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## CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT ... ..	1	SAILING ORDERS (Editorial) ... ..	11
THE COUNCIL AT LUGANO ... ..	4	THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS ... ..	12
NEW WORK FOR THE LEAGUE ... ..	6	THE I.R.U. ... ..	13
A SOLDIER ON WAR. By Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson ... ..	7	SCOTLAND YARD AND GENEVA. By C. W. M. ... ..	14
THE LEAGUE IN 1928 ... ..	8	AMERICA AND THE COURT ... ..	16
THE LEAGUE IN 1929 ... ..	9	A POLICY FOR 1929 ... ..	16
THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS. By W. Arnold-Forster ... ..	10	BOOKS WORTH READING ... ..	17
		READERS' VIEWS ... ..	18

## MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE League has, on every ground, reason to congratulate itself on its handling of the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay, and to congratulate everyone concerned on the decision of both parties to accept arbitration. The League has not, or should not have, any narrow pride in such matters. What it is concerned about is to get war avoided, not necessarily to get it avoided through League arbitration, if the disputants prefer some other method. In this case they have accepted arbitration at the hands of the Pan-American Conference, which in the case of two American States is natural enough. Their decision is wholly in keeping with the desires and exhortations of the League, and there can be little doubt that the pressure exercised by the Council at Lugano, and by its President, M. Briand, and Sir Eric Drummond subsequently, contributed considerably to the wise decision at which both States arrived. It may be observed that the dispute has had the effect of bringing Bolivia into closer contact with the League than has been the case for some years, and it is

permissible to hope that the relations thus established may be favourably developed. It is to be noted further that Peru, which has also been out of touch with Geneva for many years, was among the South American States which have formally thanked M. Briand for the League's action.

### The Council's Migrations

THE decision to hold the last League Council at Lugano aroused mixed feelings. It was necessitated, as is generally known, by the state of Dr. Stresemann's health, and no doubt some other delegates found a change from Geneva in December not unwelcome. But these pilgrimages are in the main a bad thing. They are expensive—for all the members of the League Secretariat who attend need travelling and hotel expenses, and there are plenty of other costs, for hire of buildings and the like—and they militate seriously against efficiency. In the course of Council discussions any document may be needed at any moment, and to hold meetings away from headquarters is more and more inad-



visible. This time, for example, the Bolivia and Paraguay affair blew suddenly up in the middle of the Council meeting and found the Secretariat officials almost without so much as an atlas to guide them. That was natural enough, for you cannot foresee the unforeseeable. The existence of the League Library is a decisive reason in itself for carrying out a resolution the Assembly has already passed on the subject, insisting that meetings should never be held away from Geneva, except for some urgent cause. A suggestion is current now that the June Council should be held in Madrid, to celebrate Spain's return to the League. Spain's return is welcome, but in all the circumstances it is hardly an event that calls for celebration, and the objections to migration from Geneva apply as much to a migration to Madrid as to anywhere else.

### Food and Money

SIR DANIEL STEVENSON writes to HEADWAY suggesting that the statistics which appeared in the last issue, showing comparative values of food and money in different countries, would be of more interest if the equivalents of the foreign currencies in sterling had been given, in addition to the figures which actually did appear. Sir Daniel has worked them out, with the following results:—

			s. d.
Austria	...	35 schillings	= 20/4
Belgium	...	125 francs	= 14/4
Czechoslovakia	...	128 crowns	= 15/7
France	...	105 francs	= 16/11
Germany	...	21 marks	= 20/6
Italy	...	88 lire	= 19/2
Holland	...	11 florins	= 18/4
Poland	...	37 zloty	= 14/9
Portugal	...	91 escudos	= 18/7
Spain	...	33 pesetas	= 23/2
Sweden	...	19 crowns	= 21/1
United States	...	6.25 dollars	= 25/8

The first column shows what one pound's worth of food (i.e. what could be bought for £1 in Great Britain) costs in the currency of the country concerned; the second column shows what that country paid in terms of sterling for one pound's worth of food. It must be remembered that both sets of figures apply to January, 1928, just a year ago.

### The Overworked

THE proposal to reduce the number of regular League of Nations Council meetings during the year from four to three has been put off once more, this time till September, because the concurrence of the Assembly is necessary in certain steps which would have to be taken if the proposal for the reduction were carried. But it is becoming increasingly clear that the really important point is not so much to reduce the number of Council meetings as to reduce the volume of business of second-class importance on which statesmen of the first rank are at present required to spend their time at Geneva. One important delegation (not the British) has stated plainly, in private, that its chief comes to spend his time at Geneva on matters he would hand over to some third-rank functionary in his own capital. There is no question about the truth of this, but the question is how to alter it. Foreign Ministers are by common consent hopelessly overworked, and the effect

on their health has been painfully visible in the case of Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann. An obvious suggestion would be that the agenda of Council meetings should be divided roughly into more important and less important items and that at the sittings which deal with the latter the Foreign Ministers might send one of their officials to sit for them. The difficulty, however, there is that it is never quite certain when an apparently unimportant item will turn out extremely important. No better illustration of that could be given than the storm which blew up on the last day of the Lugano Council Meeting over the apparently quite unimportant question of minority schools in Upper Silesia. However that may be, we cannot have our Foreign Ministers killed gradually off.

### Geneva Impressions

THE opinions of British delegates to Geneva on what they found there is always interesting, particularly when they have been seeing the League of Nations for the first time. It is, therefore, worth while reproducing a passage from an account of a meeting of the Wood Green Conservative Association, at which the local Member, Mr. Godfrey Locker-Lampson, spoke. At the end of his address one of his platform supporters asked whether, after Mr. Locker-Lampson's first visit to the League, he still regarded it as the most potent instrument for keeping the general peace of the world. Mr. Locker-Lampson said he did, and continued, "I regard it as the duty of our party and every party to support the League. It has stopped certain threatened wars, and it has converted acute antagonisms into friendly relations. It has aided crippled communities to their feet—and, may I add that I am to address a mass meeting of the local League of Nations Union in the Palmadium and I hope the building will be full, without a vacant seat." The case could hardly have been put better.

### At Lugano

ON the whole, the League Council enjoyed itself at Lugano. During the first three days, it is true, the rain came down steadily, but at the same moment it was snowing hard at Geneva, so that the new resort was no doubt preferable for those who like their liquids wet. After that the sun came out, and it must be admitted that Lugano, with its mountain-girt lake, has undeniable advantages in the matter of scenery over Geneva. The mountains have, fortunately, convenient funiculars running up them, and a striking effect is produced at night by the lines of lights that soar, apparently, far into the clouds, marking where the mountain railways climb. The Kursaal formed in some respects a strange setting for the activities of statesmen like Sir Austen Chamberlain and Dr. Stresemann, but those eminent persons very rapidly found themselves singularly at home there. A lot of useful work was done, and the fact that at Lugano, unlike Geneva, Secretariat members were themselves installed in hotels cheek by jowl with the delegations meant a new and closer contact between the two than can normally be established.

### Drug Traffic Control

AN important step forward in the League's anti-opium campaign was taken at the December Council meeting, when the eight members of the new Opium Central Control Board were appointed. One of them, it may be observed, is a German, which means that Germany will, no doubt, ratify the 1925 Opium Convention immediately, as she had made ratification conditional on the appointment of one of her nationals on the Committee. That is not an altogether satisfactory attitude to adopt, but a German would certainly have been appointed to the Committee in any case. The function of the Board will be to put in operation an entirely new system of control of the drug traffic. Nations signing the Convention have agreed to supply in advance each year an estimate of their estimated requirements over the ensuing twelve months, and in addition to send to Geneva every quarter full statistics of the imports into and exports from their country of raw opium or of manufactured drugs like morphine, heroin, cocaine, etc. A comparison between these figures, if they are as full and as accurate as they should be, will enable the Central Board to discover at once whether any country is receiving obviously more than the amount of drugs it requires for purely medical and scientific purposes. If it can be shown that it is, the mere fact of exposure will probably be sufficient to secure a tightening up of the administration in the country concerned. If not, other action through the League of Nations Council will follow. The United States, while it does not propose to ratify the Convention, does intend to co-operate with the Central Board, and a well-known American expert has been appointed a member of it.

### A New League Film

A NEW film of the League of Nations was shown several times during the Lugano Council meetings to audiences composed of delegates, League officials and journalists, among them M. Briand and Sir Eric Drummond, both of whom figure largely in the pictures and were proportionately gratified at seeing themselves on the screen. The film is an admirable production. It deals entirely with Geneva during the meetings of the Council's Assembly last September—which means, unfortunately, that such well-known figures as Sir Austen Chamberlain and Dr. Stresemann are absent. The scenes pictured include delegates arriving at the station, Geneva beflagging itself, delegates in their hotels, the Council at work, the Assembly in session, with a large variety of orators on the rostrum or of groups in the hall, individuals like Dr. Nansen and Count Bernstorff and M. Briand, journalists "writing up," typists turning out documents, the recreations of officials (notably M. Sugimura at golf), and, finally, a delegation packing up its bags and departing. To anyone who knows Geneva and League personalities the interest of the film is great. Whether it would appeal equally to the general public, who could not in most cases pick out the salient figures in a crowd, may be doubted. That can only be discovered by experiment; and the experiment certainly ought to be made.

### Efficiency or Economy?

A GOOD deal of disquiet was created at the Assembly by a resolution, adopted on the initiative of the British delegation, whereby it was decided in the interests of economy to abandon the printing of Minutes of League Committees, with one or two special exceptions. This was likely to be a serious matter for countries distant from Geneva, which depend on study of documents for their knowledge of the manifold activities of the League, and it was also a serious handicap to League students in many lands. There was, however, provision made that a committee which considered that its Minutes should be printed, and asked special permission from the Council, should go on as before. The result was a crop of applications at the December Council meeting, when it was decided that Minutes of the Disarmament Committee, the Opium Committee, the Health Committee, and one or two others shall be regularly printed as they always were. Thanks to that decision the unfortunate effects of the Assembly resolution are practically wiped out.

### Creating an Atmosphere

IN the eyes of many newspaper readers in this country, and for that matter elsewhere, the conversations between the British, French and German Foreign Ministers at Lugano regarding a reparations settlement and the evacuation of the Rhineland were more important than most things that happened at the Council table of the League itself in the same week. There is no doubt that the renewal of personal contacts between the three ministers, suspended owing to the ill-health of one or other of them since March of last year, had entirely beneficial results so far as their relations with one another are concerned. But the problem throughout was to create in the publics of the different countries the same feeling of friendship and confidence as the ministers manifested in their interchanges with one another. That problem is always turning up in one form or another. The personal meetings at Geneva are of the greatest value, but it must never be forgotten that the power of individuals in international affairs is limited, and societies like the League of Nations Union in different lands have the opportunity to do work of the highest value in preparing public opinion in the countries in which they act to respond loyally and immediately to every move made by their representatives in the direction of understanding and peace.

### Those Pound Members

MANIFESTLY such preparation of public opinion as is discussed in the preceding paragraph requires organisation, and organisation, to be effective, requires funds. There need, therefore, be no apology for referring again to the appeal issued by Lord Cecil, in the last number of HEADWAY, for as many members of the League of Nations Union as can reasonably afford it to raise their subscriptions to £1. It ought to be a simple matter for the Union to secure fifty thousand £1 members, and if it did that its financial anxieties would be disposed of and all its energies released for the constructive work for which it primarily exists.



## THE COUNCIL AT LUGANO HOW TO MAKE KURSAAL LIFE DULL

THE Council went to Lugano because Dr. Stresemann was ill and wanted sun. It got there in bits. M. Briand, President of the Council this time, got there first because he wanted sun still more than Dr. Stresemann. He therefore arrived on a Friday. His German colleagues turned up on the Saturday. Sir Austen Chamberlain, in a through train from Calais, which climbed up one side of the Alps and slid down the other, arrived on Sunday in a storm of rain, turned on by some mistake instead of the regulation blaze of sun. By the same train came Señor Quiñones de Leon. By other trains arrived others. So they all came to hand.

Lugano does not possess many public buildings, but it has a Kursaal, devoted to the kind of amusements for which Kursaals exist. There were rooms there large enough for the Council to meet in, and if it meant the weighty statesmen who constitute that body had a frieze of highly-coloured and lightly-clad young women hovering over their disapproving heads the novelty was rather attractive than otherwise. There, at any rate,

meeting had ended a month previously, which means that the minutes will not be available to the public till after March. The dispute between Hungary and Rumania was adjourned because the parties really began to look like settling it by themselves. The question of reducing the number of Council sessions in the year was adjourned because the concurrence of the Assembly in any change was needed and it was consequently useless to do anything before September. The proposal that the Council should decide whether it could seek advisory opinions from the Permanent Court by a bare majority vote or not was adjourned because members wanted to think it over a little more. After which series of adjournments the Council adjourned itself.

### The Prince Passes

Tuesday brought more grey skies and the Prince of Wales. Lugano lies on the main line from Brindisi to Basle and Calais, and the Prince, hurrying home to his father's bedside, had necessarily to pass through



Sir Austen Chamberlain



M. Briand

THE "BIG THREE" AT LUGANO



Dr. Stresemann

the Council did meet, with its own horse-shoe table from Geneva to make it feel at home. M. Briand presided, the famous trinity of which Sir Austen Chamberlain and Dr. Stresemann are the other two members being reunited for the first time since last March. The former invalids looked fairly well, but Dr. Stresemann is being kept by his doctor on a strict régime.

### Private Calls

Two things mattered at Lugano—the meetings of the Council itself, which had nothing on its agenda of much importance except the Polish-Lithuanian affair and some opium questions, and the conversations between the chief Foreign Ministers. The latter began on Sunday, when M. Briand went to see Dr. Stresemann and stayed so long with him that a promised call on Sir Austen was crowded out.

On Monday the Council assembled in the rain that still went on falling in spite of all the rules. Its work that day was a brilliant effort in adjournment. The Mandates Commission's report could not be discussed because it was not ready, though the Commission's

it. All kinds of reports about a meeting between the Prince and Sir Austen were in the air, and London newspapers wired urgently to their correspondents for "stories," but the Prince's train ran through without stopping at 5.30 in the morning, and Sir Austen stayed between the sheets.

As for the Council, it heard Señor Quiñones de Leon present an interesting report on the Health Committee's activities in regard to leprosy in South America and sleeping-sickness in Africa and other maladies elsewhere; it decided on some further cautious investigations into the possibilities of a League wireless station; and it authorised the printing of most of the committee reports which the British delegation at the last Assembly urged (on grounds of alleged economy) should not be printed.

### The Bolivia Affair

A much more important question was dealt with half behind the scenes and half in front. According to reports in the papers, two distant members of the League, Bolivia and Paraguay, had suddenly broken

off diplomatic relations and were preparing for war about a piece of territory which both of them claimed. What was the League to do? The United States is apt to regard "interference" on the American continent as a breach of the Monroe Doctrine, and at that very moment the Kellogg Pact and the question of attaching to it a reservation regarding the Monroe Doctrine, was being discussed by the United States Senate. Bolivia, moreover, is little more than a nominal member of the League and could not be counted on to be profoundly impressed by a telegram from Lugano. But it was clearly impossible for the League to sit still and do nothing in such a case, so after two private meetings the Council approved the terms of a telegram, drafted by its President, M. Briand, reminding both States of their obligations under the Covenant and expressing the conviction that they would not deliberately violate those obligations by flying to arms. The telegram was accordingly sent, and the Council stood by to await developments.

### M. Voldemaras Agrees

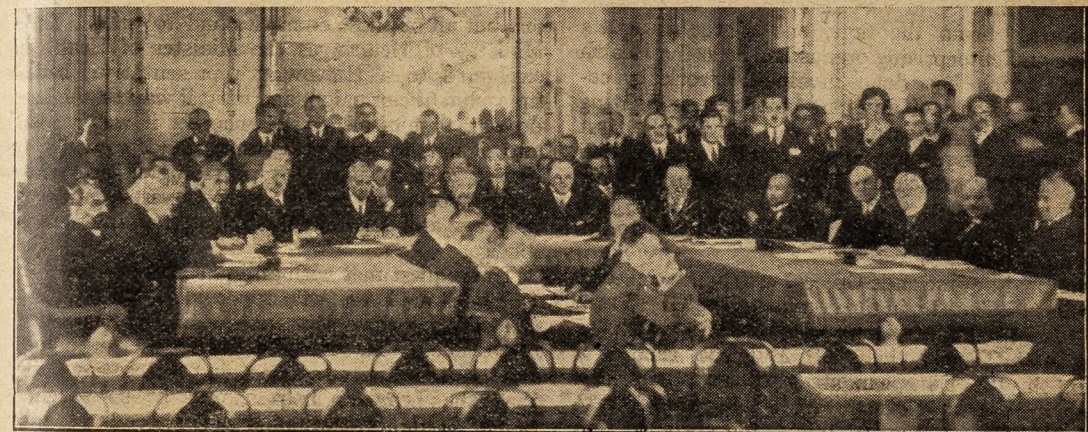
Wednesday brought more rain and M. Voldemaras, the Dictator of Lithuania—dictator because he is a Prime Minister who governs without a Parliament. The question on the agenda was "the state of negotiations between Poland and Lithuania," the negotiations arising from the undertaking given by M. Voldemaras

M. Zaleski, for Poland, replied in a few sentences, and then M. Voldemaras, under the guise of explanation, embarked on another fair-sized speech. Zaleski finally reminded the Council that last September it had more or less agreed to send a technical commission of inquiry to the spot to look into the question of communications. He asked that that should be discussed. But at this point the Council wanted lunch, so M. Quiñones de Leon was asked, as rapporteur, to sum the whole thing up and bring the result to a later meeting.

Later in the day M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann talked together at length and there arrived from Bolivia an extended defence of its action.

### Action on Opium

On Thursday, by some meteorological accident, the rain had stopped. With sun pouring through the windows the Council ran resolutely through a long and varied agenda. The first item on it, regarding the League's help in forming a new health organisation in Greece, was the most interesting—so interesting that it is dealt with separately on another page. Then there was the opium-smoking inquiry to be undertaken in the Far East. Not all the arrangements with the Governments concerned had been completed, but it was reported that the United States welcomed the inquiry so far as the Philippines were concerned. Prince Varnvaidya, of Siam, came to the table to say that his



The Council in Session

himself for Lithuania and Marshal Pilsudki for Poland, in December, 1927, that they would enter on discussion with a view to the establishment of normal relations between the two countries. After just twelve months the negotiations had resulted in precisely nothing—or, to be strictly accurate, since M. Voldemaras insisted on the point, in an agreement about passports for a handful of farmers who have land on both sides of the Polish-Lithuanian frontier. Every proposal for the establishment of road and rail and postal and telegraphic communication between the two countries had been diligently side-tracked by M. Voldemaras and his friends. The result is continued deadlock.

### Back to 1772

M. Voldemaras' discourse to the Council lasted for an hour and a half. After that a translation from French into English followed. Council members yawned, frowned, looked impatient and indignant. Still the flood of words poured on. Not content with starting with the seizure of Vilna in 1920, the Lithuanian spokesman enunciated the alarming theory that the crucial date in Polish-Lithuanian relations was 1772, and the interpreter carried it back a little further still by rendering it inadvertently as 1672. What did the hour and a half of talk amount to? Honestly, nothing but evasions and excuses and one or two rather serious inaccuracies.

Government would lend every assistance. A loan for the Saar was approved in principle; the work of the Economic Committee was blessed, and Dr. Stresemann, who reported on it, exhorted his colleagues to persuade their Governments to ratify the various economic conventions they had signed. And, last of all, general approval was given to a report on the International Cinematograph Institute, where the cinema is studied in its educational aspects, and it is proposed to look into broadcasting and television in the same connection. Later in the day Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann talked together, but according to Sir Austen, they decided nothing and did not even try to.

### Half-an-inch Forward

Friday brought more sun and more M. Voldemaras. Various officials had sat up till three in the morning devising a formula that might lead to an inch or two more progress in the dispute between Lithuanians and Poles, and when the Council opened, Señor Quiñones de Leon presented the fruit of their labours. The main proposal was to ask the Committee on Communications and Transit to take up the technical question of communications between the two countries, examining the situation on the spot if need be. It took M. Voldemaras twenty minutes or so to say "Yes" to this, but he did say that in the end. Then the Council set up the new



Opium Control Board and appointed its eight members, including an Englishman, an Indian and an American. It created a special committee on the abstruse subject of fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold (which affects ultimately most things we buy and sell) and approved what certain experts had done in the still more abstruse matter of double taxation. And it strengthened Dr. Nansen's hand by giving him a new advisory committee to help him in his work with refugees. Outside the Council M. Briand saw Dr. Stresemann, and Sir Austen joined the company. The three decided to draft a communiqué expressing their friendship for one another. It came next day and said just that.

#### Home Once More

And so came Saturday and the end of all things. Blazing sun once more. Subject before the Council—a series of twopenny-halfpenny disputes between Poland and her German minority in Upper Silesia over school questions. What could be duller? Nothing on earth—till there suddenly developed one of the liveliest

## NEW WORK FOR THE LEAGUE EQUIPPING A NATION TO FIGHT DISEASE

THE League of Nations is entering on a new experiment that may be of very considerable importance in the future. From the first, one of the League's most active and enterprising organs has been the Health Committee, which has done invaluable work in co-ordinating the efforts of different countries in fighting their common foe—disease. Now it is, for the first time, to take in hand the whole health organisation of a single country, which has had the wisdom to come to the League and ask for that expert and disinterested assistance which it is qualified beyond all other bodies in the world to give.

The country in question is Greece, which is faced with almost unique difficulties in the domain of health. From 1912 to 1922 the country was almost continuously at war: first with Turkey, then with Bulgaria, then as a participant in the European struggle, and then with Turkey again in Asia. Even when fighting ended there was no political settlement at home, the currency was hopelessly depreciated, and on top of that came the flood of refugees from Asia Minor, bringing all manner of diseases—notably plague, cholera and small-pox—with them.

#### M. Venizelos Moves

In that crisis the League lent Greece effective economic help, enabling it to stabilise its currency and to settle the million and a half of refugees. In the health sphere, too, the League has done something already. It helped to organise the inoculation of the refugees, it sent its malaria commission to Greece, and more recently, at the request of the Government, it sent an expert from Geneva to join in directing the fight against dengue fever. But with the almost overwhelming problem of the refugees on her hands, Greece had neither time nor money to deal with the health of the rest of the country. Now she is awake to the necessities of the case, and M. Venizelos, in his chief pre-election speech, said health work would be one of the new Government's chief concerns, beginning with the army and with children. He appointed a medical man, Dr. Doxiadis, Minister of Health, and promised such funds as the state of the budget would permit.

Then came the decision to appeal to the League. Greece might have goodwill and good intentions. She might have a certain amount of money to spend. But she had not, and could not, have the technical knowledge and experience such as countries like Britain or Germany

moments the Council has ever known. When M. Adata, the dapper Japanese delegate, had given a ruling, accepted in all cases, about each dispute, M. Zaleski, the Polish Foreign Minister, suddenly produced a document and read out a fierce attack on a German organisation called the Deutscher Volksbund, which he said was deliberately fomenting disloyalty and high treason in Upper Silesia. His words were forcible and bitter, and Dr. Stresemann listened with surprise and growing anger, breaking in at last with ejaculations of protest and banging his fist on the table. When he got the chance to speak his words came as fast as a torrent and substantially louder. His defence of the right of minorities not only to exist but, when necessary, to protest was impressive, and he ended by giving notice he would raise the whole minority question at the Council meeting in March. After that the Council, in private session, framed a further admonition to Bolivia and adjourned at 4.20, just in time for the British and others to catch the 5.9. Then over the Alps and down again, and so home.

or Switzerland could command. Fortunately, through the League, she could get access to everything that not merely one but all of those countries had to offer. The Greek Ministry of Health, as the Minister of Health himself explained to a HEADWAY representative, had drawn up a plan of campaign, and what it wanted the League to do was, first of all, to say whether it was a good plan, and, if not, to suggest a better; and, secondly, to help Greece to carry it out by providing experts who would accept posts under the Greek Government for a term of years and form the framework of the new medical service.

The request met with an immediate response. Señor Quiñones de Leon, who reported on the matter to the Council, described the application as "in every sense opportune." M. Briand, who was presiding, considered it as "most encouraging, not to say flattering," that the League's help should be so sought. And Signor Scialoja, mentioning that his country, Italy, had had a long and successful fight against malaria, said any experience it had acquired was entirely at the disposal of Greece and of the League. The League Health Committee is accordingly to send a small commission of experts to Greece early next year to survey the whole situation and work out a programme with the Greek authorities. Sir George Buchanan, of the British Ministry of Health, is likely to be one of the number.

#### Constructing a Service

Then will come the application of the programme. For that a number of trained administrators from other countries will be needed for a term of years till the members of the new Greek service gain the necessary experience. These the League will have no difficulty in finding. The diseases from which the country suffers most are malaria, tuberculosis and trachoma. According to Dr. Doxiadis, Greece is losing 1,000,000,000 drachmas from malaria among the refugees alone, reckoning the value of labour and the number of days lost through illness. If the whole of the country is taken, the figures are more alarming still.

The Greek Minister of Health has gone back to his country greatly encouraged by the readiness of the League to extend the necessary help, while the League authorities on their part welcome the opportunity of thus assisting a League State in need of their co-operation. If the experiment succeeds, as no doubt it will, Greece's application should be by no means the last of its kind.

## A SOLDIER ON WAR

### SIR WILLIAM ROBERTSON'S ARRESTING WARNING

(Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson's paper, read at the League of Nations Union Arbitration Conference in December, made a profound impression on all who heard it. As they were necessarily few in number, the essential parts of the address are given here.)

FIRST, as to the cost of armaments. We in this country are still spending on our armed forces about £116,000,000 a year, or nearly double the amount spent before the war, and although the value of money



Sir W. Robertson

has meanwhile depreciated, the strength of the forces maintained has also decreased. The principal question you have in mind, however, is not expenditure on armaments in time of peace but the consequence of their employment in time of war; and as to this the world will never know precisely what it had to pay for the last war, for no one can calculate the price with any real approach to accuracy. Taking all the belligerents into account, the direct money outlay seems to have been nearly £40,000,000,000, while the indirect cost of such items as destruction of property, loss of shipping, loss to agriculture and industry, decrease of birth-rate, and race deterioration, may be guessed at not less than £30,000,000,000, or some £70,000,000,000 in all. The loss of life was about 10,000,000, which is double that caused by all the wars of the preceding 120 years put together, including the wars of the Napoleonic period. Besides the killed, there were probably no fewer than 20,000,000 wounded.

We know, as a matter of history, that with the exception of those undertaken for strictly defensive purposes, preparations for war are apt to precipitate war rather than to prevent it, as some people still maintain they do. Never were preparations so general, complete and systematic as during the 60 years previous to 1914, and never were wars so frequent. France fought Italy; Germany fought in turn Denmark, Austria, and France; there were the Russo-Turkish and Russo-Japanese wars; many wars in the Balkans; the Spanish-American war; wars in China; and our own wars in Afghanistan, Egypt and South Africa. No sooner was one war over, or rather begun, than the various General Staffs of Europe feverishly fastened upon its so-called "lessons" and made ready to apply them in the "next" war, which forthwith assumed a position of first-rate importance in the consideration of all international questions that might arise.

Every well-organised government expected its War Department to have in its archives carefully prepared plans of operations for meeting all conceivable warlike contingencies, as well as comprehensive schedules of the military resources of all countries which might one day occupy the position either of an ally or of an enemy. The efficiency of embassies and temporary diplomatic missions was also to a great extent judged by the success they achieved in discovering the political and military secrets of the countries to which they were accredited. Plotting and planning for the destruction or, at any rate, for the military domination of neighbouring States was both universal and incessant. This is not a fanciful picture but represents what went on in

many foreign countries in the years previous to 1914, as known to me when serving at Government headquarters, first at Simla and then in London.

So far as land armaments were concerned, Great Britain undoubtedly made less preparation than any other European Power, but the military authorities were expected, of course, as far as available means would permit and in accordance with the spirit of the time, to make ready for the "next" war down to the proverbial "last gaiter button." Distrust and jealousy still prevail, and the nations seem to have learned little or nothing from the experience of 10 years ago. They still fail to see that war can never be the means of bringing lasting peace. Ever since 1918 the "next" great war has constantly been talked about as though it must necessarily come and nothing could prevent it.

It must not be inferred that I regard the limitation of armaments as being solely, or even mainly, a matter for naval and military experts. About a year ago Marshal Foch was reported, with what truth I do not know, to have stated that another world war, on a vastly larger scale than the last one, would probably occur within the next 15 or 20 years. Marshal Foch rendered invaluable service to the Allies during 1918, but he would not claim, I think, to speak with any special authority about the probability of the so-called "next" war, for on that subject the opinion of soldiers is of no greater value than that of other people. Modern wars, involving as they do the employment of all the resources that can be made available—military, naval, diplomatic, financial, industrial—are much more political in character, both as to conception and execution, than they used to be.

The principle of Civil ministerial control in time of war applies equally to the control of armaments in time of peace. Naval and military considerations undoubtedly have their importance, and they should be heard and fully taken into account. But the question ultimately to be decided is essentially one of national policy, and that, of course, can only be laid down by the civil ministers of the Crown, and on their own responsibility.

A long and bitter experience shows that lasting peace will never be ensured either by a preponderance of force or by a balance of power, and it certainly cannot be securely established on a foundation of jealousy and hatred. Only by the infusion of a more generous, frank and trustful spirit into the conduct of international affairs will the world be saved from drifting into another war. The assertion often heard that war has always existed and always will so long as human nature remains what it is should be rejected. The same statement was probably just as often made centuries ago when tribal warfare was the fashion and later when England and Scotland were inveterate enemies, and it may now be regarded as being out of date to a much wider extent. No doubt the object in view will take a long time to achieve, and it may be attended by many failures. But, given unfaltering faith on the part of men of all good will, we are surely justified in believing that eventually it will prove possible to devise some more sensible and useful way of composing international differences than the futile and disastrous policy employed in the past.



## THE LEAGUE IN 1928

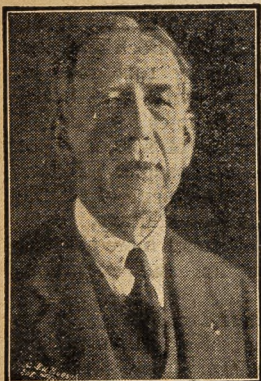
### AN ESTIMATE OF A YEAR'S ACHIEVEMENTS

ON the whole 1928 may be regarded as a quiet year for the League. Certain changes were recorded in its membership. No new States joined, but Spain, which had in 1926 given notice of resignation, withdrew the notice and returned to active membership, while the Government of Costa Rica, which had actually severed connection completely, indicated that it had decided to come back to Geneva and that a Bill to that effect was being presented to its Legislature. On the other hand, the notice given by Brazil in 1926 became definitive and Brazil ceased to be a member of the League of Nations. Spain signalled her return by ratifying the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and Hungary took the same step at almost the same moment.

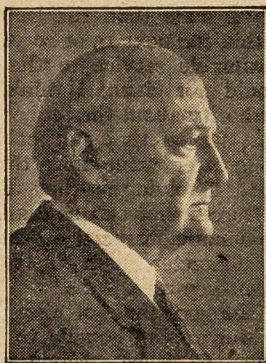
No new political dispute of any importance arose, though a vast amount of time was occupied at various Council meetings with the affairs of Poland and Lithuania and of Rumania and Hungary. Both those disputes were left unsettled at the end of the year, but the Hungarians and Rumanians had opened direct negotiations with some hope of success, and in regard to the Poles and Lithuanians the Council took one short

types of treaty which any pair of nations could adopt as between themselves. At the Assembly it was felt that opinion was ripe for something a little more far-reaching than that, and there was consequently evolved on the spot what was known as the General Act, being a collective arbitration treaty which not merely two countries but all States in the world could sign if they were so disposed, the undertakings incurred by any one signatory being effective in relation to every other.

But there was, of course, the Kellogg Pact, which, while it had no actual connection with the League of Nations at all, was designed to impose on its signatories almost precisely those obligations already imposed on them as members of the Covenant. It went further than the Covenant in one respect in that it ruled out war for national purposes under all circumstances. On the other hand it fell short of the Covenant in that it only said that disputes should not be settled by any except peaceful means, whereas the Covenant, in a large class of cases, definitely makes the positive stipulation that they should definitely be settled by arbitration or the Court, and not left to drift as they might under the terms of the Kellogg Pact. The great value



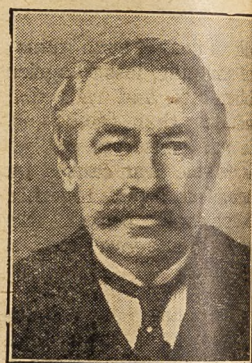
M. Urrutia  
(Colombia)



M. Aguero y Bethancourt  
(Cuba)



M. Procope  
(Finland)



M. Briand  
(France)

#### THE COUNCIL'S PRESIDENTS IN 1928

step forward, at its December meeting, by arranging that its technical experts should consider, from the purely technical standpoint, the question of communication between the two countries. As the year closed the League contributed substantially, in conjunction with purely American influences, to secure a peaceful outcome to the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay.

In other fields disappointment has gone side by side with achievement. In regard to disarmament, uniform disappointment prevailed. No progress whatever was registered between January 1 and December 31. The shadow of the failure of the Three Power Naval Conference of 1927 still overhung the deliberations of the Preparatory Commission in 1928, and when the situation was further embroiled by the so-called Anglo-French Naval Compromise, which the United States and Italy sharply and decisively turned down, the prospect of any further progress in the direction of an agreed limitation of armaments by land and sea looked altogether sombre. Conversations at Lugano in December foreshadowed a meeting of the Preparatory Commission in March, 1929.

In regard to arbitration some progress was made, on paper at all events. A special committee had been working out during the year a number of alternative

of the Pact was that it definitely associated the United States with the policy League members were already putting into practice.

In the humanitarian sphere the various organs of the League have been continuing their valuable work, about which little need be said here except so far as new departures are involved. Among the latter may be mentioned the decision taken to send a Commission of Inquiry to study measures for the control of opium-smoking in the Far East, and another Commission to the same region to extend to Asia the investigation into the White Slave Traffic already carried out in other parts of the world, while the Health Organisation has agreed, with the sanction of the Council, to accept the invitation of Greece to organise a national public health service in that country. All these, so far, are merely paper decisions, which will have to be executed in 1929. So too is the creation of the Central Board to control the drug traffic, whose members were appointed at the last meeting of the Council in December.

Perhaps the most solid work the League has done in the year lies in the sphere of finance and economics, though its activities in that field are necessarily technical in character and not easily grasped by the average student of the League's general history.

## THE LEAGUE IN 1929

### SHADOWS OF COMING EVENTS AT GENEVA

TO discuss the League in 1929 involves a possibly unwise excursion into the realm of prediction. On the other hand, there is always something to be said for looking a little ahead, and events are so shaping themselves that there are more charts to guide the adventurer than might be supposed.

If things went as they should go, 1929 would be pre-eminently a disarmament year. The controversy about the calling of a Disarmament Conference was fought out from every angle during the Assembly, and was carried a step further during the December meetings of the Council at Lugano. It appears now that the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference will meet some time in March. That is not as early as may be hoped, including particularly the Germans and M. Litvinoff, hoped; but there were various arguments, including notably the change of administration in the United States (which takes place on March 4), for the delay, and if the Commission really succeeds in getting down to solid work when it does meet, there is still the possibility that a Disarmament Convention might be finally approved at a further meeting in July or August and the full Conference itself held before the end of the year.

That, however, is only if things go as they should. A good deal may happen even between now and March. The relations between Great Britain and the United States, for example, may be eased or the opposite. The same applies to relations between France and Italy, which indirectly have a distinct bearing on the armaments question. But general discussion in the Press and elsewhere has made it clear enough that if the two principal Naval Powers of the world were seriously resolved to come to an agreement on naval matters, they could do it, and that if that happened it would exercise a powerful influence on the movement for a limitation of armaments on land and in the air as well as at sea.

#### A Minorities Year

Another development in a quite different sphere seems inevitable, for 1929 can hardly fail to be also a minorities year, in the sense, at any rate, that the whole question of the protection of minorities will be thrashed out in its every aspect. That question, too, was freely discussed at the Assembly, but the suggestion of the Dutch Foreign Minister, borrowed from the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, for the creation of a Permanent Minorities Commission, similar to the Mandates Commission, did not find general favour. But here, again, the December Council carried matters much further than the point where the Assembly left them. By a curious coincidence, on the very morning when Senator Dandurand, of Canada, had decided to give notice, and did in fact give notice, that he would raise at the March Council Meeting the whole question of the handling of minorities petitions by the League, there occurred the unexpected passage of arms between M. Zaleski and Dr. Stresemann, which resulted in the latter also giving notice that he, too, would raise at the next Council Meeting the minorities problem in its fullest form. This is a matter of considerable importance, for no one can claim that conditions as regards minorities are satisfactory at present. That is not so much the fault of the League as the consequence of the inherent difficulties of the situation. And it has always to be remembered that responsibility for minorities was thrust on the League from outside, there being not a word of any kind about it in the Covenant.

When we leave these definitely foreshadowed developments in the field of disarmament and minorities, we enter on much more uncertain ground. Will the League gain or lose any members in 1929? Some anxiety frankly exists about the position of the Argentine Republic, which, having remained very loosely attached to the League ever since 1920, may quite well make up its mind during this year either to come definitely in or to go definitely out. As for possible new members, not much is looked for at present. The most likely candidate is probably Turkey. But Turkey, in any private interchanges which have taken place so far, has been disposed to set an unacceptable price, in the form of a Council seat, on her entry. It is not on those terms that new States should be appointed. (Germany was, of course, a definite exception in view of the understanding which always existed that when she came in she would be given a permanent Council seat.) Iraq's candidature will not gain British support until 1932, and Egypt is not likely to approach the League till her differences with this country are settled. There remain in addition, the U.S.A. and Russia, regarding neither of which is anything to be hoped for at present, Mexico and Ecuador, Afghanistan and Nejd. An application from either of the two latter would astonish no one, but it cannot be said that there are any signs of it yet.

#### Latin America

The absence of Mexico, Ecuador and Brazil, together with the uncertainty about the Argentine, suggests that the League should make it a chief part of its business in 1929 to endeavour somehow to cement closer relations with Latin America. The necessity for that step was alarmingly emphasised by the outbreak of the Bolivia-Paraguay dispute, which found the League seriously perplexed about its action. So far, effective contacts with Latin America have been established through the medium of the Health Organisation alone, the visit of Drs. Madsen and Rajchman, some eighteen months ago, having been followed by various interesting proposals from Latin American countries for closer co-operation with the League in the matter of health. Valuable as that is, it does not take the place of close political contacts, and it must remain a matter of grave regret that Chile is the only one of the three principal Latin American states which is actively co-operating with the League at the present time. Precisely what approach is likely to be the most effective is not easy to decide. That is a subject on which the advice of Spain should be given considerable weight. But there are few subjects to which the League Council could more profitably turn its attention.

For the rest the League looks like running on in 1929 much as it has run on in 1928. It will be breaking new and very interesting ground in Greece, where the Health Organisation (as described on another page) is to set a national health service on its feet, and the operation of the new Central Control Board will mean a fresh attack on the evil of the traffic in narcotic drugs. If, indeed, the Board should prove as successful as its creators hope, the fight against the drugs will enter upon an entirely new phase.

Incidentally, the first definite visible step should be taken in 1929 towards the erection of the League's new buildings. The progress here has been slow enough to satisfy the most conservative caterpillar, but this year should not end without a few stray bricks at least beginning to show their noses above the surface of the Park Ariana.



## THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS CHANGES THE KELLOGG PACT INVOLVES

By W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

THAT old, vexed problem called Freedom of the Seas again demands our consideration. Its solution was never before so possible as it will now be if the principles of the Pact of Paris are fully accepted and applied; and its solution is evidently indispensable as a means to full Anglo-American understanding and to drastic naval disarmament.

Upon this problem, as in so many others, the Pact of Paris should have an important effect. For the Pact provides for renunciation of war (including, of course, "blockade" and "economic pressure") as an instrument of national policy. If we do fully accept the Pact, we are no longer free to begin a private war, or private blockade, even if peaceful procedure breaks down. We may no longer exploit our armaments, or our control of Suez and Gibraltar, as instruments of menace in peacetime to gain our own private ends. If we have a private difference with, say, Egypt (a fellow-signatory of the Pact), we shall no longer be free to enforce our private will by means of another despatch of warships to Alexandria. For we shall be bound never to seek a solution of our disputes "except by peaceful means."

### The "Reservations" to the Pact

These would be the consequences if we accepted the principles of the Pact without reserve. Unfortunately, however, we have not done that. Though the Pact itself remains intact, the declarations made by the British, French and American Governments concerning their signatures (as Prof. Murray and others have shown) not only do grave injury to the principles of the Pact, but also challenge the Covenant itself. The declaration known as the British Monroe Doctrine conflicts with Art. XI of the Covenant; and it reserves to us a wide liberty to use war as an instrument of national policy in "certain regions," unspecified, but evidently not British, whose "welfare and integrity" we may claim to be of special interest to ourselves.

Mr. Kellogg's self-defence formula, accepted by Britain and France, conflicts with Art. XII; it declares that each nation is "at all times, regardless of treaty provisions," solely competent to decide "whether circumstances require recourse to war in self-defence." In these circumstances it would obviously be too much to claim that we have accepted the principles of the Pact without reserve, or that we have wholly renounced war or blockade as instruments of national policy.

### Commerce Prevention as a Private Weapon

Now there are still many people in this country, especially in the Naval service, who think this is just as it should be. They hold that the weapon of commerce prevention on the high seas always was and always will be our country's one great offensive weapon; they regret or ignore the drastic curtailment, by the Covenant, of our "right" to impose blockade or make war for our own private ends; and they would regret still more the further curtailment of that right by the Pact. They would have us cling, at any cost, however ruinous, to the relics of the old right to close the high seas by naval force against our private enemies. I believe this policy to be, for political reasons, suicidal, and, for technical reasons, obsolete and impracticable.

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that this country, availing itself of the "gap in the Covenant" or of the reservations to the Pact, is again engaged in a "private" war—a war, that is, not to put a stop to a breach of the Covenanted peace, but to impose our own will upon our private enemy. Is it in the least likely that, under the political and technical conditions of to-day or to-morrow, we could make the blockade

weapon effective in such a war against any powerful opponent? In answering that question we must not be misled by what happened in the late war. The Allies' weapon of economic pressure did in the long run prove to be an appallingly potent means of coercion; but that was mainly because it was an allied weapon—a very great proportion of its effectiveness was due, not to any such crude and old-fashioned measures as the forcible interception of ships at sea, but to a vast boycott, involving the co-operation ashore of many nations and many services other than the Navy. A great part of what we did then had no justification in international law other than the doctrine of reprisals. It would be a mistake to deduce, from the fact that we then managed to ration five neutral states within our cordon, that we could do the same sort of thing again in a private war. It would be a mistake, too, to conclude from the fact that we then managed to seize and condemn some sixteen million pounds' worth of goods in the Prize Court, with the help of intercepted cables, wireless and letters, that we should be able nowadays to collar those means of communication and achieve similar results again.

### What We Cannot Do

For technical conditions have changed; developments of the cable system, of wireless, and of aviation, now make it impossible for any Power again to exercise such a censorship as we could exploit in those years of transition. More important, the political situation is utterly different. The very fact that the "blockade" weapon proved so deadly (it killed some 760,000 people in Germany alone up till the Armistice; and there were many more after that!), has naturally and rightly aroused all over the world a passionate conviction that it should not be left in any private hands, however honourable. The fact that it was found impossible in practice (in a war between organised states) to maintain the old theoretical distinctions between state property and private, or between civil and military supplies, has compelled liberal-minded thinkers to abandon the old policy of dividing the blockade weapon into two halves, legal and illegal, by an arbitrary line across its blade. And, above all, the experience of the war has driven the United States to a resolve never to tolerate such interference with her commerce again. English people know too little of the extent of our control of American commerce with Europe in the war years, and of the tension that it caused. The U.S. is not likely to forget that for a long period it was virtually impossible to ship a ton of American goods to Holland or Scandinavia without a British permit. She will not forget it, and she has greater power than ever before to compel us to remember her claims.

### The New "Freedom"

On every ground, moral, political and technical, we should now be willing to accept the Wilsonian doctrine of Freedom of the Seas; the principle, that is, of "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 international covenants."

I assume that, for the service of the League of Nations, the widest possible rights of commerce prevention should be maintained. I cannot myself believe that any good can come from revival of attempts such as were made in 1907-09 to codify the rules of private war at sea; but if such an attempt is made, presumably we should aim at curtailing the rights of the belligerent, and securing the liberties of the neutral, as fully as possible.

# HEADWAY

JANUARY

1929

## SAILING ORDERS

IT is a common habit to talk as if the beginning of each new year meant the beginning of some new voyage. Of course, that is not the case really. Time flows as uneventfully on between December 31 and January 1 as it does between, say, May 15 and 16. Our own lives suffer no special crisis as one year passes into another, and what is true of individuals is true of organisations like the League of Nations. A year may stop, but they go on.

But the turn of the year suggests a turn of man's thoughts, none the less. The past is somehow dividing itself from the future, and reflections on the one slip insensibly into speculations on the other. What will next year bring forth—for me, for you, for whatever man or woman, or whatever cause—stirs our interest at the moment? What, in particular, will it bring forth for the League of Nations?

The answer in all cases is not the same. The power to control human destinies is limited. The changes and chances of this mortal life defy most of our efforts to master them. But with a body like the League the case is different. There it may be said with much truth that the future will bring forth what men will it to bring forth. The force that drives it and shapes its course is the force that the statesmen of different countries, deriving their mandate from the peoples of those countries, determine to put behind it.

In their hands in large measure the League's destiny rests. What will they, what should they, make of it in 1929? No revolutionary changes are called for. For the most part it is enough to follow the course already set and keep it so. The League should be doing in January very much what it should have been doing in December. But in 1928 there were various steps to be taken, and in 1929 they remain to be taken still.

As to what those steps are there is room for some legitimate difference of opinion. There are those who are completely satisfied with the League's present pace. There are others who would like to see it move faster than it does. But on certain concrete measures a large body of public opinion in this country is agreed, and that being so, there will be in 1929 the same steady demand for the achievement of those measures as there was in 1928. The new year brings no new programme, but rather a renewal of resolve to use every legitimate effort to get the old programme carried out.

It so happens that in our own country the occurrence of a General Election will give a special opportunity for pressing that programme on the men and women who are to sit in the next House of Commons. It is to be

hoped that the opportunity will in every constituency be used to the full. Resolute progress with a practical scheme for the all-round limitation and reduction of armaments, the strengthening of the Permanent Court by the acceptance by this country of its jurisdiction in all cases with which the Court can properly deal, the acceptance of the principle of the final settlement by arbitration of every dispute not otherwise disposed of—these three alone form a programme to whose adoption every effort may with advantage be directed.

Quite apart from the General Election, Great Britain will be faced in 1929 with the necessity for clear decisions on these points. Very soon, to all appearance, the United States will have ratified the Kellogg Pact. It will then be immediately incumbent on other signatories to ratify it too. When they have done that they will be bound absolutely to put away all idea of the use of war to serve national ends. If war itself is renounced is preparation for war to continue unchecked? In current official War Office publications war is frankly (and accurately) described as an instrument of policy. But it is an instrument signatories of the Kellogg Pact are no longer permitted to use. Mr. Baldwin spoke at the Guildhall of the reflection of the Kellogg pledges in lower naval and military estimates. The coming year will justify that prediction or explode it.

There is one aspect of the armaments question that demands special and concentrated examination in the year to come. The relations between Great Britain and the United States have been drifting, since the Three Power Naval Conference, into a condition that every far-sighted citizen of either country must deplore. There are faults on both sides of the Atlantic, but it is much more important to banish them than to brood over them. And here one clear line of policy presents itself. It is to give ungrudging reality to the undertaking implied in the Prime Minister's Albert Hall declaration that this country has no intention of building ships in competition with the United States.

That the Prime Minister meant what he said is certain. Whether the Cabinet as a whole means what the Prime Minister said is more doubtful. For the effect of the declaration is far-reaching. It does not involve sitting down to watch America build a larger fleet than ours, for America as yet has no desire to do that. She is still content with what is called parity, or equality. What that means is that the two countries shall be of substantially equal naval strength, measuring their respective fleets by tonnage, and perhaps by gun-power. It does not mean their being identical down to the tonnage and gun-equipment of every individual vessel.

But if there is not to be this identity, then it may easily be that America, building for what she conceives to be her special needs, mainly large vessels, just as we should build for what we conceive to be our special needs, mainly small vessels, may find herself in a position to outrange our smaller and more numerous cruisers in a naval battle. Are we prepared to say openly, "that is all right"? The Prime Minister, if his Albert Hall speech meant anything, has said precisely that in other words. If his countrymen are prepared to say it with him, the volume of their approval will reach across the Atlantic and wake an answering echo there.

To carry that policy through, and lay for ever the bogy of naval competition with the United States, may well be this country's greatest international task in 1929.



## THE LEAGUE FOR BEGINNERS

### I.—HOW THE COVENANT WAS MADE AT PARIS

[In view of the fact that HEADWAY is constantly acquiring new readers, who are not necessarily familiar with the main facts about the League of Nations, it has been thought well to revive an old feature, "The League for Beginners," in which an attempt will be made to present these facts simply and clearly.]

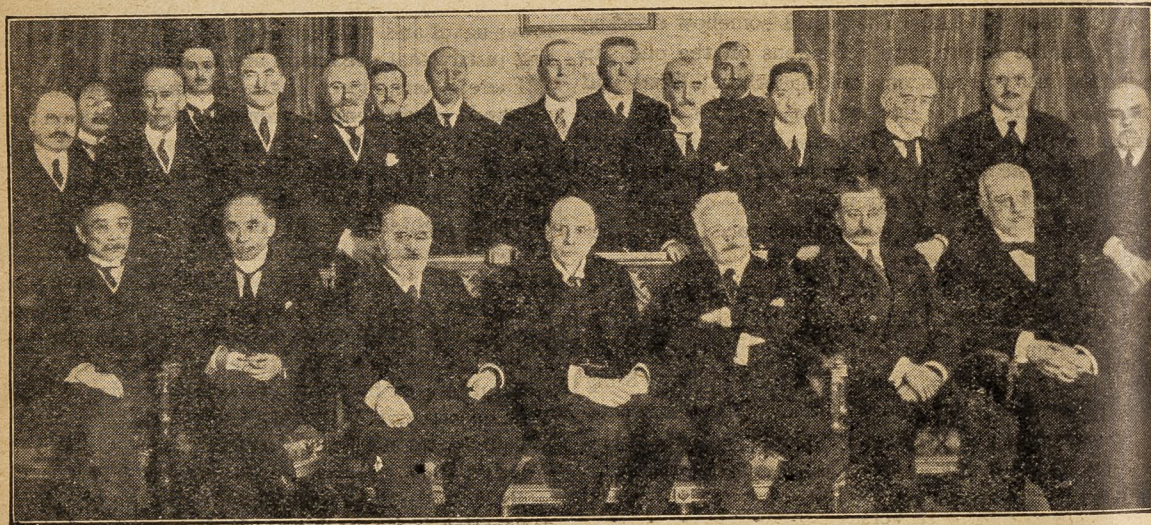
WHO, it may be asked, invented the League of Nations? The answer is, that no one did. All sorts of people at different times in the world's history have thought about something like the League,—Henry IV of France, William Penn, Immanuel Kant, and many others. But they got no further than merely thinking. No League in being resulted from their labours, and the world of 1919 was still a world without a League.

But by 1920 something had happened, for by the middle of January in that year a League of Nations had come to birth, and its first formal meeting was in progress. That something was partly the peace and partly the war—primarily the war. The war had made

and their foodstuffs and their raw materials as though half the barriers that divided them were broken down. Officials from the British Board of Trade or Ministry of Food or Ministry of Shipping were constantly meeting their French and Italian, and, later, their American, colleagues in like positions, and the Supreme Economic Council of the Allies, which grew out of this co-operation, was a valuable model for the economic co-operation on a larger scale undertaken a little later by the League of Nations.

#### Why the League Came

So the League idea grew out of the war in two ways—as a revolt against the folly and criminality and waste of human slaughter, and as a translation into peace



THE MAKERS OF THE COVENANT.

The three figures in the middle of the front row are M. Léon Bourgeois (with beard), Lord Robert Cecil and Signor Orlando. Behind Lord Robert is President Wilson and on the left of the President, General Smuts.

men in every country resolve that, somehow or another, this thing should be prevented from ever happening again. They were men on both sides of the line that divided friend from foe, for in Germany, as well as in Britain and America and France, politicians were talking and journalists were writing about the creation of some society or association or league that should save the world from war.

#### A Lesson From the War

In a quite different way the war had prepared the world for a League of Nations. The new lesson the nations had to learn was how to work together instead of working separately or working against one another. It may be said that the war provided the greatest example ever known to history of nations working against each other. So it did. But it also provided the greatest example known to history of nations working together. One after another different States had joined the ranks of the Allies, till by 1918 there were over twenty of them fighting together—and not merely fighting together, but sharing their money and their ships

effort of the common toil undertaken in the struggle for victory. But that only shows *why* the League idea ultimately triumphed, not *how* it triumphed. When it came to planning out a League of Nations on paper, there were many opposing views to be fitted into one another somehow. To go back to the question with which this article opened—who invented the League of Nations? The answer is that numbers of people had a hand in the job—President Wilson, General Smuts, Lord Robert Cecil (as he then was), M. Léon Bourgeois, of France, and a committee at the British Foreign Office, whose draft plan was to a large extent embodied in the League Covenant in its present form.

A photograph on this page shows the group of men who actually thrashed out the Covenant clause by clause and built it up. They worked hard. Their meetings were usually held in the evening, so as not to interfere with the rest of the Peace Conference work; and they often lasted till late at night. President Wilson took the chair, being replaced when absent by Lord Robert Cecil. As the text of the different articles of the Covenant was agreed on it was printed off, together

with various proposals regarding the further articles, at the printing office run by the American Army in Paris.

#### A Momentous Agreement

Out of the discussions the Covenant as we know it came. It is a short document, but one of the most important in the world. Though it happens to be called by the special name of Covenant, because President Wilson's Scottish ancestry led him to press for that, it is simply an ordinary, straightforward international

in getting the armaments of the world reduced by general agreement without unfairness to anyone; in providing for the peaceful settlement of disputes between States on a basis of justice and equity; in fighting such common scourges as the traffic in drugs or in women and children, and in promoting the physical and social welfare of mankind by continuous and organised co-operation in the matter of health, of labour conditions, of the financial and economic relations between States.

#### Britain's Pledges

That is the Covenant. To put the same thing in another way, when a State (Great Britain, for example) joins the League of Nations, it says to the world something like this: "I intend to live at peace and try and persuade the rest of the world to live at peace. I will not have other States interfering with my internal affairs, and I do not mean the League to interfere with any other State's internal affairs; but I agree that in my dealings with other States I will act according to the principles of the League of Nations. In particular, I will never make a sudden attack on anyone, but if there is anything to fight about, I will always lay it first before the Court of International Justice, or some special arbitrators, or the League of Nations Council. And I shall always be ready to join with other States in working out plans for common action in fighting disease or in breaking down obstacles to trade, and free intercourse between peoples, or in levelling up unequal labour conditions in different countries, or in doing anything that States can do better together than separately."

Twenty-eight Allied States said that when they signed the Covenant in 1919; thirteen neutrals said it when they accepted the Covenant in the same year; fifteen more States have said it since, though one of them—Brazil—partially unsaid it when she decided to leave the League in 1926 (though Brazil is still co-operating with the League in a great many of its special activities). Consequently, the League of Nations to-day consists of 55 States, bound together by the pledges already described. Two of the largest, however, the United States and Soviet Russia, are still outside. So are Turkey, Egypt, Afghanistan, Mexico, Brazil, Ecuador, Iraq, Nejd. The rest of the world is in.



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treaty, which twenty-eight countries signed in the first instance, and as many more have adhered to since. Instead of being signed separately it was put as the first chapter of the Treaty of Versailles between the Allies and Germany, so that no State could accept the agreement that ended the war without accepting at the same time the document that was to safeguard and establish peace.

The Covenant shows what the League of Nations is. As its name indicates, it is a league, a society or union of States. But a society does not exist simply to be a society; it exists to do something, and the Covenant shows what the League exists to do. It was formed to carry out certain definite tasks, and though its members can, if they choose, agree together to carry out other new tasks that is no part of the original arrangement. When States consent to join the League that means that they agree to work together with other States in the League for the purposes laid down in the Covenant and not necessarily for any others.

#### What They Promised

That is why the Covenant is so important. It has, in fact, been called the most important treaty ever signed, and there is not very much reason to quarrel with that definition. It binds the States that sign it to unite in refraining from going to war themselves, and in dissuading or even preventing other States from going to war either, unless in certain exceptional circumstances;

## THE I.R.U.

INITIALS ought always to be explained. I.R.U. stands for the International Relief Union, and the reason for mentioning that little-known institution at this moment is that it has been announced in Parliament that the British Government intends to ratify the Convention which established it. The Union is the outcome of the idea of an Italian Senator who was anxious to create an institution which could rush some relief to countries overwhelmed by such disaster as the Messina earthquake, or the similar catastrophe in Japan.

States joining the Union make a small contribution in the same proportion as their subscriptions to the League, and in addition it is hoped that many private gifts will be received. The Union itself is loosely linked with the League, but not by any means a part of it. Its central committee will distribute its funds according to its discretion as need arises. The headquarters are at Geneva. The British delegates at Geneva have never looked with favour on what they have always regarded as a rather fantastic scheme and it must, therefore, be considered an act of grace on the part of the Government that in spite of that it has agreed to join the Union. Fortunately the international commitment is small.



## SCOTLAND YARD AND GENEVA THE LEAGUE AS POLICE OF THE WORLD

TO understand one side of the League of Nations better we might do worse than glance at the history of our own police force. Now that we take it for granted that the police should be unobtrusively effective, it is a surprise to find that until 100 years ago our police system was, with little change, the same as when William the Conqueror invaded England. The principle was exactly the same. The theory was that each community, for instance a village, was responsible for keeping law and order. So it must, every year, elect a constable whose duty it was to keep the peace. Consequently, in the year 1800, as in the year 1066, a decent house-holder was elected to be constable for a year. The office carried no salary but was entitled to certain fees.

The system was obsolete. Decent house-holders had their own affairs to attend to. Though they got no pay for being constable, yet, rather than set their own business aside, they preferred to pay a deputy out of their own pockets. Naturally they paid as little as they could, and naturally they secured only a man who could not get more money in another job—often a dodderer or a waster or an ex-thief. Indeed the system was obsolete. The England of 1800 was not the England of 1066. It was not a thinly-populated agricultural country but a trading and manufacturing country; it had a network of commerce and communications. It is true that London, which stood most in need of reform, had made faint efforts to protect itself. By the year 1800 there was a tiny staff of Bow Street Runners, and a few police offices were dotted about London, each with only half-a-dozen constables. There were also watchmen in the parishes, but these were so inefficient that they were a laughing-stock. The general system, however, was the old, old system of the elected unpaid constable.

Since the police was insufficient and inefficient, crime was heavy and continually increased. The Government tried to stop it by heavy sentences. A man who stole a handkerchief from another man's pocket might, if the handkerchief were worth more than a shilling, be sentenced to death. The attempt to stop crime by excessive penalties defeated itself. A man from whom a sheep had been stolen would not give evidence that would lead to a sentence of death being passed. Similarly, juries acquitted prisoners against whom the evidence was perfectly clear. So the criminal, knowing that he was not likely to be convicted, was encouraged to commit further offences.

A new organisation was needed. Finally, just about 100 years ago, in 1829, Sir Robert Peel provided for London a new police ("Peelers" or "Bobbies"), properly selected, properly trained and under a single control, Scotland Yard.

The "Peelers" proved themselves well-mannered and efficient. Crime decreased; security increased. In 1833, the new police came into collision with a mob in Coldbath Fields and were accused of brutality; but the Government at once ordered a public inquiry, which showed that while several constables were badly knocked about and one was killed not a single case of serious injury to a member of the crowd could be found. Thus the new police won the confidence and support of the public.

The first instructions to the new police laid a finger at once on the spot. "It should be understood," said the instructions, "at the outset that the principal

object to be attained is the prevention of crime. To this great end every effort of the police is to be directed. The security of person and property, the preservation of the public tranquility and all other objects of a police establishment will thus be better effected than by the detection and punishment of the offender after he has succeeded in committing the crime." In other words, prevention is better than cure. The new force prevented crime chiefly in two ways; first, by making it fairly certain that crime would be detected and punished, and, secondly, by bringing in the great majority of Englishmen on the side of the police and not on the side of the criminal.

Here is practical experience of how the peace of England can be kept. Let us apply it to the peace of the world.

In the world of 1914 (as in the England of 1800) complicated trade and communications had grown up, covering the whole. A war between two nations not only disturbed other countries but went far towards dragging them into the fight. A new organisation was needed and 1920 brought the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The League, like our police, has two objects; to arrest the offender and to prevent crime—to stop a nation that is on the point of waging an aggressive war and to settle international disputes before they reach the danger point. But prevention is better than cure. Prevention is the main work of our police. It is also the main work of the League. This object is not recognised at first. The League's duty to stop a threatened war looms large; its steady persistent work in making the relations between different countries smoother escapes notice. But it is a vital part of its task. Distinguished representatives of some 50 countries meet at Geneva every year, on friendly terms. The Council decides difficulties which under the old system would have led up to war. Obstacles to trade and travel are removed by international agreement. In setting starving Austria on its feet, the League averted the prospect of Austria's neighbours quarrelling like vultures over its corpse. As a final instance, the International Labour Office lessens the chance of the world-wide class warfare which Russia preaches.

What, then, is the likeness between the English police and the League of Nations?

Reform was long overdue. Hard and painful facts had created a demand for it. To secure continuous action and progress, central administration was provided—Scotland Yard or the League Secretariat. Much organisation encountered the same arguments: "It won't work"; "It can't work"; "It will interfere with individual liberty." Each force survived early a dangerous test; the police, the riot in Coldbath Fields; the League, the dispute between Italy and Greece. Each organisation had setbacks, but steadily acquired public confidence. There, however, the parallel ceases. The police has had time to establish itself firmly; the League has not. The police found that to ensure stopping any riot, however big, it must strengthen itself by calling in special constables. The League, to meet any threat of war, however big, must organise the ready and swift co-operation of all its members except the aggressor. On that task it is still engaged and to that end it needs help from every quarter—from public men, from the Press, from societies like the League of Nations Union, from men and women who stand for law and order in every country.

C. W. M.



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He was then handed a little book of 48 pages, printed entirely in Spanish, and asked to read it through.

There was not a single English word in this book, yet, to his utter amazement, he was able to read it from cover to cover without a mistake.

This is typical of the experiences of the thousands of people who are learning French, Spanish, Italian or German by this new method. Here are a few examples of letters received from those who are following it:—

"I have learnt more French during the last three months from your Course than I learnt during some four or five years' teaching on old-fashioned lines at school." (S. 382.)

"I have spent some 100 hours on German studying by your methods; the results obtained in so short a time are amazing." (G.P. 136.)

"I can read and speak Spanish with ease, though it is less than six months since I began." (S.M. 181.)

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

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## AMERICA AND THE COURT

THE Permanent Court of International Justice has established so important a place in the world that any changes in its constitution and fortunes are a matter of general concern.

Such possible changes are impending from two different directions. President Coolidge has let it be known that before he goes out of office he is to make one last endeavour to bring the United States into association with the Court again; and there is some reason to believe that Mr. Hoover, when he succeeds Mr. Coolidge, will be of the same mind. America's last approach was in 1926, and there was every reason to hope at that time that she would join the Court though not joining the League, since the reservations she attached to her original application were such as all States Members of the Court were ready to accept.

Unfortunately an additional reservation was attached, whereby America stipulated that the Court should give to the Council no advisory opinion on any question "in which the United States has or claims an interest." That was the rock on which the whole negotiations broke. America's point of view was clear. Members of the Council itself, she said, had to be unanimous in asking for an advisory opinion, therefore any one of them was able to veto a request for such an opinion if it chose. America, which would certainly have had a permanent seat on the Council if she had joined the League, was thus only claiming to be placed in the same position as existing permanent members.

The flaw in that argument was the assumption that the Council must be unanimous in asking for an advisory opinion. If that is not so—if a majority vote is sufficient—then it is not true that a single member can veto the proposal. And, in point of fact, no one knows to-day whether the request for an advisory opinion requires unanimity or not. All such requests have, in fact, been unanimous so far, but that does not prove that they need have been so. A genuine doubt exists, and those States which believe that a majority vote is sufficient are not prepared to see the matter settled in the opposite way by the acceptance of America's contention. Consequently, this particular American reservation was disapproved by the great majority of Court members, and America, as a result, has never joined the Court.

It so happens that to-day, at the very moment when America is making another approach, the League Council has been called on by the Assembly to consider whether a definite ruling should not be sought on this question of the need for unanimity in seeking advisory opinions. The Council is by no means disposed to move rashly. Some of its members, indeed, are against putting the question to the Court (which, in the last resort, must be the interpreter of the Covenant provisions on the subject) in the abstract. They would rather wait till some case arises in which the Council is unanimous about asking for an opinion, except for one or two votes, and then let the Court decide whether it will comply with a request so put forward. The matter came up at Lugano last month, and was immediately adjourned on the ground that it was so important that the Council members would desire to think it over further, though they had, in fact, been thinking it over, or might have been, since last September.

A large part of the importance of the decision the Council has to take lies in the fact that if a ruling should be sought on the subject, and it should be decided that advisory opinions could only be asked for unanimously, then America's contention would be largely established, and the objection to accepting the reservations, fatal in 1926, would pretty much disappear. That, however, is not very likely. The Council will have the matter before it again at its March meeting.

## A POLICY FOR 1929

[In order that it may obtain the widest publicity possible we reprint below main portions of the Memorandum on International Policy presented by the Earl of Lytton (on behalf of the Union's Executive Committee) to the Council of the League of Nations Union, in December, in the form in which the Council adopted it.]

THE signature of the Pact of Paris for the Renunciation of War, following upon the Covenant of the League of Nations, has made a fundamental change in the character of international relationships, the full consequences of which are as yet hardly appreciated in any country. Now that war has been definitely renounced as an instrument of national policy by all the principal nations of the world, the fear of war and the preparation for war should no longer be the dominating considerations in foreign policy. A study of the science of peace becomes the first business of every nation. That country which can the most rapidly appreciate the change and adjust its policy to the altered circumstances will be the first to reap the fruits of the new era.

### I. The Improvement of the Machinery for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes.

The renunciation of war as a means of settling international disputes renders imperative the task of providing alternative methods. The "Optional Clause," which commits the signatories to judicial settlement of all international questions of a legal character should, in the first place, be signed forthwith. The second step will be the framing of a satisfactory general and all-inclusive Arbitration Treaty, and with this object the General Act approved by the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations should be carefully studied.

### II. The Avoidance of all Alliances or Engagements, express or implied, to give Armed Assistance to any Country against another except in accordance with the Principles of the Covenant.

This, again, is an inevitable consequence of the renunciation of war, and no international agreements should henceforth be undertaken except for the purpose of ensuring and guaranteeing the peaceful settlement of disputes, in accordance with provisions similar to those contained in Article 16 of the Covenant or the Treaties of Locarno.

### III. The Reduction and Limitation of Armaments by International Agreement.

The Paris Pact for the renunciation of war has made the case for the reduction of armaments more overwhelming than ever. Every effort should, therefore, be made to bring the labours of the Preparatory Commission to a successful issue. No State should be called upon to bear a burden of armaments which has long been intolerable, and is now unnecessary. Two essential conditions of progress in disarmament are an immediate understanding with the United States and a determination not to allow this question to be dominated by technical considerations. (It is assumed that the Anglo-French naval compromise has now been dropped.)

### IV. The Elaboration of the Machinery required to make Article 19 of the Covenant practically effective.

In view of the dangers attaching to an international system which does not provide for its own modification and development, it is important that some detailed scheme should be framed to enable the Assembly effectively "to advise the reconsideration by Members

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of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world."

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## BOOKS WORTH READING

### A GREAT STORY

"The Case of Sergeant Grischa." By Arnold Zweig. (Secker. 7s. 6d.)

If this book is reviewed here in spite of its having no direct connection with the League of Nations nor with international affairs as such, it is because really first-class novels are so rare that it is a duty to all potential readers of novels for the reviewer to mention them when they happen to come his way. And there is no doubt about this book being first-class. It has been described as among the half-dozen best novels about the war, and some critics have put it at the very top of the whole tree. There is no good reason to quarrel with that estimate.

Sergeant Grischa is a Russian prisoner captured by the Germans in the early days of the war. He is first encountered as a prisoner in a timber camp in a Silesian forest, from which he ultimately escapes, only to be recaptured later at a German garrison-centre behind the Eastern front while endeavouring to make his way back to Russia and home. In the course of his wanderings he encounters a band of forest outlaws, and in particular a prematurely aged girl called Babka, whose hair is whitened as a result of the spectacle of her father and brother shot before her eyes because they concealed firearms in their farm. Thanks to her Grischa is equipped with the uniform and identity disc of one Bjuscheff, a German deserter, now dead and buried. That is his undoing, for when he is captured it is as a German deserter, which means the death penalty, not as an escaped Russian prisoner, which means only return to imprisonment.

That is the gist of the plot. From this point the story consists of the oscillations of Grischa's fate. The divisional commander in the sector of his capture, when his identity as a Russian is definitely proved, becomes his protector, but the commander of the Eastern front decrees otherwise, and the struggle of authority against authority continues with its pendulum-like swing



through the latter half of the book. Grisca is reprieved, condemned, is certain of life and safety, sees once more the shadow of the firing party before his eyes. He alternately rebels and dumbly acquiesces. He makes his own coffin and helps to dig his own grave. Then in the end—but why disclose in a review what every reader of this powerful book is kept rackingly uncertain of till the last chapter comes?

The novel is written as much *round* its central figure as *about* him. Grisca is only the inarticulate victim—and yet by no means so inarticulate, after all—which the vast war-machine has caught in its grip. It is the story of a man, but the picture of a machine, and what gives the book half its attraction and its value is the common talk of the common soldier, the German soldier on the Eastern front, that forms so much of the background. Incidentally the translation from the German is admirable.

#### A LEAGUE THRILLER

"The Six Proud Walkers." By Francis Beeding. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d.)

The chief bugbears of the League are to be found among that sinister body of the "Six Proud Walkers." There are among the company the financier who gorges on the financial ruin of states, the dope trafficker, the armament manufacturer, the Bolshevik agitator, and the warmonger who is trying to bring Italy to war with Serbia. Finally, there is the diabolical Dr. Palumbini, who has found an astonishing drug which develops violent megalomania in those treated with it. How Geoffrey Carroll, who had previously worked for the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, met Sir Wilfred Butler, the head of the Financial Section of the League and what befell him, should be left to the chronicler. Suffice it to say that the setting of this admirable story is Rome; that the Palazzo Chigi, the Appian Way and the Catacombs of St. Calixtus play a not unimportant part in the plot. But at the end, as we had hoped, the threatened war is stopped in time.

For a long time we have been waiting for a thriller to be built round the League, and if its enemies are what Colonel Granby, another hero, calls so frequently "sinister," certainly its agents are supermen. Bodily discomfort they could bear, but there is worse—one hero is subjected to the mental torture of living in a room for some days waiting for a hidden death which he was to bring on himself. Undoubtedly a book to buy.

Oppenheim's International Law. Volume I. Peace. 4th Edition. Edited by Arnold D. McNair. (Longmans. 42s.)

The last issue of this classic work appeared in 1920 when, to speak of no other changes, the League of Nations had hardly begun to exist. As a consequence, the present edition deals exhaustively with the League in every aspect and must be regarded as embodying the most scholarly study yet published on the effect of the existence of the League on international law.

"Rabindranath Tagore." Letters to a Friend. Edited by C. F. Andrews. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

The friend is Mr. C. F. Andrews himself, and the letters are written from a variety of places in both hemispheres. But they do not necessarily reflect the poet's surroundings. One turns, for example, to a letter from Geneva in the hope of discovering what impression the sight of the League at close quarters had made on Dr. Tagore. Apparently it made none at all. At any rate, there is no mention of it whatever. There seems something to regret here.

## READERS' VIEWS

### FRANCE IN SYRIA

SIR,—Arising out of the statements made at the L.N.U. Conference, and the reference to "France's reservoir of coloured troops," I think it should be remembered that she is also using them in Syria as the Mandatory Power.

As you look with one eye at the walls of Damascus and the window from which St. Paul was lowered in the basket, you see with the other (eye) a platoon of Senegalese cavalry watering their horses at the tiny stream near by. They do, in a sense, add to the picturesqueness of the scene, but I doubt whether their presence is very beneficial to Syria.—I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

E. MONTGOMERY.

### THE ESSENCE OF PEACE

SIR,—Is it not vital that at the present time we should all of us seek to envisage what world peace would mean, from a practical as well as from an idealistic point of view?

Hitherto nations have only learnt to understand a state of non-war between two wars. Non-war represents a state of mind which is negative, apathetic and more or less resigned to the inevitable next war. Peace is supremely constructive, dynamic and idealistic. The splendid gesture of the British Empire laying down its arms is a glorious dream that may yet come true. It is by no means certain that it would be valueless or fatal unless other great nations came into line, but at the same time we have to face the practical issue of the sudden disorganisation of a large section of our national life, the rooting up of great traditions and a further rapid increase in the already deplorably large number of unemployed.

It is obvious that though a start might very well be made at once with *things*—viz., armaments—the process, as far as men are concerned, would have to be a very gradual and careful one. The most obvious illustration is the naval armaments question. The five great naval powers of the world are pledged to mutual peace by the Kellogg Pact. Against what alleged danger then are the Governments concerned still continuing to increase armaments? This criminal expenditure of money which is so sorely needed for social and educational purposes can only cease by the united international determination of the people. Such a course of action, however, must not damage either materially or morally the men who have so splendidly upheld the honour of our flag. Therein lies a constructive problem that will test the best brains amongst our statesmen.—I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

CECIL H. S. WILLSON.

1, Oatlands Drive,  
Weybridge.

### SETTLE SEA LAW

SIR,—We are always being told that we should try to see the other fellow's point of view. Until the people of Great Britain and the United States follow this advice we shall never make much progress as regards reduction of navies. Mr. J. A. Spender writes: "Unless we have some agreed doctrine and practice about Sea Law and Submarines, it will be useless for either of us to talk about the freedom of the seas." That is perfectly true. There will be no cessation of naval rivalry and competition until some doctrine and practice on this matter is agreed to by all the naval powers.

As Lord Lee of Fareham said: "If the naval controversy could be relegated to a committee of two statesmen, unembarrassed by the pressure of naval experts, there was very little doubt that an agreement would be reached, not only on reduction of armaments but on freedom of the seas."

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### MISCELLANEOUS.

MAJOR H. A. SHAW, M.C., R.A. (Charterhouse, Woolwich), ARMY COACH, etc. Genuine individual attention; games, comfort. Millford-on-Sea, Hants. Telephone. Millford 15.

Now is the time to do something about it. Unless something is done about it soon, our relations with the United States will reach a point when it will not be at all easy to reach an agreement.—Yours, etc.,

December 8, 1928.

J. D. ALLEN,  
Rear-Admiral (retired).

### CONCENTRATION

SIR,—What may be described as the formal and external side of the peace movement finds its natural home and centre at Geneva. Ought not all those spiritual and moral forces, represented by the various societies named in the Peace Year Book (together with analogous ones in foreign countries) to have a common centre for combined operations when necessary?

All such societies and organisations are very largely concerned in supplying the soul and inspiration without which the mere framework and machinery of peace would be useless. Is not the soul as important as the body?—Yours faithfully,

West Pentire,  
Newquay.

W. G. HODGES.

### "WHIPPING-BOYS"

SIR,—A point seldom pressed home in discussions on disarmament is the sorry plight awaiting certain centres of population within range of commercial yet easily convertible aircraft if, despite the Kellogg Pact, war should unhappily recur.

Obviously, the more a country's armed forces exceed police strength—and thereby cause anxiety—the more likely is it that its centres of population would be attacked from the air, in order to forestall or to "influence" the action of their Government.

Should not then all such centres be opposed to costly redundancies which invite yet cannot avert trouble?

The fact is that city-dwellers now stand to be "whipping-boys" for the rest of their countrymen—a dilemma which seems to merit wider publicity both at home and abroad than it has yet received and from which there is no escape but disarmament to police strength and freedom of the seas.—I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

H. M. WYATT, Captain, R.N.

Bournemouth,  
November 25.

### "THE LEAGUE AND RELIGION"

SIR,—In the sub-paragraph headed "The League and Religion," in the current number of HEADWAY, you quote a passage written recently by the Bishop of Ripon, on the subject of religious co-operation at the League of Nations, parallel to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

This question is the subject of constant study and effort by the League of Nations Union. You have already, on previous occasions, been good enough to publish letters bearing on it from my Committee. In one that appeared in the number of July, 1926, it was stated that we thought the time for religious co-operation to be started was "not yet." It is obvious that a great deal of preparative "spade work" has to be done, and is now being done, before the idea can be successfully launched.

There is, however, a preliminary stage towards religious co-operation, which can be achieved without the slow and difficult process of organising the co-operation of the great Religions of the World. "The future of the League of Nations depends on the formation of a universal conscience." Such a conscience will



evolve, if all who are concerned with the affairs of the League, whether as active workers or more passively as "public opinion," will subject all policies to religious and ethical tests. This should be done by everyone individually, each in accordance with his, or her, own faith.—Yours, etc.,

M. F. WREN,

Hon. Sec., Religions and Ethics Committee,  
League of Nations Union.

SIR,—On page 222 of the current number of HEADWAY one finds the inspired suggestion of associating "Religious Co-operation" with the League.

On page 235 of the same number the complications between the Arabs and Jews over a religious matter are mentioned, whilst current newspapers report the warfare being waged by other factions in Afghanistan from a similar cause.

America, too, is divided over Fundamentalist doctrines.

Without multiplying examples, may I suggest that the League should hold itself aloof from religion as it should from party politics?

Only by maintaining a strict impartiality and *refraining from all religious activities* can the League avoid the pitfalls of sectarian squabbles and give judgments untinged with biased feeling arising from dogmas unacceptable to universal intellect.—Yours, etc.,

79, Copleston Road, S.E.15. FRANK KEYES.

#### "A CHANGE AT DANZIG"

SIR,—In the notice "A Change at Danzig," in the November HEADWAY, I find an error of genealogical nature. Count Gravina, the new High Commissioner at Danzig, is *not*, as said, a *grandson* of Franz Liszt, but a *great-grandson*. He is a grandson of the late celebrated Hans von Bülow and of his wife Cosima, née Liszt, one of the daughters of Franz Liszt, who married after, Richard Wagner, the celebrated composer, and is now, as his widow, still living at Bayreuth.—Yours, etc.,

STEPHAN KEKULE VON STRADONITZ.

Marienstrasse 16, Berlin.

#### THE MUNDANEUM

SIR,—Thank you very much for your inspiring article on the "Mundaneum." You presented the idea in the most opportune form.

The "Mundaneum," indeed, is a dream, but after many discussions, and with a large co-operation, it can be a possibility.

Now, the first steps proposed are the following:—

(1) To commemorate in Geneva the decennial of 1930 by an Exhibition of "Universal" Civilisation, being the synthetic demonstration of what the Nations are and what the work is of the international organisation: official, like the League and the Labour Bureau; or private, like the great international associations. The exhibition should be permanent and the first part of the "Mundaneum." Each interested country shall support the expense of its own exhibition, a publicity first class for them.

(2) The Debts and Reparations being in the melting-pot now, to obtain the declaration of mutual abandonment of two and a-half per cent. of the debts (only the small part of interest due for six months), and to grant it to a great work of international, intellectual and moral utility. For such a work should be created the "Mundaneum," a real world civic centre.—Yours, etc.,

PAUL OTLET.

Union des Associations Internationales,  
Brussels.

#### PARITY AND THE COVENANT

SIR,—I see you quote with approval in your issue for December the opinion recently expressed by Lord Cecil that "we ought" to accept "mathematical equality" between the British and American fleets as "a sound basis" for a naval agreement.

I earnestly hope that this is not the official view of the League of Nations Union. For it seems to me impossible to reconcile such an opinion with faith in the solemn affirmation of principle and solemn warning contained in the opening sentence of Article 8 of the Covenant:—

"The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations."

In view of the fact that the Americans have never attempted to prove that they require for the legitimate purposes defined in Article 8 so large a navy as Great Britain with her ocean-borne food supplies and her "far-flung" Empire, should we not break the Covenant in the spirit, if not in the letter, and prove our signature of its declaration that world peace cannot be maintained without universal reduction of armaments to the level of safety to have been mere humbug, if we signed another international treaty affirming the principle that rich and powerful nations are justified in maintaining their armaments at a point above that level?—Yours, etc.,

Tivoli Lodge, Cheltenham. M. DOROTHEA JORDAN.

[The United States is not a member of the League and is not bound by Article 8. In any case we are not entitled to decide how large a navy the United States needs. In 1927 she proposed a low level for cruisers, and offered to accept a lower figure still if Great Britain would agree.—ED. HEADWAY.]

#### THE LEAGUE AND OFFALS

SIR,—Though followers of the League of Nations activities noted with interest the adoption of the Imports and Exports Prohibition Convention at Geneva a few months ago, it has probably not occurred to most of them that it could have any possible application to this country, being, in fact, more designed to remove difficulties created by various Continental countries which have built up this particular form of trade barrier out of a fit of economic nervousness. The Convention is, however, brought rather closer home by a question lately asked by Mr. Hurd in the House of Commons, drawing attention to resolutions passed by various agricultural bodies in Great Britain, asking for a prohibition of the export on milling offals in the interests of stock farming. The Minister of Agriculture, in replying to the question, observed that he thought that the proposed prohibition would not have the desired effect, but that in any case it was out of the question, as it would involve a breach of the Convention signed by the British and other Governments at Geneva. An illustration that helps to make the Convention intelligible.—Yours, etc.,

STEPHEN JOHNSON.

#### FRANCE'S ARMY

SIR,—HEADWAY, November, p. 202. "France is spending over £6,500,000 more this year than last on her army."

Does this take account of currency, or rather, *real* value fluctuations?—Yours, etc.,

Wood Hall Lodge, W. J. WISDOM.  
College Road, S.E.21.

[No. But the fluctuations in 12 months have been small.—ED. HEADWAY.]

## BETWEEN TWO OPINIONS

ON the 10th of this month the League of Nations enters upon its tenth year. Nine years have sufficed to establish the League as an indispensable clearing-house for much international business which concerns the national Governments, but which they cannot manage separately. The League has proved its usefulness in administering and declaring existing international law, which does not conflict with the wishes of one or more Great Powers. With the League's tenth year, and the ratification, as we hope, of the Pact of Paris, the time has come for action on a higher level and a grander scale. If civilisation is to go on, it must go on developing. Is that what is going to happen?

The plain issue is this. Is the actual rule of conduct among Governments going to be *armed anarchy* and preparation for private war (the use of war as an instrument of national policy), particularly when framing naval, military and air estimates? Or is it going to be *world order* and organised collective action, firstly for the prevention\* and the suppression† of private war; and secondly, for the just and peaceful settlement‡ of all international disputes?

The former policy of ARMED ANARCHY leads to:—

(1) OPPRESSION and INJUSTICE, because it means that might counts for more than right (especially for small States, backward races and racial, religious, or linguistic minorities).

(2) INCREASE OF ARMAMENTS, because an increase in the armed strength of one Power must diminish the security of all the rest until each of them has made an equivalent increase in its own armaments; so that the ultimate effect is far greater than the original cause.

(3) INSECURITY, because even the most powerful State in the world is weaker than the combined strength of its possible antagonists. For example, to make the sea communications of the British Empire safe against attack from hostile navies or to make London safe against attack from hostile aircraft would demand an impossible increase of British armaments.

(4) DISPUTES BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA concerning the freedom of the seas, the laws of neutrality, and the definition of naval parity.

(5) WORLD WAR.

The latter policy of WORLD ORDER leads to:—

LIBERTY, since a nation which aims at doing what the other nations want it to do in the interests of all, is free to achieve its purpose; and JUSTICE, when organised collective action becomes strong enough, not only to administer international law as it now stands, and (through the World Court) to declare existing rights, but also (by implementing Article 19 of the Covenant) to amend the law and alter the rights when they conflict with justice.

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS, because an increase in the armed strength of one Power is a reason why other Powers may save money on armaments without diminishing the force available for organised collective action on behalf of their common security.

SECURITY, because even the weakest State, protected by the organised collective action of the world, is so much stronger than any potential aggressor that, apart from some sudden act of madness quickly suppressed, no aggression is likely to occur. For example, a much reduced British Navy would suffice as Britain's contribution to the effective safeguarding of all sea communications by organised collective action.

ANGLO-AMERICAN CO-OPERATION consequent upon the disappearance of the chief issues which divide the English-speaking world.

WORLD PEACE.

Armed anarchy is the traditional policy of every nation. It will give way to a policy of world order only when enough people in each country, having understood the issue and changed their minds, are prepared to support a Government which seeks first the interests of the whole world, despite the appearance of risks to private national interests. That is the world's New Year's message to all the League of Nations Societies, and especially to the League of Nations Union.

\* Article 11 of the Covenant.

† Article 16 of the Covenant.

‡ Articles 13 and 15 of the Covenant; the Pact of Paris; the "Optional Clause"; the "General Act"; and Article 19 of the Covenant.



## THE GENERAL COUNCIL

THE half-yearly meeting of the General Council took place at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Friday, December 7. The hall was crowded and an excellent spirit pervaded the proceedings. Professor Gilbert Murray (Chairman of the Executive Committee) was in the chair.

### On Finance

The morning session was mainly taken up with financial affairs. In the absence of Lord Queenborough, to whom a message of sympathy on account of his illness was sent, Sir John Mann presented the interim report on Income and Expenditure for 1928, and moved that the Budget for 1929, for an expenditure of £36,000, be adopted. Sir John made reference to Lord Cecil's Appeal for Foundation Members which was issued at the beginning of December to those readers of HEADWAY who subscribe annually between 3s. 6d. and £1. It was hoped that the Appeal would meet with a prompt and generous response. Here was an opportunity of making a Christmas or New Year's gift to the Union which would have a tremendous effect on its finances.

The Council adopted the following resolutions:—

- That the Interim Report on Income and Expenditure for 1929 be adopted.
- That the proposed expenditure at the rate of £36,000 be approved for the year 1929.
- That the Council's Vote for 1929 be £25,000.
- That the County quotas be fixed according to the same formula as hitherto, the Union membership figures to be those of December 31, 1927, and those for rateable value to be the latest obtainable.
- That the Executive Committee have authority to issue an appeal in 1929 on the understanding that the Appeal shall not be sent to members of Branches or Districts who "contract out" in the manner set forth in the General Council's resolution governing the appeal of February 1, 1924.

It will be noted that, in spite of an increased budget, the amount of the Council's Vote for 1929 remains the same as last year.

It was decided that the 1929 Annual Meeting should be held at Brighton. The date of this meeting was not fixed owing to the uncertainty which exists concerning the time of the forthcoming General Election.

### On Policy

In the afternoon Lord Lytton presented to the Council a Memorandum on International Policy, reference to which is made elsewhere in this issue. The gist of his remarks in this connection will, it is hoped, be published shortly in the Minutes of the Meeting. Subject to a slight verbal alteration this Memorandum was unanimously adopted.

### On the General Election

Lord Cecil moved the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted:—

- That the Memorandum on International Policy be sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Lloyd George with an intimation that the Union will be very glad to receive and publish any comments that they may be willing to make thereupon.
- That the Branches be asked to arrange that in each constituency influential electors should send to the sitting Member and prospective candidates, as and when adopted, the following statement, with a request for their opinion on the points therein raised:—

The signature of the Pact of Paris for the renunciation of war following upon the Covenant of the League of Nations has made a fundamental change in the character of international relationships, the full consequences of which are as yet hardly appreciated in any country. Now that war has been definitely renounced as an instrument of national policy by all the principal nations of the world, the fear of war and the preparation for war should no longer be the dominating considerations in foreign policy. A study of the science of peace becomes the first business of every nation. That country which can the most rapidly appreciate the change and adjust its policy to the altered circumstances will be the first to reap the fruits of the new era.

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union desire to emphasise the following points:—

- The Improvement of the Machinery for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes.*

The renunciation of war as a means of settling international disputes renders imperative the task of providing alternative methods. The "Optional Clause," which commits the signatories to judicial settlement of all international questions of a legal character, should, in the first place, be signed forthwith. The second step will be the framing of a satisfactory general and all-inclusive Arbitration Treaty, and with this object the General Act approved by the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations should be carefully studied.

- The Limitation and Reduction of Armaments by International Agreement.*

The Paris Pact for the renunciation of war has made the case for the reduction of armaments more overwhelming than ever. Every effort should therefore be made to bring the labours of the Preparatory Commission to a successful issue. No State should be called upon to bear a burden of armaments which has long been intolerable and is now unnecessary. Two essential conditions of progress in disarmament are an immediate understanding with the United States and a determination not to allow this question to be dominated by technical considerations. (It is assumed that the Anglo-French naval compromise has now been dropped.)

- The Withdrawal from Germany of Foreign Troops, the presence of which in that country constitutes a growing obstacle to International Understanding and Goodwill.*

- The General Adoption and Application of the Recommendations of the International Economic Conference, with a View to the Early Removal of Barriers to International Trade.*

- The Washington Eight Hours Convention.*
- In order that the 8-hours day Convention, drawn up in pursuance of the Treaty of Versailles, may be ratified without further delay, the Government should state what changes it desires in the original draft and lay a Bill before Parliament providing for the establishment of an 8-hours day under conditions suitable to the industries of this country and consistent with the principles of that Convention.

- The Budget of the League.*
- Since support of the League has been declared by the present Foreign Secretary to be the keystone of British Foreign Policy, the growing activities of the League should not be unduly restricted by financial considerations.

It is hoped that Branches will make every effort to bring these important points to the notice of the Parliamentary candidates in their respective constituencies.

### Resolutions

The Council also adopted resolutions concerning the extension of affiliation arrangements (to allow professional, educational and women's organisations, covering the whole country, to become affiliated to the Union), the possibility of organising an electors' petition on disarmament, and the increasing of the number of open-air meetings.

### New Rules

At a Special Meeting of the Council held in the afternoon it was decided, on the motion of the Rev. Duncan Jones (Chairman of the Christian Organisations Committee of the Union), that Rule 5 be re-written as follows:—

"In order to enable Christian congregations which recognise the spiritual significance of the movement for international friendship and co-operation through the League of Nations, by a corporate act to take their place in that movement, the League of Nations Union is prepared to accept as a corporate member any Christian congregation which undertakes:—

- To make prayer for the League of Nations a regular part of the worship of the Church;
- To set forth the aims and work of the League of Nations on at least one Sunday in the year;
- To make other opportunities to give regular and definite information concerning the League to the members of the congregation, and to urge them to become individual members of the Union;

(d) To appoint a representative to be a link between the congregation and the Union, to make the Church's obligations as a corporate member of the Union his special care, and to receive for the use of the Church the Union's journal HEADWAY, and such other publications of the Union as are sent to foundation members, and

- To pay an annual minimum subscription of £1. Provided that all applications for admission as a corporate member shall, before being granted, be submitted to the Executive Committee, and provided also that this rule, as well as Rule 4, shall not apply to Wales and Monmouthshire.

The Council also adopted a proposal submitted by the Farnborough Branch, to the effect that the second and third sentences of Rule 29 be re-written, as follows:

"All resolutions to be printed on the agenda paper must reach the Secretary not less than six weeks before the meeting. The (preliminary) agenda paper shall be issued to Branches, to District, Regional and National Councils, and to members of the General Council one month before the meeting."

The attention of Branches is particularly directed to this alteration, as it is essential that resolutions submitted by Branches for consideration at Council meetings should be received in time to print them on the agenda paper.

## SHERMAN MEMORIAL FUND

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In reminding readers of the Sherman Memorial appeal letter which appeared in your December issue, may I draw attention to the fact that of the £1,200 which the Appeal Committee is hoping to collect, only about £250 (cash and promises) has so far come in? The idea at present in the minds of the Committee is to purchase an annuity for Mr. Sherman's widowed mother; but this idea will not be realised unless a figure very much nearer the sum aimed at is attained.

I venture, therefore, to ask all those friends of the League and of the Union who knew something of Mr. Sherman's work, and who have not already subscribed, to increase the fund by sending a subscription, however small.—Yours sincerely,

A. E. W. THOMAS,  
Hon. Sec. Sherman Memorial Fund.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### Saorstát Éireann

At the invitation of the Irish League of Nations Society, Mr. Alec Wilson, an Irishman now on the staff of the Union, visited Ireland and fulfilled some fourteen engagements in Dublin and neighbourhood during the first week of December. The engagements included a reception by Senator Mrs. J. R. Green, a meeting called by the Chamber of Commerce, an open discussion at the Blackrock Debating Society, as well as addresses at several schools. Real interest was aroused, and the Irish Society report a steady increase in the public appreciation of the League of Nations. Mr. Wilson writes: "Most notable have been the expressions of confidence and belief in the League from Ministers, such as Mr. Blythe, who have represented the Free State Government at Geneva. Professor O'Sullivan, Minister of Education, has arranged to address a public meeting under the auspices of the I.L.N.S., on his experiences as a delegate. The situation, in fact, has changed during the last two or three years, from a certain apathy, tinged with suspicion, to a growing realisation, particularly on the part of the Government, of the value of the League, both to Ireland itself and to the world at large. Really useful contributions towards the constructive side of the League's work may be expected from Irish delegates in the near future."

### France

An important meeting, with Professor Zimmern in the chair, was held on November 19 at the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation. The lecturer, Dr. Christian Lange, Secretary to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and Delegate for Norway to the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations, took as his theme "Nationalism and Internationalism," and showed the necessity of retaining the spiritual aspect of Nationalism as the only sound basis for developing a healthy political Internationalism.

### Window Space and Posters

We learn that Messrs. Montague Burton, Ltd., who have branches in most towns, are prepared to devote one-third of their window space for the exhibition of League of Nations Union Posters, on November 11 of every year. If this suggestion appeals to Branch Committees, they are requested to approach the local branch manager of Messrs. Montague Burton, Ltd., on November 1. This generous offer is much appreciated.

### International Exhibition—Japan

An international exhibition was held at Osaka from November 11 to 25. The organisers were the Osaka Section of the Japanese League of Nations Association, and the object of the exhibition was to make known to the public the geographical position, customs, language, methods of government, chief products, etc. of the various countries of the world and their relations to Japan. One section of the exhibition was devoted to the activities of international organisations, including the Associations for the League of Nations and the Red Cross. Articles made by children in different countries formed part of this section.

The Students' section of the League of Nations Association is about to publish a journal, "International Peace," which will contain results of student investigations on various questions of international import.

### The Council's Vote

The following is a list of Branches which have recently completed their quotas to the Council's Vote for 1928:—

Astwood Bank, Berwick, Barnard Castle, Bedford, Beccles, Blewbury, Bicester, Berkhamsted, Bude, Burnham-on-Sea, Carlton (Notts.), Colchester, Congleton, Didcot, Endcliffe Fellowship (Sheffield), Great Bardfield, Goxhill, Headington, Hythe, Hadleigh, Hove, Hindhead, Henleaze, Kettering, Keswick, Kendal, Langport, Leeds (Trinity United Methodist), Malton, Morecambe, Malvern, Melksham, Nailsworth, Newton Abbot, Pateley Bridge, Parkstone, Painswick, Rawdon, Rotherfield, Rockcliffe, Seaford, Settle, Stockton-on-Tees, St. Austell, Shrewsbury, Scalby, Sittingbourne, Shaftesbury, Sandbach, St. Annes-on-Sea, Tunstall Church, Thaxted, Thirsk, Truro, Tonbridge, Thetford, Verwood, Winscombe, Westbourne, Worcester, Wyke, Wigton, Wallingford, Wimborne Witham, Weston super-Mare, Weeton (Leeds), and Wootton (Beds.).

### New Scottish Branches

Since the beginning of October many new Branches have been formed in the Glasgow and West of Scotland District. Branches have been inaugurated at Carlisle, Alexandria and Airdrie by Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe at Johnstone and Moffat by the Earl of Home, and at Stevenston by Professor Darnley Naylor. Four Junior Branches have been started in Dumbarton, and two are in process of formation at Alexandria. The Paisley Branch held a meeting on November 27, when Mr. V. Philipps and Mr. E. Rosslyn Mitchell, M.P., addressed an audience of about 1,500 people.

### A Week-end Conference

An interesting experiment was carried out by the Camberwell Green Branch in the form of a week-end school. The "school" was held in three sessions. A lecture was given at each session, which was immediately followed by a conference. The "school" was divided into two groups, comprising ten or twelve members each. At the close of each lecture the respective groups retired to separate rooms to discuss specific questions arising out of the lecture. At the end of an allotted time the groups re-assembled and reported their findings to the President. These reports were made by "rapporteurs" appointed by the groups. When the reports had been received, the lecturer was asked to comment upon them. The subjects of the various sessions were: "The Ninth Assembly," "The League's Work for Women and Refugees," "The Pact of Paris for the Renunciation of War and Its Effect upon



Disarmament." The Camberwell Green Branch is to be heartily congratulated upon its enterprise.

#### Notes from Wales.

At the end of November the Advisory Education Committee of the Welsh National Council held its annual meeting at Gregynog Hall, Montgomeryshire. Major W. P. Wheldon presided over a full attendance of members. The Committee reviewed the activities carried out during the year at the Welsh University Colleges, Training Colleges, Secondary, Central and Elementary Schools and in co-operation with the Local Education Authorities and the Teachers' Associations. A programme of work was prepared for the coming year. The Rev. D. E. Walters opened a discussion on "Sunday Schools and the League," and Dr. Illtyd David on "Adult Education and the League." The Rev. Gwilym Davies gave an account of the work done in the schools of other countries. Mr. Bolton Waller, of Dublin, the guest of the Committee at this meeting, gave an address on League Work in the Irish Free State, and Dr. Charles K. Webster described his recent tour round the world.

The Aberdare District Committee has organised a series of eight dramatic performances. The Trecynon Amateur Dramatic Society and the Junior Branch at the Ynyslwyd Council School produced "The Crowning of Peace" and "The Family of Nations."

We wish to thank, on behalf of the Union, all who have been concerned in these productions, and especially Mr. Idwal Rees.

#### Church Corporate Membership

In view of the fact that many Annual Parochial Church Meetings may be held early in the year, it is hoped that an effort will be made to get the subject of Corporate Membership on the agenda of such meetings, so that churches not already corporate members may have an opportunity of discussing the question. If desired, a speaker would be provided on application to Headquarters who would open the discussion. Leaflets, explaining exactly how an Anglican Church may become a corporate member, can be supplied free of charge.

#### Forced and Contract Labour

In view of the fact that forced labour is on the agenda of the next International Labour Conference, the Union has decided to hold a conference on the general subject of native labour at the London School of Economics on March 6 and 7 next year. The Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P., has very kindly consented to open the proceedings.

#### Paradoxes and Paroxysms

Four hundred and fifty essays by schoolchildren, written for a recent competition organised by the Woking Branch, formed the subject of an address recently given by Mr. H. D. Watson, at the Victoria Hall, Woking. Some of the essays were exceptionally good, and others were exceptionally amusing. The following are a few extracts of the latter:—

(a) "This famous League started with a Covenant after the Battle of Waterloo." (b) "Wilson's approbation for the League of Nations was seconded by Sir Austen Chamberlain." (c) "The first ideal of the League is to prevent Civil War." (d) "Be prepared for war so as to prevent it. This is the impression of some people, but it has most certainly been proved a paroxysm."

#### Summer Schools

A very encouraging result of the Geneva School of International Relations has been a Lecture School, organised by the Adult School Union during the winter season in York, consisting of a series of meetings with lectures on the different aspects of the League's work, given by speakers who have been to Geneva with the Union's Summer Schools. The programme for the 1929 School is now under consideration.

#### A Mock Trial of the League

The Beddington, Carshalton and Wallington Branch are preparing a Mock Trial of the League. The audience will act as jury, and various members of the Branch Committee will take part in the proceedings. The event will take place on January 31, at 8.15 p.m., in the Ruskin Hall, Carshalton. Any Branches within reasonable distance are invited to send a representative to watch the Mock Trial. The Branch intends to send a copy of the proceedings to Headquarters for the use of other Branches. We tender our best wishes for the success of this novel and useful enterprise, which should prove both informative and interesting. It is hoped that other Branches will follow suit.

#### A Penny a Day

We have received some interesting replies to Lord Cecil's appeal which was sent out at the beginning of last month. One correspondent decided to become a Foundation Member and a little more besides. He has made out a banker's order for the sum of £1 10s. 6d. to be paid to the Union annually, this sum representing one penny per day. It is hoped that many others will follow this excellent example.

Another suggestion received from a correspondent is "that from the shilling subscription only sixpence should be retained by the Branch and sixpence sent to Headquarters." Our correspondent goes on to say that "if a Branch has a deficit it can always have a whist drive or a jumble sale, which Headquarters cannot."

#### Miss Hilda Cross

It has recently come to our knowledge that Miss Hilda Cross, late Hon. Sec. of our Belper Branch, lost her life in the Charfield railway disaster. We wish to extend to her parents the sincere sympathy of the League of Nations Union. Miss Cross was well known in the Belper District for her energy and organising ability in connection with the League of Nations Union. She organised the first Belper League of Nations pageant, which will still be remembered by many.

#### Total number of persons who have at any time joined the Union and who are not known to have died or resigned:

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,459
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,221
Jan. 1, 1928	...	...	...	...	665,022
Dec. 20, 1928	...	...	...	...	729,987

On Nov. 17th, 1928, there were 2,760 Branches, 647 Junior Branches, 135 Districts, 2,750 Corporate Members and 468 Corporate Associates.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION SUBSCRIPTION RATES

##### TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).

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