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HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

VALUABLE as the results achieved by last month's meeting of the League of Nations Council were, perhaps the most useful part of the whole affair was the remarkable gathering of statesmen of different countries it brought together. In the first ten days of December, owing to the fact that the Disarmament Commission met just before the Council, there were, for the first time, representatives of all the Great Powers of the world at Geneva, for, while the United States and Soviet Russia are, of course, not members of the Council, representatives of both of them were attending the Disarmament Commission. So were men like Dr. Benes, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, who, though he is unfortunately no longer a member of the Council, will happily be brought to Geneva regularly from time to time in his capacity of Chairman of the new Committee on Security and Arbitration. Perhaps the most valuable contacts were those which M. Litvinoff, Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs in Russia, and Count Bethlen, Prime Minister of Hungary, were able to establish with other countries with whose representatives they had special problems to discuss. No one could expect that Russia's relations with the rest of the world could be cleared up in a three or four days' talk at Geneva, but at any rate a beginning has been made, and it is much better that should happen now than three or six or nine or twelve months hence.

Nations or Men?

AT a special interview given by Marshal Pilsudski to the special correspondent of *Le Matin*, the Polish Prime Minister summed up very briefly his first impressions of the League of Nations. One of his comments was particularly judicious, considering how brief his stay at Geneva had been. He spoke of the value of the personal friendship and acquaintance developed by representatives of the different states over lunch or dinner during sessions of the League of Nations Council, and then made this pertinent criticism: "This no doubt facilitates the settlement of difficulties, but there is the possibility of losing from sight the importance of the interests involved. It is a kind of more or less personal friendship between individuals when they enjoy conversing with one another and shaking hands after their talk. When this happens several times a year, you may sometimes gain the impression that you are settling important questions without having really cleared up the differences between the nations themselves." That is profoundly true, particularly of the three statesmen who have done more than any others to add weight and effectiveness to the Council's decisions, Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann. Not a word of criticism can be directed against a sustained co-operation for which the whole of Europe may be grateful, but it is important to see to it that the co-operation should continue between the nations concerned, no matter who their representative at

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the moment may be. Even though no danger of this failing to happen need be anticipated, its importance is worth underlining none the less.

The League and Lepers

ONE of the secondary questions that came before the League Council last month was the request received from certain South American states, notably the Argentine Republic, Brazil and Uruguay, for the support and co-operation of the League's Health Organisation in connection with various activities of their own in the field of hygiene. This is a very satisfactory outcome of the Conference on Infant Mortality held at Montevideo last summer, and attended, among others, by Dr. Madsen, the Chairman of the League's Health Committee, and Dr. Rajchman, its medical director. The programme suggested by the Argentine and Brazilian Governments comprised the study of leprosy, problems of infant health and organisation of instruction on health questions on international lines. The two Governments desire that schools dealing with these questions in their own countries should be placed under the auspices of the League. The Health Committee has approved this in principle, and the Council was called on to endorse the Committee's decision. It did that very gladly, and the Secretary-General is to open communications with the two Governments with a view to settling ways and means.

A Contest in Zeal

MR. BRIDGEMAN, First Lord of the Admiralty, in a public speech at Welshpool on December 9, is reported to have said that "the Liberal Party were extremely anxious to establish themselves as the only people in the world who want peace, and would like to make the League of Nations Union a sort of Liberal caucus for their own purpose." If this is really the object of the Liberal Party—and no doubt the First Lord of the Admiralty would have fully informed himself on the subject before he made his statement—one more must be added to the long list of the world's great failures. Liberals, fortunately, lend active support to the League of Nations Union. So do Conservatives, so do Labour men. Somehow or other they manage to pull pretty happily and effectively together in working out and applying a common policy. It is possible, of course, that each party thinks the League of Nations Union is in reality serving its political ends. That seems very satisfactory if it is so, but there have not been many visible signs yet of any party trying to create a monopoly. If it did the remedy would lie in the hands of the other two. They could stop its running ahead of them by resolving to run as fast themselves.

Moscow and Geneva

IT is not surprising that the question of what effect the visit of M. Litvinoff and M. Lunacharsky to Geneva will have on Soviet Russia's future relations with the League should be on a good many people's lips. The safest thing no doubt would be to assume that it will have no direct effect. And yet it may. M. Lunacharsky is a member of the Council of Commissaries, and though M. Litvinoff is technically only Assistant-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, he carries much personal weight in his country.

Both delegates have learnt a good deal more than they ever knew before about how the League really works, and they have exchanged ideas, not only with delegates of other nations, but with some of the ablest members of the League Secretariat. However Russia treats the League, there is not much doubt how the League ought to treat Russia. It should treat it as it has in recent years treated the United States, inviting it, that is to say, to send delegates to any international conference or to appoint representatives to any technical committee where Russian co-operation would be of value. It is altogether satisfactory that the Council at its recent meeting should have decided to leave places on the new Economic Consultative Committee for two Russian experts. The appointment of Russian members on such committees as those for Intellectual Co-operation and Child Welfare could do nothing but good. With the Health Committee Russia is already co-operating to an extent hardly realised, some thirty-four Russian doctors, officials and others having at different times visited Geneva in connection with special investigations or interchanges of medical officers of health.

War on the Coiners

THE League has one more International Convention on the stocks, the Council having decided to call a Conference to adopt an agreement on the subject of international action against coiners or forgers of bank notes. This is the result of a proposal made by M. Briand after the notorious Hungarian forged bank notes case, and a Convention on the subject is now ready. It is a very interesting document, providing for co-operation between the police authorities of all countries which sign the Treaty. The main purpose of the Convention is to secure that all countries impose severe penalties on persons guilty of counterfeiting currency, whether metal or paper, and exact such penalties no matter whether the money or notes forged are those of the country where the offence takes place or some other. (The notes forged in Hungary were French.) A central police office in each country is to conduct any necessary investigations. These offices are to correspond with one another, and there is talk of an international central office to receive information on the subject from all quarters.

Cheering the Children

A BRIGHT little guide to current events and festivities in London has come this way. Of its various sections there is one which will make an immediate appeal to parents. Its heading, full of promise and hope, runs thus:

HOW TO INTEREST THE CHILDREN
(Refer also to "Pantomimes," see Index).

It is, therefore, with lively expectation that we turn our eye to the first entry in this alluring list. Let it stand here unabbreviated and unexpanded:

"THE IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM contains many exhibits which make a strong appeal to children—guns, aircraft, models of trench warfare, war pictures and trophies."

The best way, in fact, to prepare for war is to make your children love it. And that, incidentally, will

put the lid on all this League of Nations nonsense. It is really hardly necessary to "refer to Pantomimes, see Index." The War Museum is so much better fun.

Iraq Independence

THE Treaty which the British Government has just negotiated with Iraq provides for the recognition of the latter as an independent State. At the same time Great Britain undertakes, if all goes well in the meantime, to support Iraq's application for membership of the League of Nations in 1932. It is not clear why such an application should be so long deferred. By a former treaty, it is true, it was arranged that the situation should be surveyed at four years' intervals, but since the new treaty has superseded the old one in various other respects, there is no apparent reason why it should not in this. By recognising Iraq as independent the British Government has registered its view that Iraq conforms to the main condition of entry laid down in Article I. of the Covenant, and, so far as can be discerned, the country is in quite as settled a condition as, for example, Abyssinia. There would seem, therefore, on the face of it to be a good deal of reason for bringing Iraq into full membership earlier than in almost five years' time—for 1932 presumably means September, 1932.

Those Interpreters

IN another column Col. Wade, one of the best known of the regular interpreters at Geneva, gives the uninitiated reader some idea of how the astonishing feats of translation with which every visitor to the Council and Assembly is familiar are achieved at all. But the trouble about getting a League interpreter to write about League interpreters is that he obviously will not make it clear what a remarkable set the League interpreters are. There is—but it would be invidious to single out any one or two for special mention. Enough to say that there is the lady who reproduces long speeches unflinching without a note at all. There is the interpreter into French who translated Sir Austen Chamberlain so brilliantly at the last Assembly that Sir Austen asked for his full notes, got their author to sign them and is preserving them together with the notes of historic speeches by his father, Joseph Chamberlain, John Bright and others. And illustration after illustration could be cited of the interpreters' remarkable achievements. In a world that can hardly be said to shine at languages the interpreters might well be described as the pivot of the League.

The League's Wireless

THE arrangements for providing the League of Nations with its own wireless plant are going forward steadily. A Committee of Experts is to meet this month to go into the matter in detail, Colonel Lee of the General Post Office being the British representative. This, it will be remembered, is all part of the plan, developed by the Council at the end of 1926, for facilitating the rapid assembly of the Council in time of crisis. The League will be able to summon its members through its own wireless station and, if necessary, they will come to Geneva by aeroplane. Matters have now reached

the point at which finance has to be considered, both as regards original expenditure and cost of upkeep. The question goes from this special Committee to the Committee on Communications and Transit and will in the end have to go back to the Council itself.

The Trouble in Samoa

THE Report of the Commission appointed by the New Zealand Government to inquire into complaints regarding the administration in the mandated area of Samoa has now been published. It completely exonerates the administrator, and goes far to confirm the suggestion already current that the agitation was largely fermented by certain white settlers who had grievances of their own, and with whom the complaints of the natives were quite a secondary consideration. It would appear, indeed, that the criticisms against the Administrator, Sir George Richardson, were based largely on action he had taken in the interests of the natives themselves, particularly with a view to protecting them from being commercially exploited in connection with the sale of copra (dried palm kernels). This Report will, of course, be laid before the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League at its next meeting and be examined by its members with the care they always devote to such documents. Till then further judgments on it may be suspended.

Inside and Out

"HEADWAY" is rather taken to task, and not quite unjustly, by a reader who considers that the paragraph in the last issue regarding the League's new building reflected on the architectural profession. It was not so intended in any way. When a contrast was drawn between ornate exteriors and convenient interiors, the point it was sought to make was that the public often judges a plan solely by what the building will look like to the passer-by, without considering the necessities of those who have to work in it, though in point of fact there are some architects (not among the British candidates) who, in the plan they have submitted for the League buildings, have obviously paid far too little attention to internal comfort and convenience. A meeting of the Committee charged with making the final choice was held on December 19, but even at the best it is doubtful if any actual work on the site, apart perhaps from the clearance of trees, can be begun in 1928.

Heredity

A REVIEW appears on another page of Professor Philip Baker's life of his father, Mr. J. Allen Baker. Both book and review show how strong is the force of heredity when it comes to working for world settlement, but the tendency can be carried a generation further down. The first response received by Lord Cecil to his appeal to supporters of disarmament to fill up 10s. subscription cards for the special fund, ran as follows:—

DEAR LORD ROBERT,

This is the Disarmament Card which I have filled up. Madame Nansen and her brother have both signed their Names. I hope I am the first to fill it up.
Lov.—FRANCIS.

The writer is Professor Baker's son and heir. His age is inconsiderable.

THE LEAGUE IN 1927

A YEAR'S PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

By Prof. GILBERT MURRAY

A MIXED year it has been, but one with a definite character of its own. If we had been told in 1922 that within five years the Great Powers of Europe would have reached their present degree of security and good understanding, the most sanguine among us would have scarcely believed it possible. Germany is not only on the Council; she has supplied a President of the Council, and that presidency has been marked not by mistrust and friction, but by an increase of good feeling and by the settlement of two particularly irritating questions—the troops in the Saar and the schools in Upper Silesia. We begin to see the fruits of the great treaty of perpetual peace between France and Germany, Belgium and Germany, guaranteed by Great Britain and Italy.

The Preparatory Commission on Disarmament has succeeded, under Lord Cecil's guidance, in drafting a skeleton Disarmament Convention, to be re-read in March and then laid before the general Conference. The Russians, whose absence has hitherto constituted the greatest obstacle to Disarmament, have actually attended the Commission, and, while their own scheme is not practicable as it stands, have expressed their readiness to consider less drastic proposals.

Helping Trade

Greatest of all, perhaps, the Assembly of the League has induced the Governments to summon a general conference of experts to consider the acute economic dangers which threaten the world, and the doubtful wisdom of each nation continuing to seek its own economic advantage by destroying its neighbour's trade. What is more, the experts—over a hundred and fifty of them, from the most diverse nations and all political parties—have agreed in their diagnosis and their recommendations; and, stranger still, have had their recommendations explicitly and publicly accepted by a large number of governments.

These positive advances are so striking that one is apt almost to overlook some achievements that would seem remarkable enough in the ordinary run of politics: the Slavery Convention, the two parts of the Report on the Traffic in Women and Children, the formal abolition of the so-called "state of war" between Poland and Lithuania, and last but not least in its significance for the future, the ruling of the International Court that the League is not bound by the decisions of the Council of Ambassadors.

These results show how much the world is craving for a reasonable life and how effective the League has proved as an instrument to that end in the hands of ministers like Stresemann, Briand, Chamberlain, and—we are bound to add—Mussolini. For Europe has largely been governed by that "Big Four" or Tetrarchy.

The Disarmament Hold-up

If we consider the other side of the account we must recognise that the process of "General Reduction and Limitation of Armaments by International Agreement" has so far made no practical progress; it remains in the stage of draft treaties; and that the Conference—outside the League—of Great Britain, Japan and America for the further limitation of naval forces has ended for the time being in complete and dangerous failure. It was the easiest of all the problems of international disarmament, and the one where failure would ultimately be most disastrous. Fortunately the harm done is not yet irreparable, but it will need an effort of unwonted intelligence in the peoples and Governments concerned to counteract its effects.

The troubles in China drag on, but not through any fault of the League. The League was not meant to deal with civil wars. It was, however, meant essentially to deal with conditions of friction and mutual suspicion, and circumstances which threaten to disturb international peace, such as those affecting Italy and Jugoslavia, and it has not done so. The state of tension between those countries has become dangerously inflamed and no one has appealed to the League. If we ask why, the reason is only too plain. It is the price paid for concord within the Tetrarchy. The other Great Powers think it wiser not to cross Italy. It is impossible for anyone without inner knowledge to tell whether this price is too high.

Some other disappointments have apparently the same explanation. The Mandates Commission, one of the best and wisest of the organs of the League, engaged on a vital enterprise in which it had every right to the firm support and sympathy of the Council, has been not only left in the lurch but actually attacked and undermined by its natural protectors. Again the reason is clear. The Mandates Commission, if allowed to do its work freely, might offend one British Dominion and would offend one Great Power. "Better let things slide," thought the Council, "than mar the harmony of our meetings." Exactly the same with Minorities. The Peace Treaties laid upon the Council, in the most solemn terms, the duty of protecting the alien Minorities in the new nations. But to protect a Minority is to offend a government; and the Tetrarchy prefers not to offend governments.

Debit and Credit

There stand the credit and the debit accounts, and the same historical cause explains both of them. When the League first came into existence, only people with a touch of idealism believed in it and, in the main, were set to run it. The League passed excellent resolutions, and the governments paid little attention to them. Cabinet Ministers did not trouble to read the Covenant. Then gradually the practical convenience and effectiveness of the League as a diplomatic instrument became so obvious that the Foreign Offices threw themselves into it and annexed it. The Foreign Ministers attend it regularly, and the idealists have disappeared. Clearly this is an advantage. The great governments all want peace; none but people without any sense of reality imagine the contrary. They all want good relations among themselves. They all want the improvement of trade, and the more intelligent realise that their own trade will only improve as that of their customers improves. They will work generally for the common good, except so far as it happens to conflict with some special national or electoral interest, and by constantly sitting together at the Council they do gain a better sense of the common interest than their national parliaments or constituents have.

They do the daily jobs and they tend to forget the ultimate ideals. And then, once a year, comes the Assembly and, if they have been too forgetful, pulls them up and reminds them that after all the League is something more than a diplomatic instrument; it is the statement of a new way of life for nations, a promise that human behaviour will not suddenly stand still where it now is, but must continue its eternal struggle to bring about some reformation of

"this hoary atheistic murderous star."

And so the balance moves to and fro.

TRYING TO DISARM

ONE MORE CHAPTER WRITTEN AT GENEVA

THERE was an interesting feeling of uncertainty about the meeting of the League's Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva in the opening days of December. On paper the Commission had nothing much to do. Its business was



M. Loudon

to set up a new Committee, decided on by a resolution of the last Assembly on Security and Arbitration, as distinct from Disarmament, draw up its terms of reference, and fix the date for its first meeting.

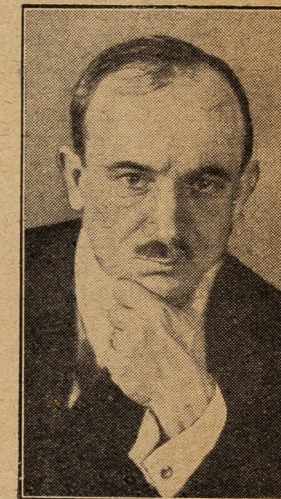
That could be got through easily enough in three or four days. But there was an unknown quantity, in the shape of the Russians. A delegation, consisting of M. Litvinoff and M. Lunacharsky, was known to be coming, though other countries were content to send only a single member. M. Litvinoff is Assistant Commissioner, or Minister, for Foreign Affairs, and M. Lunacharsky, is Commissioner, or Minister, for Education. All kinds of rumours about their intentions were rife, and they were said to have struck a compact with the Germans providing for joint action at Geneva.

Litvinoff Intervenes

In due course the Russian delegation reached Geneva. Its members kept themselves unusually quiet, refusing newspaper interviews and spending the two or three days which elapsed between their arrival and the actual meeting in studying the records of earlier sessions of the Commission. When the day of meeting came the Russians were the last to appear in the Council Chamber. They sat, according to the order of their country's name (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics) next to Sweden, with no one on the other side, for no League State represented on the Disarmament Commission happens to begin with a later letter of the alphabet than U. (The United States, being *Etats Unis* in French, sits under E.)

The President of the Disarmament Commission is M. Loudon, of Holland. He began the proceedings with a short outline of the work to be done, and a word of welcome to certain new members of the Commission—Cuba, Canada and Russia. He extended a similar welcome to Lord Cushendun, who was succeeding Lord Cecil, voicing at the same time the general regret that Lord Cecil himself would no longer take part in the work of the Commission. Then, after a little uncertainty as to the order of procedure, came a statement by M. Litvinoff. It called for complete abolition of all armaments and preparations for war by land, sea and air, a development which the Russian delegate suggested could be achieved in a year, though if the "capitalist States" were not capable of moving as fast as that, four years might be allowed for the process. The full statement will be found in another column. It created interest but not sensation, the paragraph most generally noted being one in which the Soviet delegation hinted that if they could not secure the adoption of their own proposals they would be willing to discuss any others directed towards the definite reduction of armaments.

When M. Litvinoff sat down the discussion looked like collapsing, but just as the Chairman was about to proceed to the next item on the agenda, M. Paul Boncour, of France, made a brief statement, in which he pointed out the impossibility of suddenly dropping the work in which the Commission itself was engaged, and starting afresh on the basis suggested by the Russians. Dr. Benes, of Czechoslovakia, supported this view, and added a few rather severe words about the unfairness of some of the Russian criticisms of the Preparatory Commission's activities. Again there was an embarrassing pause, but Count Bernstorff saved the situation by observing what the Commission was there for after all, and what he was most concerned about, was to get the date of the next meeting fixed. If they did that the Russian plans could be more fully discussed on that occasion.



Dr. Benes

The Commission, therefore, took leave of the Russian plans for the moment, after M. Litvinoff had ascertained definitely from the Chairman that it was not proposed to shelve them, but to adjourn their discussion till the Commission met for serious business. In point of fact the date of the next meeting was not fixed then and there, as it was desired to proceed first with the creation of the new Security Committee. No great difficulty arose about that, and the Committee itself met the next day, consisting of exactly the same members as had sat on the Preparatory Commission, with the exception that the American delegate was absent, since the United States has declined membership of this Committee, and for Russia M. Litvinoff alone was present as observer, the rest of his delegation not attending. It was decided that the Committee's task should be attacked under three heads: (1) Security itself, (2) Arbitration, (3) Study of the Articles of the Covenant and the method of their application. As rapporteurs for these questions respectively there were appointed M. Politis (Greece), M. Holsti (Finland), and M. Rutgers (Holland). Dr. Benes was proposed by Lord Cushendun as Chairman of the Committee, and elected by a riot of acclamation. No better choice could have been made.

A Question of Dates

It remained only to fix the dates of the next meetings of the Security Committee and the Preparatory Commission itself. But on that an extremely animated discussion arose, for in the background an important question of principle was at stake. The two schools of thought in the Preparatory Commission are represented by the French, who say that Disarmament is impossible till you have got further with Security, and the Germans, who say that the main business of the League is with Disarmament—as indicated by Article VIII of the Covenant and various provisions in the Peace Treaty—and that there must be no question of shelving Disarmament under plea of solving the Security problem first. The Russians hold the same view as the Germans, but more strongly. When,

therefore, it was suggested that the Security Committee should meet in February and the Preparatory Commission in March. M. Litvinoff protested warmly that the two bodies were in no sense interdependent, and that the Preparatory Commission ought to meet at the earliest possible date, quite regardless of what the Security Committee was doing. He proposed January 10. Lord Cushendun then intervened with the observation that, though M. Litvinoff might be theoretically right about the two bodies not being interdependent, there was a certain convenience for the Preparatory Commission in knowing what the Security Committee was doing or had done. He was, therefore, disposed to accept the February-March proposal. Count Bernstorff, for Germany, took the view that the interval between December and March was too long; but when he had obtained a definite assurance from the Chairman that if the Commission did meet in March, and everything went reasonably well, there would still be time for the Disarmament Conference itself to be summoned before the end of 1928, he acquiesced in the March proposal with good grace.

It has, therefore, been decided that the Security Committee shall meet on February 20 and the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament on March 15. The interesting point about that arrangement is that the League Council meets on March 5, so that M. Litvinoff, or anyone who comes in his place to represent Russia, will once more be at Geneva at the same time as the chief Foreign Ministers of Europe, and his opportunities of meeting them will be spread over at least a week, instead of being confined, as they were last month, to some forty-eight hours.

The meeting of the Commission fulfilled all reasonable hopes. It had only met to do formal business, and that formal business was duly carried through. There might have been a certain amount of difficulty and friction as a result of the presence of the Russians. In actual fact there was nothing of the kind. In the interval between now and February 20 the three rapporteurs, aided by members of the Secretariat, will be preparing definite proposals to lay before the Security Committee.

RUSSIA'S PLAN SOME NOTES ON THE SOVIET PROPOSALS

THE general story of the meetings of the League of Nations Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference is told on another page. Here it is possible to examine the proposals of the Russian delegation a little more fully. To that end it may be well to begin by printing the proposal in full, apart from the final paragraph, which deals only with chemical and bacteriological warfare.

The U.S.S.R. Delegation is authorised by its Government to propose the complete abolition of all land, marine and air forces.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. suggests the following measures for the realisation of this proposal:

(a) The dissolution of all land, sea and air forces and the non-admittance of their existence in any concealed form whatsoever;

(b) The destruction of all weapons, military supplies, means for chemical warfare and all other forms of armament and means of destruction in the possession of troops or in military or general stores;

(c) The scrapping of all warships and military air vessels;

(d) The discontinuance of calling up citizens for military training, either in armies or public bodies;

(e) Legislation for the abolition of military service, either compulsory, voluntary or recruited;

(f) Legislation prohibiting the calling up of trained reserves;

(g) The destruction of fortresses and naval and air bases;

(h) The scrapping of military plants and factories and of war industry plants in general and industrial works;

(i) The discontinuance of assigning funds for military purposes, both on State budgets and those of public bodies;

(k) The abolition of military, naval and air ministries, the dissolution of general staffs and every kind of military administrations, departments and institutions;

(l) The legislative prohibition of military propaganda and military training of the population and of military education, both in State and public bodies;

(m) The legislative prohibition of the patenting of all kinds of armaments and means of destruction, with a view to the removal of incentives to the invention of the same;

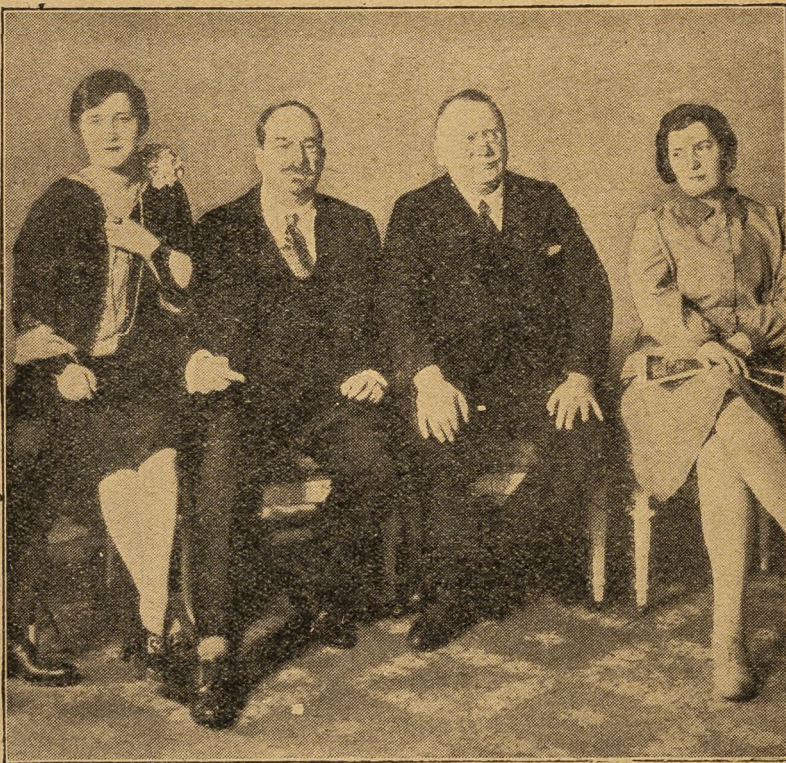
(n) Legislation making the infringement of any of the above stipulations a grave crime against the State;

(o) The withdrawal or corresponding alteration of all legislative acts, both of national or international scope, infringing the above stipulations.

The Delegation of the U.S.S.R. is empowered to propose the fulfilment of the above programme of complete disarmament as soon as the respective convention comes into force, in order that all the necessary measures for the destruction of military stores be completed in a year's time.

The Soviet Government considers that the above scheme for the execution of complete disarmament is the simplest and the most conducive to peace.

In the case of capitalist States rejecting immediate actual abolition of standing armies, the Soviet Government



Mme. and M. Lunacharsky.

M. and Mme. Litvinoff.

in its desire to facilitate the achievement of a practical agreement on complete disarmament, is prepared to make a proposal for complete disarmament to be carried out simultaneously by all contracting States, by gradual stages, during a period of four years, the first stage to be accomplished in the course of the coming year.

National funds, freed from war budgets, to be employed by each State at its own discretion, but exclusively for productive and cultural purposes.

While insisting upon the views just stated, the U.S.S.R. Delegation is, nevertheless, ready to participate in any and every discussion of the question of the limitation of armaments whenever practical measures really leading to disarmament are proposed.

On these proposals certain observations may be made, though it is desirable to emphasise the fact that so far as they represent definite opinions at all they are solely the personal opinions of the writer of this article, who had the advantage or disadvantage of being present at the Geneva discussions.

Moscow's Methods

(1) It must be obvious to anyone who reflects on the nature of the Soviet Government and its general policy that it would have been fantastic to expect it to send delegates to Geneva to propose disarmament measures no more radical than might be looked for from a country like France or Great Britain.

(2) If the Soviet delegation had desired merely to make propaganda at the League's expense it would have simply announced its proposals, and on the refusal of the Commission to accept them would have left Geneva forthwith, declaring that the League was an instrument of war, not of peace.

(3) The conventional Soviet jargon about "capitalist States" will agitate only those whose feelings are too sensitive for what Art. XXII of the Covenant calls "the strenuous conditions of the modern world."

(4) It is intelligible enough that Russia should really desire disarmament, not necessarily from any moral motive but for hard economic reasons. Every qualified observer who has visited the country in recent months is agreed that Russia's struggle to keep her head financially and economically above water is reaching a critical phase, that an external war would be the last straw, and that there is nothing the Soviet authorities themselves dread so much as such a war, even though they have made propaganda internally about the danger of war, in order to cement unity.

(5) The Russian plan was framed before the Russians had come in contact with the Disarmament Commission at all. Whether, if they had delayed till the fourth day instead of acting on the first, they would ever have produced this particular plan may be doubted.

Were they Sincere?

(6) It does not appear that the Soviet delegation ever meant the plan to be taken as an ultimatum. They state indeed specifically that they are ready to discuss limitation on any other basis that may be preferred. The sincerity of the delegates would be tested by their willingness to accept reasonable modifications, as for example, provision for defence against uncivilised tribes or for the suppression of piracy at sea.

(7) While the Covenant definitely contemplates the continued maintenance of such armed forces as each nation requires for its own security and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, obviously the size of these forces in the case of an individual country depends mainly on what forces other individual countries have. If half the world were willing to reduce their forces to next to nothing, the other half would have no excuse for having more than next to nothing either.

(8) It would be possible to frame at least an academic argument going to show that there would be a better chance of getting somewhere if the Commission took

proposals of this kind as basis and modified them upwards as necessity could be shown, instead of pursuing its present method of taking existing armaments as basis and endeavouring to modify them downwards.

(9) It has been stated with much truth that the Russian proposals are quite impracticable, not because they could not be adopted but because no one is willing to adopt them.

(10) They are in fact impracticable as they stand, on other grounds. You cannot, for example, abolish the aeroplane as an instrument of war without abolishing aeroplanes altogether. The same is true of chemical warfare. That objection, however, applies in a lesser degree to limitation as well as abolition.

Discuss the Proposals

(11) The proposals have done no one any harm and they caused much less excitement at Geneva than they appear to have done elsewhere. There is no reason to suppose that the Russians put them forward from a desire to be obstructive or that they do in fact intend to be obstructive.

(12) The worst way to treat the Russian proposals when the Commission meets again would be to brush them contemptuously on one side. If the Russians desire a day or two to be spent in discussing them, a day or two should be so spent. Objections to the scheme could be put forward and the Russians invited to answer them. Would Russia, for example, throw her country open for inspection, that the rest of the world might be assured she had really disarmed?

(13) Is there a fundamental difference between the outlawry of war, from which almost complete outlawry of armaments would necessarily follow, and outlawry of armaments first or simultaneously?—H. W. H.

THE L.N.U.'S VIEW

THE following resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority at a meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union held on December 17, under the chairmanship of Professor Gilbert Murray:

"That, as the inclusion of Russia in any international movement towards Disarmament is indispensable to full success,

"The General Council

"Welcomes the attendance of the Russian delegation at the recent meeting of the Preparatory Commission and, while recognising that their actual proposals for immediate and complete dissolution of all organised armed forces are not at present practicable,

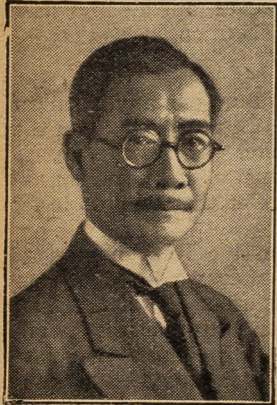
"Notes with satisfaction the declaration of their chief delegate that their Government intends to support any compromise, and to welcome any effort or step towards Disarmament; and

"Hopes that every effort will, therefore, be made to retain the co-operation of Russia in this move."

We have received from the Nagoya Group of the foreign section of the League of Nations Association of Japan a copy of an appeal, addressed to the Preparatory Commission, which met at Geneva at the beginning of December, urging the nations concerned to make real sacrifices in the interest of disarmament. The signatories appear to represent many countries, notably the United States, Great Britain and Germany. It is an interesting manifestation from a country like Japan and a valuable evidence at the same time of the activity of the Japanese League of Nations Association.

THE 48th COUNCIL MEETING PROBLEMS SOLVED AND SHELVED AT GENEVA

THE first interesting fact about the meeting of the League of Nations Council—the forty-eighth of the series—which opened at Geneva on December 5 was that it was presided over by its Chinese member, an event for which there has been no precedent since



Mr. Cheng-Loh

the days of Dr. Wellington Koo in 1922. Mr. Cheng-Loh is Minister of his country, that is to say of the Northern or Peking Government, in Paris, and though he had never attended a Council Meeting before he showed himself entirely competent to carry out the not very exacting duties of chairman. As usual there was a galaxy of Foreign Ministers, including, as always, Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann. Other Foreign Ministers actually members of the Council are M. Zaleski, of Poland, Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland, of Holland, and M. Voionmaa, of Finland. M. Titulesco, of Rumania, was kept away by illness, but there were called to the table from time to time for special questions Count Bethlen, the Prime Minister of Hungary, M. Voldemaras, Prime Minister of Lithuania, M. Bouroff, Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, Mr. Kaphandaris, Finance Minister of Greece, and the Finance Minister of Portugal, who came in connection with the loan his country was trying to raise.

Five Disputes

The agenda was lengthy, including altogether some thirty-six items, and among them five international disputes, but of these four dropped off one by one like lepers' fingers, leaving only the Polish-Lithuanian affair, which is dealt with in a separate article in this issue of HEADWAY. The all too familiar dispute between Rumania and Hungary over the treatment of Hungarian landowners in Transylvania was once more adjourned, not in this case merely to get rid of an awkward problem, but because negotiations for financial compensation had been set on foot with reasonable prospect of success, and the Hungarians themselves were quite content that the matter should stand over to see how these direct conversations with the Rumanians prospered.

Then there was the case of the cruiser "Salamis," which was built by a German firm at Stettin for the Greek Government, in accordance with an order placed in 1914, and which the Greek Government now does not desire to take over, partly on financial grounds, and partly because the vessel is of a type by this time obsolete. That again had occupied the Council for far too long during its December meeting, and it was disposed of this time by a provision that the case should go back to the Mixed Arbitral Court set up under the Peace Treaty, and after that, if necessary, to the Permanent Court at The Hague. Another case transferred from Geneva to The Hague was that in which the German Government complained that Poland was making difficulties about allowing certain classes of children to attend the German Minorities Schools in Upper Silesia.

Finally, Danzig, which never fails to keep Council members busy, provided one more difference of opinion with Poland regarding the policing and inspection of a piece of ground known as the Westerplatte, at the entrance to Danzig harbour, where Polish munitions brought by sea are landed. In this case a satisfactory arrangement was concluded between the two parties, the Polish representative suggesting that after all this kind of thing could perhaps best be settled on the spot, particularly if the League would provide one or two experts on legal questions and the handling of explosives to help the two parties out. So, accordingly, it was settled.

Three Loans

In what is commonly called the reconstruction group of questions there were three loans to be dealt with: a new one for Greece, a new one for Bulgaria, and an application by Portugal. The terms of the Bulgarian loan could not be finally settled, various delicate questions having arisen which it was impossible to dispose of in time for the Council to give a final ruling. About the Greek there were serious difficulties, France having withheld her approval, which was technically needed, in order to being pressure on Greece regarding a quite separate financial dispute between those two countries. Ultimately, however, the principle of conciliation triumphed, France accepted Greece's offer of arbitration on any disputed points, and the new loan, which will be to the amount of £9,000,000 altogether, was duly approved. Of this, £3,000,000 will be devoted to completing the refugee settlement scheme, about £2,500,000 of the total being raised in America.

Portugal is a new borrower, and the first old-established country to apply to the League in that capacity. The matter was referred to the Financial Commission, and may raise some difficult questions owing to the instability of the present Portuguese Government.

To Fight Tariffs

In the economic sphere, an important step was the creation of the new Economic Consultative Committee, which will meet once a year and lay down general principles which the League's Standing Economic Committee will apply. The new body consists of some fifty members, including the best economists in the world. Two Russians and two Americans are to be invited, and there is every prospect that experts from those two countries will in fact attend. The British members are Mr. W. T. Layton (Editor of the *Economist*), Sir Arthur Balfour, Mr. Arthur Pugh (a leading Trade Unionist), and Colonel Vernon Willey, of the Federation of British Industries. Sir Atul Chatterjee, the High Commissioner for India in London, is invited to become a Vice-Chairman of the Committee.

The only other question of much importance to which the Council Members applied themselves was the proposed reduction of regular Council meetings from four in the year to three. That question was first raised in September, and after several discussions this time was once more adjourned, in order that the next Assembly might express itself definitely on the subject. The fact that the Council's agenda was so heavy that it could not finish its work within the week as usual seems to suggest that a reduction in the number of meetings might result in undue congestion.

ENDING A STATE OF WAR THE LEAGUE AND POLAND AND LITHUANIA

AT something after 10.30 in the evening of December 10 an unusual kind of League Council Meeting was held in the accustomed room at Geneva. The members had been hurriedly called together and arrived, together with a certain number of spectators, in varied



Marshal Pilsudski

forms of evening dress, from divers dinners and entertainments. The circumstances might suggest a crisis, but, fortunately, there was nothing as bad as that. The reason for the sudden meeting was the fact that negotiations which had been going on all day over the Polish-Lithuanian dispute had at last borne fruit when other people were having their dinners, and for various reasons it was desired to have the agreement reached formally accepted and set on record that very night. One of these reasons was that Marshal Pilsudski, the Prime Minister of Poland, was paying a flying visit to Geneva, and had arranged to leave at midnight. More important in reality was the reflection that since it had taken so long to get both sides to the point of an accord it was just as well not to leave them the opportunity of thinking worse of it over the week-end.

The resolution adopted by the Council at this singular meeting, limited though it is in its effect, makes peace distinctly more stable and war more remote in Eastern Europe. From 1920 Poland and Lithuania have been at loggerheads. The story of their disagreements is too long to be told in detail here, but the essence of it is the capture of the town of Vilna, claimed by both Poles and Lithuanians, by a half-irresponsible Polish force under General Zeligowski on October 9, 1920. Poles and Lithuanians, and the friends of each of them in neutral countries, can argue the rights and wrongs of the Vilna question for about twenty-five hours a day, and all remain of the same opinion still.

Communications Cut

From that moment right up to a month ago Lithuania persisted in considering herself in a state of war with Poland. There was no open fighting, but there was no intercourse or communication of any kind by post, telegraph, telephone, rail or river, no commerce between the two countries and no diplomatic relations. That meant, of course, that if ever any little dispute arose between the two countries there was no means of talking it quietly over, and every such episode tended to be exaggerated and to embitter feelings on both sides. For a good deal of the time the sympathies both of Germany and of Soviet Russia tended to be with Lithuania, for both of them had their own disputes with Poland; more recently, however, that situation has changed. Germany found Lithuania extremely irritating in regard to the territory of Memel, which is German by population but is included in the Lithuanian State, while Russian feelings underwent a considerable change when the present dictator of Lithuania, M. Voldemaras, came into power on a definitely anti-Communist programme. That modified the situation distinctly, though when Lithuania appealed to the League a few weeks ago over a question of Minority Schools, and Poland retaliated by raising the whole question of relations between the two countries, there

seemed little prospect that the League would be able to achieve any more than it had in the past.

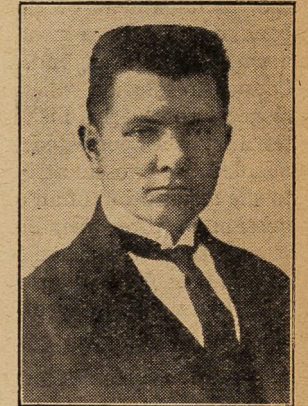
The question duly came before the December Council, Poland being represented by her Foreign Minister, M. Zaleski, and Lithuania by M. Voldemaras, a short and sturdy figure with upstanding black hair and a curiously boyish face. There was a lengthy statement on each side's case, the Lithuanian in particular covering a vast amount of ground. That was only a preliminary skirmish, and after rejoinders from either side the Council appointed its Dutch member, Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland, who is Foreign Minister of his country, to act as rapporteur, which means going into the whole question with both parties, endeavouring to bring them to agreement, and then drafting for presentation to the Council a report which should represent the terms of settlement, if any.

No one hoped to achieve a final settlement. The feud had existed far too long and feelings were too much embittered to make that possible. Unfortunately, moreover, the essential concession had to come from one side only. Lithuania was pressed on all sides to abandon the state of war, and there was nothing that could be offered her in return—except, of course, Vilna, which Poland had been legally awarded by the Conference of Ambassadors, which she had no intention of giving up, and which had never been shown to be more Lithuanian than Polish. It was a question of united pressure upon M. Voldemaras, even M. Litvinoff taking advantage of his visit to Geneva for the Disarmament Commission to urge this step on the Lithuanian Dictator.

Peace or War?

M. Voldemaras held out the whole week. Saturday morning came and he had not yielded, though everyone believed the battle was on the point of being won. The previous day Marshal Pilsudski had arrived from Warsaw. It may be doubted whether his advent in reality helped matters much, for his Foreign Minister, M. Zaleski, who understands diplomacy, was handling the case with wisdom and moderation, whereas the Marshal appeared to have decided to comport himself a little like a caricature of the soldier in politics. On the Saturday morning the Council held a secret and informal meeting, at which both Pilsudski and Voldemaras were present. It was something to have brought them face to face for the first time, and the consequences were a little dramatic. Reporters, of course, were absent from this private session, but, according to stories circulated in French quarters in particular, Marshal Pilsudski forced the matter brusquely to an issue by asking his opponent bluntly whether war or peace existed between Poland and Lithuania. "Not war," replied M. Voldemaras. "But is it peace?" persisted Pilsudski. "Yes," replied the Lithuanian, "it is peace." "Good," commented the Polish Marshal, "since peace is restored between our countries, I shall telegraph to Poland to tell them to ring the bells and sing the Te Deum in the churches."

So the state of war was ended. But the Council was resolved, if possible, to carry the matter a little farther still. That took the afternoon and most of the evening,



M. Voldemaras

the principal negotiators, apart from the two principals, being the Dutch Foreign Minister and Sir Eric Drummond. M. Voldemaras declined to abandon his claim to Vilna, and the Poles were content to shrug their shoulders at that. On the question of resuming diplomatic and commercial relations, the Lithuanian delegate would not yield. His position was admittedly difficult. He was faced with a strong internal opposition, and the fact of making a concession at Geneva—the abandonment of the state of war—and bringing back nothing in return might do him much political harm. There was, indeed, a passage inserted in the Council resolution whereby Poland bound herself to respect absolutely Lithuania's independence and the territory she possessed. The Council further recommended the two countries to begin negotiations leading to the resumption of all relations, and it created a commission of three members to examine into any complaints that either side might make against the other. In addition, Poland agreed to make no difficulty about the return to Vilna of certain Lithuanians she had expelled from there.

A Nocturnal Decision

That was the resolution the Council members in their evening dress were called on to adopt at their nocturnal meeting. The Chinese delegate, Mr. Cheng-loh, was in the chair. M. Voldemaras was invited to the Council table, and M. Zaleski was there already, since Poland is an elected member of the Council. Marshal Pilsudski sat in the front row of the spectators. The resolution was read by Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland. M. Zaleski was asked if he accepted it. He said he did. M. Voldemaras said the same. A few words of congratulation followed from the President. Then Zaleski paid tribute to Voldemaras, and the latter cordially responded. After that Pilsudski and Voldemaras shook hands. The Marshal left to catch his midnight train, and Poland and Lithuania were at peace. The next afternoon M. Zaleski and M. Voldemaras met to discuss quietly together the opening of negotiations regarding the establishment of "neighbourly relations" between the two countries.

Towards Normal Relations

It may be objected that that is a comparatively small achievement. The answer is that on paper indeed it does not amount to much, but the state of war was the obstacle to everything. Now that is abandoned, not only is the prevalent feeling of instability removed from the atmosphere, but the door is opened to a cordial development of the normal relations between civilised states. And from the point of view of the League, perhaps the most important thing of all, as Sir Austen Chamberlain pointed out, is that this result was achieved by the resolute co-operation of all the Great Powers of Europe, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia.

We are able to announce the publication by the Oxford University Press, early in the New Year, of the proceedings of the 1927 Geneva Institute of International Relations (10s. 6d. net).

The contributors to the volume include Professors Rappard, Zimmern, Delisle Burns, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, Mr. E. J. Phelan, Sir Arthur Salter, Señor Madariaga, etc. This volume promises to be even more interesting than the first, which received a most cordial welcome in the general Press, and by students of international affairs.

GENEVA PERSONALITIES

XII.—M. ERIK COLBAN

AN event of importance in the permanent organisation of the League Secretariat is the appointment of M. Colban, hitherto Director of the Minorities Section, to be head of the Disarmament Section in succession to Señor Madariaga.

M. Colban has long been recognised by all who know him as one of the half-dozen ablest men at Geneva. He is a Norwegian and began his career by studying law at the University of Oslo. Taking to diplomacy he held various posts in different parts of the world, and during the latter part of the war was private secretary to the Foreign Minister of his country. In 1919, before the League actually existed, he was invited and agreed



M. Erik Colban

to accept the post of Director of the Section dealing with administrative commissions (i.e., the Saar and Danzig) and Minorities.

In that capacity M. Colban has had to handle what, without any exception at all, are the most difficult and delicate questions that come before the League, and it speaks volumes for his personality that everyone with whom he has come in contact, whether his lot has been to support them or oppose them, speaks with equal emphasis of his candour, his ability and his fairness.

At this moment the Disarmament Section is perhaps as important as any in the Secretariat, for matters have reached a stage at which they are hanging in the balance between a considerable success and what might turn into a bad failure. M. Colban is just the man to regard that situation as a challenge. If the work before him had been easier he would probably have refused to abandon his own almost thankless task. As it is, realising there is a difficult job to be done he is starting out with the resolve to put it through.

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ANGLO-SAXON SHIPS

THERE is every reason why the question of the British and American navies and their relationship with one another should be occupying the public mind. The Naval Conference has failed. America, perhaps on account of that, is committing herself to a heavy programme of naval construction. Great Britain in spite both of the Conference failure and of America's building activity, has substantially cut down her immediate building programme, therein acting wisely from every point of view.

But larger issues than numbers of ships and sizes of ships are arising between the two nations, though as yet they have been discussed more in private than in public. All who have read Mr. Wickham Steed's extremely interesting articles in the *Observer* will be impressed with the importance of the point of view he has made it his business very recently to lay before the public of the United States in speech and writing. It is a point of view already familiar to readers of HEADWAY, but it will bear re-stating none the less.

It is all very well for America to declare that she holds aloof from European quarrels. She is not a member of the League of Nations, and in case of serious differences arising between European States she would regard herself, unless circumstances so unprecedented as those of 1917 arose, as a neutral. But what is neutrality in the conditions prevailing in the world to-day? Imagine serious trouble arising in Europe. Imagine the League Council summoned. Imagine its decision defied by some single State. Imagine no choice remained but to take action against the offender under Article XVI of the Covenant. This, no doubt, is a remote contingency. Every endeavour would be made, and rightly, to proceed instead under Article XI, which does not involve of necessity putting into force the drastic means of constraint laid down in Article XVI. But things might grow so serious that no choice was left. Action under Article XVI means blockade of the offending State. How would that affect America? She declares herself neutral. Does that mean she would stand aside from any disciplinary action the League found it necessary to take and allow the ends of justice to be achieved? If that is what America means by being neutral no trouble at all can arise.

Or does, on the other hand, neutrality mean for her "business as usual"? Does it mean that she would say that what the League did in regard to a particular State was no affair of hers, but that she had always been accustomed to trade with that State, and she would continue doing so still? Any such decision would obviously create a most grave situation. The League States, under an important article of the Covenant, would be bound to prevent any ship of any nation from carrying goods or munitions to the coast of the offending country. America, on the other hand, would declare that anyone stopping American ships would do so at their peril. America, in a word, would be pitted against the League. Is that what America means by neutrality?

Mr. Steed is, of course, by no means the first man to put that question to Americans. Many Americans, indeed, have put it to their own fellow-countrymen. But his visit to that country appears to have been

particularly opportune, and he has succeeded in gaining the ear of business men as well as politicians for what he terms "a new peace doctrine," which he is anxious for America to promulgate. The doctrine is simply this, that when the community of nations is combining to discipline some State which has broken its covenant by fighting instead of going to arbitration, the American Government should decline to support, either by its armed forces or by diplomatic pressure, any of its citizens who endeavour to give aid and comfort to the offending State by continuing to trade with it.

No treaty would be required. America could in her own way make that policy her own. It would be enough for her simply to announce it to the world. Neither, of course, would she be called on to accept the League Council's judgment of whether a State was an aggressor or not. It would be for the constitutional authorities in America to decide that in each case for themselves, though, no doubt, the facts brought to light in the course of Council discussions would go far to determine their decision.

It has been said that Americans themselves are making proposals of this kind. One is embodied in a resolution to be laid before Congress by Senator Capper, an astute and influential politician. It is significant, moreover, that a statement in the American Press towards the end of November indicated that President Coolidge himself was applying his mind to this question, and in particular was considering another resolution, to be moved in the House of Representatives by Mr. Burton, of Ohio, urging that the United States should place an embargo on shipments of arms to any nation guilty of aggression. An embargo on arms alone would be insufficient, as Mr. Coolidge himself seems to realise; but the fact that he is considering the question at all is important. It is very rightly being considered on this side of the Atlantic, too, notably by a committee under Lord Phillimore's chairmanship at the League of Nations Union.

But there is another kindred problem the settlement of which is just as urgent. One reason, if not the main reason, undoubtedly, why America is building a large fleet to-day is that she refuses to have her commerce interfered with in a war in which she herself is a neutral, as it was interfered with in 1914, 1915 and 1916. Suppose by some misfortune Great Britain were engaged in war with another State (as is still possible in some circumstances even under the Covenant), the British Navy would, no doubt, do its best to establish a blockade of the enemy coasts that would involve interference with American ships endeavouring to trade with the enemy. The complications arising from such action are too serious to be contemplated without alarm.

This is not a specifically League problem, but it is an international problem of the first importance. Neither has it any direct relation with the question discussed above. America's attitude towards a League blockade stands quite apart from America's attitude towards another State interfering with her commerce in the course of an ordinary "private war." But an indirect connection might be established nevertheless. It would probably be much easier to get America to consent to maintain neutrality, in the League sense, in the case of a League war if, at the same time, Great Britain and other naval powers would accept the contention, for which America has invariably stood, that private property ought to be immune from capture at sea. This country could well afford to make the concession, if concession it be, for it may be believed as well as hoped that we are passing at present through a comparatively brief period of transition, and that soon every war will be a League war and every blockade a League blockade. When that time comes discussion of the principles to be observed in an ordinary war between two or more individual States will be unnecessary and meaningless.

THE GERMANS AT GENEVA HOPES JUSTIFIED AND FEARS DISPELLED

By AN INSIDE OBSERVER

IN the days before Germany came into the League members of the Secretariat, forgetting momentarily the lessons of the old fable about sour grapes, were wont to express the hope that neither Berlin nor Washington would ever apply for admission to the League, since



Dr. Stresemann

Germans and Americans would wish to impose their own national methods on this International Civil Service. The League was a growing body, it was argued, and would suffer from any attempt to restrict it within the very efficient, but very rigid, limits of German bureaucracy. Politicians of the Old World, it was also argued, were so sensitive and touchy that the rather abrupt and straight-to-the-point diplomacy of the New World would lead to the collapse of the League. We may surmise that such fears of the United States, if they were sincere, would be unfounded, and we have ample proof—after fifteen months' experience—that, in Germany's case, her co-operation has been altogether beneficial.

Stresemann's Skill

It is, of course, true that Herr Stresemann is so able a politician that he has very nearly convinced the people the old ideas about blundering German diplomacy were nonsense. On one or two occasions he has appeared to make serious "gaffes"—one cannot forget the decidedly Nationalist speech he made to the members of the German colony in Geneva at a *Bierabend*; but one is tempted to think that even this mistake was no mistake at all. The German Foreign Minister has not only to think of the feelings of the Nationalist members of his own government, but he has also to remember that millions of Germans who ardently desire peace distrust, or did distrust, the League of Nations for the part it played in the Upper Silesian settlement, for its occasional rebuffs to German ambitions in the Saar and Danzig, and for the fact that it has been made responsible for the supervision of German armaments. Inevitably Herr Stresemann has felt impelled from time to time to risk giving offence to M. Briand in order to give satisfaction, or some measure of satisfaction, to Count von Westarp and his fellow Nationalists. But one doubts whether even the supple Foreign Minister of France (and here I cannot resist the temptation to mix metaphors) could have skated more successfully on such thin ice between the devil and the deep sea.

Germany's Good Start

But, quite apart from Herr Stresemann, both the members of the German Delegation and the German members of the Secretariat have adapted themselves to new circumstances with a rapidity which astonishes any one who remembers that these Germans have to start from the point from which most of us started seven years ago. Thanks very largely to the example shown by Sir Eric Drummond, there has developed in Geneva an international *esprit de corps* which impresses even the most casual visitor. This *esprit de corps* is inevitably of slow growth, and anybody who comes in suddenly from the outside has much the same difficulties in growing accustomed to the new atmosphere as does some youngster from the Australian Bush or the Middle

West of America when he suddenly arrives at Oxford or Cambridge. When one takes this handicap into account, it has to be admitted that the Germans in the Secretariat, as well as German delegates to the Assembly or to League Commissions, have won the respect and, sometimes, the affection of their colleagues to a striking degree.

Wise Concessions

One need only recall very few instances to show how useful a Member of the League Germany has become. No question perhaps affects her more directly than the government of the Saar, and, despite the demand of a united Germany that all foreign troops should leave this Territory, Herr Stresemann, in March, 1927, accepted the establishment of a Defence Force to keep order on the Saar railways. Had he persisted in his opposition to the rest of the Council, he might conceivably have won his point at the time, but the relations between France and Germany would have become dangerously bad. In the dispute with Poland as to the right of parents in Polish Upper Silesia to send their children to the German minority schools, irrespective of the child's native language, a literal interpretation of the Polish-German Convention undoubtedly supported the German thesis, but the German Foreign Secretary agreed to a compromise which, if it has not definitely solved the problem, has at any rate improved the relations between Germany and Poland. Again, when a Jurists' Report on the Polish munitions depot at the Westerplatte outside Danzig was considered by the Council at its last session, Germany, although she accepted the Jurists' Report, raised no strong objection to a Polish request that the matter should be submitted to the Permanent Court.

Poland and Russia

The last Council session gave two more very significant illustrations of useful German co-operation. Herr Stresemann, remembering the existence of the Polish Corridor, must have been strongly tempted to urge M. Valdemaras, the Prime Minister of Lithuania, to reject any compromise with Poland, since a Polish Lithuanian settlement might give Poland controlling influence in all the territory surrounding East Prussia. Instead, in the interests of peace, he played at least as big a part as Sir Austen Chamberlain or M. Briand in breaking down the barrier which has for so many years separated the Poles from the Lithuanians. And Count Bernstorff, reflecting on the fact that Germany alone of all the Great Powers has been disarmed, must have been very tempted to support M. Litvinoff when, in the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, the Bolshevik leader set out to refute the favourite French thesis that security is inseparable from disarmament. But Count Bernstorff refused to agree with M. Litvinoff, on the ground that the German Delegation had been one of those which, at the Assembly, had voted the resolution providing for the establishment of the Security Committee and specifically connecting it with the disarmament problem.

In short, then, there can be no doubt that Germany has already proved herself to be a thoroughly useful Member of the League. It is more than encouraging that, whereas so many honest and sincere observers prophesied that her admission to the League would make agreement more difficult, we have come considerably nearer a solution even of those problems which most directly affect the Germans in the last 12 months than ever before in the League's history.

HOW TO INTERPRET HINTS FROM A SUCCESSFUL TRANSLATOR

By LIEUT.-COLONEL H. H. WADE

No interpreter of speeches at the League of Nations Assembly and Council and the various committees of both is more familiar than Col. Wade, and there is none whose renderings from French into English reach a higher level of clearness and audibility. In this article Col. Wade gives some idea of how it is all done.

THE development of international discussions since the war has given increased importance to the art of interpreting, and some remarks on the nature of this work may be of service to any who are called on to perform it without previous experience.

The old-fashioned method of translating the speeches, sentence by sentence, involves too many delays, and would be intolerable to modern audiences. It is necessary to provide for the extemporaneous rendering, in a single translation, of the substance, if not the full contents of each speaker's observations. This work, which was brought to its finest perfection by M. Paul Mantoux at the Peace Conference, makes considerable demands on the interpreters, as it is only in rare cases that a copy or synopsis of the speech is available.

As regards the qualifications desirable for such a task, it goes without saying that a good knowledge of the languages of the Conference, a retentive memory, and the power of sustained attention are essential. In addition, the interpreter should possess a discriminating knowledge of word-values, and a well-stored and ready vocabulary. Previous experience in public speaking and clear enunciation are manifestly of advantage. A good fund of general knowledge—the wider the better—is necessary in order to understand allusions or to follow a discussion which strays into new fields. Finally, as unforeseen situations may always occur, an interpreter needs a margin of resourcefulness to extricate himself without violating the cardinal principles of accuracy.

The Danger of Bias

Accuracy, in this connection, does not mean literal exactness. Speeches have usually to be condensed in the translation, and the interpreter may, therefore, in most cases give a free rendering. On the other hand, he must be scrupulously respectful of the substance, neither omitting nor distorting any material point. To achieve this satisfactorily presupposes not only a good memory, but a completely unbiased mental attitude. An interpreter must recognise his stewardship over the ideas entrusted to him, and must seek to convey no impression other than that intended by the speaker. On no account must his disagreement with an argument be allowed to colour his rendering of it.

As regards technical methods no definite rules can be indicated in a matter in which the personal equation plays the chief part. The majority of interpreters take notes of the speeches, but with some individuals these notes consist only of an occasional word, which serves as a cue to remind them of the context; others make brief summaries of the gist of each statement; others again are favoured with such capacious memories that they dispense with notes altogether. Speaking generally, it may be said that the fuller the notes taken the less easy it will be to follow the speech understandingly, or to preserve its balance and proportion when rendering it. It must be observed that on most occasions the interpreter has no time to look through his notes, but must begin his translation immediately the speaker has sat down and continue it to the end

without a break. If he has to pause to decipher what he has written, his audience will probably engage in conversation, or the chairman may inadvertently call on the next speaker, thus completing his confusion. Any notes must, therefore, be so legible that they can be taken in at a glance, and must—whatever their form—be regarded as aids to, not as substitutes for, the memory. For this reason shorthand is not an appropriate method. On the other hand, simple abbreviations, or signs, for frequently recurring expressions may be of great use.

It is important that the interpreter should have thoroughly studied beforehand the documents relating to the discussion, not only to gain familiarity with the subject, but so as to be able to refer rapidly to any document from which a speaker begins quoting. [This, it may be observed, is one of an interpreter's chief embarrassments, as speakers do not always mention the page from which they are quoting, or give time for the interpreter to find it.]

Memory and Fluency

Whatever methods, mental or technical, the interpreter may employ will be put to the acid test of practice when he is called on for the translation. He has now to perform the dual operation of recalling each passage of the speech in succession, and simultaneously transmuting it into appropriate terms in the other language. In doing this, the memory and intelligence have to work with lightning rapidity. Were it not for this requirement of speed the work of interpreting would present little difficulty. In ideal circumstances, when the mind is fresh and supple, the words which best fit the meaning of any striking phrase will suggest themselves "prompt as rhyme," as the passage is being spoken, and they will recur to the interpreter's memory, conjoined with the phrase, when the same passage is reached in the translation; but when a succession of long speeches has to be taken without a break, there is a lessening of mental elasticity, the memory flags and the translations may become laboured and inadequate.

A useful form of training for work of this kind is to read documents rapidly out loud from one language into another. The facility thus acquired will, moreover, prove valuable when, as frequently happens, the interpreter is called upon for a verbal translation of a long written paper.

The ideal to be worked for in all interpreting is that the translation should be accurate in substance, free from repetitions, fluent, and clearly delivered, and that the style and phraseology should be such as would actually be used, in the same circumstances, in an original speech in the other language. That, it must be repeated, is an ideal standard, and fortunately no conference exacts such a high degree of perfection; it is rarely indeed that an interpreter sits down without realising how far he has fallen short of this ideal in every particular. Perhaps it is for this reason that Elihu when impressing on Job the value of "an interpreter," added the reservation "one among a thousand."

TRADE ACROSS FRONTIERS GREAT ECONOMISTS AT LONDON CONFERENCE

THE three days' Conference (December 13-15), convened by the League of Nations Union, at the Guildhall, on the work of the Geneva Economic Conference brought the constructive activity of the League more closely than ever into contact with the City. Moreover, it was the most representative of gatherings, for delegates were sent from no less than 119 organisations, including local authorities—there were seven Lord Mayors and ten Mayors present—employers' organisations, trade unions, chambers of commerce, rotary clubs, political parties and associations for social and industrial welfare.

The programme of the meetings followed fairly closely the order of the Final Report of the World Economic Conference. On the first day, December 13, after a cordial welcome by the Lord Mayor and the President of the Board of Trade, the audience heard an able summary of the general economic situation of the world from M. Theunis, the President of the Economic Conference itself, and other speakers. The next session was devoted to the tariff problem, upon which the most practical and definite recommendations of the Geneva Conference were made. The third session was concerned with the remainder of the commercial recommendations, and was remarkable for a well-considered speech by Mr. Percy Mackinnon, Chairman of Lloyds, on the international character of insurance and the mistake of impeding the world-wide conduct of the insurance business by any political obstacles.

On the afternoon of December 14 those resolutions of the Geneva Conference which dealt with Rationalisation of Industry were considered, and on the following morning the recommendations upon Agriculture were the subject under discussion. There was an average attendance of 300 at each of these sessions on highly technical subjects, and the Conference concluded with a most successful public meeting in the Guildhall, over which the Lord Mayor of London presided. Over a thousand people were present, and the three political parties were represented by Sir Edward Hilton Young, Sir Herbert Samuel and Mr. Tom Shaw. M. Albert Thomas, speaking in French, very lucidly developed his familiar theme, no less true because familiar, that: "Experience shows that the countries in which labour conditions are most advanced and the industries in which the workers are best treated have been the most successful in meeting foreign competition."

It was a most gracious act of the Lord Mayor and the Corporation of London to place their Council Chamber and the Guildhall free of charge at the Union's disposal for the three days, a remarkable tribute both to the national and representative character of the Union and to the importance which the home of British trade attaches to the promotion of international co-operation through the League.

POINTS FROM THE SPEECHES

M. Theunis (President of the International Economic Conference at Geneva): "Customs frontiers have multiplied and increased, and Europe is, in medical parlance, suffering from serious circulation troubles."

Sir Edward Hilton Young, C.B.E., M.P.: "What we want is a conference of plenipotentiaries of all countries members of the League to come to a simultaneous all-round reduction of tariffs."

Sir Herbert Samuel: "He is the truest patriot who wins most friends for his country, not he who makes most enemies; and you cannot win friends if by every means in your power you are constantly seeking to undermine their prosperity."

Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P.: "It cannot be to the permanent economic advantage of any country that it should try artificially to create or sustain by artificial means industries for which the resources of the country are not specially adapted."

Mr. Percy Mackinnon: "The ideal insurance is one which could meet any foreseeable disaster in any part of the world without a tremor. The restriction of insurance companies and underwriters by Government intervention is in direct violation of this, the only sound principle of insurance."

M. Walter Stucki (Switzerland): "I do not hesitate to express my opinion that the Convention of November 8, relating to the abolition of the import and export restrictions, constitutes the first result of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference at Geneva, and thereby the first and important step forward in the sense of international commercial facilities."

AN AUTHORITATIVE SPEAKER

An outstanding feature of the Conference was the number of speakers, foreign and British, who had been delegates to the Geneva Conference. M. G. Theunis, a former Prime Minister of Belgium, who was President of the International Economic Conference, reviewed the world situation from that coign of vantage. Herr Dr. Schuler, of Austria, had spent many years of his life negotiating commercial agreements for the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, and again, since the War, for the Republic of Austria; in consequence he spoke with authority when he declared that in erecting ever-increasing tariffs Europe was travelling to ruin. M. Walter Stucki, the Swiss diplomat, who had come to the Conference straight from commercial negotiations with France, said that he was now finding it easier to come to an agreement as a result of the atmosphere created by the Geneva Conference. Mr. Walter Runciman, M.P., Mrs. Barbara Wootton, M.A., Mr. W. T. Layton, C.H., C.B.E., Sir Arthur Balfour, K.B.E., Mr. Arthur Pugh, all of whom took an active part in the Guildhall discussions, had been members of the British Delegation at Geneva; and the secretariats of both the League of Nations and the International Labour Office were represented by Dr. Per Jacobsson (Economic Section) and M. Albert Thomas (the Director) respectively.

Among others contributing to the different discussions were Professor Gilbert Murray, Sir Alan Anderson, Mr. P. J. H. Hannon, M.P., Mr. Sidney Pascall, the Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., Professor D. H. Macgregor, M.A., Sir Atul Chatterjee, K.C.I.E., Sir Daniel Hall, K.C.B., F.R.S., LL.D., and Mr. A. V. Alexander, M.P.

It is impossible in so short a space to give any adequate summary of a conference in which most, if not all, of the speeches were of a high technical standard, nor is it possible to draw more than a very general conclusion from such varied and thoughtful contributions. No one contested the main lesson of the Geneva Conference that "the time has come to put an end to the increase in tariffs and to move in the opposite direction"; and undoubtedly the most important practical suggestion was that put forward by Sir Edward Hilton Young, which we quote above.

A full report of the proceedings, of which the cost is estimated at 5s., will be published as soon as possible. Readers of HEADWAY who would like to obtain a copy would be well advised to place an order in advance to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

THE FOULEST TRAFFIC THE LEAGUE IN INDIA

THE long-expected second part of the report of the League's investigators into the traffic in women was published at the beginning of December and is, or will shortly be, on sale at the price of 7s. 6d. Though it is crowded with facts and figures, this second part in no way modifies the conclusions embodied in Part I of the report, which was published last March and fully discussed at that time in HEADWAY.

The main effect of Part II is to demonstrate in fuller detail and with a wealth of incident and illustration the existence of a definite and organised traffic in girls from certain European countries to certain Latin-American and North African. What gives the volume its vividness is its record of hundreds of actual conversations between the League investigators and not only the victims of this revolting traffic, but the men and women who are actually conducting it. The courage and resource of the handful of men working on behalf of the League is strikingly emphasised by the unemotional narratives of their encounters in different continents, or their conversations on ocean liners, with men who had actually been visiting Europe to fetch girls from Poland or Rumania or some other country to a life of infamy in South America.

Together with Part II there were issued the comments of various Governments to which the report in its draft form had been submitted. Criticisms of the work of the investigators are surprisingly few, though every Government shows great anxiety to clear itself of any charges of slackness or inefficiency in dealing with this particular evil. France is a conspicuous exception to the general rule, her Government putting in, over the signature of M. Briand, a brief note which complains in acrimonious terms of the whole conduct of the investigation and the method of securing evidence. Hungary also takes strong exception to certain of the investigators' remarks.

Italy has discussed the report at much length, being chiefly concerned to explain that while she tolerates prostitution she does not authorise it, and that this means a very real distinction. The reply of the Body of Experts on this point is to the effect that while the Italian Government may claim that the State regulation of prostitution does not exist in Italy, the fact remains that all the practices and institutions associated in other countries with State regulation are in fact found there.

At the meeting of the League Council at which the publication of Part II of the Report was authorised, the question of the extension of the investigation to countries not so far visited was referred to the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women. It is still possible, therefore, that an enquiry may take place, for example, in Asiatic countries where conditions are very different from those prevailing in most of the regions so far studied.

A BOOK OF HOURS

A stout little sixpenny booklet of 75 pages just issued by the League of Nations Union includes everything anyone is likely to want to know about the Washington Hours Convention, with the reasons why it should be ratified by Great Britain, and the official explanations of why it has not been. The booklet, in short, contains what is probably the fullest and most convincing case yet presented in favour of the Convention. Ratification in this country still hangs fire, and other countries have reasonably enough made their ratification conditional on similar action by Great Britain. This opportune publication should make the way of opponents of the Convention a little harder.

INDIA is one of the countries in the world which takes an active part in the life both of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Organisation without seeing a very great deal of the actual work of either of them. Any evidence, therefore, of League developments in India or of India's co-operation with any League organ is particularly welcome.

Just at the moment two branches of League activity are bringing India in a secondary but useful way into the public eye. One is the International Labour Organisation, which has just recorded the ratification by the Government of India of two important I.L.O. Conventions, both of them concerning workers' compensation. The first provides that compensation shall be paid to workmen incapacitated by certain specified occupational diseases on the same terms as in the case of industrial accidents, while the other extends to foreign workers in the ratifying State the same rights to compensation for accident as workers of the country itself enjoy. This is of considerable importance to a worker who hears of an attractive opening abroad but hesitates to take it if he cannot be assured against the consequences of an accident incurred while at work.

This is more a case of India going to Geneva than of Geneva going to India. That need not be said of the activities of the League Health Organisation in India itself in the course of last month. There was first of all a meeting of a joint commission on plague held at Calcutta, organised jointly by the League and the Far-Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine. The Chairman of the League Health Committee, M. Madsen, was present. Then, in the last week of December, there was held at Delhi a meeting of the Advisory Council of the Singapore Bureau, for which the League Epidemics Commission is responsible. India has always valued greatly the infectious disease bulletins which the Bureau regularly broadcasts. In addition to that, a highly important interchange of medical officers from Far Eastern countries, one of the valuable series the League has been arranging for the past four years, is shortly to take place in India.

The public health officials to form the party will consist of two Chinese, two Japanese, one Siamese, an Australian, one Dutch (from the Dutch Indies), two American (one from the Philippines), one Cingalese, one Persian, one Egyptian and two French from Indo-China. Later still, in 1928, the League's Malaria Commission will visit India to investigate the situation there. It will consist, in all probability, of five members—one French, one British, one German, one Spanish and one Dutch.

Sufficient interest is already taken in public health questions in India to make it certain that these various meetings, conferences and investigations under League auspices will make the League itself much more a reality in some circles, at any rate, in almost every Indian province. The fact that in most or all of the provincial governments health is one of the subjects transferred completely to native Indian Ministers will tend to bring the visitors introduced under League auspices into particularly close touch with Indian life.

Dr. Norwood, of the City Temple, so well-known to League of Nations Union audiences, is escorting a party arranged by Everyman's Tours (32, Ludgate Hill, E.C.4) to the Near East in March and April. Easter will be spent in Jerusalem; and Naples, Athens, Constantinople, Cairo will be among the cities visited. The price first class is 150 guineas, and second class 110 guineas.

BOOKS WORTH READING

TRUSTEESHIP

Kenya from Within. By W. McGregor Ross. (George Allen & Unwin. 18s.)

Irony and pity are the two good counsellors from whom Mr. McGregor Ross has sought inspiration for this volume. The one he uses to effect in portraying the self-sufficiency and self-righteousness of the acquisitive settlers of his own race in Kenya, the other to enlist our sympathies on behalf of the pathetically helpless native peoples of Africa who still believe in the good faith of the Englishman. There is more sorrow than bitterness in his scorn for the futile attempt to found a white colony in tropical Africa by methods which are but one stage removed from those practised by the Spaniards and Portuguese three centuries ago; there is wisdom, discernment and statesmanship in his appeal to the people of Great Britain to realise the responsibilities they have undertaken as trustees of the backward races.

Twenty-three years in the service of the Crown in East Africa, the last eighteen as Director of Public Works in Kenya, fully entitle Mr. Ross to write with authority on "Kenya from Within." His book is a searching analysis of the events which have brought an unenviable notoriety to that colony. It is a record of purpose without plan, of the sacrifice of the ethical principles underlying our conception of the British Empire at the altar of expediency. It deals with the difficulties under which a servant of the Crown has to work in a country where the white "unofficial" population has acquired an influence in the local legislature out of all proportion to its numerical strength. It shows how this influence has been exercised in the sole interests of the larger concessionaires, and almost invariably contrary to the best interests of the native peoples, the Indian and Arab communities, and even the majority of the European settlers. More serious in its ultimate consequences to the future of the colony, it emphasises the probable baneful effects on future generations of the prevailing atmosphere of intolerance, of hate of Indian and disdain of African, which pervades each European home.

With all these aspects of the situation in Kenya have been familiarised in various sections of the Press and in the works of other writers. But this volume is the more welcome by virtue of its frankness, fairness, that meticulous accuracy in a wealth of detail which befits an engineer, together with that breadth of view which tolerance and faith in the English nation engenders. In addition, Mr. Ross writes with beauty and power, gripping the imagination from cover to cover. The chapter entitled "An Imaginary Episode" is a gem, a satisfying entity, although used to describe the peculiar neuroses from which certain sections of Europeans in Kenya appear to be suffering.

Men and circumstances have conspired to make Kenya the venue of the conflict between the old and new conceptions of empire. It is in keeping with his philosophy of life that Mr. Ross advances no purely political solution of the problems which arise where races are in juxtaposition under our Government. The charm of his solution is its simplicity, nothing more than the development of that supreme social virtue "companionship," transcending race, a virtue which could outweigh all the mistakes due to the pusillanimity, ignorance and incompetence of those in authority, qualities which appear to have characterised most of those who have been responsible for the destinies of Kenya.

There are just two points of criticism I must bring forward. Mr. Ross has evidently not had access to the confidential report on the Uasin-Gishu extension of the Uganda Railway from Nakuru. I had, and it was on

that report that our observations in the Report of the East Africa Parliamentary Commission had necessarily to be based. I am loth to think, also, that Mr. Ross would be unduly influenced if he accepted the hospitality of a responsible member of the Legislative Council of Kenya. But I should certainly have been influenced by Mr. Ross if he had taken the trouble to provide me with the information contained in this volume, either directly or through the East Africa Committee which was taking evidence while we were absent in East Africa. It is not my fault he kept aloof.—
A. G. CHURCH.

THE LEAGUE FOR THE YOUNG

Peeps at the League of Nations. By Hebe Spaul. (A. & C. Black, Ltd. 2s. 6d.)

This little book, one of the "Peeps" series, is an attractive presentation to children of the birth of the idea of peace in the world, and the gradual development of international goodwill and co-operation, culminating in the formation of the League of Nations. One chapter is devoted to Geneva, giving a very slight outline of the habitat and activities of the League. There follow brightly written and easily understood accounts of the League's intervention in the Balkans, of the reconstruction of Austria and of the help given to Poland after the war. These chapters, with two giving a glimpse of the industrial life of India (as benefited by international labour legislation) and the settlement of Palestine as a mandated territory, give young readers, with plenty of picturesque detail, a good idea of the spreading influence of the League. The book is attractively printed and illustrated, but the publishers have served the author ill in inserting one or two of the photographs at quite irrelevant places.

A LEAGUE PIONEER

J. Allen Baker, M.P. By E. B. Baker and P. J. Noel Baker. (The Swartzmore Press. 7s. 6d.)

As we read this book, we see the figure of a great pioneer rise visibly before us. Mr. Allen Baker is happy in his biographers, his widow and his son; they have done their work well, and even if they had only to tell of the earlier stages of his life, they would have given us the record of a remarkable man. The possession of high principles coupled with ceaseless and unsparing activity enabled him to turn the hawking of a patent flour-sifter in Canada into engineering works of international importance; they led him to be equally successful in founding the Adult School movement in London; a little later they stimulated him, as a member of the L.C.C. to introduce the electric tramway system, as well as securing it for public ownership, and to effect the clearing of great slum areas. But it was not until he entered Parliament that there came the opportunity for work in a wider field than Greater London. It was then, we are told, that "peace became for him the mission to which the remainder of his life and strength was given."

His business connections and his travels across the Atlantic and on the Continent had brought him into touch with international life, and these, together with his convictions as a Quaker, transformed him into an apostle of world peace. From the first he recognised the danger with which the competition in armaments was threatening Europe, and he believed that the only alternative to war was the acceptance of international arbitration. The idea of a League of Peace, a phrase used by his leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in 1906, was never absent from his mind, and, as soon as the League of Nations was suggested, he threw himself into the early steps for its creation, although his death in July, 1918, prevented him from seeing that event.

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(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."

(E. 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.)

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But, at the same time, he felt that the greatest motive power for peace must come from the churches, and it was due to his initiative in arranging the reciprocal visits of English and German enemy leaders that the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches was formed. The Alliance was perhaps nearer his heart than any other part of his work for peace, and he would have welcomed the fact that in his country it is now so closely in touch with the League of Nations Union. It is well that we have the record of such a life as Allen Baker's, an enthusiast without ever being a crank or a fanatic. "If there had been ten men in Europe like Allen Baker," a prominent American statesman has said, "there would have been no European war in 1914." His work lives after him and the coming generation should not be allowed to forget how great a debt is due to such a pioneer as he.—H. W. F.

READERS' VIEWS "THE PRESIDENT'S CHAIR"

SIR,—I wish to take very serious exception to the paragraph in the current number of HEADWAY under "Matters of Moment," entitled "The President's Chair."

You start off by saying that "a very important question is raised that ought to receive serious consideration." You then state that a Chairman elected from a small state is just as likely to make a good chairman as one elected from a large state. With this all unprejudiced people will agree. You then go on to mention a certain action taken by the chairman elected from France at the time of the Greco-Bulgarian crisis, and suggest furthermore that a chairman elected from a small state could not and would not have done the same under similar circumstances. With this I most profoundly disagree, and further, I think a suggestion of this kind is not only insulting to the smaller nations, but also has the very effect of undermining the authority and prestige of the chairman, as such. To my mind Colombia is just as likely to put up an effective chairman as, say, France or any other country, and to suggest otherwise not only breeds prejudice but undermines faith in the authority of the League.—Yours, etc.,

Hampstead, N.W.3.
December 3.

B. F. CLARKE.

[Our correspondent should re-read the paragraph in question. It was nowhere suggested that the representative, let us say, of Colombia would not take precisely the same action as the representative of France. What was suggested was that his name at the foot of a telegram might not carry quite the same weight in the world as that of M. Briand—a fact, surely, beyond dispute.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

CATCHING THE WAYFARER

SIR,—With the object of putting the aims of the League before the peoples, is it possible to make use of similar signs to those used by the Wayside Pulpits? They are usually of an arresting character, and I feel sure that the objects of the League would be furthered by the use of such things up and down the country. It would not be an expensive innovation, for the co-operation of every place of worship could be relied upon to erect and keep filled such signs. I shall be pleased if you will put my suggestion forward.

There are many striking sentences that might be used concerning the futilities of wars, in addition to the purely propaganda types that would deal with the workings of the League of Nations.—Yours, etc.,

Northampton,

T. ARTHUR READ.

November 28.

[This method has not been overlooked.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

A QUESTION OF NAME

SIR,—The recurring subject of HEADWAY'S name will, I think, continue to agitate the friends of the L.N.U. until we take a democratic vote and discover a name which is at least acceptable to the majority. The present name is, I feel sure, preferred only by a very few. I would like to suggest that it would tend to make the paper more popular among its present readers, as well as extend its existing circulation, if your readers were invited to express their views either (or as well as) in a correspondence or in a competition, and as a lead-off in the hope that you will approve, I venture with due regard to all the circumstances to suggest the following: The League Advocate; The League Outlook; Geneva; The International Outlook; The New Equater; The Link.—Yours, etc.,

November 14.

CHAS. MARLAND.

FILM EVANGELISTS

SIR,—I want to suggest to Branch Secretaries and others interested that they might hand pamphlets on the League of Nations (particularly the one entitled "How to end war") to people coming out of the cinema when such films as "The Somme" have been shown. They have just seen the horrors of war, and are ready to take and read a pamphlet on the subject. For the most part these are people whom we do not otherwise reach, who know nothing of the League, and who would not attend our meetings. I do not pretend that it is pleasant work standing outside a cinema on a winter's night for half-an-hour or more, but the cause would justify more sacrifices than that. I have given out pamphlets on many occasions after such films as "Ypres," "Mons," "The Somme," etc., and find by experience that most of the people accept and read them.—Yours, etc.,

W. Kensington, W.14.

N. RIDGES.

November 27. Secretary Savings Bank Branch.

LITVINOFF'S PLAN

SIR,—My attention has been drawn to a report of the Union's Statement, issued December 3, on the Soviet proposal for complete disarmament, which, it was declared, "is entirely alien" to the policy advocated in this country by the League of Nations Union. So strong an expression comes as a shock to members of the Union who read your Christmas message in the December issue of HEADWAY. This told us that "finally to abolish war as a recognised instrument of policy between civilised nations is no longer an impossible task. It can be done in a generation." (Supplement, page i.) It might be argued that the two statements are not actually contradictory. They are certainly not compatible, and the Union's statement is disquieting to say the least.

The statement raises other points of discussion, but I will content myself with begging you to note that (1) The correspondence this month in the *Manchester Guardian* shows strong support given by moderate and responsible persons for the Soviet proposals; (2) An important section of the public in this country and other countries looks eagerly for action on the lines of the Soviet proposal; (3) It is not improbable (and it is even to be hoped, unless a more progressive policy is advocated) that the League of Nations Union may find itself left behind in the general effort to secure peaceful international relationships and the real ending of war.—Yours, etc.,

Tuenby, Stonegate Road,
Leicester.

ISABEL ASHBY.

December 12.

[The only official statement of Union policy on this subject is contained in the resolution printed on page 7 of this issue of HEADWAY.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

THE POWER OF IDEAS

IT is almost a commonplace to say that the great issues of the world's welfare lie, to a very large extent, in the hands of those who have the opportunity and the responsibility of instilling the right ideas into the minds of the generation that is now at school. There are welcome signs that the teaching profession is becoming alive to the task that is facing it. The declaration put forth last summer by the leading Teachers' Associations of Great Britain is a noteworthy piece of evidence in this direction. Another is the number of books, designed for the teacher as well as for the general public, which not only treat the history of any one nation as inseparable from that of other nations, but which deal with international relations in their origin and development as well as with their latest contacts in the League of Nations.

Two volumes of this kind are before us, and both, written by men who are well acquainted with their subject and with the theory and practice of education, are admirably adapted for the purpose of promoting a change of out-of-date ideas, a wider loyalty and "a will to seek first the welfare of the world-wide society of mankind." The first of these, *The League of Nations: From Idea to Reality* (Pitman & Sons, 5s.), is by Dr. Robert Jones and Mr. S. S. Sherman, who directs with much success the education department of the League of Nations Union. The second, *International Civics* (Macmillan & Co., 7s.), comes from the United States, and is written by Mr. P. B. Potter, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin, and by Mr. R. L. West, assistant Commissioner for Education in the State of New Jersey. The two books have a resemblance to each other beyond that of the qualifications of their authors; in size, in the excellent arrangement of the text, in their really illustrative illustrations and

charts, in the series of questions for stimulating further study, as well as in their aim, they are curiously alike.

Tracing an Idea

Dr. Jones and Mr. Sherman start from a problematical beginning of organised human life and proceed to tell the history of an idea, the idea of peace, from Greek and Buddhist times, through the Middle Ages and later European periods, until they reach the present culmination of the idea in the League. They are able to show how closely the idea of progress and the idea of a peaceful world have been connected and how much of the more enlightened outlook of the present day has sprung from the seed-thoughts that in the past have risen in the minds of widely scattered men. Their survey is sound in its history and in its expression, but the most important chapter, in our opinion, is that in which they deal with the spirit of nationality and the sovereign state. Here they seem to come to the root of the matter which, wrongly understood, underlies the hatreds and fears and the obstinacy of the modern world. They point out with great clearness and force the ideas contained in each phrase, and in their final chapters they show how the dangers which lurk behind the phrases can be averted and are being averted by the proper use of the machinery of the League. As they rightly say, "the Federation of Nations will no more seek to flatten out and destroy the individualities of the nation members than the national government crushes and thwarts the growth of individuality among its members. . . . The formation and acceptance of the League of Nations was a public disavowal of the Renaissance theory of the sovereign state." These two sentences alone contain a wealth of ideas which deserve to be deeply pondered.

Space forbids us to deal adequately with Professor Potter and Mr. West's book. It and the other are complementary and we hope for both of them a wide circulation.

MISCELLANEOUS

SONG, WITH CHORUS (dedicated to the League of Nations) "A CALL TO THE NATIONS." Words and Music by H. W. Valentine. Copies from J. H. LARWAY, 2, Percy Street, London, W.1, and H. WRIGHT GREAVES, Exchange Arcade, Manchester, Price 2s.

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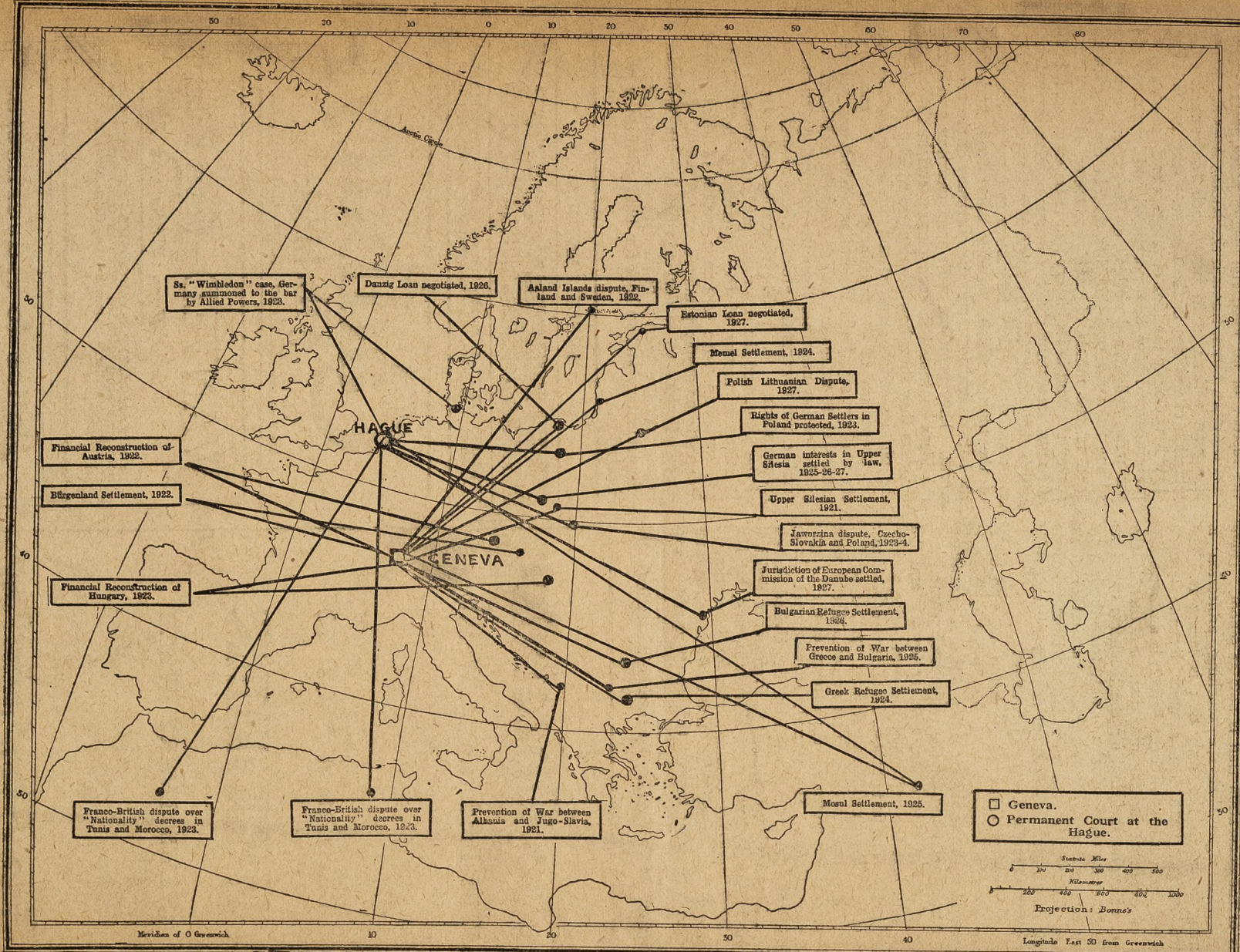
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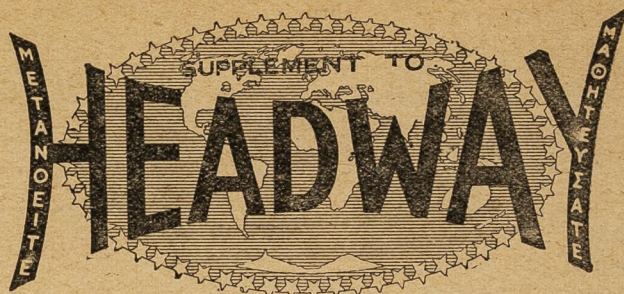
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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



JANUARY, 1928

REMOVING MISCONCEPTIONS

At the meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union, held on Dec. 16-17, 1927, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, Lord Cecil delivered an address on International Disarmament. He made the following references to "certain dangerous misconceptions" concerning the Union's campaign for the limitation and progressive reduction of armaments by international agreement.

"A DUTY lies upon all of us to deal with certain dangerous misconceptions. The first is that this is a party move or designed to assist a party object. Now, it would be folly for me to pretend that this is not, partly at any rate, due to the fact that I have taken personally a prominent part in this campaign. It is said: 'Here is a man who was a member of the Government, and has resigned. It is reasonable to suppose that he is very much alive to the failings of his late colleagues, and that, therefore, any campaign or any public action that he takes is probably with a view to inducing the people of this country to share his impressions of their merits.'

All Political Parties

Well, far be it from me to claim supernatural qualities. But so far as I can direct my own action, I have no desire whatever to use this campaign in order to belittle, destroy or injure the present Government. Knowing quite well what is the impression, the suggestion, the suspicion of my conduct, I have done my very utmost to be most rigidly careful, and where there was a doubt, always to give it in favour of the Government. I do hope and trust that that attitude will be strictly pursued by all members of the Union. It is of the utmost importance if we are really to give a great lead to the world,—as I hope we are doing in the matter of disarmament, that we should do it as one nation. I cannot, of course, conceal from myself that there are certain people who do not agree. You cannot expect from forty to fifty million people to be unanimous on any question, but I do believe that, taking the thing broadly, the overwhelming majority of the people do desire a reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement, and are prepared to take whatever steps are necessary in order to achieve that object.

That is the first misconception. I beg you to watch most carefully. Watch your local Press, watch casual observations made by anyone, and wherever you find anyone suggesting that this is a party move, hasten to explain that that certainly is not the object with which it has been supported or with which it has been carried on.

And All Nations

The next thing is, I hope and believe, a dying misconception. That is that we are out for one-sided disarmament. Now I know that members of the Union

differ considerably in opinion as to what ought to be the policy of this country as to the reduction of national armaments irrespective of international agreements. We are a body that deals with international matters, and what we are anxious to obtain, what our policy means, is "international" disarmament. It may or may not be right for us to reduce or to limit or to abolish armaments on our own, but it is not the object of the policy of the Union. The policy of the Union is to act through international agreements and to get a general reduction of armaments, and, believe me, whatever may be the merits or demerits of any other policy, it is only by a general reduction by international agreement that you can really put an end to war throughout the world.

Some Plans of Campaign

Since we began this campaign, taking that date as October 1, no fewer than 1,385 meetings have been held, with speakers supplied by Headquarters, and a great majority of these have been on the subject of International Disarmament. In addition to these there have been a large number of meetings of which we, at Headquarters, are not necessarily or fully informed—meetings organised locally by the branches. It is believed that this is a larger number than has ever been held before by the Union in so short a time.

Speakers have already been engaged for 450 other meetings during the coming months. Of course, they will be very much added to. In nearly all cases the main subject of these meetings will be International Arbitration and Disarmament, and it is hoped that in this way we shall cover, at any rate, all the principal centres throughout the country.

Now that is all very satisfactory as far as it goes, but I am sure all of you will agree with me that the mere holding of meetings does not carry you very far by itself. They must be followed up, if they are to have any real lasting effect upon the knowledge and opinion of the country, and therefore it is being suggested by the Executive Committee that every branch shall create a special committee of the branch to deal with this particular subject. It is not necessary that that should be a large committee; it will depend, of course, upon the circumstances of each branch, but it is important that there should be a special committee charged with the duty of dealing with this particular subject, not to exclude other subjects connected with the League, but

in order to see that this particular subject is properly dealt with.

Then, in addition to that, in large centres you will often find it convenient to have rather a larger organisation, something in the nature of a conference of Speakers and Workers, which will probably extend, not only to members of the League of Nations Union, but to other bodies which are taking an active interest in this question.

A Form of Promise

Another suggestion has been made and adopted by the Executive Committee, and it is this. I have attended a certain number of meetings connected with International Disarmament, and I have been struck by the great interest and enthusiasm which is often displayed at these meetings, and in particular, I might mention, meetings of university students, where they have taken the greatest possible interest in this subject, and it occurs to the Executive Committee that it would not be a bad thing to concentrate that enthusiasm and interest by some special act which those who felt disposed might accept, and they therefore suggested that forms should be prepared of a special undertaking to support work for international disarmament, and in order to give that a more or less personal touch, these undertakings would be signed by anybody who chose to sign them, and would be addressed to Lord Grey, Mr. Clynes and myself as representing the three Parties in the headquarters organisation of the Union. They would then be acknowledged by these three persons in a form of acknowledgment which would be sent to each individual, and in that way we would collect a body of people who were really keen on the subject, and who could be relied upon to spread the light upon it by their own exertions throughout the district in which they lived.

First Get Members

Now, I want to add one caution about that. It must not be thought that the signature of these special forms in any way takes the place of membership of the Union. Those who accept this suggestion, and who put forward these forms at any meeting, must make it clear always that the principal object is to join the Union, and that *the principal service which any member of the public can render is to become a member of the Union*, and so to give that Union greater strength and greater power for good, as we believe it, in the public life of the country.

Let Us be Accurate

There is one other matter which I just want to mention before I conclude, and that is this. I do beg everyone to be most careful in their use of figures and facts. Our case is most enormously strong, overwhelmingly, otherwise I should not be supporting it, and it is enormously weakened if one uses figures and facts which are not accurate. The Union has been very much embarrassed by the fact that certain statements have been made which cannot be supported in truth and in fact; they are getting out a careful statement of figures which they hope will be absolutely trustworthy and reliable, and, in the meantime, do be careful. Nothing is so easy to get wrong as figures, nothing does so much harm to a cause as the use of exaggerated statements in its support.

I am not going to make any emotional appeal—I cannot do it for one thing—nor am I going to argue again the case for disarmament. I do believe you are convinced about that, and beg you will show the utmost energy in its support; and I beg, above all, however great your energy may be, that you will conduct the campaign with absolute fairness and without partisanship, and remember that what we want is not the assent of a party, but the assent of a nation."

MR. SMITH AT No. 15 AGAIN

MR. SMITH has popped into headquarters again. He put in an appearance quite suddenly one afternoon and looked in on the Literature Department to see whether anything new and worth reading had been published. Conversation with the custodian elicited the fact that there were several. Coin of the realm changed hands.

Mr. Smith is rather bulky and dislikes climbing stairs. At the first landing, panting and puffing like a porpoise, he stopped to regain his wind, and seeing the door of the Board Room shut, his natural curiosity caused him to open it. He recked little of the fate of Bluebeard's wives or of the proverb, "Curiosity killed the cat."

Undaunted by the sight of many people, he walked straight in and took a seat, surveyed the assembled company and then proceeded to quiz each of them in turn. The first who met his gaze was Professor Gilbert Murray, head slightly on one side, and occupying the Chairman's position. The first words spoken, "And now for Item 3 on the agenda: number of meetings on disarmament since the last meeting of this Committee," made him realise he was at a meeting of the International Disarmament Campaign Committee.

On one side of the Chairman he saw Lord Cecil, and on the other the Secretary of the Committee, sitting with one leg tucked under him on the chair. Amongst others present he recognised Professor Noel Baker, the author of "Disarmament" and "The Coolidge Conference"; Mrs. Strachey, the well-known novelist; and Mr. Henry Vivian, late M.P. for Totnes, who took the chair at the overflow meeting at the Philharmonic Hall when Mr. Lloyd George spoke for the Union last October. Mr. Herbert Worsley, with the inevitable cigarette, was standing with his back to the fire.

The number of meetings arranged from headquarters on disarmament that week turned out to be 74, and the Committee turned to the consideration of other matters. Mr. Smith got up and left, not that he was disappointed in the quality of their discussions, but he had regained his wind.

Once more he started ascending and rather breathlessly reached the next landing. Again a shut door and voices from behind! Again curiosity triumphed, this time, however, it was a small, well-filled room into which he entered by turning sideways.

It was the Publicity Committee upon whom he had thus intruded. He found the discussion full of interest. It was turning upon simple four-page leaflets which anyone would be glad to read and which were not "highbrow." Much to his amazement, he found three had already been published and several more were nearly ready.

The talk then turned upon how the Union could arrange to tell the Empire more about the League through the Dominion newspapers. Much gratified, because he thought the idea was sound and would help to create a healthy and unanimous public opinion about the League throughout the Empire, he learnt that a great deal was already being done, in fact, almost every British newspaper in Africa was already receiving League news monthly, and that more developments were foreshadowed in the near future.

When Mr. Smith left, for he had stayed longer than he intended and the inner man was calling for succour, the Committee were well into a discussion on the results of Armistice Week in the Press. He had just time to hear that some 175 columns had been recorded as he softly closed the door behind himself.—O. B.

A 1928 FORECAST

JANUARY.—Mr. Bloggs, of Booting, an interested student of general form and affairs in general, is told by a friend, who was told by the friend of a friend of his that *there was* an institution called The League of Nations Union.

FEBRUARY.—The friend of Mr. Bloggs' friend's friend lends Mr. Bloggs a copy of HEADWAY.

MARCH.—Mr. Bloggs reads HEADWAY.

APRIL.—Mr. Bloggs informs his friends in the train that the world is going to the dogs.

MAY.—The friends of Mr. Bloggs in the train tell Mr. Bloggs that he ought to do something about it.

JUNE.—Mr. Bloggs meets his friend who had a friend whose friend told him about the League of Nations Union. After consultation they decide to attend a Union meeting in the district.

JULY.—Mr. Bloggs and several friends go to a meeting. They hear a good speech and applaud heartily. "Rather a good idea this League of Nations Union," thinks Mr. Bloggs. The other occupants of his row of seats appear to be inscribing their names on little cards which are being distributed by an exceptionally pretty girl. Mr. Bloggs—ever gallant—takes the plunge!

AUGUST.—Mr. Bloggs relates that he has joined the Union. Mrs. Bloggs says that he should be more careful. She is eventually brought to bay by a torrent of eloquence from her noble spouse (derived, incidentally, from a pamphlet entitled, "Why Have a League of Nations Union?" borrowed from a friend who had a friend who knew about the League of Nations Union).

SEPTEMBER.—Branch Secretary calls for Mr. Bloggs' subscription. Mr. Bloggs is out.

OCTOBER.—Branch Secretary calls for Mr. Bloggs' subscription. Mrs. Bloggs *thinks* Mr. Bloggs is out.

NOVEMBER.—Branch Secretary calls for Mr. Bloggs' subscription. Mr. Bloggs is in—yes, but in the bath.

DECEMBER.—Branch Secretary calls for Mr. Bloggs' subscription. Mr. Bloggs is in. Mr. Bloggs has that "Christmas spirit." Mr. Bloggs stands the Branch Secretary some of it. Mr. Bloggs waxes enthusiastic. Mr. Bloggs pays his subscription. Mr. Bloggs buys a little blue badge.

"VOILA!"

An Achievement at Wakefield

Mrs. Shakeshaft, the honorary collector of the Wakefield Branch, has established what is thought to be a record in collecting subscriptions. She has, this year alone, collected 1,016 subscriptions, and obtained 100 new members for the Branch, the total membership of which is now about 1,200. A more striking example of how individuals can help the Union would be hard to find.

London Regional Federation

A most successful Conference on International Disarmament was held by the London Regional Federation at the London Central Y.M.C.A. on December 10. Messages of encouragement were received from Lord Cecil, Mr. Clynes, the Bishop of London and Dr. Norwood. The chief speakers were Mr. W. Arnold Forster and Professor P. J. Noel Baker. An interesting discussion followed.

The League's Birthday

The eighth birthday of the League of Nations, on January 13, will be celebrated by a reception organised by the L.R.F. at Victoria Hall, Southampton Row. Dr. and Mrs. Leslie Burgin will receive the guests. There will be dancing, bridge, whist and other games. Tickets at 3s. 6d. each can be obtained from Mr. G. A. James, 43, Russell Square, W.C.1.

FILL
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on
FEBRUARY 27th.

MASS MEETING

upon
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND
INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT

Chairman:
His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury

More Armistice Reports

Many more reports have come in of Armistice meetings all over the country. A very successful gathering was held by the Bournemouth District at the Town Hall, Bournemouth, in Armistice Week. Mr. Frederick Whelen made a deep impression not only upon the thousand people who heard him at that meeting, but also upon the thousand and more boys, girls and teachers whom he addressed at the schools on the following day. There was an excellent response in new membership and two new Junior Branches were formed.

On Armistice Sunday the West London Mission Branch held their annual meeting at the close of the Sunday evening Service at Kingsway Hall. The Rev. F. Goldhawk was in the Chair and Dr. Norwood was the chief speaker. It is estimated that nearly 2,000 people were present. Many new members were enrolled.

Following their usual custom, the Penge and Anerley Branch celebrated Armistice Week by a series of meetings. A Service for Youth, held in the Congregational Church, was attended by Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Boys' and Girls' Life Brigades and members of various Girls' and Young People's Societies. The Rev. F. H. Wheeler was the speaker, the Service being conducted by the Rev. Ernest Barson. The senior scholars of the primary schools attended a meeting arranged by the local branch in co-operation with the local Education Committee at the Anerley Town Hall, and heard an interesting address by Dame Rachel Crowdy on "The Humanitarian Section of the League Secretariat." On Armistice Day itself a United Service of Remembrance and Thanksgiving was held at the Holy Trinity Church. It was estimated that over 1,000 people were present. The last of the series of meetings was that held at the Anerley Town Hall on the Monday following Armistice Day, at which Dame Edith Lyttelton was the principal speaker.

Scottish News

On November 17 a new branch was inaugurated at Stranraer. The Earl of Home addressed the meeting, and over 200 members were obtained. Vice-Admiral Drury Lowe visited Glasgow and the West of Scotland district early in December. He addressed a large meeting of the Wishaw Branch and also spoke to a crowded congregation in Kelvinside U.F. Church, Glasgow. Kelvinside U.F. Church is a corporate member of the Union. Admiral Drury Lowe made a deep impression, and his visit has resulted in the enrolment of many new members. He also gave the address at the inauguration of a new branch in Campbeltown.

OVERSEAS NOTES

South Africa

At the invitation of the Government of the Union of South Africa, Mr. H. B. Butler, Deputy Director of the International Labour Office, visited South Africa in November.

During the week he spent in Cape Town Mr. Butler addressed the University Club, the Chambers of Commerce and Industries, the Trade Unions, the Cape Juvenile Advisory Board, and the Cape League of Nations Union. At all these meetings Mr. Butler's informative addresses helped to remove prejudice and suspicion. Perhaps the most successful of the meetings was that of the Trade Unions at which the President of the Cape Federation of Trades was in the Chair and those present included the Minister of Labour, Mr. T. Boydell, the Secretary for Labour, Mr. C. W. Cousins, and the Cape Inspector of White Labour, Mr. W. Freestone. Members of the Cape Town League of Nations Union attended all meetings to sell literature and enrol new members, and the League of Nations Union Garden Party, organised by its indefatigable Secretary, Miss C. H. Stohr, was an outstanding success. A very full programme was also arranged for Mr. Butler by Mr. J. C. Merkin, the Secretary of the Johannesburg League of Nations Society.

France

On November 16, a debate was held at the Sorbonne under the auspices of the Paris Branch of the League of Nations Union. M. Pierre de Lanux, Director of the Paris Bureau of the League of Nations, was in the Chair, and the subject of the debate was "Are Great Britain and France doing all they could and should do to carry out the Covenant of the League of Nations?" The speakers included M. Emile Borel; Colonel C. B. Stokes, formerly Chief British Commissioner in Transcaucasia; M. Joseph Barthelemy; and Mr. Sisley Huddleston, correspondent of the *New Statesman* and formerly chief correspondent in Paris of the *Times*.

The meeting was attended by some 600 people and the following resolution, moved by the Chairman, was unanimously carried:—

"That the efforts at consolidating public opinion in favour of the League of Nations, made by the citizens of Great Britain and France, although of much value in the past, should be still further intensified in the future, and that those wishing to contribute to the League's efficiency should demand from it the fulfilment of its obligations in the spirit as well as in the letter of the Covenant."

Spain

Great prominence has recently been given in the Spanish Press to the ceremonial inauguration of a Chair of International Law in the name of Francisco Vitoria at the Salamanca University, which was attended by the President of the Assembly, Sr. Yanguas. *El Sol*, of November 13, published a long article entitled "Francisco Vitoria, Salamanca and Geneva," by M. de Madariaga, showing how the projects of Vitoria for the awakening of a universal conscience which it was not possible to carry into practice in the XVIIth Century materialised in the XXth Century with the creation of the League of Nations.

Australia

One thousand one hundred and sixty new members have been enrolled in the Membership Drive for two thousand new members by the South Australian League of Nations Union.

Canada

The Central Executive Committee of the League of Nations Society in Canada have decided to inaugurate a League of Nations day in the early part of the New Year, on which a simultaneous appeal will be made throughout Canada for support of the publicity work of the League of Nations Society in Canada.

NOTES FROM WALES

Lord Cecil has kindly consented to address a meeting on "International Disarmament," at Merthyr Tydfil, on Wednesday, January 25. The public in this populous and important district looks forward eagerly to Lord Cecil's visit, and the local District Committee is busily occupied with preliminary arrangements.

The Aberdare Education Authority has again set a splendid example by arranging for two courses of lectures for its teachers on "The Teaching of World Citizenship." This Authority, its Director and its teachers have always taken the keenest interest in the cause of the League. Several schools have Junior Branches, and the Committee has organised a League library which is at the disposal of its teachers. The Director of Education, Mr. T. Botting, is one of the most active members of the Advisory Education Board of the Welsh League of Nations Union, and one of the Aberdare teachers, Mr. Idwal Rees, is honorary secretary of the Aberdare District Committee.

The Branches in Wales and Monmouthshire continue their campaign on "Arbitration" and "Disarmament." The visitation of the less active Branches by the Welsh Council's organisers is producing encouraging results. Amongst the most interesting recent activities was the "Model Assembly," organised by the Bangor District Committee.

The Council's Vote

The following Branches have recently completed their quotas to the Council's Vote for 1927:—

Abbots Norton, Alton, Armley, Boldre, Beaulieu, Barnard Castle, Brize Norton, Boar's Hill, Beaconsfield, St. Mark's Baptist Church (Bristol), Beeston Hill (Leeds), Barnet, Bedworth, Bewdley, Burneside, Chipstead, Chalford, Coldbeck, Cobham, Cockermouth, Congleton, Calstock, Coleford, Eynsford, Epping, Frome, Farnham, Faringdon, Fleet, Grayingham, Harpenden, Horsforth, Hemel Hempstead, Ilkley, King's Lynn (completed in May), Leamington, Lincoln Training College, Lacock, Lothersdale, Maidenhead, Milborne Port, Mottisfont, Oxford, Pickering (completed in April), Patterdale, Salisbury, Silvertown, Sittingbourne, Stroud, Stockton-on-Tees, Seaford, S. Margaret's (Thornbury), Scarborough, Tonbridge, Tintagel, Thaxted, Taunton, Wantage, Worcester, West Wight, Whitchurch (Hereford), Weybridge, Wfndermere, Wootton (Beds). Tunstall Church has completed 1926 quota.

L.N.U. MEMBERS

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

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,224
Dec. 17, 1927	...	...	...	...	654,491

On December 17 there were 2,557 Branches, 518 Junior Branches, 130 Districts, 2,415 Corporate Members and 386 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
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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.

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

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