through hard experience qualities of energy, economy, tenacity and general adaptability to changing circumstances which few other immigrants possess."

An inquiry among 70 typical refugees settled in the Argentine—men without agricultural experience, it is to be noted—has produced interesting results. Their varied professions are given—lawyers, doctors, architects and so forth—and so are the trades they are following in their new home. Out of the 70 there are 59 who say they are better off where they are than where they were, one replies to the opposite effect, and no find no great difference.

It is unfortunate that so valuable and successful a work of human salvage should be so gravely crippled for lack of funds; but the League is, of course, dependent on Governments for its resources.

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Can you read Spanish?  
No.  
Do you know any German?  
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Here are two books, one printed in Spanish, the other in German.  
Yes.  
Can you read them?  
Of course not.  
Well, try and see.

*An Hour later.*

Miraculous! I can read and understand every word.

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Needless to say, such a visitor is immensely impressed and at once enrolls for the Pelman Course in the particular language in which he is interested.

Still more numerous are those who write to the Institute for particulars of the method and receive in return a free first lesson in Italian, Spanish, German or French. There are no English words in this lesson, yet to their surprise they are able to read it through without a mistake. They, too, decide to enrol and soon become enthusiastic admirers and advocates of the New Pelman Method.

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This method is revolutionising the teaching of Foreign Languages.

It enables you to learn French in French, German in German, Italian in Italian, and Spanish in Spanish, thus avoiding all translation from one language into another.

It enables you to think in the particular language you are learning.

It enables you to learn a Foreign Language without spending months in a preliminary struggle with a mass of dull and difficult grammatical rules and exceptions. It introduces you to the language itself right away and you pick up the grammar almost unconsciously as you go along.

It enables you to dispense with the labour of memorising by heart (parrot-fashion) long vocabularies of foreign words. By this method you learn the words you need by actually using them so that they stay in your mind without effort.

### Reading Foreign Literature.

It enables you to write and converse in a Foreign tongue, to read Foreign newspapers and magazines, and to enjoy the masterpieces of French, German, Italian and Spanish literature, many of which have never been translated and all of which (especially in the case of Poetry) lose much of their charm in an English version.

There are no classes to attend. The new method enables you to learn a Foreign Language in your spare time, and in from one-third to one-half the usual time.

General Sir Aylmer Haldane, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.S.O., writes:—

"The Pelman method is the best way of learning French without a teacher."

And others write in the same strain of the Pelman Courses in German, Italian, and Spanish. Here are a few typical examples of letters received from readers who have adopted this new method:—

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

"I have recently returned from Spain, where I have been doing Consular work. With only the knowledge of Spanish gained from your Course I was able within a month to tackle any sort of correspondence and conversation."  
(SC. 279.)

"I should like to offer you my heartiest congratulations. The way in which it has been planned and (above all) the admirable judgment which is apparent in the progressive introduction of new matter has impressed me more than anything of the kind I have met before, either in teaching languages or any other subject. It almost brought tears to my eyes to think what I might have saved myself when I first learnt German, if only I had had your method."  
(G.W. 196.)

"It would have taken me as many years to learn by any ordinary method as much (French) as I have learnt in months by yours."  
(P. 145.)

"It is a wonderful system you have for teaching languages. So extremely interesting, and the old-fashioned rules and regulations eliminated! I have learnt more (Italian) in these few short weeks than I ever learnt of French (by the old System) in several years. It is perfectly splendid and I have very much enjoyed the Course."  
(L.L. 108.)

"Your system of teaching French is the best that I have yet encountered. According to the old custom of translation I used to memorise pages of vocabulary which proved to be of no practical use; but under your system the words seem to be indelibly written in my mind, and I am able to recall them at any time without the slightest effort, using them intelligently in question or answer."  
(R. 256.)

"I have just returned from a visit to Spain, never having previously heard Spanish spoken. It says much for the perfection of your Guide to Pronunciation that I have not had to alter my ideas on Pronunciation in any particular, finding everything spoken just as I had imagined. My accent was also praised, in one case by a lawyer, who should be qualified to judge, and who impressed on me that he was not flattering me."  
(S.W. 372.)

In fact, everyone who has followed it is delighted with the ease, simplicity, interesting nature, and masterly character of the New Pelman Method.

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

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You can have a free copy of any one of these books by writing for it to-day to the Pelman Institute (Languages Dept.), 114, Pelman House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.

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## STAMPING OUT SLAVERY

ONE of the provisions of the Slavery Convention signed at Geneva in September, 1926, encouraged members of the League to forward to the Secretariat any regulations in force for the repression of slavery, and reports on any steps taken to give effect thereto. The British Government is unfortunately alone in forwarding such reports, but these are of considerable interest. The first is from the India Office and records the total abolition of an aggravating form of domestic slavery at Kalat in Baluchistan, a decree finally forbidding the sale of menservants and maidservants being issued by the ruler of this State in November, 1926. All such male and female servants can now leave their masters and go free whither they will. Another interesting report is from Sir John Maffey, Governor-General of the Sudan, who records what he calls "remarkable progress" in the face of considerable difficulties among the largely nomadic tribes inhabiting that region. His general conclusion is that "slave raiding is a thing of the past, and various forms of domestic slavery have undertaken such rapid adjustment to new ideas that the term, broadly speaking, is hardly justified." The third, and most interesting, report relates to the suppression of slavery in remote parts of Burma. Freeing expeditions have lately been sent into practically unexplored regions to insist on the release of slaves, compensation on a moderate scale being paid by the Government. One such expedition, whose efforts resulted in the release of over 4,000 slaves, was treacherously attacked by tribesmen and an English officer, an Indian N.C.O. and one follower were killed, "exemplifying in a striking manner," says the report, "by the sacrifice of their lives, the risk faced by the Indian Government in its efforts to introduce into backward regions the beneficent usages of a more-settled civilisation." A further expedition, still at work when the report was drafted, tried, in addition to ascertaining the condition of the released slaves, to get in touch with the local chiefs whose country is unmapped and unknown and obtain from them promises to refrain from the practice of human sacrifice known to prevail under the sanction of their religion. One other detail of interest is mentioned. In February, 1914, there were estimated to be 165,000 slaves in Tanganyika territory, which was then German. The British Government, on accepting the mandate for that territory, was required, of course, to abolish slavery completely, and has, in fact, done so by an ordinance promulgated in 1922.

The Sixth Commission of the Assembly discussed the Council's report upon the Slavery Convention, and naturally gave much attention to this very striking account of what the British Empire has done. At its session on September 12 there was something of a stir when Dr. Nansen brought up the question of slavery in Afghanistan and Sierra Leone. Commander Hilton Young replied on behalf of the British Empire, saying that the British Government welcomed the opportunity of making clear its position. The recent judgment of the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone came as a shock quite as much to the Empire as to anyone else. He declared that an official meeting of the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone had been called, and that emergency measures were being pushed through as soon as possible to deal with the situation.

When the Assembly met, only one Great Power—the British Empire—had ratified the Slavery Convention. Now, as the result of the disclosures and discussion in the Sixth Commission, every Colonial Power has given an undertaking to ratify in the near future.

## A COLLISION IN COURT

JUDGMENT was given in the second week of September in one of the most interesting cases that has yet been before the Permanent Court of International Justice. The findings attracted the more attention in that the decision was given only by the casting vote of the President of the Court, the twelve judges having divided equally, six on each side; though it appears that Judge John Bassett Moore, though dissenting on certain points, and therefore reckoned with the minority, agreed on the main issue with the President of the Court, so that in substance the division was seven to five rather than six to six.

What is known as the "Lotus" case arose out of a collision which took place in August, 1926, on the high seas between the Turkish collier "Boz-Kourt" and the French mail steamer "Lotus." The "Lotus" cut the Turkish ship in half, and eight of the crew of the latter vessel perished. When the mail steamer reached Constantinople Lieutenant Demons, officer of the watch on the night of the collision, was arrested, together with the captain of the "Boz-Kourt," and both were charged with manslaughter. The French officer was kept under arrest pending trial for over five weeks, and two days later was sentenced to a term of imprisonment and a fine. The French Government protested vigorously against the action taken by the Turkish authorities, and after diplomatic negotiations, it was decided to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice a question, the terms of which were agreed between France and Turkey.

There were in fact three separate questions, but owing to the decision of the Court regarding the first the second and third did not arise. The main question was whether Turkey acted in conflict with the principles of international law by instituting criminal proceedings against Lieut. Demons and the Turkish captain in respect of the death of Turkish nationals on the "Boz-Kourt." The second question was, what were the principles of international law which Turkey so contravened; and the third was, what pecuniary compensation, if any, should be paid to Lieut. Demons. Since the Court, by a majority, decided that the Turkish action was not in conflict with international law, the question of compensation did not arise. The Court's judgment involves too many technical details to be examined here. It is enough to point out that the findings were limited strictly to the question in hand.

It was a little unfortunate that in this instance the bench consisted of an even and not an odd number of judges. The full bench numbers eleven, and in addition any party to a case is entitled to nominate a judge of its own nationality, unless it has one already sitting. France has a permanent judge, and Turkey nominated one for the occasion, thus raising the total of the bench to twelve. As things turned out, the six judges who upheld Turkey's action to the extent of declaring that it did not conflict with any recognized principles of international law were the President, M. Huber (Swiss), M. de Bustamante (Cuba), M. Oda (Japan), Signor Anzilotti (Italy), Señor Pessoa (Brazil), and the Turkish judge, Feizi-Dahm Bey; while the dissentients were Dr. Loder (Holland), Professor Weiss (France), Lord Finlay (Great Britain), M. Nyholm (Norway), Señor Altamira (Spain) and Dr. Moore (United States); though, as already mentioned, Dr. Moore was with the majority on the main issue.

It is in some respects unsatisfactory that the Court should have been so sharply divided on a highly difficult question. On the other hand, it is thought that the award in Turkey's favour, and its loyal acceptance by France, may do a good deal to influence Turkey's opinion in favour of the League.

## LABOUR AT EDINBURGH A Private Income

BY AN OBSERVER.

THIS year's Trades Union Congress has proved the wisdom of Mr. Clynes's observation of last year that the movement was in a reflective mood. Despite all the declamations of the Communist minority, the 73 resolutions on the agenda and the General Council report of its stewardship were handled by the 646 delegates in a manner revealing clearly that the virus of "The end justifies the means" philosophy has not penetrated beyond the disgruntled few within the trades unions. The mind of the workers of Britain, as reflected democratically in Congress, is free from the taint of slavish obedience to dogma and dictatorship.

Questions relating to sweated goods, tariffs, growth of international trusts and cartels, general standard of living in the various countries in which trusts and cartels operate, restrictions of output, and price fixing for output, etc., were all considered with an evident desire to make progress by rational development. European economic unity was the subject of a motion from the Transport and General Workers, and (notwithstanding the doctrinaire Internationalists) Mr. Ernest Bevin won his case for an attempt to create opinion favourable to Europe becoming regionally an economic entity.

With only two exceptions, all direct and indirect references to the I.L.O. were of a distinctly favourable type. The first exception came from Mr. Pollitt in a reference to the General Council being influenced by Vienna, Amsterdam and Geneva against Moscow; the second emanated from the London N.U.R. delegate, Mr. W. C. Loeber, who objected to the General Council declaration that the I.L.O. was an absolute necessity. Mr. Loeber did not even receive any aid from his own small and noisy clan within the Congress, and thus the report on International policy was carried unanimously. It was quite obvious early in the week that issues of an almost non-contentious calibre would be relegated to the closing stages and subjected to the guillotine process of discussion. The resolution moved by Mr. E. L. Poulton, seconded by Miss Bondfield and supported by Mr. J. H. Thomas, on the Hours Convention came within that category. However, it was significant in that it revealed to the nation the unanimity of the labour world in its belief that the powers that be, now upheld by most of the employers' organisations, were wilfully withholding ratification. The resolution carried unanimously was that:—

"This Congress declares that the policy of the British Government tends in an increasing degree to bring Great Britain into contempt among the nations of the world, and to justify the widespread feeling which exists, particularly in other countries, of the deliberate evasion by the British Government of its obligations under international agreements. This is evidenced by the principal countries having taken the necessary steps towards ratifying the Convention, the completion of which awaits concrete evidence of good faith on the part of the British Government."

One salient declaration was made by Mr. MacDonald in his fraternal greetings to the Congress:—

"Those who strive for international peace strive to give the League of Nations a great moral and political authority, and are working as much in the interests of Labour as those who are dealing with questions of wages and hours in factories and workshops."

The Edinburgh Branch of the Union gave a most successful reception, which was attended by 250 people, including many T.U.C. delegates.

A Private Income  
—Not a Salary£400 A YEAR  
FOR LIFE FOR YOU!

Think of it! Not a salary demanding daily work at the office, but a private income to be paid to you every year as long as you live.

And while you are qualifying for it—it begins at age 55—there's full protection for your family: £3,200 plus half of every deposit you have made to date will be paid to them in the event of your death. Should that be the result of an accident £6,400 plus half the deposits will be paid.

Should illness or accident permanently prevent you earning any kind of living, £32 a month will be paid to you until you are 55, when the £400 a year becomes due.

Every year you will save a very substantial amount of Income Tax—a big consideration in itself.

This can all be accomplished by means of a plan devised by the Sun Life of Canada—the great Annuity Company with Government supervised assets exceeding £70,000,000.

It's a wonderful plan, adaptable to any age and for any amount. It brings independence within the reach of tens of thousands of men who, otherwise, would be compelled to go on working till the end of their days.

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Assuming I can save and deposit £.....per  
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what income or cash sum will be available for me.

Exact date of birth.....

Married or about to be married.....

Occupation .....

Name .....

(Mr., Mrs., or Miss).....

Address .....



## ACTIONS AND INACTIONS A PROBLEM PLAY

(BY A USUALLY INACTIVE CORRESPONDENT)

### Act I

A.D. 1919.—Tableau: The adoption of the Washington Hours of Work Convention.

After Act I the curtain is rapidly raised and lowered an infinite number of times, on each occasion revealing Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland somewhat befogged, but firmly defying all attempts to stampede him into ratifying the Convention. One of the attempts is a particularly pernicious Hydra of his own creation—the London Hours' Conference, 1926. This was intended to be an Inaction, but something went wrong with the works. The Five Powers reached unanimous agreement, thus compelling Sir Arthur subsequently to explain that they had done nothing of the kind—really.

Inaction 978,564.—Sir Arthur Steel Maitland, on June 22, 1927, makes the following pronouncement in the House of Commons:—

"I ought to say that the Belgian law is such that if we had a similar law I am not at all sure that we should feel entitled on the strength of it to ratify the Washington Convention."

Inaction 978,565.—Dialogues in the House of Commons on July 27, 1927:—

"Mr. KELLY asked the Minister of Labour whether he has satisfied himself, on investigation, as to whether the law on the basis of which other Governments have ratified the Hours' Convention is or is not adequate; and, if the law is considered inadequate, whether he has made any representation to such Governments to the effect that, on the strength of such a law, His Majesty's Government would not feel entitled to ratify the Hours Convention?"

"Sir A. STEEL-MAITLAND: As I have from time to time explained to the House, one of the most serious obstacles in the way of ratification of the Washington Convention lies in the different interpretations which are placed upon a number of its provisions. The London Conference last year cleared up some of these differences, but, in my view, further examination of the situation is necessary before a position satisfactory to this country can be reached. I would remind the hon. Member that the responsibility for seeing that the law in any given country is in accordance with a Convention that has been ratified rests with the Government of that country."

"Mr. KELLY (later): Has the right hon. gentleman any complaint to make, particularly with regard to Belgium?"

"Sir A. STEEL-MAITLAND: If there were any complaint, from whatever quarter, raised in regard to Belgium, it would have to be raised under Part XIII of the Peace Treaty, and laid in accordance with the provisions of that part of the Treaty. It is precisely that kind of difficulty which makes me anxious that we should know our own position quite clearly, and get other nations to come to agreement before any Convention is entered into by us."

NOTE.—This makes it all so very clear. Countries like France and Germany either have not ratified the Convention or are not making their ratification effective until Great Britain has ratified also. Meanwhile, they go on as before. Therefore, says Sir Arthur, they will always go on as before. As to Belgium, what could be clearer? Sir Arthur can cast doubts on the value of Belgian ratification—in June; but in July he can only say that he has not attempted to clear up his doubts, because, as he has frequently remarked, those doubts must be cleared up before he can do anything. Of course, he cannot make any complaint about Belgium, because Great Britain has not ratified the Convention; and Great Britain cannot ratify because she wants to complain about Belgium. Anyway, it wouldn't do to lodge a complaint about Belgium—it might annoy her; it stands to reason Belgium is less liable to be annoyed by her present position—that is to say, she has ratified the Convention, relying presumably on Great Britain

to do the same (Sir Arthur seems to rely on no one but Great Britain, so this is reasonable)—and finds herself alone in her ratification.

Interval (four years elapse, to enable the Washington Convention to expire in 1931).

### Act II

Sir Arthur has no doubts about the wisdom of ratifying the Convention, but unfortunately is no longer in office.

## "THE NEW AMBASSADOR"

NOT without pride does the International Universities League of Nations Federation draw attention to its terminal review, of which the English edition is entitled *The New Ambassador*. Two numbers have already appeared, but the magazine is not yet known as it deserves to be by the general body of students. It must be explained that there is no children's corner or idle frivolity in *The New Ambassador*; it is intended for those who really wish to know more of what students in other countries are thinking on topics which interest them as students. The subject matter may be anything of interest outside a single country, whether of direct or indirect political and international importance.

The contents of the first number, for instance, range from the Race-problem in Canada to the Theory of the State in Modern French Thought, and the contributors from South Africa to Germany. In the second number the policy was adopted of dealing chiefly with aspects of a single problem—in that issue, the relation between education and international politics. The third number, which is to appear this Michaelmas term, contains a report of the University Congress held in Brussels last May to discuss the problem of European solidarity, particularly from the economic point of view, and with an eye to the relationship between the Old and the New

## The Spectator and the League of Nations

The share of *The Spectator* in furthering the cause of the League of Nations is to devote a whole page each week to matters concerning the League. This decision follows a recent declaration by a writer in *The Spectator* that the League suffers from lack of publicity. Every reader of HEADWAY should take *The Spectator*, which during the rest of the year will devote the weekly space to a discussion of the various difficult problems confronting the League, and from time to time publish articles by foreign publicists and statesmen which may help in appreciating the foreign point of view.

Readers of HEADWAY are invited to order *The Spectator*, price 6d. weekly, from their newsagent TO-DAY. Any difficulty in obtaining *The Spectator* should be reported to:—

**The Spectator Limited,**  
13, YORK STREET,  
COVENT GARDEN, LONDON, W.C.2

## THE FABIAN SOCIETY

### Kingsway Hall Lectures

Autumn, 1927

The Autumn course of lectures will be held this year in the Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, Holborn, on six successive Wednesday evenings, beginning on Wednesday, October 19th, at 8.30 p.m. The general title of the course will be "Political Democracy: Will it prevail?" and the dates, subjects and lecturers arranged are as follows:—

Wednesday, October 19th.

"Victorian Democracy."

Professor H. J. LASKI.

Chairman: Capt. WEDGWOOD BENN, D.S.O., D.F.C.

Wednesday, October 26th.

"Fascism—the Super-Bourgeois State."

C. DELISLE BURNS.

Chairman: St. J. G. ERVINE.

Wednesday, November 2nd.

"Bolshevism—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Miss A. SUSAN LAWRENCE, M.P.

Chairman: HARRY SNELL, M.P.

Wednesday, November 9th.

"Industrial Feudalism—the Capitalist Autocracy."

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

Chairman: SIR JOHN MAYNARD, K.C.I.E.

Wednesday, November 16th.

"Why Democracy to be real must be Multiform."

Rt. Hon. SIDNEY WEBB, M.P.

Chairman: OLIVER BALDWIN.

Wednesday, November 23rd.

"Democracy as a Delusion."

BERNARD SHAW.

Chairman: G. R. BLANCO WHITE.

Admission will be by ticket for the course, which can be applied for at once, or for each lecture separately. As the accommodation is limited, preference will be given to applicants for tickets for the whole course.

Applications for single tickets will therefore be reserved until October 10th, 1927, after which the remaining seats will be allotted according to priority of application. The price of tickets for numbered and reserved stalls and front rows of gallery is one guinea for the course of six, or five shillings for a single lecture; for numbered back stalls and gallery seats, twelve shillings for the course, or three shillings for a single lecture; for numbered back rows of gallery and stalls, six shillings for the course, or one shilling and sixpence for a single lecture.

Applications for tickets should be sent to the Fabian Society, 25 Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

## WANTED—Women Writers!

*Earn While you Learn.*

Learn to write ARTICLES and STORIES. Earn while you learn. Make spare hours profitable. Write for free booklet, "How to Succeed as a Writer."—Regent Institute (Dept. 219A), 13, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

## The International Commonwealth

(BY R. GORDON MILBURN.—Williams & Norgate, 3/6.)

A first-rate piece of work... should be invaluable to those who wish to speak on behalf of the League.—*Guardian*. The heart of the League idea.—*Oxford Chronicle*.

Covers a good deal of new ground... Branch Secretaries might do much worse than use this book as the background of their next campaign.—*Headway*.

DEDICATED TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Song—"A CALL TO THE NATIONS"

Words and Music by

H. W. Valentine

Copies may be had from:—

J. H. LARWAY, 14, Wells Street, Oxford Street, London, W., and H. WRIGHT GREAVES, Royal Exchange Arcade, Manchester.

Price 2/-

### MISCELLANEOUS

LONDON. A friendly Guest House on the Southern Heights. International 15 minutes by electric train from City and West End. Suitable for conferences.—Write Sec., H., HATHERWOOD, 19, Sydenham Hill, S.E.26.

HOW WOULD YOU STOP WAR?  
PRIZES for best short articles on "How to Prevent War" are offered by "FEMININE LIFE." See October issue for particulars. Copies 3d. each, post free, 430, Oxford Street, W.1.

Worlds. There will be articles on the American attitude towards the League of Nations and Europe, on Inter-Allied debts, on the distribution of materials, the financial expansion of the U.S.A. in Europe, the international future of the U.S.A. in the economic field, the Anglo-German commercial negotiations, Pan-Europa, and other subjects. Many of these articles are replete with statistics, and are all well-informed and interesting.

The future of this admirable effort in undergraduate as well as international journalism depends on the support of students in every university, and it is with pleasure that we call attention to it.

(*The New Ambassador* is published terminally, price 9d., annual subscription 2s. Copies may be had from the local secretary, or direct—Annual subscription, 2s. 3d., post free—from R. Ord, Pembroke College, Oxford. The editor, H. V. Hodson, Balliol College, Oxford, will be glad to receive contributions, not exceeding 5,000 words, if possible typewritten and in triplicate.)

## SOME RESULTS

PROGRESS at the Assembly on a number of problems foreshadowed when the bulk of "Headway" went to press can here be briefly summarised:—

### Disarmament, Security and Arbitration

The Assembly's Third Committee, to increase confidence in the work of the Preparatory Disarmament Committee, unanimously recommends setting up new Security and Arbitration Committee, on which States outside the League may sit, and which will encourage model Arbitration Treaties and security pacts on the lines of Locarno; help to make the Covenant more effective in the hour of crisis, and propose measures by which Governments may be willing to lend the League assistance in cases of conflict in a particular area. It is expected that the Preparatory Disarmament Committee, with which the new Committee will co-operate, will hold its next meeting before the end of the year. Germany has definitely signed the Optional Clause.

### Protection of Women and Children

Mainly as a result of Part I of the Report of the Experts on Traffic in Women, Governments are to be requested to abolish, if possible, the system of the Licensed House. Encouragement is to be given to the use of women police. Part II of the Report is expected to be published at an early date. Licensed Houses will be abolished by law in Germany on October 1, 1927.

### Minorities

A highly important test case came before the Council regarding the rights of the Hungarian Minority in Roumania under the Treaty of Trianon. The Council's decision was in favour of Roumania. But it raised larger issues, for while Roumania relied on conciliation through the Council, Hungary insisted upon an appeal to the Permanent Court at the Hague. As no agreement was reached, the question was held over till the December Council.

### Slavery

All the "Colonial" States have agreed to follow the British example and ratify the Slavery Convention. The Sierra Leone Legislative Council have now passed an Ordinance abolishing slavery in the Protectorate as from January 1, 1928.

### Economic Conference

The Second Committee unanimously approved the report of the Conference, on which Germany, the Scandinavian Governments and several others have already promised to take action. To assist all Governments in carrying out the new policy of "freer" trade, a permanent Advisory Committee is to be appointed by the Council, on the lines of the Preparatory Economic Committee, to help the ordinary Economic Committee.



## THE MACHINERY OF THE LEAGUE

The Assembly, the Council and the permanent Secretariat comprise the machinery of the League proper; the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Office being autonomous bodies dealing with special fields of the world's work.

### THE SECRETARIAT

**INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE.**—This is a body of international civil servants who carry out in detail the work resolved upon by the Council and the Assembly. They prepare for conferences, engage in research, keep records, and follow up the work of the Council and Assembly. When the League began there were only 20 persons in the Secretariat, now there are nearly 500. They do not in any way represent their governments; but they are chosen, not alone for their technical competence, but with some regard to nationality as well, in order faithfully to reflect the whole complexion of the League.

**DIRECTION.**—The head of the Secretariat is the Secretary-General. Under him is a Deputy Secretary-General, and three Under Secretaries-General; one in charge of internal administration, another in charge of the Political Section, and the third director of international bureaux.

**SECTIONS.**—The Secretariat is then divided into sections, each headed by a director and responsible for a certain branch of the League's work. These sections bear the following titles: Administrative Commissions and Minorities Questions, Communications and Transit, Disarmament, Economic and Financial, Health, Information, Intellectual Co-operation, Legal, Mandates, Social Questions and Opium Traffic, Treasury and Internal Services.

### THE COUNCIL

**MEMBERSHIP AND REPRESENTATION.**—The Council is a sort of international Board of Directors composed of 14 States Members of the League. Of these Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan enjoy permanent membership. The remaining nine are elected by the Assembly for three-year periods, three seats falling vacant every year.

**MEETINGS.**—Meetings are, in practice, held quarterly—in March, June, September and December, except when matters of special urgency require an extraordinary session; and the presidency is arranged by alphabetical rotation according to the French nomenclature. Any member of the League may request an extraordinary session of the Council, and it is the duty of the Secretary-General to convoke it. Ordinary meetings are convoked by the President of the Council through the Secretary-General.

All meetings are for the most part public; and, whether public or private, their minutes are printed and published.

**VOTING.**—Decisions in matters of "substance" must be taken by unanimous vote, in matters of "procedure" by majority vote. No difficulty has as yet arisen as to where the exact line between these two classes lies. All decisions taken by the Council may be discussed by the Assembly.

**JURISDICTION.**—The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

**FUNCTIONS.**—The Council deals with special emergencies and with current work throughout the year, and may be considered as the executive organ of the League. Certain special functions, however, are attributed by the Covenant to it, such as the supervision of the mandates system and the preparation of plans for the limitation of armaments. The Peace Treaties entrusted it with other duties concerning the government of the Saar Territory and of the Free City of Danzig. The Council may, and frequently does, initiate new activities, as well as see that the resolutions of the Assembly are carried out.

### THE ASSEMBLY

**MEMBERSHIP.**—The Assembly, which lays down the general lines of League action, is composed of all the 55 States-Members of the League.

**REPRESENTATION.**—Each State-Member may send no more than three delegates to the Assembly, but has only one vote. Members may, however, be accompanied by such experts, advisers, secretaries and clerks as they may desire to help them in their work.

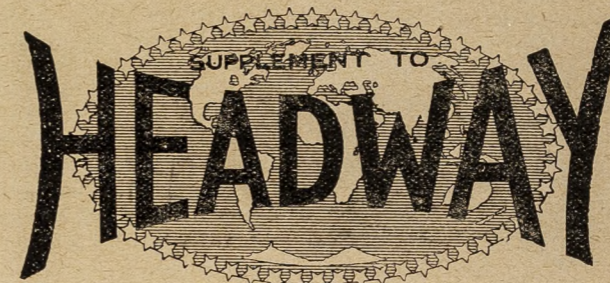
**JURISDICTION.**—The Assembly, like the Council, may deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. Its special functions include the admission of new members, the periodical election of non-permanent members to the Council, the control of the budget and certain matters entrusted to it by agreement, such as the election of the judges to the World Court by simultaneous ballot of the Council and Assembly sitting as electoral bodies. The votes on such matters are by majority, but on all matters of principle by unanimity.

The relations between the Council and the Assembly have purposely been left elastic. While the scope of the jurisdiction of each is similar, it has been accepted in practice that neither will take a decision in a matter which has been expressly committed to the other.

**VOTING.**—Apart from the instances cited above, the Assembly must act by unanimous vote, on the theory that sovereign states must consent to the solution of problems which affect them. But in cases of dispute, touching the peace of the world, the votes of the parties to the dispute themselves are not counted in determining unanimity.

**MEETINGS.**—The Assembly meets at Geneva on the first Monday of September in each year. It is summoned by the Acting-President of the Council, through the Secretary-General, and opens under his temporary presidency. The Assembly or the Council may, by majority vote, provide for later extraordinary meetings, and it is the right of any member to call for a special session, which will be held if a majority of the members concur. All meetings are public; and while the Assembly may decide that certain meetings shall be private, it has never yet done so.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



OCTOBER, 1927

### THE APOSTLE'S ART

IT matters to the world what the Englishman thinks; and each year, as branches begin their autumn and winter programme, they are faced with a somewhat different problem. It is a matter of psychology. What has been the reaction of the average man and woman this time to the League's annual Assembly? What hopes are there to encourage? What doubts to allay, or misunderstandings to undo? What thoughts have been set going by the Press in the last month, thoughts of which our labour of popular education, if it is to be intelligent, must take account?

Baldly stated the following simple opinions seem now to prevail among the uninitiated. Some say, "The Government has refused to tie up the British Empire with new promises to defend everybody else's frontiers. Thank God for it." Others, "The Foreign Secretary has blocked the advance to real disarmament by refusing British help for further guarantees of security." Others again, "The League's schemes for disarmament have collapsed, so the League is little good for peace." In other words, if people think of the League at all, they think of it in the over-simplified terms of the controversy about the reduction of armaments and "security."

Now there are two ways of dealing with this state of mind. The more obvious is to go bald-headed for the armaments question. Teach people what is the obligation of Article VIII of the Covenant, and why it is there. Show them what efforts have been made, through the League, to give effect to that obligation, and why they have not succeeded. Convince them of the need of the all-round (not one-sided) reduction and limitation which the Union advocates; for that way true safety lies. Urge them, as a means to that end, to support this measure or that for perfecting the system of pacific settlement and mutual aid against aggression, which is somewhat too loosely outlined in the Covenant. The history of the past three years, the trend of speeches in the Geneva Assembly and the construction put upon them by English newspapers, make a certain concentration upon this line of approach all but inevitable and, surely, justifiable.

The other way of arresting the attention of the average man, who has one or other of these simple, partially false notions, and of directing his thought and energy into a channel really useful to the League, is to dispute outright the very assumption upon which his opinion rests. The assumption is that disarmament (with its attendant difficulties) is the one thing for which the League exists, and progress towards disarmament the one criterion by which its success or failure is to be judged. That is a very questionable assumption. Historians of the early Church tell us that every heresy, every "break away" from the main body was due to over-emphasising one article of faith at the expense of

all the rest. With the extraordinarily varied subject matter of our educational work we should indeed be fools to fall into that snare. Disarmament is undoubtedly a vital condition of durable peace; but it is not an end in itself. Peace means a state of ordered, harmonious activity and co-operation. And far too little is known of the patient, steady work of many organs of the League to accustom Governments and people to this habit of co-operation and to render it fruitful. In the most remarkable achievement of the last year—the World Economic Conference—this essential lesson was driven home, that, so far as their physical needs are concerned, the nations of the world are, *willy-nilly*, a single community. The recommendations of that Conference—the outcome of splendid work by the Economic Section of the League—laid down authoritatively, for the first time in history, the practical means of adjusting national policies in conformity with this truth. The work of the Transit Conference; the financial loans and guidance given to different nations through the League; its relief and settlement of homeless populations; its protection of women and children; its efforts to suppress odious social evils; its maintenance and regular overhauling of the Mandate system—all these and many other activities are part of a single process. That process is none other than the welding of the nations into a single whole, a whole in which all co-operate in their own best interests. Many are the signs that with participation in these branches of League work, as also in the whole life of the International Labour Organisation, comes a growing realisation that a country's true interests, material and spiritual, are bound up with the similar needs of others. Some people, who take a long view, hold that the reduction of armaments is bound to come, not indeed by any short cut or intensive agitation, but as a *consequence* of this progressive building up of an international community held together by so many economic, financial, legal, social and intellectual bonds of union—an operation unique in the story of the world, and which it is the glory of the League to have initiated and sustained.

There at least is a very profitable line of thought to encourage among those—and they are many—who are strongly and perhaps unreasonably prejudiced against any specific plan for disarmament and the prevention of wars. But there is no incompatibility between the two policies we have outlined. While rightly concentrating at any given time upon one aspect of our message, let us be ready with every instance of the League's acts and possibilities which may grip the interest of any one man or woman we meet. We have good apostolic authority for being all things to all men; or (to change the metaphor) let us remember that we have many and various wares in the rich storehouse of knowledge and ideas which are our stock-in-trade; and variety has never yet failed to attract new customers.



## FORWARD

## A LEAD FROM THE UNION'S PRESIDENT

THE Executive Committee, at a special meeting held on September 8, adopted the following resolution:

"THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION declares its unabated confidence in its President, Viscount Cecil, and its agreement with his contention that 'a general reduction and limitation of armaments is essential to the peace of the world, and on that peace depends not only the existence of the British Empire, but even that of European civilisation itself';

it repeats its conviction that Disarmament can only be fully attained through an extension of the principle of Arbitration and the pooling of security under the League;

and undertakes wholeheartedly to support Lord Cecil in his efforts to convince public opinion of the paramount necessity of this policy."

On the same day Lord Cecil issued the following message:

"I have resigned my office in the Government in order to get full freedom to advocate the cause which I regard as supremely important—namely, the limitation of armaments by international agreement, commonly called Disarmament. In this, as in all national and international questions, the ultimate judge and sovereign power is public opinion. If the peoples are really determined that there shall be limitation of armaments, Governments will be found to carry out their will. Our appeal must, therefore, be to the peoples, and to begin with, our own people. That means a campaign in which I hope to take my part with others.

But in the first place I want a rest, for I have had none for many months. Meanwhile, plans for the campaign can be elaborated and preparations for it made. That must take some time, and I hope by then I shall be ready to do my part. In the meantime, may I ask all my friends of the Union, both at headquarters and in the branches, to be up and doing.

One word more. Let no one think that my resignation implies any weakening of my belief in the League. I hold as strongly as I ever did that its success is vital to the cause of peace. It has already accomplished much; I am convinced it can do far more, provided only that it is supported by public opinion. Public opinion is the opinion of you and me, and of every man and woman in the country and in the civilised world. None can escape their responsibility. Everyone can help. Only so can the League do its work and solve the greatest of all its problems—the problem of Disarmament.

(Signed) CECIL OF CHELWOOD.

A special meeting of the General Council of the Union has been convened for October 21 to determine the action to be taken in response to this message.

## THE SINEWS OF PEACEFUL WARFARE

It has been decided to establish a special fund for the campaign which Lord Cecil is to lead on the subject of Arbitration, Security and Disarmament. Even before this decision was taken several important gifts were sent to Headquarters for the purpose, including £50 from Mrs. Gandell and £10 from Lady Courtney. We make a special appeal to those who wish to help Lord Cecil and the Union in this urgent work to subscribe liberally to this fund.

## AT HEADQUARTERS

FOR the first time for several years the Executive Committee were recalled during vacation-time and held a meeting early in September to consider the situation created by Lord Cecil's resignation. It will be a pleasure and an inspiration to hear Lord Cecil speaking again from the League of Nations Union platforms more frequently and with more freedom than he was able to do during his term of office. Arrangements will be made for him to urge the cause which he has so much at heart in important centres throughout the country during the coming winter. He is not alone among Statesmen of the first order to realise the need of pulling his full weight in the cause of peace. Mr. Lloyd George will for the first time this month speak at a great Disarmament meeting organised by the Union (at the Queen's Hall, London, on October 24 at 8 p.m.). Mrs. Philip Snowden and Mr. Duff Cooper, M.P., are to speak on the same platform. We have no doubt that branches throughout the country are also planning the most considerable meetings of which they are capable upon the same topic.

At least one officer of the Union has been retained each week at Geneva this year as an observer at the Assembly. Every evening he has sent a despatch summarising the important events of the day to our press department at Grosvenor Crescent. This direct news service has been of great value in complementing the reports of the daily press, and has provided material for no less than 500 columns of special articles supplied to provincial newspapers.

## WEEKLY PAPERS AND THE ASSEMBLY

WHILE *The Tablet* roundly calls for the blood of the Union's Executive and *The Catholic Times* warmly endorses Lord Cecil's policy, *The Spectator* has begun to publish a regular weekly article on the League—an admirable example. Of the special articles appearing in other weeklies, we cannot refrain to quote the following admirable conclusion on the security question which appeared in *The Economist* of September 3:—

"The outlawry of war is, indeed, now vital to all nations in a sense in which it has never been so before, for the reason that democracy and industrialism, between them, have caused modern war to be waged with the totality of national resources, and have thus made war into a disaster which neither victors nor vanquished can hope in future to survive. For us, however, the disaster of war would be overwhelming and immediate, since, for those who have eyes to see, the psychological effect of the Chanak telegram in the Dominions and the diplomatic controversy between Whitehall and Ottawa over the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty are enough to show that the outbreak of another war would be a menace to the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is scarcely too much to say that the British Commonwealth can only survive within the structure of the League, and that its survival will not be completely assured until the stopping of the loophole for war, which still exists in the Covenant, has made the structure of the League complete. For the civilised world of the twentieth century the watchword, 'Security, Arbitration, Disarmament,' points the road to salvation, as 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity' pointed it for the century which is over. The new watchword, like the old, was created by the intellectual genius of France, but if 'enlightened self-interest' has any force in human affairs, 'Security, Arbitration, Disarmament' ought to find its most zealous champions among British statesmen."

## WORK FOR THE LEAGUE ABROAD

THERE is much activity to record on the part of the Federation of League of Nations Societies and of several of its constituent bodies. On September 13 the annual deputation of the Federation, headed by Sir Willoughby Dickinson and M. Ruysen, Secretary-General, waited on the President of the Assembly at Geneva. Sir Willoughby Dickinson presented the principal resolutions recently adopted by the Congress of the Federation at Berlin, and laid particular stress on those which concern the education of young people in the principles of the League; the necessity of putting an end to the intolerable position of the many thousands in Central Europe who are "Staatslosig," or without official nationality; and the outcome of the World Economic Conference. M. Guani thanked the deputation most cordially for bringing to his notice these important resolutions, which have been printed in the *Journal* of the Assembly, paid tribute to the increasing activity of the League of Nations Societies, and promised to do his utmost to encourage their development in South America on his return.

The Executive Committee and Council of the Federation meet at Sofia on October 7 and 8, and the Minorities Committee will meet a few days later.

## Australia

An International Ball was held on July 5 at the Palais Royal, Sydney, under the auspices of the New South Wales League of Nations Union, in the presence of H.E. the Governor and Lady de Chair and the various foreign Consuls. A pageant of national sets had been arranged, and each set, on entering the ballroom, paused at the Vice-Regal Loge before the Governor and Lady de Chair. The ball was an outstanding success, and a message to the guests, of which the following is an extract, was printed on the programme: "Why not come in with us? By doubling our membership we could quadruple our usefulness."

## Canada

The Toronto Branch of the League of Nations Society in Canada arranged an interesting exhibit of League of Nations literature and information at the World Conference of Education Associations held in Toronto, August 7-12. A booth was opened in the doorway of University College, University of Toronto, where the delegates registered, and many requests for information and literature were dealt with. The Toronto exhibit contained the first display of the new posters prepared by the League of Nations Society, Central Office, Ottawa.

## New Zealand

At the annual conference of the Dominion League of Nations Union, held at Christchurch on June 1, it was stated that in both islands many large schools received League of Nations literature, and that regular teaching is given in connection with the teaching of history; in some cases high-school boards have joined the League of Nations Union as Corporate Members.

## Japan

Taking advantage of the occasion of submitting the recommendations of the Sub-committee of Educational Experts of the League's Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to the Minister of Education, Viscount Shibusawa, President of the League of Nations Association of Japan, presented a memorial to the Minister, emphasising the importance of inculcating on the minds of the rising generations the aims and activities of the League of Nations.

## WORK FOR THE LEAGUE AT HOME

OUR public-meetings department is now labouring under the maximum demand for speakers. Anxious to render the greatest possible service to branches, we are now doing our utmost to add more speakers and lecturers to our panel and to see that, besides having a general knowledge of the League, each of them makes a special study of at least one aspect of the League's activity, so as to become gradually an authority upon it. We ask branches to help us in this difficult, but necessary task. We must transform our main educational effort in the country from a hectic and fatiguing attempt to secure titled or popular personalities to hold forth on a subject, which they often have no time to master, through the mouths of men and women who may have no fame or notoriety, but know their subject well. Branches can help us, first, by suggesting the names of speakers who can not only spare the Union an occasional evening, but will undertake, as part of their service for the League, to study continuously, with our help, either disarmament, arbitration, the political activity of the League, its economic work and possibilities, its social and humanitarian departments, mandates or the minorities question, or any other subject which interests them. Secondly, organisers of meetings can promote our general efficiency by realising that there are really not enough peers, or even knights, to go round; if they feel the need (sometimes a real one) of eminent personages to grace the platform, they must find them in the neighbourhood. Our part must normally be to provide lecturers or speakers for whose competence and efficiency we can vouch; we are better employed in finding and training such people than in scouring the pages of "Who's Who." One last practical suggestion. It is humanly impossible for many people, whom we should like to use as speakers, to spend much of their time in journeys and evening meetings absolutely free of charge. If, in arranging their programme for the year, branches could provide for the payment on one or two occasions of a two-guinea fee, we could certainly increase the number of our reliable speakers, in spite of the fact that we have no margin in our own budget for expenditure upon them.

## Help from the Stage

The great success of the garden party held by the Heaton Branch on September 3 was due to the generous co-operation of members of the local Repertory Theatre, who gave a concert and a performance of Drinkwater's one-act play "X=O," a masterpiece of anti-militarist argument. Many branches are finding dramatic performances of the greatest value to increase interest in their social gatherings and to provide some variety amid their more serious meetings. Last autumn, for instance, a crowded meeting saw a play and pageant under the auspices of the Hampton Branch entitled "The Birth of the League of Nations," performed by children from the Station Infants' School, Hampton; and many other instances have come to our notice. Among the short plays that branches may find suitable for their purpose, we may mention "The Better Way," which has just been written by Mrs. Mary Bunting, and can be obtained from Headquarters. It is a short drama based upon the story of the "Christ of the Andes."

## Posters and Factories

Why should not the excellent example set by the Bournville Works Branch be followed in all great factories? They have obtained facilities for the use of notice boards at the famous chocolate works, where they display distinctive posters and advertisements of their meetings.



### Success Out of Failure

A little while ago a Union speaker was asked to address a meeting. Four persons turned up! Instead of delivering an address, the speaker suggested that another meeting should be arranged, one or two artists be invited to sing, and that tea be provided for the audience: result, 200 hungry hearers.

### An Attractive Winter Programme

The Wembley Branch's plan of campaign is a good type of the sustained and varied activity that shows that a branch is alive and at work. Two interesting discussions have been arranged with literary and debating societies in the district: the first, "A Model Assembly," at St. John's Hall, on October 21; and the next a debate on "World Government," at Sudbury. Between these two fixtures will come the annual Armistice meeting, at which Mr. A. A. Somerville, M.P., will speak, supported by the Liberal and Labour candidates for the constituency. Early in the New Year the annual reception will be given for the members of the branch by the Chairman, while the annual meeting will take place on March 16. A number of speakers are also to be supplied to other organisations, including Mr. Banfield, the General Secretary of the Operative Bakers' and Confectioners' Union, who is to address the Wembley Brotherhood on November 20. A dance and a whist drive are also included in the programme.

### The Assembly Reviewed

Branches in London and within range of London will be glad to know of where they can hear an authoritative review of the work of the Eighth Assembly. Professor Noel Baker, who has had exceptional opportunities for observing the real influences at work in the Assembly, will give an address on that subject at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, October 19, at 7.30 p.m.

### New Links with the Churches

The Waterloo Branch (Liverpool) has secured the appointment of a representative from each of the 27 churches of all denominations in their area. They hope very soon to establish similar links with many other organisations other than churches. The church representatives form a separate committee from the local branch committee, and through them no less than 20 public meetings, which will be held in the various church halls, have been arranged for the coming session. It is hardly necessary to emphasise the importance of using all the religious organisations in the neighbourhood in this way. Many branches are finding the value of communicating early in the autumn with the clergy or ministers of different churches, and of asking for an opportunity of supplying speakers to men's and women's clubs, guilds, institutes and to parochial church councils.

### Received with Thanks

The following is a further list of branches who have completed their quota of the Council's Vote for 1927:— Ambleside, Boroughbridge, Bushey, Bristol Post Office, Crowthorne, Dulverton, Garstang, Goxhill, Harleston, Hurstpierpoint, Haslemere, Hassocks, Kington, Littlehampton, Northallerton, Newfoundland Road, Bristol, Petersfield, Rugby, South Petherton, Silsden, Sandown, Isle of Wight, Shiplake.

### Competition for a Calendar

Our readers will remember that the London Regional Federation offered prizes in a competition for quotations for a League of Nations calendar. We are asked by the Federation to publish the names of the four prize-winners. They are:—

- First prize, £1 10s.; Mrs. McCann, Derryheen Rectory, Cavan, Ireland.
- Second prize, £1; Miss E. J. Perry, 24, Athenæum Street, Plymouth.
- Third prize, 10s.; Miss A. Cooke, Stock, Ingatestone, Essex.
- Fourth prize, 5s.; Mrs. F. S. Goodfellow, 6, St. Martin's Place, Dover.

### The Value of Summer Schools

"I should like to draw the attention of over-worked and disheartened secretaries of local branches to the summer schools held at Oxford and Cambridge," writes Miss Ridges, Hon. Sec. of the Savings Bank Branch of the Union. "They often say to themselves: 'the burden is too great for me.'"

"But why not raise up enthusiastic and informed helpers by inducing some of their branch members to attend these summer schools. Certainly to most (except the few who have leisure all the year) it would mean sacrificing a week of their summer holiday, but they would never regret it. Twenty of our branch members have been to the summer schools held in the last six years, and they are most enthusiastic about them, although it meant sacrificing a week's holiday. I have been for seven years and 'still would go.' The reward is more than the sacrifice, for one hears experts on every phase of League activity, in addition to meeting keen and interested people from all parts of the country, and also from other countries. Last, but not least, is the pleasure of living the collegiate life in such historic surroundings. In most branches there would be members who could give the time, but could not bear the expense. The Committee could not do better work for the cause than by paying part or all of the cost for such members, and would find the result justify the outlay.

"In connection with summer activities I also think that Committees overlook the value of open-air meetings. It is the exception to come across a League of Nations meeting in any of the Parks or open spaces. Even in such a summer as we have had, other Societies have held open-air meetings, and attracted crowds of people. The audience is ready, if a suitable speaker is there, and probably most of these people would not enter a hall to hear an address on the subject. I am convinced that we lose many opportunities of making the League of Nations known to 'the man in the street' by not taking it to him *in the street*."

### Notes from Wales

This year again a large number of the friends of the League from Wales attended the meetings of the Eighth Assembly at Geneva. On Sunday morning, September 11, the sermon at the Geneva Cathedral was preached by an eminent Welshman, the Rev. Dr. J. D. Jones, of Bournemouth.

A Special "Form of Service," suitable for use in Colleges and Schools on Armistice Day, has been issued by the Welsh League of Nations Union and the Welsh National Council of Music. This "Form of Service" was compiled by the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., and Sir Walford Davies, Mus. Doc., and copies may be obtained either from the Welsh L.N.U., at 10, Richmond Terrace, Park Place, Cardiff, or from the Welsh Council of Music at the Law Courts, Cardiff. The price of a single copy is twopence, but quantities are supplied at a reduced rate.

Branches in Wales and Monmouthshire have already begun their winter activities, which this year include a campaign on "Arbitration."

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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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.

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*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.*