



HEADWAY

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE result of the German General Election is reassuring. So far as there has been a change it consists of the strengthening of the Socialists and the weakening of the Nationalists. With either Socialism or Nationalism as such HEADWAY has no concern, but the change in Germany has a definite international bearing which must not be overlooked. The Nationalists have never paid more than lip service, if as much as that, to the policy represented by the signature of the Locarno Treaties, and Germany's entry into the League. The Socialists, on the other hand, have been strongly in favour of both, particularly of Germany's activity at Geneva. Their electoral victory, therefore, is of quite definite significance as confirming the stability of Europe. It will have that effect both directly and indirectly. Directly because it is a victory for a peace party. Indirectly because a victory of the Right in Germany would have aroused all the suspicions of France. As it is, France is bound to realise that the movement in Germany is towards peaceful reconstruction. It is incidentally also towards the retention of the Republic and away from any idea of a return to the monarchy. That, of course, is a more arguable issue; but, in view of what the influence of the German monarchy was, most people will take the view that a Republic in Germany is a better bed-fellow for other nations than a monarchy.

A Council in Canada?

MOVEMENT is on foot in some quarters in Canada to secure the holding of a meeting of the League of Nations Council in that country. This would be an entirely exceptional step, for the Council has never yet met outside Europe, and even the idea of holding it at cities in Europe other than Geneva is being discountenanced on various grounds. At the same time the Canadian suggestion is not one that should be lightly dismissed. The senior British Dominion has always shown itself studiously zealous in support of the League and it is easy to imagine that a meeting of the Council within a few hours distance of the United States frontier might have certain indirect advantages. On the other hand, it might equally well have disadvantages. Very much would depend on the general state of public opinion in America at the time. While, therefore, the Canadian proposal is to be received with much sympathy, it may also be received with a certain circumspection. Probably Latin-American States would feel that if the League Council did cross the Atlantic at all South America would have a prior claim.

France's Forts

IT is announced in the Press that France is contemplating defending the whole of her Eastern frontier from the North Sea to the Mediterranean

by a series of steel and concrete works, mainly underground, which would be readily and immediately defensible. There are two observations to be made about this. In the first place there is manifestly nothing aggressive about the construction of concrete works, which can hardly avoid staying in the place where they are once put. In the second place, the decision to incur heavy expenditure for such a purpose indicates a singular lack on France's part of any robust faith in the maintenance of European peace. That is unfortunate, because a country which is always laying stress on the possibility of war is doing something to make war more possible than it would otherwise be. But the matter is not one to cause great perturbation. If France thinks she has the money to spend and chooses to spend it for such a purpose that is, in the main, her own affair. It is just to remember, moreover, that her contention has always been that her army can be reduced—as is actually happening—only if and when the defensive works on her Eastern frontier are complete.

Grappling with Opium

WITH the Opium Convention of 1925 now ratified by six out of the necessary seven Council Members, and the remaining ratification immediately imminent, there is good reason to believe that the Central Board of Control contemplated by the Convention will be in existence before the Assembly is over. In connection with it two questions, apparently technical but in reality of great importance, are raised. The first is whether the Central Board shall be kept studiously and deliberately independent, or whether it shall be closely linked with the League by the identification of its Secretariat with the Social Section of the League's own Secretariat. There is something to be said for either view. But the matter is pretty much decided by the recent vote of the Opium Advisory Committee, which declared, by a small majority, its preference for linking the two bodies. This needs to be confirmed by the Council. What is perhaps more important is that the members of the Commission itself shall be persons of real independence and strength of character, like the members of the Permanent Mandates Commission, and in no way under the direct or indirect influence of the Governments of their countries. Any relaxation of this principle would mean that public confidence in the efficiency and fair dealing of the Board would be gravely imperilled.

The Sacred Trust

IN his suggestive book, "Olives of Endless Age," reviewed in another column of this issue, Mr. H. N. Brailsford suggests the possibility of a wider development of the mandate system of the League. With regard to the mandates as they exist at present, he proposes that "the Mandates Commission should be empowered to employ inspectors, who should travel from one mandate area to another to survey the general situation, and in particular to anticipate difficulties before they actually arise." The use of the word "inspector" would cause trouble at once, but the idea is one that might well be considered. When Mr. Brailsford goes on to contemplate the possibility of the gradual exten-

sion of some similar form of international supervision over the ordinary existing colonies of different Powers (the Powers that succeeded in getting in first), he reverts to an idea which, though the fact is not generally known, was actually discussed at the Peace Conference in 1919. Such a development seems altogether beyond the horizon at present, but it is no bad thing that the proposal should be put forward by responsible writers from time to time. Powers adopting the attitude they ought to adopt towards their colonial responsibilities would have nothing to lose by the acceptance of such a system.

Useful Assistance

THERE is sometimes some doubt as to whether voluntary bodies like the League of Nations Union, or the International Federation of the Unions existing in different countries, can make much impression on the League itself. Some evidence on that point is provided by the Report of the Director of the International Labour Office, prepared for submission to this month's session of the International Labour Conference. In the course of this voluminous and most interesting document Mr. Thomas observes that "from time to time the Office (i.e., the I.L.O.) receives assistance from outside institutions. For instance . . . the British League of Nations Union has published the following leaflets during the past year: 'The I.L.O. Record in 1926,' 'Why British Employers should support the I.L.O.,' by Lord Burnham, 'The Washington Hours Convention,' 'The World's Labour Problems,' 'India and the I.L.O.,' 'Slave or Free?' (a summary of the work done by the Organisation on the question of native labour). It would be very helpful if this example could be followed by private associations in other countries." Of the Federation of League of Nations Societies it is observed that "collaboration with this Federation runs smoothly and is comprehensive. . . . The Federation gave public evidence of its desire to collaborate in the activities of the Office by sending a deputation to the International Labour Conference, which was received by the President of the Conference and the Chairman of the Governing Body, to whom it officially transmitted the resolutions adopted at its Berlin Congress."

Brazil and Geneva

THE President of Brazil in his message to Congress of May 3 observed that "Brazil's resignation of membership of the League would not prevent loyal collaboration on her part in the great work of the League." This constituted the first official intimation that Brazil had decided not to accede to the suggestion of the League Council that she should reconsider her resolve to resign membership. It, at the same time, raises a question of considerable importance, which will have to be considered by the Council either in June or on some other occasion. Brazil, it is understood, would be glad to remain a member of the International Labour Organisation, even though she is leaving the League. On the one hand, it might seem that it was better to have Brazil in the I.L.O. than not to have her at all. On the other, it is clearly desirable that every State in the world shall be a

full member of the League, and to admit the principle that a State may resign from one section of the League and remain a full member of the other is open to very considerable objection. There is some difference between resigning from one part of the League while still remaining a member of the other, and joining only one part and not the other. The latter is a step towards full membership (Germany was associated with the I.L.O. for years before she joined the League). The former is a step away from it, and it might make more for disintegration than for cohesion to accept the principle that States may, if they choose, drop half their League obligations.

A Change of Judges

DR. J. BASSETT MOORE has resigned his post as a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice, in order to devote himself to literary work, which he has long been contemplating, on legal questions. This means that there will be a vacancy to be filled at the next meeting of the Assembly in September, and the question arises whether Judge Moore's successor will necessarily be an American like himself. Normally that would be taken for granted, and it would be unfortunate on many grounds not to continue American representation on the Bench of the Court. On the other hand, there is a good case for taking this opportunity of appointing a German judge, a course which some German papers are already advocating. Germany was not a member of the League when the present Bench of Judges was appointed, and the question of her representation did not, therefore, then arise. The case is different to-day, and there is something to be said for appointing both a German and an American judge, though this would mean that the full Bench would consist of an even number instead of an odd one, and thus leave room for the possibility of equal voting.

The League in the Schools

WHAT proves in the end to have been rather a storm in a teacup about alleged opposition to the formation of a League of Nations Society in an English public school has produced a valuable declaration from the Chairman of the Headmasters' Conference Committee on the point. The weekly periodical *The Nation* quoted from the Highgate School Magazine a letter suggesting that the formation of a League of Nations Union Branch in that school had been opposed on the ground that the Headmasters' Conference had forbidden "official propaganda." *The Nation* commented, not unnaturally, on this unexpected attitude on the part of the Conference, but received almost immediately afterwards a letter from the Chairman of the Headmasters' Conference Committee saying that, so far from the Conference being hostile to school branches of the Union, it was itself actually represented on the Union's Education Committee, and adding that such branches existed in more than half the schools represented in the Conference. Finally, the Headmaster of Highgate School himself wrote to explain that the whole trouble was due to a misunderstanding, and that he was himself "a Vice-President of the London Branch of the League of Nations Society."

The Pen or the Sword?

AN interesting literary association is created by the contribution by Dr. Stresemann of an introduction to a volume of M. Briand's speeches on Franco-German relations. The book appears in German, not in French, and the collection has been made by a German editor. From Locarno onwards the two statesmen have worked loyally together for the maintenance and consolidation of peace, and the tribute paid by the German Foreign Minister to his French colleague in this introduction should, in itself, be a contribution to that most laudable purpose. The collaboration of the two Foreign Ministers shows how far and how fast we have moved. Five years ago French troops were in occupation of the Ruhr.

Films and the Child

AN interesting attempt is being made by the League of Nations Union Education Committee to discover the effect of war films on the child mind. A short and simple questionnaire is being circulated in certain selected areas with the co-operation of the Education Authorities concerned. It is to be filled up by the children, and the teachers are particularly asked to make no suggestions and lend no assistance in regard to it. The questions are as follows:—

1. What War Films have you seen?
2. Write down the name of one of these films.
 - (i) How long ago did you see it?
 - (ii) What do you remember best?
3. What did you think of "our side"?
4. What did you think of the other side?
5. What did the film make you think of war?

Deductions based on the answers will certainly be suggestive, though obviously by no means conclusive.

A League Wireless Station

INTERESTING possibilities in the development of the League wireless station at Geneva are suggested in the report of the Committee of Experts which has recently dealt with the subject. The primary reason for such a League station is the need for rapid communication with Council members at a moment of crisis. The objection to the installation of a League station is, of course, expense. But it is pointed out that many nations maintain at great cost all sorts of pieces of emergency mechanism needed only for use in time of war and it is, therefore, the more legitimate to incur a small collective expense in the interests of peace. But the experts do not think that such apparatus, if constructed, would be of value in emergencies only. They point out in the next passage in their report that:—

"The station could make a general distribution by circular wireless telegrams of press news, government information, and important League documents; it could organise a letter-telegram service between Geneva and the more distant Member States, which at present receive their information by mail and consequently are apt to be out of touch with the latest League developments; further, a considerable proportion of the telegrams now exchanged between the Secretary-General of the League and the different governments and between the governments and their delegations would be sent through the League wireless station."

The proposal will come before the Council this month.

THE MONTH IN BRIEF

KELLOGG PROPOSALS—CHINA—THE PROBLEM OF TARIFFS—BRAZIL'S RESIGNATION

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

THE month has been notable chiefly for the progress made by the Great Powers in the negotiations for a treaty to outlaw war, and the progress made by the Kuomintang or Nationalist armies of Southern China in their march towards Peking. It was pointed out last month that the United States Government had sent the Kellogg draft treaty, which had already been the subject of long discussion between the United States and France to the Governments of Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan for their consideration. On April 7 Germany accepted the draft without reservation in the conviction, already expressed by Mr. Kellogg himself, that this treaty was not in conflict with the obligations that had been accepted under the League Covenant or the Locarno Treaty.

The British reply was published on May 20. It was to the effect that Great Britain warmly welcomed the Kellogg proposals. Without proposing any addition to the actual Treaty, Sir Austen Chamberlain added certain interpretations of doubtful points and suggested that these interpretations should be expressed in some clear way so that everyone might be agreed regarding them. The most important provisions were that the right of self-defence should be recognised, and also that if any State violated the Treaty all other signatories should be freed from any obligation towards that State. Italy and Japan have also accepted the American draft. The French and American standpoints still need to be reconciled.

In China the Nationalist troops under General Chiang Kai-shek occupied the city of Tsinanfu on April 30 without meeting with any opposition from General Chang Tso-lin's Northern army. A few days later, however, they came into conflict with Japanese troops, who had been sent to the city to protect Japanese interests there, and severe fighting took place. Meanwhile, the two other armies which have espoused the Nationalist cause, one commanded by General Feng Yu-hsiang, who is generally known as the Christian Marshal, and the other by the moderate "model Tuchun" of Shansi Province, General Yen Hsi-shan, indulged in a race to capture Peking. They have met with practically no opposition, since early in May General Chang Tso-lin, the commander-in-chief of the Northern armies, suddenly decided to cease fighting, and he has been more occupied in preparing to retreat to his own province of Manchuria than in planning to defend the capital. The Nationalists, if they can count upon the loyalty of Generals Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan, now control all China south of the Great Wall, except part of the province of Chihli, in which Peking is situated.

Early in the month there was a sharp dispute between the British Government and Egypt owing to the reluctance of Nahas Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, to withdraw the so-called Assemblies Bill, which, in the opinion of the British, would have weakened the power of the police, and thereby have increased the danger in which foreigners might be involved. The British Government sent a note, widely referred to as an ultimatum, demanding that this bill should not be passed by the Egyptian Senate, and war vessels left Malta on their way to the

Eastern Mediterranean. Nahas Pasha at the last moment agreed to "postpone" the bill until the autumn session, and the British Government, considering that this was much the same as promising the bill would be shelved for good, took no further action. There are indications that moderate Egyptian opinion is becoming increasingly anxious to sign a treaty with the British Government rather on the lines of the draft treaty which Sarwat Pasha, Nahas Pasha's predecessor, had drawn up with Sir Austen Chamberlain.

As was anticipated in these columns last month, M. Poincaré obtained a very large majority in the French general elections and is safely in office, at any rate till after he has stabilised the franc.

In Germany general elections took place on May 20, after a campaign in which gramophones, fancy dress and free gifts of cakes of soap played a prominent part. The general result was that the Socialists gained and the Nationalists lost. There is likely to be no change in Germany's foreign policy.

As for the League, much the most important meeting has been that of the Economic Consultative Committee, which has reasserted very strongly the importance of diminishing tariff barriers, the dangers of which were unanimously recognised by the delegates to the World Economic Conference a year ago. Despite the resolutions passed at this conference, tariffs to-day are actually higher than they were in May, 1927, but at the same time they would have been considerably higher still had the Conference not met, and the Committee was able to point to a number of cases in which powerfully supported demands for increased tariffs had been rejected. The Consultative Committee, as the channel through which business interests can bring pressure to bear upon governments to facilitate international trade, discussed various measures "to put an end to the increase in tariffs and to move in the opposite direction." One result of the Committee's meeting is that the League's Economic Organisation will be asked to resume its inquiries into the state of the coal and sugar industries, so that the Council may be able to judge whether any international action would ease the critical situation of these industries.

The work of the Health Committee, which studied the possibility of developing its inquiries in many new fields, and the conclusions reached by the Opium Committee are dealt with elsewhere.

Brazil has not followed the example set by Spain, and a reply has been sent from Rio de Janeiro to Geneva stating that the Brazilian Government sees no reason for withdrawing the notification of its resignation from the League, which takes effect this month. At the same time, the Government expresses its desire to take part in many of the League's activities. The extent to which a State is entitled to take advantage of the work of the League without accepting any of the obligations of the Covenant is obviously a very important matter, and it will probably be one of the principal topics of discussion behind the scenes at Geneva in September.

DENNIS OAKLEY.

THE VOYAGE TO VILNA

A PARCEL THAT TOOK THE WRONG TURNING

[The fact that Poland and Lithuania are still trying to settle their differences over Vilna, and that M. Valdemaras, the Lithuanian Prime Minister, has just declared that he still regards the city—which was occupied by the Poles in 1920, and formally awarded to them by the Conference of Ambassadors in 1923—as the capital of Lithuania, lends point to this plain tale of endeavours to send a parcel to Vilna in the days when its fate was more uncertain than it is to-day.]

IT must have been rather more than a year after the Armistice that the incident happened that gave me so keen a sympathy with the practical difficulties of the Peace Conference. A letter came to me from an old friend in Canada which contained something in the nature of an S.O.S. Could I, in England, do anything to help friends of his out there, distracted by the plight of their relatives in Vilna, who, according to the scanty news received, were actually in need of clothing and food? "I am sending over a box," the letter concluded, "on the chance that you can do something; surely in London there must be some means of sending it on."

The Elusive City

"Where is Vilna?" I said, reaching for the pre-war atlas, and found the town in the middle of my map, whose Central European boundaries were already obsolete. Parcel-sending in those days suggested the Red Cross and kindred helpful agencies, and my first steps on a pilgrimage whose length I little suspected were bent towards Pall Mall. There I asked the question with which I was shortly to become all too familiar: "Can you send a parcel for me to Lithuania?" No, the British Red Cross could not, but they suggested that the Russian Red Cross might help, and I repaired to Piccadilly. I am reluctant to think that there was anything suggestive of Bolshevism in my possibly shabby appearance, but I did not seem to make a very good impression here. "Where is Vilna?" said the representative of the Committee. "There," said I, promptly, strong in newly-acquired knowledge, pointing to the middle of the largest map I have ever seen, with what I instantly perceived to be a hole in my glove. The representative followed me gloomily. "No," he said, "we don't send as far up as that. I think you had better go to the Russian Consulate."

Bloomsbury-bound

Rather disappointed at the failure of organised charity, and slightly fearful of approaching Slavonic diplomacy, I journeyed soberly to Bloomsbury. At the Consulate I found a charming damsel, whose almond eyes and perfect articulation (so different from what R. L. S. calls "the swallowing vivacity of the English") marked her as belonging to the Russian and not the local staff. She crushed me instantly. "If," she pointed out, "you want to send a parcel to Lith-u-a-nia, you should go to the Lith-u-a-nian Legation." Put thus, it sounded self-evident, and it was in the humblest accents that I craved the address of the aforesaid Legation.

As one humouring a not very intelligent child, the maiden wrote an address on a slip of paper, and I set off in the direction of the Albert Hall. An alien flag over the door seemed to beckon me in, and a young man placed a chair for me in the middle of a large and draughty hall. When I was comfortably seated, he said slowly: "This is not the Lithuanian Legation, it is the Esthonian Legation." An insane fear seized me that he would require me to find Esthonia on a map even larger than the one I had seen that morning, and to avert the nightmare, as well as because I wanted the information, I hurriedly said: "Could you possibly give me their address?" He clicked his heels, bowed

gravely and left me. I sat in the blast for perhaps ten minutes, while the affairs of Esthonia swirled and eddied round me, and while my benefactor apparently sought the required information from garret to cellar. When he returned with the slip of paper to which I was now becoming accustomed, I thanked him warmly and hurried out.

Baltic Adventures

At the door a taxi was discharging an Esthonian caller, better informed, I trust, than myself. In those days the civilian seldom saw the inside of a taxi, and seizing the opportunity to get over the next stage of my pilgrimage in speed and comfort, I entered it, hardly taking in the address I gave, and not, alas! appreciating the driver's expression. In precisely one minute we drew up at the Lithuanian Legation, and I turned bitterly from the shameless driver to survey with sinking heart a house marked by no flag, alien or friendly. A smart and unmistakably British parlourmaid opened the door, and feeling my question acutely ridiculous, I faltered: "Is this the Lithuanian Legation?" It was and I entered it, to be received with a cordiality seldom surely accorded to stray callers. Two officials in faultless frock coats sprang to welcome me into a pleasant London dining-room, with no suggestion of an office about it. May their diplomatic careers be blessed for their kindness to one who was, I shall always think, their first visitor. They sat down, one on each side of me, and I felt that at last someone was taking a suitable interest in my quest. "A parcel to Lithuania? Well, yes, there might be difficulties. A small packet they might send for me in the Legation bag." "Not so very small," I said quickly, recalling the size of the obstacle that blocked our hall.

"What part of Lithuania?" they enquired courteously. "Vilna," said I, all innocent and distinct. Both their good, kind faces fell at least a yard. "Ah, no!" they said, always together. "Vilna is occupied by the Poles. We cannot. The Polish Mission will help you." Sad, but grateful, I rose, and asked (as usual): "Could you possibly give me the address?" "Ah, no!" they again replied. "We cannot—they are hostile."

Hot on the Scent

This time the next link seemed missing, and I went back to my wartime office and consulted my chief. He thought I had started wrong. "Carter Paterson would have been a better line, but since you are in the high diplomatic sphere, ring up the Foreign Office and get the address." Somewhat chastened by the suggestion, I took his advice, and armed with my sixth address, started next day for Poland. The Polish office near the Marble Arch was rocking with excitement over the arrival of a prince whose name suggested a voluble snake. Nevertheless, a charming young man gave me counsel, confiding to me sadly how all the money he sent home to his sisters in Poland had been lost. This did not cheer me at all. "But," he added, "traffic is beginning again through ordinary channels. Try this company," and he wrote out the address of a Polish trading firm. I accordingly repaired where I was bid.

Here a new terror met me. The porter only spoke

French, and I must needs begin my hackneyed tale in that language. How on earth does one send a parcel in French? I stammered that I wished to "envoyer un paquet." The porter had no use for me as a linguist. "Allons," he observed disparagingly, "venez voir Monsieur R. qui parle Anglais." Meekly I followed him into an office full of parcels—cheering sight! But this time I was resolved that there should be no mistake as to the exact destination of my unhappy packet. "I want to send a box to Vilna," I said, "but I can't make out if Vilna is in Poland or Lithuania." Monsieur R. looked at me with blazing eyes. "Vilna," he said in ringing tones, "is Polish, and will remain so!" The porter had been correct in his statement that his employer spoke English—in fact, there was an irony of under-statement, a Greek touch, about his "Monsieur R. qui parle Anglais." Monsieur R. spoke English, indeed, to his amazed customer with a fluency and clearness, a cogency and speed, which are denied to most rightful owners of that tongue. In the space of the next three minutes he had informed me of the population of Vilna, the exact proportion of the population which was Lithuanian and Polish, and sketched briefly the history of the town.

All's Well

I was too stunned to giggle. Had I done so, I know not what the consequences would have been. When he paused, possibly for lack of breath, but more, I think, for lack of applause from his audience, the latter observed feebly: "Well, do you think you can send my parcel there, and if you do, will it ever arrive?" He eyed me with scorn. "Why should it not?" he demanded coldly. "We hear," said I, more weakly still, "that conditions are rather unsettled." "The Press exaggerates these things grossly," he rejoined, "—grossly. Conditions in Poland are more settled than they are in this country. We do not have so much trouble with the Labour Party! And"—with an air of triumph—"just look at your coalminers!" Having thus pulverised me, Monsieur R. came down to earth, and gave me quite practical instructions as to packing and insurance, etc., and I escaped without further reference to the politics of our respective countries, to get the business of despatch carried through.

All's Wrong

Last week, turning out some old letters, I found the postscript to this affair, the receipt for the freight charges, etc., of a parcel from London to Vilna, and an extremely polite letter, dated some seven months later, regretting the non-arrival of the box, and explaining that communication with Vilna was impossible owing to the Bolsheviks being in occupation of that city.

But whenever I see Vilna mentioned among the high matters engaging the attention of the wise men of Geneva, or wherever else the peacemakers carry on their hard and gallant task, I remember the incident in my undistinguished life when for a moment I came in contact with one of Europe's electric storm centres. For me that electricity will always be personified in the two mournful, courteous Lithuanians, who could not even furnish me with their enemies' address, and still more in that young Pole, in a dusty parcels office, with his flashing eyes and his vehement claim: "Vilna is Polish, and will remain so!"

Among the more important of the recent official publications of the League of Nations are the Verbatim Report of the Proceedings of the World Economic Conference (two volumes), the Minutes of the Twelfth Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission (October-November, 1927), and those of the 49th Council meeting (March, 1928).

THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL

THE League of Nations Council is holding its fiftieth session next month. That sounds like making history, but there is no reason to suppose that the event will be celebrated in any special way. The President this time is the representative of Cuba, a fact which incidentally draws attention to the large number of States beginning with "C"—five out of fourteen at present sitting on the Council. Canada, Chile, China, Colombia and Cuba all have to have their turn.

Plenty of rather difficult problems will be before the Council. The most interesting question—whether the appeal of the Chinese Nationalist Government against Japan in regard to the action of Japanese troops at Tsinan-fu, is to be dealt with in any shape or form—remains at the moment of writing unanswered. The constitutional points arising are discussed in another part of HEADWAY.

There will, of course, be the usual reports of Committees to be approved or otherwise, the most important issue arising out of this being the proposal of the Opium Committee that the new Central Control Board shall be intimately linked with the League Secretariat, instead of being technically distinct from it. On the report of the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children the Council will have to decide whether the investigation into the traffic is to be continued or not. The decision will be pretty certainly along the lines of the Committee's recommendations, namely, that further action should be taken, but not at the present moment.

Old Friends

Two hopelessly complicated disputes are inherited from past sittings of the Council, one the eternal question of the Hungarian Optants in Rumania, the other involving the general relations of Poland and Lithuania. Regarding each of these it was hoped that some progress might have been achieved by the time the Council met, but in actual fact there is little probability of any satisfactory news being received. Meanwhile, one or two more little differences have been sent on to the Council, one between Albania and Greece over the treatment of the Albanian minority in the latter country, and one involving the treatment of Polish minorities in Germany and of German minorities in Poland, cross-petitions having been received from both sections.

There will also be before the Council a report from the experts appointed to investigate the seizure of machine-guns on the Hungarian frontier last January. The excitement caused by this notorious incident has now largely died down and it is probable that the Council will be able this time to dispose of it finally.

In another category are what may be described as certain private affairs of the League itself, namely, the erection of its new buildings and the proposed construction of a wireless station for the League's special use. A full report on the latter subject has been prepared by the Transit Committee, and what the Council will have to decide is whether the installation is worth what it is likely to cost. In regard to the buildings, the Council members will have to approve the final plans, if they can be got ready in time. It will be remembered that the unusual course has been taken of setting five different architects to collaborate. They have been hard at work at Geneva for some weeks, but it is not yet quite certain that they will have come to the point at which the Council can give its definite approval to the result of their labours.

SIR AUSTEN ON THE LEAGUE THREE YEARS' IMPRESSIONS OF GENEVA

IT is interesting and significant that an enterprising publisher, anxious to give the public a representative selection of Sir Austen Chamberlain's speeches, places 17 out of a total of 28 under the heading "Great Britain and the League of Nations," five of the remainder coming under the title "Egypt and China," and the rest under "The British Empire" and "France" respectively.

Here, then, in these 17 speeches, covering the space of almost exactly three years in time, we get as full and as clear a statement of Sir Austen's faith in regard to the League of Nations as is likely to be obtainable anywhere. They were delivered under varying conditions—at public meetings, at the House of Commons, at Geneva—to some audiences, that is to say, which knew a great deal more about Great Britain than about the League, and to others which knew more about the League than about Great Britain. To the one the Foreign Secretary is trying in the main to commend and explain the League, to the other he is trying in the main to explain Great Britain and her policy.

Plain Words

It goes without saying that, allowance being made for the difference in circumstances, the picture of the League is broadly the same in each case. Sir Austen Chamberlain is not the man to trim his sails to please his hearers. You may like what he has to say or dislike it. He will say it all the same. No doubt he does not always say it with conspicuous tact. There are in this volume two speeches dealing with the British Government's reluctance to extend, or even to define, her obligations in the matter of League sanctions. One was made by Sir Austen to the League Council in March, 1925, in announcing Great Britain's rejection of the Geneva Protocol, the other to the Assembly in September, 1927, in opposition to tendencies on the part of certain delegates to hark back to the Protocol. The contrast between the two is pointed. The former, while decisive in its conclusions, is suave, argumentative, interrogative. The latter is an honest, unpolished, at times over-elaborated, protestation by a man who feels it necessary to impose his views on an unsympathetic audience, but does it with no sense of ease or comfort in diction. The contrast is no mystery to those who know the facts. Sir Austen himself explains that the former statement "by an abler pen than mine" was included because it was needed to explain later declarations. The "abler pen" was Lord Balfour's, and the style is as little Sir Austen's as the pen.

A Believer in the League

This is not a volume to criticise in detail. There are one or two statements that might be challenged on grounds of fact, and others to which a certain school of League supporters would take exception on grounds of opinion. These, for the most part, matter little. What does matter is what the man in charge of the foreign affairs of this country thinks in general about the League of Nations. About the main part of his thought and belief there is no doubt whatever. He believes in the League of Nations profoundly. What is more, he believes in it increasingly. The later speeches breathe a far more profound faith in the League than earlier. In the first one of all, for example, we have this, tagged on almost as an afterthought in a concluding sentence:—

"Nor do we forget the great service already rendered to humanity by the League of Nations, or the immense

possibilities of good which it holds if wisely and prudently directed."

That was in November, 1924, before Sir Austen had ever attended a League Council meeting. Six months later—in April, 1925—comes a testimony based on personal contacts:—

"I think—and my experience at two Council meetings of the League has given me great confidence in the prediction—that the League, if wisely directed and not too early strained, will be a great instrument in the peace of the world."

A year later, again, the Foreign Secretary tells a Unionist audience at Birmingham that:—

"The League of Nations was the response to the earnest prayer of millions of people suffering in the agony of the Great War."

Logic be —

The book, in short, reveals the Foreign Minister as fundamentally—and increasingly—a League of Nations man. But it reveals at the same time, very strikingly, the limits he sets to his faith. He is against any extension of League obligations. Wherever he sees the shadow of the Geneva Protocol looming he hits at it. He hates logicians and doctrinaires. "Nearly every decision we have taken has been illogical," he tells the League Assembly in his first address to it—"we" being, of course, the British people—and at Birmingham he goes a little further, insisting that "our history has been peaceful because so many of the solutions which we have brought to our most difficult problems have been illogical, like human nature, and not logical, like theory."

Well, that is what in other phraseology is called the good old English way of muddling through. It is well enough when you can do nothing better. But to contend that you are content to deal with problems as they arise is very like arguing for not trying to stop a fire—or for that matter a war—till the blaze is too big to ignore. It is possible no doubt to make a fetish of logic. It is just as easy to make a fetish of despising logic.

A Friend of France

Another feature of Sir Austen these speeches reveal is his conviction that the League must be allowed to grow slowly—very slowly. Another yet is his pride in Locarno. He is essentially Francophile. More than once he dwells with sympathy on the disillusionment of France as result, first, of the failure of the Anglo-American Guarantee Treaty of 1919, and again of the British guarantee offered by Mr. Lloyd George at Cannes in 1922. It is an open secret that the Foreign Secretary's own idea in the first instance in 1924-5 was for an Anglo-French understanding. Fortunately he threw himself heart and soul into the far more hopeful tripartite agreement clinched at Locarno after the Sixth Assembly.

It should be added that this volume includes the wholly admirable speech on the League (published by the League of Nations Union as a separate pamphlet) delivered by Sir Austen Chamberlain in his Rectorial Address, at Glasgow, in November, 1926. In this as in the rest he shows himself a man of plain speech. There is little eloquence, little real distinction, about his addresses, but you never have to stop to ask what the speaker really means. And lucidity does a great deal more good to the world than fine phrases. H. W. H.

MR. KELLOGG AND THE COVENANT

HOW THE AMERICAN PROPOSALS AFFECT THE LEAGUE

By PHILIP KERR

NOW that the British Commonwealth has accepted in principle the Kellogg proposal for a multilateral treaty renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, it is important to consider how the new treaty will affect the Covenant of the League. We shall only do this if we grasp what is involved in the idea of the outlawry of war, for that is the idea behind the Kellogg proposal. And it is an idea quite different from, but, in my judgment, entirely compatible with, the Covenant.

The outlawry movement is based on the simple idea that international peace is impossible so long as the use of violence in its most savage and destructive form, namely, war, is a legal method of attaining national ends under international law, and that the first and

vital step towards the ending of war must be the total legal abolition of the right to use war internationally just as the right to use violence has been totally abolished inside every civilised State. It is by no means clear that the outlawry school in the United States recognises the far-reaching implications of its own doctrine. It has concentrated hitherto far more on securing the formal renunciation of war than on those pacific modes of settlement which are the alternatives to war and without which the legal renunciation of war will be ineffective. It has not gone further than to propose that a Court of International Justice should be established which should have the power to decide all questions of an international kind which may be placed before it.

Getting Laws Obeyed

It is quite obvious, however, that there is peace inside every civilised State to-day, not merely because war or the use of violence for personal or group ends is renounced and forbidden, but because the community has created law courts from which every citizen can obtain redress of his grievances, because it has created representative legislatures which can continually amend the law applied by the courts so that it meets the ever-changing needs of the community, and because it maintains a police force and, in the last resort, can raise an army or a military levy of all citizens to compel those who would try to accomplish their ends by violence to desist from the attempt and to have recourse instead to the legal or legislative machinery established by the constitution.

If Mr. Kellogg's proposed treaty is to be successful it will be because the States which sign it are willing to make it effective by doing three things:—

(1) Really make up their minds to renounce war altogether as the means of accomplishing any national purpose.

(2) Create judicial, arbitral, conciliation and conference machinery covering all nations, to which they will take international disputes of every kind for settlement and whose advice or decisions they will loyally respect.

(3) Be prepared to use force to make it impossible for any nation to gain its ends by war, but for this purpose only.

It is quite clear that neither the United States nor any of the other nations who have given their general adherence to Mr. Kellogg's proposals are prepared to go as far as this or recognise what adherence implies. For it is surely clear that the preliminary to signature is not to make reservations about the right to use war, but to define the distinction between war "police" action. War is the use of violence by a State as an instrument of its policy. Police action is the use of force to prevent a legally established situation from being altered by violence, provided that effective means exist for altering the *status quo* by pacific means, to the extent that reason and justice require.

How does all this affect the Covenant? The outlawry advocates have always objected to the Covenant on the ground that it leaves the road open for the lawful use of war. Their objection is perfectly well founded. The Covenant binds its members to have recourse to pacific modes of settlement for a period of approximately nine months. It prohibits them from using war in any dispute in which their opponents in the controversy accept a unanimous report by the Council. It binds them to take financial and economic sanctions against any nation which goes to war in violation of these pledges, and it contemplates, though it does not prescribe, the use of naval and military sanctions against such an outlaw. But it does not prohibit the use of war as an instrument of national policy. It is perfectly lawful for members of the League to use war if pacific methods do not yield a result which satisfies them within a period of nine months, save only in the case mentioned. So long, say the advocates of the outlawry of war, as the Covenant thus leaves the door wide open for the use of war, it will in practice prove ineffective in preventing war. Nations will know that they have the right to use war, they will know that other nations have also this right, armaments will be maintained, war will remain continuously in the thoughts of mankind as the ultimate resource, with the result that whenever a serious crisis arises governments will brush pacific procedure aside, and invoke that warlike method from which they have never yet been able to escape, and which the Covenant itself still authorises.

A Mechanism of Settlement

On the other hand, the Covenant already creates an extremely elaborate and efficient mechanism for the settlement of disputes. No member can refuse to have all its disputes examined by some kind of impartial body in the limelight of world publicity. The United States need not join the League, but, if it means business by the Kellogg treaty, it will have to bind itself to submit all its disputes to some world-wide pacific machinery, at least as effective and possibly more effective than that created by the Covenant. The Covenant also provides for "sanctions." Under the new proposal "sanctions" will somewhat change their character. Their use will be confined to one purpose, and one purpose only, namely, to prevent any nation from accomplishing anything by war, and so compel it to have recourse to pacific means of settlement for every kind of dispute in which it may be engaged.

The general approval of the Kellogg proposal obviously



Philip Kerr

opens a new phase, and an all-important phase, in the problem of organising the world in such a way that international questions can be settled by reason and justice and not by force. It brings to the front of the stage an idea even more fundamental in its consequences than the Covenant. For it proposes, in effect, that the nations should agree to govern their international conduct by the same principle as governs the relations of civilised men inside civilised states. The working out of this idea will obviously take time and much sacrifice of tradition. It will only be successful if nations are reasonable, just, and unselfish in their

handling of international machinery. But if the members of the League really adopt the idea of the outlawry of war with all its implications, if, at the same time, the United States co-operates in the use of pacific procedure for the settlement of all international disputes at least as elaborate as that established under the Covenant, and if all are resolved that no nation, themselves included, shall be allowed in future to accomplish anything by war, we shall have laid upon the rock of eternal principle the foundations of that temple of international justice within which alone peace can be found.

"BERLIN"

A GREAT CITY'S DAY-TO-DAY LIFE

By A. D. GRISTWOOD

[In this brief impression of a recent film Mr. Gristwood, whose graphic book "The Somme," was reviewed by Prof. Baker in last month's HEADWAY, casts an interesting light on the power of the cinematograph to exercise a subtle and unconscious influence in the direction of international understanding.]

THE German film "Berlin," shown recently in London, is all unwittingly a Tract for the Times, and drives home, as no self-conscious propaganda can ever hope to do, the lesson of Brotherhood between the Nations. It contains neither plot, characters nor captions. There is no striving for effect and no falsification of values in the interests of "picturesqueness." The picture shows us a day in the life of a city, and it is claimed by the producer that his vast army of "supers"—for there are no "stars"—were, for the most part, unconscious witnesses. The hidden camera reveals the everyday life of the people with a fidelity beyond the reach of the most elaborate studio.

Work and Play

From dawn to midnight we follow the ebb and flow of business and pleasure in the streets of Berlin. The train carries us from the flat grey plains of Prussia to

army of clerks and typists take the place of the artisans and factory girls. Soon the pulse of the city is beating its strongest. The children are on their way to school—the girls loitering outside the sweet-shops, and the boys playing tag in the roadway. (We took care not to think of the children in war time.) The white-gloved policemen manage the traffic very creditably. They have given up their fierce spiked helmets, and seem happier for the change.

Lifts shoot skywards, and trains ply overhead and underground. Typewriters click and telephones chatter. Molten steel splashes like water from the furnaces. Machinery of uncanny intelligence spins ever faster in the workshops.

At midday we enter restaurants and eating-houses in every quarter of the city. The cat steals nameless dainties from a dustbin in a slum; sausages sizzle succulently in shop-windows; city men snatch their meals in crowded chop-houses; fashion, lunching in a palace worthy of Paris or Hollywood, powders its nose when only the camera is looking.

Evening Pleasures

Afterwards, the day's work done, we go yachting on the river, or riding in the park, or swimming at the baths. Polo, horse-racing, boxing, football, joy-riding on the scenic railway at the fair—the range of pleasures seems unlimited, and at night the fun waxes faster than ever. We visit theatres and music-halls; we listen to symphony-concerts and jazz-bands (the orchestra plays its part here); the boots of Charlie Chaplin stagger clumsily across the screen; we pass in a moment from gilded restaurants to shabby beer-halls in the "east-end" of the city.

And so to bed through rain-swept streets that shine like water beneath the blaze of the lamps! It has been a dizzy journey—the scheme of the film forbade "continuity"—but our time has not been misspent. We see Berlin as another London, and its citizens as men of like passions with ourselves. The platitude comes home with all the force of a paradox. All men are brothers indeed.

There was no doubt of the applause at the end. Let every member of the League of Nations Union, when the film comes his way, take a friend to see it. He will have no need to point the moral.



Berlin: Pariser Platz

an outer zone of market-gardens and trim suburban villas, and so we come at last to the factories and tenements in the heart of the city. At first the streets are empty, save for the policemen with their leashed Alsatians. Then the factory-gates are opened, and the hewers of wood and drawers of water emerge from their crowded rookeries. Shutters fly open, and bedding is hung out of window; the milkman and postman make their morning rounds; the streets fill with traffic, and buses and trams jostle with horse-waggons laden for market.

Then the crowds at the stations grow denser, and an

HECKLERS' CORNER

FACTS AND FIGURES ABOUT THE LEAGUE

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

(1) Has Germany disarmed within the limits imposed upon her by the Treaty of Versailles?

The answer is that the Conference of Ambassadors has formally declared itself satisfied that she has.

(2) Human nature being what it is, can the League stop war?

Human nature being what it was, an increasingly enlightened public opinion succeeded in stopping slavery and duelling.

(3) Did not Italy break her pledge when she sent her ultimatum to Greece in 1923?

Italy certainly did not follow the procedure she might have been expected to follow as a signatory of the League Covenant. It may therefore be said that she broke her pledge.

(4) Has not the League of Nations failed to make the Minority Treaties really effective?

Yes. But that is hardly the League's fault. It had no voice in framing the Treaties, and the Treaties invested the League with no power to do anything more than listen to complaints and make suggestions.

(5) How do the representatives talk to each other at Geneva?

Very much as you and I do, except that any two of them have to find a language that both of them speak. Either French or English, which are the two official languages of the League, serves for almost any casual Geneva conversation.

(6) What does the League cost?

The figure for the current year is 25,333,817 Swiss francs, which is equivalent in English money to £1,013,352. Out of this is defrayed the whole cost of the League itself, the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

(7) If Australia appealed to the League for Home Rule, could the League refuse?

Australia has complete Home Rule and very nearly complete independence. If she declared herself absolutely independent and Great Britain attempted to prevent this by force (which is inconceivable) Australia, as a full Member of the League, would be entitled to appeal to Geneva under Article XI of the Covenant, and it might well be decided that Great Britain was breaking her pledges in using force in such a case.

(8) If there were a war between the United States and Japan, and Great Britain were neutral, would the United States interfere with British merchant-ships trading with Japan?

That would depend on whether the United States acted in accordance with its own conception of sea law or the British conception. If it acted on the British conception it would stop the British merchant-ships. If it acted on its own it would let them through, unless, of course, they were carrying contraband of war. It would be entitled in any case to search them to find that out.

(9) Can we trust Germany, seeing that she treated her agreement with Belgium as a scrap of paper?

The Republican Germany to-day is not the Monarchist Germany of 1914, and she has certainly learned that treating agreements as scraps of paper does not pay. It was her violation of her pledges to Belgium that brought Great Britain in against her. In any case, other Members of the League are not called on to trust Germany beyond where they can see her. The

advantage of League methods is that negotiations are carried on in public and bring doubtful negotiations into the open.

(10) Have conscientious efforts been made to bring Russia and Turkey into the League as Members?

The League does not make active efforts to bring States into membership, but the door is always open to any country willing to join under the conditions laid down in Article I of the Covenant. Russia and Turkey are now habitually invited to take part in all technical activities of the League, and both attended the last session of the Disarmament and Security Committee. They are thus becoming acquainted with Geneva, and are receiving entirely friendly and courteous treatment there.

(11) If war is outlawed, how are nations such as Japan or Italy in particular to expand, and what chance have they of finding outlets for their surplus population?

This is perhaps the most difficult international problem facing the world to-day. But it may be agreed at any rate that to expand by fighting some weaker nation and seizing its territory as a colonising-ground is the worst of all possible solutions of the problem. In a world kept permanently peaceful by the outlawry of war and the growth of the League's authority a solution by agreement would be easier than it is to-day.

(12) Would disarmament cause unemployment?

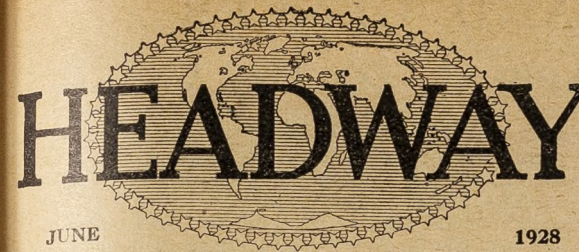
Temporarily and locally it probably would, and the Government in that case might reasonably be expected to make provision for men displaced, as it could well do out of the money saved from the naval and military estimates. No one seriously expects that the reduction of armaments would be anything but gradual, and there would, therefore, be no large number of men thrown on the labour market suddenly. The naval reduction carried out under the Washington Agreements of 1921 involved no serious dislocation.

(13) What is the Locarno Agreement?

The Locarno Agreements were concluded in October, 1925, between Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The principal Locarno Treaty consisted of an undertaking, primarily between France and Germany (and also between Belgium and Germany) that the two countries would never attack one another and would settle every dispute between them by peaceful means. At the same time Great Britain and Italy pledged themselves to come at once to the assistance of France against Germany or Germany against France (or Belgium against Germany) if either State were attacked by the other in violation of the Treaty. Arbitration and conciliation treaties were simultaneously concluded between Germany and her eastern neighbours Poland and Czechoslovakia. But in these cases there was no guarantee by any third Power.

(14) Why does not the League have an international police force for controlling mandated territories and areas which it has been advised to internationalise?

Because the general principles governing the mandate system, which were laid down before the League came into existence, contemplate that mandated areas should be policed by the mandatory. Similarly the Saar and Danzig have their own police forces for the maintenance of internal order.



RENOUNCING WAR

THE British reply to Mr. Kellogg's Note on the renunciation of war appears to make it very nearly certain that a treaty, broadly on the lines of that suggested by the United States Government, will, in fact, be signed and ratified at no distant date by the principal countries of the world. That event, if and when it takes place, will be incomparably the greatest thing that has happened in the world since the Armistice, with the single exception of the foundation of the League of Nations. The foundation of the League, indeed, and the signature of the American Treaty may be set aside by side, for the acceptance of Mr. Kellogg's pact will mean that the United States is co-operating definitely with the rest of the world for the maintenance of unbroken peace.

At this point it is well to choose our language carefully. To say that America is in effect now joining the League of Nations is unwise on two separate grounds. In the first place, because it is entirely inaccurate, and inaccuracy is seldom wise. In the second place, because the one thing the United States is not at present disposed to do is formally to join the League, and any suggestion that the action she is taking now is really equivalent to identifying herself with Geneva and its works will irritate vast numbers of American citizens and do good to nobody at all.

Let us, then, accept facts as they are. There exists a League of Nations in which the vast majority of the States of the world are united for the maintenance of peace, through machinery carefully planned and created for the purpose. Outside this League there stand a small number of countries, conspicuous among them the United States and Soviet Russia, all professing, at any rate, to be as anxious for the maintenance of peace as any State inside the League itself. One of this number now takes the lead in inviting the world in general to unite in a new and different peace pact, directed, like the old one, to the maintenance of peace, but confining itself, unlike the old one, to the mere enunciation of the principle, with no provision made for ensuring the loyal execution of that principle in all circumstances and under all conditions. What, we have all had to ask ourselves, is the difference between the new pact and the old, and what will be the relation between the two for States which sign them both? Is there, to be more precise, any question raised of two conflicting allegiances, or are States like Great Britain merely asked to say the same thing twice, first of all in common with most of the world minus the United States, and secondly, in common with most of the world, including the United States?

The British Government's view on that point is clear. It has said, in effect, to Mr. Kellogg: "We welcome your initiative, and accept your principles; but we feel it necessary to add that certain doubtful points are interpreted by us in certain definite ways, and in one or two of these cases it may even be desirable to put this interpretation on permanent record, either in the Treaty itself or in some accompanying note."

It is clear, therefore, that the British Government believes that by signing the American Treaty it will only be saying a second time what it has said already when it signed the Covenant. Yet that is not quite the whole truth about the matter. The new engagement does not run counter to the old, but it does in one respect go beyond it. It closes absolutely, so far as can be seen, the famous "gap in the Covenant," which permits, and deliberately permits—two States which have had a dispute considered by the League Council to go to war about it after a lapse of time if the Council has failed to reach unanimity on the point. That freedom to fight will be withdrawn as between any two States which sign the American pact, for that pact provides for the absolute and complete renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, leaving no room for any war at all, except armed action carried out in the name of the whole community of States against some violator of international obligations. At present, rather unfortunately, we have no agreed name for such action, except the same word "war." But what is involved is something totally different in motive and in aim from war levied by an individual State for its own purposes, and it would seem desirable that we should somehow distinguish in language between two things totally distinguished in fact.

This difference between the American pact and the Covenant of the League must not be underrated. It is in fact of vast importance. Hitherto, even States Members of the League have been able to say, not merely with plausibility, but in some cases at least with true sincerity, that they cannot substantially reduce their armaments because, even under the Covenant, the chance of war still remains, and they must be ready for it. It may be a much reduced chance, but so long as there is a chance at all of being attacked so long the material means of defence must be maintained. Under the American pact that chance disappears. No signatory of the new treaty can ever attack any other, and no signatory, therefore, can plead that it must keep itself armed against all contingencies. That is, of course, if the treaty is observed. There is always the theoretical possibility that a State may run amok, and, disregarding its pledges, use armed action for its own ends and purposes. Citizens of civilised States have been known to do the same. In that event the society of States will have to do as the society organised within a State habitually does, and deal with the offender by the only means possible.

But while the French in their approach to the American proposals have, from their own point of view, been right enough in insisting in working out logically what these proposals mean, the fundamental fact is that logic will never cover such a case as this, because it leaves out what must be more important than any argument however overwhelming—namely, the psychological factor. The question of all questions the Governments and the peoples have had to ask themselves is whether such a treaty as the United States proposes will create an atmosphere in international affairs which will mean a new approach to difficult problems and the application of a new spirit to the settlement of international disputes. We may hope that it will, and not merely hope, but believe as well. If that belief be well founded, then, illogical though it may frankly be, we can afford to disregard some at least of the quite legitimate arguments the French have advanced and refrain even from examining with too critical an eye certain passages to which exception might perhaps be taken in the British Note to Washington. Now and then in the affairs of nations what is termed "a venture of faith" is called for and justified. All the omens point to the conclusion that this is in fact one of those rare occasions.

CHINA, JAPAN AND GENEVA

NANKING GOVERNMENT'S APPEAL TO THE LEAGUE

BY the time this issue of HEADWAY is in print the Chinese situation will, no doubt, have developed further, and it may have become definitely clear whether the League Council at its meeting this month is to discuss any aspect of the Chinese question or not.

In any event it is worth while recording certain recent developments which have given rise to the belief that there may at last be scope for League action in regard to China. In the first week of May a conflict broke out between the Japanese troops in Tsinanfu, the capital of the Chinese province of Shantung, and the Chinese Nationalist forces which were advancing northwards against Chang Tso-lin and the Peking armies. There was considerable loss of life on both sides, and it was alleged, *inter alia*, that the Japanese soldiers had cut off the nose of the local commissioner for Foreign Affairs. They also killed him. The Japanese on their side charged the Chinese with similar atrocities.

A Wire to the League

The outcome was the despatch of a telegram to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations from Mr. Tan Yen-ki, who holds the office of Foreign Minister, or something analogous, in the Nationalist Government. The note definitely brought the Tsinanfu affair to the cognisance of the League, and called on the Secretary-General to convene a special meeting of the Council under Article XI, paragraph 2, of the Covenant.

The difficulty created by this note is obvious. So far as the League is concerned, China is represented still by the Peking Government, not the rival government of the South at Nanking, and Peking sent no note about Tsinanfu. In deciding which government in China to recognise the League can only be guided by the States which compose it. The Western Powers, like Great Britain and France, or, for that matter, the United States, have none of them yet taken the step of deciding to recognise the South instead of the North. Nothing is more difficult when a revolution in any country is in progress than for other countries to decide exactly when to transfer their recognition from the losing side to the winning. They have no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the country in question, and to recognise the revolutionaries too soon might be to give them unfair encouragement against a government with which the States concerned have always been in friendly relations.

Great Britain's Attitude

Consequently, in this particular instance, while an appeal from Peking to the League would demand some attention, an appeal from Nanking created far greater difficulties. There was no desire to stand unduly on technicalities, the only question for the moment being whether and when and how the League could most effectively take action. In that connection it is worth recalling a statement made by Sir Austen Chamberlain to the League in February, 1927, after the despatch of a British defence force to Shanghai. The Note, after fully explaining British motives, ended with these words:—

"In any case His Majesty's Government have felt it right to make this communication to the League of Nations, so that its members may have before them a full statement of His Majesty's Government's policy in China, and may understand how completely it is in accord with both the letter and the spirit of the Coven-

ant. His Majesty's Government deeply regret that there does not appear to be any way in which the assistance of the League in the settlement of the difficulties in China can be sought at present. But, if any opportunity should arise of invoking the good offices of the League, His Majesty's Government will gladly avail themselves of it."

This indicated, at any rate, full willingness on the part of one of the principal Governments of the League to have any questions concerning its own relations with China discussed at Geneva, if there were reason to suppose that such a course would be advantageous. Obviously, if the British Government is willing for Chino-British relations to be discussed, it would have still less objection to Chino-Japanese relations being discussed also. If the Japanese Government took the same view in May, 1928, as the British Government took in February, 1927, a discussion could clearly be entered on, no matter whether the Chinese application were technically in order or not.

Has the Right Moment Come?

But much more important than any refinements of procedure is the question of whether the League can most effectively serve its own interest and the general purposes of peace by taking up the Chinese question now or by standing aside a little longer. The best observers of the Chinese situation seem agreed that sooner or later the League, by intervening with complete impartiality, and as a society in which China has as full a part as any other State, could do much to bring rival factions together, and still more to supply China's need in the way of technical assistance—i.e., by recommending engineers, financial and legal and administrative advisers and so on, who would have no idea but to serve the interests of China herself first and foremost.

In view of the report that Japan is keeping the League informed of any of her actions which affect China there seems, at the moment of writing, a reasonable probability that the Chinese question will come, in some form or other, before the Council. If that is so it will provide the League with a great opportunity. But it has to be recognised that mistaken handling of this delicate problem may quite well do more harm than good.

The League of Nations Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has recently published an extremely useful list of holiday courses in Europe in 1928. Most of these courses are held in the months of June, July or September, and full information about them is given, i.e., as to the subject, the fee, how to obtain accommodation and, in some cases, an indication of the cost of such accommodation. The list covers a number of European countries, including Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Italy, Hungary, Germany, France, Great Britain, Denmark and Austria. The booklet costs 1s., and is issued in this country by the Oxford University Press, the title being "Holiday Courses in Europe, 1928."

"If the instinct of nationality is natural it needs always to be directed and often to be curbed. We must temper it with other loyalties. No nation can live unto itself alone and flourish. No nation has achieved anything worth while except with the help of others."—Mr. Baldwin.

FRYING-PANS AND PUDDINGS
SHOULD THE LEAGUE MIND ITS OWN BUSINESS?

PERSONS who speak with authority on such matters insist that a frying-pan is of little service for the production of those species of boiled puddings which some portion of humanity (strange though it may seem) finds palatable. A frying-pan is excellent for bacon, perfect for pancakes and admirable for omelettes. But those who regard it as a suitable implement for the boiling of an egg will find they have grievously mistaken its vocation.

These sentiments are inspired by a reading of Mr. Brailsford's informed and suggestive work "Olives of Endless Age."* Into the whole of the wide field the author covers he cannot be followed here. It must suffice to discuss with necessary brevity his principal chapter on the League of Nations.

Mr. Brailsford, as most people know, is one of the most distinguished writers in the Labour Party, and his criticisms necessarily take the form of thunder from the Left. Like most of those of his school, he finds the League unsatisfactory, and many of his comments on it are marred by a certain inaccuracy regarding facts. It does not much matter, it is true, that the date of the Greco-Bulgarian affray should be given as 1926 instead of 1925; but the statement that the first meeting of the League Assembly was in progress while Mr. Brailsford was in Minsk in the autumn of 1919, and that it took no account of the Polish-Russian fighting, is nonsense, except to those who realise that he must obviously mean 1920. Regarding Corfu, again, Mr. Brailsford's words give a very false impression of the situation.

Egypt and China

These points, however, need not be over-emphasised. The essential answer to most of Mr. Brailsford's criticisms is that a frying-pan is not intended for boiling puddings. You construct the League for better or worse on a certain basis and with a certain constitution. That being so, it must be judged by the extent to which it fulfils the ends for which it was designed, and to argue that it has not done something it was never meant to do is for the most part beside the point. The League, for example, was meant only to function as between independent and sovereign States. It had, therefore, no *locus standi* as between Great Britain and Egypt, for the latter, while in regard to most matters independent and sovereign, is neither the one nor the other in regard to the particular points in dispute with Great Britain. Civil war in China is equally outside the League's purview, so far as any definite action is concerned, and it helps matters very little to pillory the League for failing to deal with it. Again, the rupture of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Russia, regrettable as some people may have thought that step to be, in no way threatened world peace, and lay thus outside the field of action of the League.

An Irresolute Council

Mr. Brailsford, on the other hand, is perfectly justified in accusing the League of insufficient resolution and vigour in regard to the Polish seizure of Vilna in 1920, and his criticism of the failure to take cognisance of the French occupation of the Ruhr admits of no full answer, though it has always to be borne in mind that France claimed throughout to be acting in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. No honest supporter of the League of Nations would be disposed to claim that the League frying-pan turns out all its

omelettes or all its pancakes perfect, and to that extent criticisms of it may be both just and salutary. But it is necessary to repeat again that it is no use complaining that a frying-pan will not boil puddings.

Side by side with his many criticisms, of which no undue complaint need be made, Mr. Brailsford presents some discerning appreciations of certain aspects of the League's work. One extended passage, diagnosing with much insight the peculiar virtues of the League Secretariat, may with advantage be quoted at length.

The League at its Best

"In contact with the staff which Sir Eric Drummond has gathered round him in the Secretariat of the League," says the writer, "one is impressed not merely by its ability and its vitality, but even more by its devotion to the international idea. Here are men who came in mature life, after a purely national training, to an entirely new task. In discharging it they have gained a vision of the general good of humanity that has dwarfed and corrected the national outlook which is still that of the circles from which they came.

"It is not surprising that those members of the staff who come from the small neutral states should learn with ease to think internationally; they gain by stepping into a wide field of action. The startling thing is that Englishmen, Frenchmen and Japanese, who have behind them a stronger national tradition and no sense of the narrowness of the sphere into which they were born, should acquire the international mind with the same thoroughness and consistency. Among these men and women it seems as natural to work for the common weal of all nations as it seems in Paris or in Berlin to work for the exclusive good of France or Germany.

Loyal Enthusiasts

"There had been little in previous attempts at international co-operation in the sphere of government to prepare one for this happy adaptability. When diplomatists have worked together in a joint task, as in the brief period of Anglo-French control in Egypt, or in the common administration of Tangier to-day, no common mind has emerged, and the result has been friction and humiliating failure. One can guess the reason for the difference. The diplomatists went into these joint operations as servants of a national State, and, loyal to their training, they continued to serve its exclusive national interests.

"But the members of the Secretariat are the servants of the League; loyalty for them has come to mean devotion to its idea, and not to any national flag. Work is the great shaper of men's minds, and this work is sufficiently inspiring to create from the sound stuff of human nature the tools which the world needs for its new task. The League as one sees it at Geneva, in converse with its permanent staff, seems indeed the most hopeful birth of our time.

"But," pursues Mr. Brailsford, switching suddenly off in the other direction, "a depressing sense of its powerlessness invades the mind of the observer when he quits this single-minded international circle, and enters the room where trained parliamentarians are frustrating the hope of disarmament by arguing each for the interests of the Great Power which sent him to Geneva."

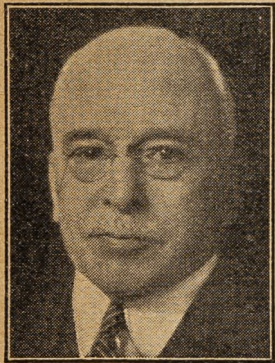
The emphasised stigma in these last lines is more arguable. But it is only fair to quote it, lest it should seem a dishonest selection of Mr. Brailsford's view to reproduce only his eulogy of the Secretariat.

* Harper, 12/6.

BABEL OR PENTECOST?*

REMARKABLE LANGUAGE EXPERIMENT AT GENEVA

IN many ways the International Labour Organisation is showing itself a pioneer in the procedure of conducting international conferences. The I.L.O. Conference, which has just opened at Geneva, is the scene of the most interesting experiment ever yet made for the solution of the problem of tongues.



Mr. E. A. Filene

Everyone who has been to Geneva is familiar with the normal process of interpretation, by which after a speech has been made in English an interpreter renders it faithfully in French or vice versa. Effective though this method is, it can be extremely tedious, adding both to the length and boredom of debates. The I.L.O. experiment, if it is successful, will get round this difficulty completely, for what is

being attempted at present is nothing less than the rendering of the translation in French while the speaker is actually addressing the audience in English—or, again, vice versa.

American Help

How is this done? It is done—thanks to Mr. E. A. Filene, of Boston—with the help of the microphone. Mr. Filene is financing the experiment, and the microphone is the basis of the whole business. What happens in effect is this. The speaker makes his observations from the platform in, let us say, French. Below the platform are sitting interpreters capable of translating fluently from French into English, or French into German (or, to ring all the changes, from German into French or English or from English into French or German). As the orator makes his speech in normal tones the interpreter translates it in a low voice into a microphone close to his own mouth. These microphones are connected by wires to the delegates' desks, and each delegate has a pair of light ear-phones which he dons when he needs them. When, for example, a French speaker is in full blast, and the delegate understands nothing but English, all he has to do then is to adjust a little switch on his desk and the speech comes in English. If he gives it a different adjustment, he has the speech in German instead.

Listening and Speaking

The mechanical part of the business is remarkable enough, even to a generation already blasé over the wonders of radio, but still more remarkable is the achievement of the human interpreters, who, it will be realised, have to be speaking one sentence while listening to the next, for the speaker makes no pauses to give the interpreters a chance. Apparently it can be done. The I.L.O. is taking the thing seriously, and interpreters have been hard at work practising for weeks past. The real test is in progress to-day, when the Conference is actually sitting. If it is successful, as there is good reason to suppose it may be, there is every prospect of seeing at the League Assembly, the

* "And when the day of Pentecost was fully come . . . the multitude came together, and they were confounded because that every man heard them speak in his own language. And they were all amazed and marvelled, saying one to another 'Behold, are not all these which speak Galileans, and how hear we every man in our own tongue wherein we were born?'—Acts II.

I.L.O. Conferences and all similar occasions, a speaker addressing the audience in his native language while delegates from 50 different countries listen to it, not indeed necessarily in their own—that would be too much to expect—but at any rate in any one of some four or five languages of their selection.

The same arrangement will no doubt have to be made for the Press. As for the general public, they can hardly expect a set of ear-phones apiece, and no doubt they will suffer instead of benefiting through the change, for those who cannot understand the language in which the speech is being made will have to go without understanding it at all till they read it in the papers next morning. But since League publicity means, not the delivering of speeches to a handful of residents in, or visitors to, the League city, but the reading of them by millions of people the world over, no serious harm will be done, except to the tourists and pilgrims who voyage to Geneva to hear speeches made.

CHIMNEY-SWEEPS AND CANCER

UNEXPECTED little points of interest cropped up, as they always do, at the meeting of the League of Nations Health Committee, held at Geneva at the beginning of last month. All sorts of sub-committees have been hard at work investigating different diseases and the methods of their prevention and their cure. One such disease was cancer, the first aim of the inquiry being to discover how far cancer is fostered by particular occupations. Positive evidence was adduced connecting the disease with such diverse industries as dye-working, briquette-making, certain methods of cotton-spinning and chimney-sweeping.

The second purpose of the inquiry was to collect further data on the treatment of cancer by radium. The sub-committee is clear regarding the value of this treatment, but has reached no precise conclusions as to the method of application. It has been studying also the relations between diet and this particular disease. The inquiry thus begun is to be continued.

Another report from another committee dealt with smallpox, and produced the surprising information that England and Wales are the only countries in which smallpox has not decreased in recent years. Fortunately the form of the disease most prevalent in these islands is mild and the mortality is stated to be almost negligible. This inquiry too is to be continued, particularly one special aspect of it. There is some reason to suppose that in certain cases vaccination has led to sleepy-sickness—or rather conjectures and rumours to that effect have been prevalent. The League is carrying on investigations with a view to deciding whether such rumours may be dismissed as baseless or whether the possibility needs further study.

Yet a third disease under special investigation is leprosy. When the Health Director, Dr. Rajchman, was in South America last year the League was asked to co-operate in the fight against leprosy there, and it has now been announced by the United States' member of the Committee, Surgeon-General Cumming, that the United States Congress was considering the voting of a credit of 50,000 dollars for studies into this problem in America. The League Health Committee, looking still further afield, has appointed a sub-committee to consider the possibility of an international leprosy investigation.

BRITISH ARMAMENTS

HOW AND WHERE THIS COUNTRY HAS REDUCED

IF the question of the reduction of armaments is to be discussed it is well to have it discussed on the basis of solid facts and figures. A good deal is said by persons of different schools regarding both what Great Britain has already done in the matter of disarmament and what it still remains for her to do.

The subject has many angles and any brief statement regarding it is likely to be misleading in some important particular. Figures, it may be said, speak for themselves. In fact, they very rarely do, or rather they often speak misleadingly. Everything as a rule depends on whether they are properly interpreted. That caution is necessary at the outset.

The statistics regarding Great Britain's armaments show unquestionably that this country has moved far in the right direction since the war. The difficulty is to know which year to take as representing what may be considered a normal standard. There is little advantage in making comparisons with what our armaments were, for example, in 1919, when we were avowedly in the early stages of a return from a war-basis to peace-strength. Even the figures for 1913-14, as given here, may create a false impression, unless it is remembered that the year immediately before the war marked the culminating point in a process of military and naval competition between the nations of Europe, a competition which made itself felt, so far as Great Britain is concerned, rather in naval than in military expansion.

Stages on the Road

If, therefore, the present figures are lower than those of 1913-14, that is only what might be expected and desired, and there is no ground for basing on such a reduction the conclusion that this country has done all that could ever be asked of it.

British delegates at Geneva are entitled to point with satisfaction to the lead Great Britain has given to the world in this sphere. But the very proposals that were put forward at the abortive Naval Conference of 1927 show that there is room for much downward progress yet, if agreement is reached with other Powers, and it may be hoped, and indeed anticipated with some confidence, that if the Kellogg Note negotiations prove successful a substantial reduction in the present naval and air figures will still be found possible.

The statistics that follow are taken in the main from official returns and where that is not possible from standard books of reference.

ARMY			
Regular Army (as authorised in Army estimates)	...	1913-14	185,600 men
		1928-9	153,500 "
British Army in India	...	1913-14	75,897 "
		1928-9	60,044 "
NAVY			
Personnel (Royal Navy and Marines)	...	1913-14	146,000 men
		1928-9	102,275 "
Ships (from annual Fleet Return) :—			
		Jan. 1, 1914	Feb., 1928
Battleships	...	61	16
Battle Cruisers	...	10	4
Cruisers	...	124	49
Aircraft Carriers	...	Nil	9
Flotilla leaders and Destroyers	...	237	167
Submarines	...	98	55
Total Tonnage	...	2,208,500	1,300,000

AIR

Regarding the air arm there can be no adequate comparison, as no separate Air Force existed in 1913-14, such

machines and pilots as were in existence being attached either to the Army or the Navy. The Air Force, therefore, represents a clear addition to strength and this must be borne in mind as a certain set-off against the reduction in the Army and Navy.

The relevant figures are :—
Aeroplanes, 750. Men, 32,500.

The total reduction in personnel, therefore, between 1913-14 and 1928-9 would appear to be about 59,000.

(No attempt is made to compare cost of armies and navies in the different years under consideration, owing to the change in the value of money.)

THE LEAGUE AND EGYPT

THE little trouble that blew up for a time between this country and Egypt has quieted down and there is, therefore, less need than at one time seemed likely to discuss the question at length. But since it was constantly asked whether it was not a matter in which the League should be invoked it is worth while explaining once more the actual relationship between Great Britain and Egypt.

When Turkey, which exercised a certain suzerainty over Egypt, came into the war in November, 1914, Great Britain declared a protectorate over Egypt (instead of annexing it as she might have done), and in 1922 Egypt was given full independence, except in regard to certain matters in respect of which Great Britain still retained the right to make final decisions. They were: (1) matters affecting the safety of British Empire communications (i.e., the Suez Canal), (2) questions affecting the safety of foreigners in Egypt, (3) the defence of Egypt against foreign attack, (4) the Sudan (as to which, nominally, joint British and Egyptian control existed).

The reason for the first reservation is obvious. The reason for the second and third was Great Britain's unwillingness that Egypt should be annexed by any other Power or that such Power should be able to complain that she must take action against Egypt on the ground that her citizens living there were being ill-treated.

It would appear, therefore, that any steps Great Britain may take in regard to matters falling under one of these four headings are steps she is within her right in taking. There is, in consequence, no good ground for appealing to the League or any one else. There may, of course, be cases where a dispute will arise as to whether British action does in fact fall properly under the 1922 reservations. In that event there would be a good deal to be said for leaving the decision in the hands of some impartial body like the League.

It is due to Sir Austen Chamberlain to point out that in his projected treaty with Egypt he paid full regard to the existence of the League and contemplated Egypt's entry into it.

An interesting Vacation Course on the language and civilisation of Denmark is to be held in Copenhagen during the whole of August. The Course will take three hours daily, and comprises classes in spoken and written Danish and lectures on the various aspects of Danish civilisation. The fee for the Course is 40 Kroner (£2 4s.), and board and lodging ranges from 100 Kroner (£5 10s.) upwards. Further information from the Anglo-Danish Bureau, 50, Russell Square, W.C.1.

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BOOKS WORTH READING

PEACE AND PLENTY

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The book contains chapters on the World Situation, Commerce, The Tariff Problem, Industry, Rationalisation, Agriculture—in fact, all the subjects to which the Geneva Conference devoted its chief attention. There is an appendix giving a catalogue of documents of the International Labour Conference, with a note by Sir Arthur Salter, K.C.B., Director of the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations. (Obtainable from the L.N.U.)

NANSEN'S LATEST TASK

Armenia and the Near East. By Dr. Fridtjof Nansen. (Allen & Unwin. 15s.)

Few peoples have suffered so greatly and have faced their sufferings with so much courage as the Armenians. The blame for the suffering cannot be laid only at the door of successive Turkish governments with their deliberate policy of savagery; very much of it need never have been, had the Great Powers of the world fulfilled promises given in time of war, even if a common humanity would not move them. Now, however, the Armenian people has found its salvation in membership of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; but outside the territory of Russian Armenia thousands of Armenians are still in exile and destitution. In 1925 the Council of the League, after prolonged discussion, asked Dr. Nansen to lead a Commission to Armenia and to explore with the Armenian Government the possibility of settling these refugees among the remnant of their own race. In this book Dr. Nansen gives the record of his journey and observations; of their final result, even in 1927, he cannot tell.

He found the country sharply divided into "the desert and the sown." The irrigated regions provided well-paying crops of cotton, tobacco, wheat and fruit; but these were limited in extent, and the rest was barren land or malaria-laden marsh. Was it possible to inaugurate a scheme by which water now wasted might be turned to develop thousands of acres which would support and bring prosperity to returned exiles? This was what Dr. Nansen hoped to discover. He bears witness to the high degree of success which has already been attained by the enterprise of the Armenians and their Government. Good roads, motor transport, electric power stations, factories, hospitals and preventive



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health measures were evidence of their energy and capacity. The soil was fertile enough, wherever water reached it, to carry a large additional number of families, and the measures proposed for irrigation and drainage were sound. This, in brief, was Dr. Nansen's reply to the Council. The only need was a loan, guaranteed by the League, for which ample security could be given; for one million pounds the Armenian race could be re-united and saved. "The Armenian people have never abandoned hope; they have gone on bravely waiting, and waiting . . . waiting year after year. They are waiting still." Upon this note Dr. Nansen, writing last July, ends.

If more need be said to support his embittered appeal, it would be found in his description of the work of the Near East Relief Fund, which has established orphanages—should they ever have been necessary?—where some thousands of orphans are being trained and from which many have already gone forth as productive citizens of their country. The Great Powers may treat Armenia as an insignificant and inconvenient country, but their shame will never be lifted until they have declared their readiness to perform what they promised and what expert opinion shows to be possible. Dr. Nansen tells in some detail the history of Armenia; its recent sorrows have eclipsed its former glory, but, given the due and necessary help, there seems no reason why the prosperity of its future should not be even greater than that of the distant past.

FOREIGNERS AND US

Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards. By Salvador de Madariaga. (Humphrey Milford. 12s. 6d.)

Señor de Madariaga, now Professor of Spanish Studies at Oxford, has been Director of the Disarmament Section of the League. His experience has led him to set high value on mental and moral disarmament, to think rather in terms of men than of things, and he has produced a careful study of comparative national characteristics. Starting with the respective characteristics of action, thought and passion, he examines the behaviour of the Englishman, the Frenchman and the Spaniard, each in his own special field, and in those of the other two. He then proceeds to illustrate his thesis in a series of chapters devoted to the structure of each community, its political system and historical development, its language, art and literature, and its spiritual features. To say that this book is illuminating is faint praise; Professor de Madariaga has carried through a very necessary task, and what he has very ably written should help to promote that mutual understanding of our fellow men which is the basis of disarmament and security. His object will not, however, be reached if his chapters lead us to think well of ourselves; he says too much perhaps to our credit for our good, and what is more important is that we should learn from him to appreciate all that goes to make up his own and the French people. He writes in a delightful style, sparkling with wit and shrewdness.

MORE BRIEFLY

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

Miss Mayo, in "Mother India," dealt with certain aspects of India. Miss Wilson, also an American, deals with other aspects—more attractive aspects and, perhaps, more characteristic, for Miss Wilson has lived long in India, while Miss Mayo has only visited it. The two books are not in necessary conflict, for a country so vast, inhabited by a population so teeming, has many sides, and both writers represent such sides as they have seen. Miss Wilson's book, written from the standpoint of a singularly human and broad-minded missionary, is unpretentious, but intensely convincing.

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The India she describes, in some respects primitive and distressing, in more respects pathetic and attractive and hopeful, is beyond any question a real India. "Daughters of India" is hardly a novel. It is just a quiet running story of things seen and done, enlivened throughout by flashes of natural and instinctive humour. A welcome addition to the literature of the great dependency.

The Creative East. By J. W. T. Mason. (Murray. 3s. 6d.)

This volume is one of a series which, under the title "The Wisdom of the East," aims, in the words of the joint editors, at being "the ambassador of goodwill and understanding between East and West—the old world of Thought and the new world of Action." Mr. Mason, the author of this particular volume, furthers that laudable purpose by discussing in nine brief but interesting chapters the contribution of India, China and Japan to the thought and purpose of the world.

Aspects of British Foreign Policy. By Sir Arthur Willert. (Yale University Press. 9s.)

Sir Arthur Willert, as Chief of the Press Bureau at the Foreign Office, should be in as good a position as any one living to explain to an American audience what the main lines and aims of British Foreign Policy are. He has done this in six lectures delivered to the Institute of Politics at Williamstown and now presented in volume form. Much of the lectures is of necessity devoted to British policy in regard to the League, and the whole volume is well worth careful study.

Miss Florence Wilson, who was in charge of the League of Nations Library at Geneva from the earliest days till last year, is about to publish an important volume on "The Origins of the League Covenant," giving full details of the discussions at Paris and elsewhere out of which the Covenant emerged. The book is to be published by the Hogarth Press, at 10s. 6d.

By an oversight the title and publisher of Mr. Peter Oldfeld's novel, "The Death of a Diplomat" (Constable), reviewed in the last issue of HEADWAY, under the title "Strange Doings at Geneva," was omitted.

A WATCH-DOG ON TARIFFS

THE League of Nations is very wisely and usefully constituting itself a kind of watch-dog on tariffs. The main outcome of last year's Economic Conference—the first of its kind ever held—was unanimous agreement that tariffs, to put the matter in a historic phrase, had increased, were increasing, and ought to be diminished.

Meeting a year later the new Economic Consultative Committee (which is in the main the same people as the Economic Conference, only fewer of them) has come to the conclusion that on the whole the process of tariff increases has been slowed down, but that a great deal remains to be done yet. It was clearly indicated at the Committee's meeting last month by both the French and German representatives that the Franco-German commercial treaty of 1927, providing for reduced tariffs between the two countries, would never have been possible, or at any rate would never have assumed as satisfactory a form as it has, but for the stimulus given to tariff reduction by the Economic Conference. A number of other useful commercial treaties of the same kind were concluded last year and international trade is proportionately stimulated thereby.

The Consultative Committee has drawn up a scheme of work for the standing Economic Committee, among its most interesting features being a study of the international situation as regards the coal and sugar industries, both of which seem to be characterised at the moment by the same difficulty of over-production. For Great Britain the coal industry is by far the more important. We captured a certain number of Continental markets while the French were in occupation of the Ruhr and lost them and many more during the long coal strike of 1925-26. Now international trade is completely disorganised, and if the League can first draw up a basis for international agreement as a result of its investigation, and then get the agreement carried through, it will be all to the good for both shareholders and workers throughout the industry.

Many other subjects were discussed during the short sitting (only one week) of the Consultative Committee last month. The presence of a particularly strong British delegation and the part taken in the proceedings by the members of the delegation is satisfactory to all those who desire to see this country playing a foremost part in the counsels of the League.

READERS' VIEWS

SIR ALEX. GORDON AND PROF. MURRAY

SIR,—A good cause has nothing to fear from fair criticism, especially if it be of a constructive nature, as I hope mine will be, if you allow me a little more space in which to comment on Professor Gilbert Murray's discourse in your last issue.

Though always polite, the learned professor is sometimes disappointing, and his argument is not always easy to follow. I gather, however, that he admits that the Union's speakers have been over-emphatic on the need for compulsory arbitration, and that "no immediate and infallible means of settlement can be provided, but the alternative must not be war." This is a welcome change from the opinion conveyed by the title of pamphlet No. 233, "The Alternative to War—Arbitration." Compulsory arbitration, it is now admitted, is not to be the sole alternative to war, and we may therefore urge, or at least hope, that the lecturers will be instructed, not only to refrain from emphasis on this specific remedy, but to enlarge—also with moderation—on the advantages of peaceful settlement by negotiation between the disputants themselves, helped, if desired, by mediation or conciliation, and with arbitration relegated to its proper place—though not perhaps so remote as the day of judgment—as the ultimate court before which recalcitrant offenders must be brought.

This seems to be the ideal picture which the remainder of the professor's paper shows that he himself has in mind, when once the general rule of law is secured. The wide difference between the codification of municipal and international law may make this a lengthy process, but in the meantime it is suggested that the Union's Council should ponder—and, if possible, reconsider—the wording of the Royal Charter about accepting the League of Nations as "the final arbiter in international differences," notwithstanding the fact that the two largest nations that matter, America and Russia, are not likely to become members of the League for a considerable time, if ever.—Yours, etc.,

ALEX. H. GORDON.

Chalfont St. Giles,
May 15, 1928.

"MOTHER INDIA"

SIR,—I have only quite recently seen the articles on Miss Mayo's book, which appeared in HEADWAY in November and December. I wish in this letter, if it is not too late, to clear up one point beyond all manner of doubt, and to remove a slur that has been cast by Miss Mayo on one of the noblest names in all literature to-day—the poet Rabindranath Tagore. He is likely to come to England this year, and I would not wish there to be any doubt about his position as a social reformer.

I have lived with the poet now for over fifteen years as his daily companion, and have shared his innermost thoughts as no other European friend has done; his writings have also been my daily study.

In all India there is literally no one who has done more by his writings to condemn the evils of child marriage, enforced widowhood, caste prejudice, untouchability, animal sacrifice in temples, and every other form of social evil in India than he has done. His writings in Bengali and English, from beginning to end, are full of his own fearless condemnation of the evils that exist in his own country. He has himself thrown "Caste" to the wind, and done everything in his daily life to discourage outstanding social evils. His institution at Santiniketan is his own expression in action of the faith in social reform which he has declared in his writings. Yet your own editorial impression of Miss Mayo's book led you to the conclusion

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There are many other forms of Sun of Canada Annuities—Joint Life, *Annuities with guaranteed return of Capital*, Deferred Annuities, and Educational Annuities. Why not let us send you particulars? Remember the offer is made to you by the *leading* Annuity Co.—a Company with Government Supervised Assets exceeding £82,000,000. In confidence, write, giving exact date of birth.

Address your enquiry to J. F. Junkin (Manager), Sun Life of Canada, 99, Sun of Canada House, Victoria Embankment (near Temple Station), London, W.C.2.

League of Nations Assembly Tour

A party will leave London for Geneva, August 31st to Sept. 7th. VISITS to Assembly and International Labour Office, Lectures, etc. Inclusive Fee, London—London, £11 11s.

APPLY EARLY to Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, or direct to ORGANISER OF TOUR, Mrs. INNES, 29, High Oaks Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, etc.

BRITTANY.—"Blond House," St. Jaent de la Mer. Small, comfortable hotel in peaceful, bracing, seaside spot. Good cooking. Inclusive, £2 weekly.

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

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

BADMINTON SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol. Recognised by the Board of Education. Chairman of Advisory Council: J. Obery Symes, Esq., M.D. Headmistress: Miss B. M. Baker, B.A. The school estate of 11½ acres is situated in a bracing position, on high ground close to the country and within easy reach of Bristol. Individual timetables. Preparation for the Universities, Junior Branch. Frequent school journeys abroad and to Geneva, while the Assembly is sitting, increase the interest of the girls in languages and international affairs.

MISCELLANEOUS.

DRESSED Poultry, Boiling Fowls, 7/6 couple carriage paid, cash with order.—ATKINSON Hebden, via Skipton Yorks.

NON-SMOKERS WHY ENDURE THE DISCOMFORT OF Tobacco smoke at meals, travelling or at entertainments, when by joining the N.S.S. you can help to protect your interests? Free particulars from Hon. Sec., 87 Old Devonshire Road, London, S.W.12.

that Rabindranath Tagore was a defender of many of the worst social abuses. Let me point to one example only of falsification of evidence. With regard to what she calls Aruvedic medicine (she means Ayurvedic) she states, on p. 387, "with such men as Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, *fervently declaring that Aruvedic science surpasses anything the West can offer.*" The poet has never said in his published writings in English a word on the subject, as far as I am aware and as far as he himself is aware. Nor has he said anything of the kind in Bengali, for the simple reason that he does not hold such a belief.

What can one say of a writer who so slanders great and noble names? I could easily go on to show how cruelly she has garbled her quotations from his writings on the subject of child marriage. I could show also that she has treated Mahatma Gandhi in the same hatefully cruel manner. A gentle, elderly little lady in the Punjab, Miss K. M. Bose, has also been cruelly slandered. Indeed, from every side has come the same condemnation of her book as a tissue of misrepresentation of those whom she interviewed and whose personal opinion she sought.

As a journal whose sole object is to sustain and foster international goodwill and peace, I trust you will allow me to express my deliberate opinion that this one book has done more to poison the international atmosphere than any other book I have ever known.

Yours faithfully,
C. F. ANDREWS.

[While a general discussion on Miss Mayo's book cannot be reopened, the name and work of Mr. C. F. Andrews give him a special title to the insertion of this letter.—ED. HEADWAY.]

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

In considering this question there are two quite distinct schools of thought.

1. Those who think another war is inevitable.
2. Those who think another war is NOT inevitable and that we should be willing to take some risk in order to prevent another war starting.

The first argue that we must not abandon the right which we claim as a belligerent to interfere with neutral ships.

The second argue that, if we abandon our claim as a belligerent to interfere with neutral ships, it is much less likely that there will ever be another war in which any of the great naval powers will be belligerents. There should be an agreement among all the principal naval powers, including the United States, on the lines of the second of President Wilson's fourteen points—"Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of the Covenant."

Another advantage would be that, if this were agreed to, the submarine as an instrument of war would be far less effective, because the chief value of submarines in war is to attack merchant ships. Therefore, there would be less reluctance to reduce the number of submarines.

Great Britain would reap a great advantage because her seaborne trade would be assured and what is called officially "our naval requirements" might be very considerably reduced.—I am, Sir, etc.,

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

HINDRANCES AND HELPS

SIR,—In my work for the L.N.U. I meet with two classes of objectors, about equally stupid. One of them gets itself expressed in HEADWAY by such questions as "Is not the League, judged by its impotence to bring about disarmament, an expensive futility?" and "Why does not the League secure the entire abolition

of chemical warfare?" To these I make answer, "Why was not Rome built in a day?" "Why is not Christianity absolutely dominant after 2,000 years?" "Why is not your baby riding a bicycle?" The other class is the opposite of these young men in a hurry. It is obsessed by a sort of fatalism and thinks war to be as inevitable as hailstorms and the income-tax. "You can't alter human nature." "The Bible says there will always be war."

When this sort of objector is a parson (as, curiously enough, he often is), I suggest to him that the Bible says also that the poor will be always with us, and I ask him what on earth he is aiming at in his church if not, by the grace of God, to change human nature? But you might as well argue with a smoky chimney as with a conscientious objector to peace. In Dover, "the gateway of England," and the place most exposed to the possible hostility of other nations, we have only about 450 members of the L.N.U. in a population of 40,000; and this with a committee of prominent citizens and an unusually capable and resourceful honorary secretary. My own conviction is that the strange apathy of the clergy and the aloofness of the military are our undoing in a town like Dover. On the other hand, we have the valuable co-operation of the local education authority and the school teachers, and we are at all events getting at the school children very effectually. After all, it is they who matter.—Yours, etc.

HENRY T. HOOPER,
Chairman and Hon. Treasurer.
Dover.
May 4, 1928.

GAS WAR

SIR,—Writing in the last issue of HEADWAY, Dr. Major says, "There are many plain men who profess no faith in the League of Nations, and one of the reasons for that is the League's failure to secure the entire abolition of chemical warfare. If the League cannot do that how can it do many very much harder things which it has in view?"

Would it be impertinent to counter this question with another? There are many plain men who profess no faith in the Christian Churches, and one of the reasons for that is the Churches' failure to secure the entire abolition of chemical warfare. If the Churches cannot do that how can they do many very much harder things which they have in view?

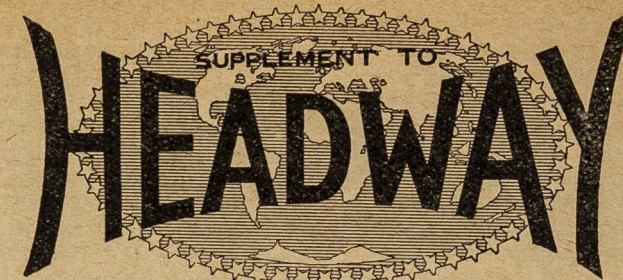
Are not the two questions about equally stupid? Perhaps Dr. Major would be good enough to explain what he means by "the entire abolition of chemical warfare," and what steps he would suggest towards securing it.—Yours, etc.,

A. R. W. HARRISON.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- The Representation and Organisation of Agricultural Workers.** (International Labour Office. 3s. 6d.)
The Dragon Sheds Its Skin. By Winifred Galbraith. (Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d.)
If I Lived in Japan. By G. R. Barclay. (Edinburgh House Press. 1s.)
Talks on Friends in Japan. By Beryl Brown. (Edinburgh House Press. 1s.)
Chinese Realities. By John Foster. (Edinburgh House Press. 2s. 6d.)
The Law of Nations. By J. L. Brierly. (Clarendon Press. 5s.)
The Expansion of Islam. By W. Wilson Cash. (Edinburgh House Press. 3s. 6d.)
A Little Book of the I.L.O. By B. Bradfield. (P. S. King. 2s.)
World Prosperity and Peace. By F. C. Goodenough. (P. S. King. 5s.)
The League of Nations. By J. S. Bassett. (Longmans. 15s.)

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



JUNE, 1928

THE MODERN GENERATION YOUNG BRITAIN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

IN June, 1927, the General Council of the League of Nations Union, at its meeting at Harrogate, passed the following resolution:—

"That the General Council urges Branches to set up Youth Sections for young members and advises them not to impose a rigid age limit for membership of Youth Sections, though persons over the age of 25 should not be recommended to join them."

This resolution merits serious thought. It is merely the turning of the important but hackneyed phrase to say "the future of the British Empire, and indeed of the world, depends on the youth of to-day—the men and women of to-morrow"—but hackneyed though the phrase may be, it has never been more true than at the present time. The teaching of the aims and work of the League of Nations in the schools of Britain is to-day no longer a matter of controversy. It is recommended by the Board of Education, the Local Education Authorities and warmly encouraged by all the Teachers' Associations. The initiative of the League of Nations Union has helped to bring about this result—one that is so full of promise.

Young men, and more recently women, have a decisive part to play in the political and social life of this country, in that they have the right to vote at the age of 21. Since they are entrusted with this responsibility, it is only fair, both to themselves and to posterity, that they should be educated and fitted to exercise it. On them may depend the future of the country, and indeed of the world. To have a balanced view and discretion in political matters presupposes a sound education in international affairs. To-day this implies a real knowledge of the League of Nations.

Assuming that most boys and girls on leaving school know something of the League of Nations and its work, it is all-important that this knowledge should be followed up, amplified and made interesting to them during the impressionable period which ensues. It is for this reason, therefore, that the Council of the League of Nations Union strongly urges all Branches to set up Youth Sections. There is no doubt that the modern generation takes a great interest in the affairs of the country. It should not, therefore, be difficult to set up Youth Sections, i.e., groups of young people, the purpose of which should be to study the League of Nations in relation to the foreign policy of this country. Many interesting activities at once present themselves, such as the organisation of debates on foreign affairs, Model Assemblies of the League, Youth Study groups, visits abroad, essay competitions and so forth.

This is no new suggestion, it has already been acted upon by several Branches, notably North Hackney. A memorandum on the organisation and work of the North Hackney Youth Section is available at Head-

quarters and will willingly be forwarded to any Branch on application. The following suggestions for the formation of Youth Sections, drawn up by the London Regional Federation, will prove invaluable to those Branches which contemplate setting up such a section—indeed there is no doubt that such a step on the part of a Branch will ensure its successful future:—

1. A Youth Section of a Branch of the League of Nations Union is made up of all those members who are over 16 and under 25 or 30 years of age, banded together to carry out the objects of the Union in the different ways most suitable to their age.

2. It is desirable that each Branch should have a Youth section, because it is of great importance that young men and women should be attracted in ever-increasing numbers to the support of the League of Nations and find ample scope for their energy and enthusiasm in the work of the League of Nations Union.

This can be attained by arranging a Youth Section, within the local Branch of the Union, but working along its own lines and directed by its own leaders, in close and cordial co-operation with the Branch Committee. Where such Sections have been set up they have given valuable stimulus and practical help to the Branch as a whole.

3. In starting a Youth Section the following suggestions may be helpful:—

Call a meeting of all the young men and women members of the Branch and explain the purpose of a Youth Section. Invite them to form a Youth Section Committee to develop the work.

The Chairman and Secretary of the Youth Section should both be members of the Branch Executive Committee, and the Secretary should be an officer of the Branch reporting to each meeting of the Executive. The Youth Section Committee should include, if possible, representatives of young people's organisations in the neighbourhood who will serve as a link with the Youth Section. The work of the Youth Section will include the arranging of League evenings in the different young people's organisations and the arranging of meetings of special interest to the members of the Youth Section, such as discussion and reading circles, speakers' classes, model assemblies, etc. Social evenings, to which members may bring their friends, should be arranged from time to time. Plays dealing with Peace and War, tableaux, dances, visits to places of historical interest, games-evenings and the like, can all be used to increase the sense of fellowship amongst the members of the Youth Section, and, by the introduction of a short address, add to the knowledge of the members.

The members of the Youth Section remain in full membership with the local Branch and should receive all notices of meetings—but by being grouped together on their own account they are able to develop interest amongst and utilise the energies of the younger generation. It will be found a convenience to enrol members of the Section on a separate register by their own Secretary, as well as on the ordinary Branch register.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

It has been found necessary to change the venue of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the General Council, which will now be held at Matlock Bath, and *not* at Derby, as announced in the last issue of the Supplement.

The first Session on Wednesday, June 20, will be held at 3 p.m. in the Royal Pavilion. This will be followed by a special meeting of the General Council at 4.30 p.m. to discuss a proposed alteration of Rule 10.

The Session on Thursday, June 21, will be held from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m., in the Royal Pavilion.

On June 22, the morning and afternoon sessions, at 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. respectively, will be held in the Ballroom of the Royal Hotel.

Other provisional arrangements in connection with the Council Meeting, include a Service in Matlock Church at 6 p.m., and a Public Meeting in the Central Hall, Derby, at 8 p.m., on Wednesday, June 20. On Thursday afternoon, June 21, there will be an excursion to Chatsworth. On Saturday afternoon, June 23, the Birmingham District Council will hold a fête in the Botanical Gardens, Edgbaston, Birmingham. It is hoped that as many delegates as possible will attend this fête on their way home from Derbyshire.

Some interesting debates are expected. Among the matters to be discussed are international arbitration, security and disarmament, Mr. Kellogg's proposals for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, the Italian Government's treatment of the German-speaking inhabitants of the South Tyrol, and other important problems of international policy, as well as the Union's main business of educating and organising public opinion in this country.

A resolution concerning the Washington Hours Convention will also be proposed by the Executive Committee. Special interest attaches to the Junior Membership proposals to be submitted to the Council by the Executive Committee.

Hotel and boarding house accommodation of all kinds is available and a list of establishments can be obtained from the Derbyshire Federal Council, League of Nations Union, 234, Burton Road, Derby.

A limited amount of private hospitality can be arranged and delegates wishing to avail themselves of this are invited to apply to the above address.

A YEAR'S WORK

THE Annual Report of the Executive Committee to the General Council of the League of Nations for the year ended December 31, 1927, has recently been issued, and will be submitted by the Executive Committee to the Council at the meeting of the latter body in June. The passages in the Report concerning Foundation Members are worthy of special notice. The membership of the Union at the end of 1927, reckoned as all who have at any time joined and have not been reported to Headquarters as having resigned or died, was 664,229. The number of subscriptions paid within the calendar year increased from 255,469 in 1925 to 279,990 in 1926, and rose to 319,484 in 1927. The question at issue is whether this growth in the size and influence of the Union is rapid enough to convince our Government, of whatever political Party it may be, that they will have the support of public opinion in the country in carrying out the aims of the League.

The Union provides the principal means for educating and organising British public opinion in support of the League. How far the Union succeeds is mainly a question of finance. The financial problem would quickly be solved if every member realised the need and understood that it could best be met by a large

increase in the number of Foundation Members (who subscribe not less than £1 a year).

Of the many sections of the Union's work mentioned in the Annual Report, that devoted to Education should be specially noted. In many respects the year 1927 was notable in the progress of the Union's work in schools and colleges, the most important event having been the Conference of Representatives of Local Education Authorities of England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales in June, 1927. The Report of this Conference was circulated to all education authorities, together with the Teachers' Declaration prepared by the League of Nations' Union. In December, 1927, 60,000 copies of this Declaration had been distributed to teachers and others.

There are interesting sections of the report dealing with the work in universities and colleges, the re-organised Publicity Department of the Union, which now consists of two sections "Press" and "Meetings," Intelligence, Industry, Women's Organisations, Religion and Overseas.

There are also sections devoted to the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee, the Union's Library, Welcome and Hospitality work and International Disarmament.

So far as expenditure in 1927 is concerned, the accounts contained in the Report show strikingly the care with which the funds of the Union have been directed. At the December Council Meeting in 1926, an expenditure of £33,000 was authorised for the coming year, and the Report shows that the actual expenditure for that year was £33,012.

NOTES AND NEWS

Gentlemen v. Players

Gentlemen who smoke Players will be interested to hear of an excellent series of cigarette cards portraying the flags of the States members of the League of Nations, which has recently been issued by John Player & Sons. Each card bears a picture of a flag and a short summary of the main historical and geographical features of the country concerned. This series of fifty will prove a welcome attraction to the smoker's eye and an addition to the enthusiast's collection.

International Federation

The XIIth Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will be held this year at The Hague, by kind invitation of the Dutch League of Nations Society. The Executive Committee and the Council of the Federation will meet on Saturday, June 30, and the Congress itself will open on Monday, July 2, and will continue throughout that week. Among the more important subjects to be discussed will be International Disarmament, Education, the Ratification of International Conventions, and State Sovereignty and the League of Nations.

The Money Box

An interesting and practical suggestion for obtaining Foundation Members—i.e., members who subscribe not less than £1 per annum—has been received from Barnet. At every Branch meeting a box should be provided, into which people could put whatever sums they could spare. The money so obtained, on reaching £1, either at one or in the course of two or more meetings, could be devoted to the appointment, as a Foundation Member, of some officer of the Branch concerned, such as the Honorary Secretary or the Treasurer. This could be repeated until all workers in a Branch had been made Foundation Members.

Victims of the Bulgarian Earthquakes

The Bulgarian League of Nations Society has issued an appeal to the constituent societies of the Federation

of League of Nations Societies in favour of the victims of the earthquake catastrophe by which Bulgaria was so grievously stricken at the end of April. "Up to the present moment," writes the President of the Society, "there are more than one hundred villages entirely destroyed . . . one hundred and three killed, six hundred and seventy-two wounded. The damage to the dwelling houses has been enormous. The loss is estimated at three milliards of levas. Masses of the population remain without a shelter, and their sufferings are indescribable, for, out of two hundred and seventy-eight localities affected, one hundred and forty-one have suffered so seriously that eleven thousand dwelling houses either have been destroyed or are completely uninhabitable."

We support this appeal with confidence that in the circumstances human solidarity will not be an idle word. Funds should be sent either to the Secretary of the League of Nations Union or to the Secretary-General of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, 1, Avenue de la Toison d'Or, Brussels.

Hymn, Song and Recitation Book

We have just received an advance copy of a Hymn, Song and Recitation Book which has been issued by the Derby Federal Council. Copies will be on sale at 15, Grosvenor Crescent (price 2d.), or can be obtained from Mr. W. J. Tatler, 234, Burton Road, Derby.

South Africa

The Annual Report of the Cape League of Nations Union for 1927-1928 shows an effective membership of 250 members. The two chief developments during the past year have been the formation of an Education Advisory Committee, and an endeavour to gain the sympathy and support of the Churches of the Peninsula. A further development has been the Press work of Mrs. Plant. Every month she writes an article, which is sent (in English or Afrikaans, as desired) to fourteen provincial papers, about seven of which publish it. It is a small beginning, but capable of great development. Articles on the League and the instruction of youth in its principles have also been sent to educational journals by Mrs. Plant and Miss Stohr.

Model Assemblies

We have received an interesting account of a Model Assembly held by the Dover Branch in the Dover Town Hall. It is regretted that space forbids the publication of a full account of the proceedings. The arrangements reproduced very closely indeed the actual Assembly at Geneva. Over 70 members took part. These included the Mayor and Mayoress, two aldermen, several town councillors, half-a-dozen magistrates, six or seven ministers, and several headmasters and school teachers.

The afternoon meeting was reckoned a school attendance by the Education Authorities, and the evening meeting was open to the public.

The Dover Branch are to be congratulated on having organised a realistic and accurate representation of the Assembly, which was of great educational value.

This Branch also held its Annual Meeting on April 6. The report of the year's work was of a very satisfactory nature. The Annual Meeting was followed by a public meeting addressed by Vice-Admiral S. R. Drury-Lowe.

The Junior Branch of the Birmingham District Council recently arranged a Model Assembly at the Digbeth Institute. Over 1,000 boys and girls, representing thirteen schools, took part. Sir Charles Grant Robertson opened the proceedings, which were then carried on by the juniors. Some excellent speeches were heard from ten-year-old delegates, and some of these were translated into French.

New Zealand

The annual report of the Christchurch League of Nations Union, ending February, 1928, regards the

past year as the most successful since the foundation of the branch in 1925. Membership is now at 245 individual and six corporate members. Public meetings were held every few weeks during the year. Professor A. J. Grant, of Leeds University, has given great help; he addressed a large meeting on "Hopes and Fears for the League of Nations," and also other meetings not under Union auspices. The Dominion Conference was held in Christchurch this year, and a public meeting was addressed by the Dominion President, Dr. A. G. B. Fisher, and by Dr. Gibb, of Wellington.

A Garden Fete at Keswick

A Garden Fête, organised by the East and West Cumberland District Councils, will be held on June 14, at Lingholm, Keswick, which has been kindly lent by Lord and Lady Rochdale. The speakers will be Lord Astor and Major J. W. Hills, M.P.

Bournville's First Year

We have received the report on the first year of the Bournville Works Branch. This Branch has succeeded in carrying on sustained and well-organised work since its inception. The membership at the end of the first year's work was 402. It is to be hoped that it will go on from strength to strength.

France

On May 2, under the auspices of the Paris Branch of the League of Nations Union, M. Abel Chevally, Ministé Plenipotentiaire, gave a brilliant lecture at the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. The subject of the lecture was "Post-war Mentality and the League of Nations," and it traced the psychological evolution of human mentality to its present "mechanised internationalism." Sir John Fisher Williams, British Legal Adviser to the Reparations Commission, presided.

The fourth annual report of the Quaker Peace and League of Nations Committee, October, 1927, to April, 1928, has just been published. Copies, both in French and in English, may be obtained from Miss Ethel Behrens, 20, Avenue Victoria, Paris 1.

To Branch Libraries

Mr. R. Gordon Milburn, the author of "The International Commonwealth," has kindly put aside a certain number of copies of this book for Branch Libraries. Any Branch wishing to obtain a copy, free of charge, should apply to the Librarian, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, enclosing 3d. for postage.

Oxford Home Students

Readers will be interested to know that the Society of Oxford Home Students has recently become a Corporate Member of the Union.

The Support of British Industry

The annual meeting of the General Council of the Union, held in Harrogate last year, adopted schemes by which the support of British industry could be secured for the Union. National organisations can become affiliated members for an annual subscription of five guineas, or smaller industrial organisations can join as Industrial Associates for an annual fee of £1. Affiliated membership carries with it representation upon the General Council of the Union, and Industrial Associates can nominate a member to receive all the Union's publications. Little advantage has yet been taken of these schemes, and branches would do well to bring them before employers' organisations, firms, trade unions, rotary clubs, etc., in their districts. All particulars can be obtained from Headquarters.

The Federation Bulletin

All those interested in the International Federation of League of Nations Societies and in the League of Nations work that is being carried on in other countries should subscribe to the *Federation Bulletin*, which

appears at least four times a year. The annual subscription is 5s., and orders with remittance should be addressed:—

(a) From Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. (b) From the Irish Free State to the Hon. Secretary, the League of Nations Society for Ireland, 31, Mespil Road, Dublin. (c) From the British Dominions to Professor Th. Ruysen, Secretary General (for French edition); or Captain Lothian Small, Assistant Secretary General (for English edition), International Federation of League of Nations Societies, 1, Avenue de la Toison d'Or, Brussels.

Union Holiday Conferences

Particulars of the forthcoming Summer School at Balliol College, Oxford, July 26 to August 2, were announced in the last issue of the HEADWAY Supplement; particulars of the Union's Holiday Conferences at Geneva are now available. There will be two sessions: the first somewhat elementary in character, and the second more advanced. The first session will be held from August 4 to 10, and the second session from August 11 to 17. Full programmes and application forms can be obtained from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

The tentative programme of the second session is as follows:—

Leave London, Saturday, August 11, arrive Geneva, Sunday, August 12. Leave Geneva, Friday, August 17, arrive London, Saturday, August 18. A week-end extension can be arranged.

Sunday, August 12.—2.45 p.m.: Reception.

Monday, August 13.—10 a.m.: The First Results of the Economic Conference, Sir Arthur Salter, Director of the Economic Section of the League of Nations Secretariat. 3 p.m.: Visit to International Labour Office; Tea and Discussion. 8.30 p.m.: The Working of the League Council, Professor P. Mantoux.

Tuesday, August 14.—10 a.m.: Disarmament, Señor S. de Madariaga. 2 p.m.: Excursion to Mont Salève. 8.30 p.m.: Tendencies in International Labour Legislation, Mr. E. J. Phelan, Chief of the Diplomatic Division of the International Labour Office.

Wednesday, August 15.—10 a.m.: The British Commonwealth and the League of Nations. 3 p.m.: (1) Round-table discussion on Minorities, by the Director of the Minorities Section; (2) The Mandates System and the Problem of Native Labour, Mr. H. S. Grimshaw, Head of the Native Labour Division of the International Labour Office and adviser on labour questions to the Mandates Commission. (1) and (2) are alternatives. 5.15 p.m.: Visit to the Assembly Hall, where Mr. Frederick Whelen will describe the Organisation of the Assembly. 8.15 p.m.: America's Relations to World Peace.

Thursday, August 16.—10 a.m.: Asia and the League, Lord Olivier. 3 p.m.: (a) The Influence of Public Opinion on Foreign Policy; (b) How to Create Public Opinion, Professor Zimmern. 8.45 p.m.: Reception to the Secretariat of the League of Nations and Staff of the International Labour Office.

Friday, August 17.—10 a.m.: The Function of Law in International Relations, Prof. J. L. Brierly. 3 p.m. to 4.30 p.m.: The Future of the League of Nations, Professor William Rappard, Rector of the University of Geneva, and member of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

Forthcoming Union Meetings

Date.	Place.	Speakers.
June 2	Crystal Palace	Professor Murray and Lord Cecil.
" 4, 8 p.m.	Town Hall, Carlisle	Lord Idedesleigh.
" 9, afternoon	Hampstead (garden meeting).	Lord Cecil.
" 14, 2.30 p.m.	Keswick, Longholm Garden Fete.	Viscount Astor and Maj. J. W. Hills, M.P.
" 16, 3.30 p.m.	Cheadle, Alton Towers Garden Fete.	Sir Arthur Haworth.
" 20, 8 p.m.	Derby (meeting in connection with Council meeting).	Professor Murray, Major Hills and Alderman Ben Turner.
" 21, afternoon	Farringford Park, Isle of Wight.	Lord Cecil.
" 21, 8 p.m.	North Hackney, (garden meeting).	A. Duff Cooper, Esq., M.P.
" 23, 3.30 p.m.	Birmingham, Botanical Gardens, Edgbaston.	Señor Madariaga.

Notes from Wales

At the time of going to press arrangements for the Seventh Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council at Swansea are nearing completion. The Conference lasts two days, Tuesday and Wednesday, May 29 and 30. There are prospects of an excellent attendance of branch representatives from all parts of Wales and Monmouthshire.

Amongst many replies this year to the World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales there is a magnificent album, beautifully bound, from the city of Linz, on the Danube. It contains photographs of the city and of all its schools, together with the replies to the Message signed by the pupils in each school. It is expected that the album will be sent for safe keeping to one of the national institutions of Wales.

This year the Welsh National Council has inaugurated a "Geneva Scholarships Scheme." On Saturday, May 5, over 100 candidates, from 26 secondary schools in Wales and Monmouthshire, at each of which a Junior Branch exists, sat for the Scholarship Examination. Dr. William Rees, of the University College, Cardiff, has generously consented to act as examiner, and the two successful candidates will be awarded a money grant towards the expenses of a fortnight at Geneva during the period of the Assembly; a special programme is being arranged for their visit.

The Welsh National Council's Daffodil Day campaign is in progress, and an appeal is made for help from friends in those districts where Daffodil Days have not yet been arranged.

During May the President of the Welsh Council the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, M.A., addressed crowded gatherings at Llandilo, Brynamman, Blaencoc and Llanuwchllyn.

The Council's Vote

List of Council's Vote completed by Branches for 1927:—

Hanging Heaton; Jordans.

1928 quotas completed:—

Dorking; Deddington; Abingdon; The Baldons; Burley; Brackley; Bransgore; Billingham; Budleigh Salterton; Ebenezer Wesleyan Church, Bristol; Great Bookham; Cromer; W. Cranmore; Malmesbury; Mortonhamstead; Cropredy; Benson and Ewelme; Chertsey; Haslemere; Crowborough; Heathfield; Radley; Sibford Ferris; East Hendred.

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
April 24, 1928	...	...	...	...	687,501

On April 24, 1928, there were 2,678 Branches, 585 Junior Branches, 132 Districts, 2,617 Corporate Members and 425 Corporate Associates.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

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

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

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