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HEADWAY

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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE Government has made the important and welcome decision to cut down its current naval building programme by eliminating two out of the three large cruisers which they had arranged to lay down. More than that, the three were to include one boat of 10,000 tons and two of 8,000. The one that remains is an 8,000-ton cruiser. The largest of the three, as well as one of the two smaller, has disappeared. In view of the criticism the decision was bound to evoke on the part of one section of the Government's supporters, the Cabinet deserves full credit for its courage. What, of course, is most to be hoped for is that this gesture on the part of the British Government should have a definite reaction on the other side of the Atlantic. Optimism, however, must not be indulged overmuch. There are a good many cross-currents, imperfectly understood in this country, in American politics, and there may be many reasons why the change of the British naval programme should not produce an immediate response. That does not mean that it will not have its ultimate effect in improving the general atmosphere, or, at any rate, in preventing the atmosphere from getting worse. However that may be, the Government's action is highly welcome on its own account, and the more so coming, as it does, on the eve of the reunion of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva.

That Million Men

THE statistics of Europe's armed forces are a curiously elusive affair. A common and widely diffused legend has it that there are a million more men under arms in Europe to-day than there were before the war. It is just as well that the facts regarding this should be known. Comparisons accurate to the last detail may be impossible, for in conscript countries the number of men actually serving at a given moment is not always constant, but a reasonably reliable basis of comparison is to be found in two sets of figures prepared, one of them by the old Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments at Geneva, and the other by the compilers of the League's Armaments Year Book. The 1913 figure, for which the Temporary Mixed Commission is responsible, was 3,768,454. The 1925 figure, taken from the Armaments Year Book, was 2,947,085, showing a decrease between those two years of 821,365. This latter figure, however, must be increased, if the comparison is to be between 1914 and 1927, for in 1914 there were many more men under arms than in 1913, and in 1927 there are rather fewer than in 1925. It is well within the mark, therefore, to say that there are a million men fewer under arms in Europe to-day than there were in 1914. Russia is included in the totals for both the years mentioned. It should be added that figures given

by the British Secretary of State for War within the last fortnight are as follows:—

1914	...	...	5,318,000
1924	...	...	4,356,466
1927	...	...	3,552,000

It looks as if all these had been unduly inflated, as the 1924 figures certainly were, by an excessive estimate for countries where a militia system prevails but every man does a few days' service in the year.

Lord Cecil's Defence

A SUMMARY—far too short, but as full as space will permit—of Lord Cecil's speech in the House of Lords will be found in another column. It represents a statement, which he would probably not have made if he had not been challenged to make it, of the considerations which led him to resign his position in the Cabinet. Lord Balfour suggested that his former colleague had taken a narrow view, and laid down his office without any justification. Most people reading Lord Cecil's speech will feel that, in face of all the circumstances, he took the only course an honest man could take. Even if opinions differ as to that, it will at least be agreed that some excess of scrupulousness is a good deal to be preferred to a lack of it. But as the balance more often swings in the latter direction than the former, Lord Cecil's critics may be more numerous than his friends. He has, no doubt, reconciled himself to that long ago, and duly weighed the two sections as well as counted them.

The New Recruit

IT is now known that the functions Lord Cecil discharged at Geneva, particularly in connection with the Disarmament Commission, will in the future be in the hands of his successor in the Cabinet, Lord Cushendun, better known in the past as Mr. Ronald McNeill. The first speech the new Chancellor of the Duchy made after his elevation to Cabinet rank was devoted largely to the League, and was altogether satisfactory in language and in tone. He attributed his comparative silence on the subject in the past to the conviction that the interests of the League were not best served by making it a constant theme of oratory at public meetings, but his declaration of belief in the League and its future went as far as anyone could reasonably ask. So much for words. It remains now to see what attitude Lord Cushendun adopts on his first appearance at Geneva, at the meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at the beginning of December. His opportunities will be great, and it is only just to add that many of those who know the new Minister well personally, are confident that he will approach the subject he has to handle without trammelling preconceptions.

The President's Chair

THE fact that the Presidency of the League Council at its December meeting would in the normal course fall to the Chinese member, and that the position is likely, in fact, to be filled by the next in order, the Colombian member, raises an important question which ought to be receiving serious consideration. It does not greatly matter

who actually presides at a Council meeting, though good chairmanship always confers great benefits on the body concerned, and a small State is just as likely to produce an efficient chairman as a great one. But the President of the Council remains President for the whole of the three months that elapse before the next ordinary meeting is held, and if any sudden action has to be taken in the interval it is the President for the moment that must take it. This is a matter of real importance. At the time of the Greco-Bulgarian crisis, to take a single example, a telegram calling on both parties to observe their Covenant obligations was immediately despatched over the name of M. Briand, who, fortunately, happened to be chairman of the Council at that moment. It argues no disrespect to various worthy persons to say that the effect would certainly have been less salutary if the name at the foot of the telegram had been that of the representative of Cuba or Colombia, or even of Finland. The best way to surmount this difficulty is not apparent, but the first step is to recognise that a real difficulty exists.

Abyssinia in the Limelight

ETHIOPIA, as Abyssinia is for some reason called at Geneva, does not figure largely in the records of Assembly debates. But it has been filling a great many columns in the newspapers of the world in the past few weeks, as a result of the rumour that a contract for the damming of Lake Tsana had been given or was being given to an American firm. Lake Tsana, it may be recalled, is situated in Abyssinia and feeds the Blue Nile, which is all-important for the irrigation on which cotton production in the Sudan depends. There has, therefore, been a clear understanding since 1902 that nothing shall be done which would affect the flow of water into the Nile. The general flutter aroused by the Tsana barrage report seems to have been a little excessive, for what matters to this country is not primarily who builds the actual dam, but how the dam is planned and what its effect may be. The affair looks like being settled quite amicably, but it has served to recall the useful part Abyssinia's membership of the League of Nations plays in that country's foreign relations, as was shown last year when discontents arose over an alleged bargain between Great Britain and Italy—also concerning the waters of Lake Tsana. This time it has been suggested with some force that the League of Nations Transit Organisation, which deals with rivers and hydraulic power, might well be consulted regarding any agreement which might affect supplies of river water.

Unpaid Debts

WHEN a member of a London Club leaves his subscription unpaid, he is apt to be posted as a defaulter, and then have his name struck off the list. A few precipitate spirits would like to have defaulting Members of the League of Nations treated in the same way, and to fortify the demand they point out that unpaid subscriptions at the present moment, or, to be strictly accurate, on August 31 of this year, amounted to £320,000. This is true and regrettable. But it makes some difference that £227,000, or rather more than two-thirds of the total, is accounted for by C. G. G. G.'s

arrears. In view of what is happening in China the default is not surprising, but it would obviously do a great deal more harm than good to act summarily in this case. It would bring nothing into the League's coffers, and would save next to nothing in the way of expense, while the political effects of such action might destroy all the chance that remains—and it is in fact quite a substantial chance—of ensuring the co-operation of a stabilised China with Geneva. After all, £320,000 represents the arrears, not of one year, but of the whole of the eight financial years the League has been in existence. This is not a tragic matter. It has imposed no additional burdens on other States, because strict economy has always enabled the budget at the end of the year to show a surplus at least equal to any shortage caused by default.

"Mother India"

THE controversy Miss Mayo's remarkable book has aroused both in this country and India may be good or bad in its results, according to the spirit in which the subject is approached. Everyone agrees, even Miss Mayo's critics, that most of the evils she has described do actually exist. It is contended, on the other hand, that she has exaggerated their import and painted a picture gravely out of proportion. In these matters no exact measurement can be possible. The book was reviewed in the last issue of HEADWAY by a writer impressed by the revelations it contained, and disposed to believe that Miss Mayo had rendered a valuable service in turning light on dark places. On another page of the current issue will be found a second article from a different writer who takes another view. It will not be possible to devote space to a continuance of the debate which must, by the nature of things, be inconclusive. But the discussion, even within these limits, is of value. It is clearly necessary that readers of HEADWAY, as a review of world's affairs, should have their attention drawn to a work which raises issues so fundamental and of such far-reaching importance. There are rarely sound arguments for the concealment of distasteful facts.

Slow Movement

THE League's new buildings are certainly not going to sprout up in a night, nor yet in twelve months. The Committee which was appointed by the Assembly to take final decisions on the matter met at Geneva on November 9, and, after a brief sitting, adjourned till December 19, appointing an expert Sub-committee in the meantime to consider various points of detail. Details, undoubtedly, require consideration. Architects have been known to plan houses admirable in all respects except that the staircase was forgotten, and the new Geneva buildings will be erected mainly for the Secretariat to work in, not to give aesthetic pleasure by presenting an ornate exterior to oarsmen on the waters of the lake. It is just as well, therefore, that plans of which the chief feature is an ornamental façade should be rather scrupulously examined with a view to testing the practical convenience of the rooms and offices behind the façade. All the same, it is fully time some definite move was made. Every time the Assembly has

to be held in the concert hall where it at present meets the dignity of the League suffers detriment.

Light from a Lighthouse

KNOWLEDGE of the League of Nations, thanks to the universality of League of Nations Union membership, penetrates even to the lighthouses round our coasts. In the recent past, a keeper at St. Catherine's Lighthouse wanted information on rates of pay, hours and conditions of lighthouse service generally in certain other countries. He was referred to the International Labour Office where it was discovered that no information on the subject existed at Geneva. It was, however, decided to collect the information desired, provided the inquirer contributed to the general store all the knowledge at his command. This he agreed to do, and he further put the I.L.O. in touch with the Irish Federation of Lighthouse Keepers. Since then the information has been flowing in from Washington and Germany (in this case both from the Transport Workers' Union and the Ministry of Labour), and the necessary French and Italian material is to follow. Data from other countries not specifically mentioned by the original inquirer will be added. So the world's stock of knowledge grows.

Vox Populi

IT is a fact not without some significance that, taking the country as a whole, League of Nations Union meetings are being more consistently successful this autumn than they have ever been before. Instead of the speakers impressing the meetings—though no doubt that is happening, as it always did—the meetings are impressing the speakers. From all quarters comes the same story, large and enthusiastic audiences listening intently, and asking intelligent questions. Since the dominant subject at present on almost every League of Nations Union platform is International Disarmament in some aspect or another, this may be regarded as one more of the many indications that Disarmament is now very definitely on the map. Large accessions of membership, moreover, are reported—the best possible index of the popular mind.

The Russian Delegation

THE fact that two Ministers, M. Litvinoff and M. Lunacharsky, are to form part of the Russian delegation at this month's meeting of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament suggests that the Russians have in mind something much more definite than the comparatively formal business to which the Commission had been intending to devote a brief sitting. M. Lunacharsky is Commissar for Education and, in that capacity, has done a good deal of useful work. But M. Litvinoff is the more interesting and, in this connection, the more important character. He is a colleague of M. Chicherin at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was a prominent figure, together with his chief, at the Genoa Conference of 1922. Madame Litvinoff, who is accompanying the delegation as interpreter, is a sister of Sir Sidney Low, and the Litvinoff household was for some years established in the peaceful purlieu of the Hampstead Garden Suburb.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

WHAT DOES IT MEAN IN MODERN WAR?

By A NAVAL EXPERT

ONE result—a salutary result—of the breakdown of the Coolidge Conference has been that it has forced us to think again about the old unsolved problem of the freedom of the seas. For centuries the world has been troubled by that problem; and now, sooner or later, we shall have to tackle it very seriously—or it will tackle us. Let us consider whether we may not be in a better position for tackling it, now that the League is in being, than our fathers were before the League was born.

Freedom of the seas. What does the tag mean? Nowadays we need not trouble much about freedom of the seas in time of peace, though there was a time when that was a very live issue. But the problem of the freedom of the seas in time of war is with us yet. Here Grotius, in the seventeenth century, brought a contribution of the first importance by his book on the laws of peace and war. With bitter memories of the thirty years' war in his mind, he tried to limit the beastliness of war as far as possible to those actually engaged in it, and in his time that was no fantastic enterprise. He did not conceive of wars in which whole nations would be involved, wars in which, as Ludendorff wrote of the late war, "it was impossible to say where the army began and the nation left off; army and nation were one." Even Wellington, who had only 35,000 men for his Waterloo, could not have envisaged our war problem of to-day.

The task Grotius set himself was to patch up some workable compromise between the conflicting claims of neutrals and of belligerents. The neutrals' interest would be to go on trading; the belligerent's interest would be to stop his enemy's trade, or at the least his war supplies. So a distinction was drawn between civil and military supplies, between state property and private property; it was hoped by this means to leave the civilian and the private trader free to pursue their lawful business, whilst allowing the belligerent to stop his enemy's war supplies if he could. On this basis a vast superstructure of rules of war was erected.

Immunity of Private Property

And for a century and more the idea that property at sea should be immune from capture was an article of faith with successive American Governments, and was accepted by liberal-minded thinkers, such as the late Lord Loreburn. Immunity of private property from capture at sea. Is that what "Freedom of the Seas" properly means? Are we likely to succeed if we return to the old enterprise of ruling an arbitrary line across the weapon of blockade, making this half legal and that illegal? I do not think so.

Certainly the experience of the Great War suggests that the enterprise is hopeless. For the fact is that, under the conditions of a great modern war, private imports serve just the same function in the economy of the State as State imports. Grain imported into Belfast or Hamburg might be consigned to and consumed by civilians; but if so, it released a corresponding amount for soldiers in the field; so that both belligerents soon gave up the attempt to draw unreal distinctions, and got down to the deadly business of *preventing each other's commerce*. That is what we were doing in 1918, and it is significant that Article 16 of the Covenant does not attempt to distinguish between contraband and non-contraband, between State property and private, or even between imports and exports. It simply provides, in the last resort, for the prevention of the Covenant-breaker's commerce.

Blockade Memories

Now suppose that we submitted a quarrel to the League Council, under Art. XV, and that the Council failed to reach a unanimous report; so that we were free after three months' delay to go to war, free to use our weapon of blockade for the enforcement of our own will regardless of any third party's judgment. Should we really be in a position nowadays to enforce such claims as we made in 1915? I cannot think so. Perhaps we do not sufficiently appreciate in this country how deeply the loss and horror of our blockade, as well as that of the counter-blockade, has bitten into the memory of the world. That lesson will not soon be forgotten, in Europe or in America. The American business man is not likely to forget that at one time, at the end of 1914, there were 12,000 tons of copper, shipped from America to Italy, piled up on the mole at Gibraltar. The Swedish lumber man won't forget that in 1917 (thanks largely to American co-operation in the blockade) hardly a ton of imports reached Sweden from overseas. The German and Austrian mothers—they won't forget. And if we build our policy on the assumption that we should be able to do again just the sort of thing we did in the last war, we shall build on a rotten foundation. Mr. Bridgeman said politely at Geneva that he could not understand why the Americans wanted to build a lot of heavy cruisers, with 8-inch guns and long steaming-range. But plenty of Americans have supplied the answer. Admiral Niblack gave it, when he wrote in "Brassey's Annual" (1924) that the old American principles of "Freedom of the seas all went glimmering during the world war, but America has learnt her lesson."

The League Solution

There is only one way out of this difficulty. Not to stick rigidly, as a private belligerent, to such claims as we were making in 1918. Not to go back to the old American "Freedom of the Seas" immunity of private property from capture. But to go forward to the new "Freedom of the Seas," such as President Wilson indicated in the second of his Fourteen Points. The seas should *only* be closed, in peace or in war, "by international agreement for the enforcement of international covenants."

That means simply this. We should join with the League's members in completing the renunciation of the right of private war and *private blockade*. Let us give up the last remnants of the idea of using blockade as a private weapon for our own ends; but let us preserve it unblunted for service, if needs be, in the League's cause, for deterring or restraining a proven "aggressor." Instead of wasting effort in the vain attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable claims of neutrals and belligerents, let us join in ensuring, for as many nations as possible, that there shall be either no belligerency or else, in effect, no neutrality. Instead of "trying to make rules for the polite conduct of wholesale massacre" (as a Roumanian delegate said at the last Assembly) let us frankly declare that all private war is an international crime. And then, if unhappily we are called on some day to co-operate with the League in the constraint of a proven aggressor, we may reasonably hope that America will not take on herself the fearful responsibility of acting as the aggressor's accomplice.

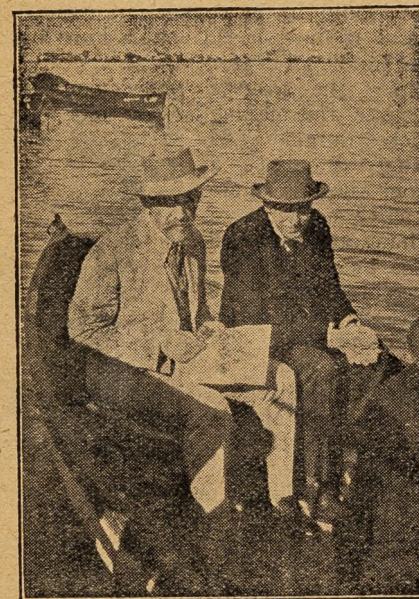
This is the progressive way, the League way, of treating this problem. The reactionary way would be to attempt a compromise with America, before we have renounced the right of private war.

WHY LORD CECIL RESIGNED

NEW LIGHT ON THE NAVAL CONFERENCE FAILURE

THE speech delivered by Lord Cecil in the House of Lords on November 16 was of particular importance, because it for the first time provided a public answer to the important question, "Why did Lord Cecil resign?"

The reasons for the late Chancellor of the Duchy's silence on that point had been entirely to his credit, for it was known that he was avoiding a public statement from a desire to say nothing that might embarrass his former colleagues. Unfortunately one or two unworthy taunts in the public Press, suggesting that he had resigned for no adequate reason, compelled him when the subject was raised in the House of Lords to give a personal explanation of his whole position. The speech is far too long to be reported in detail here, but a summary sufficient to make Lord Cecil's attitude clear is appended.



Afloat at Geneva—Lord Cecil and Dr. Nansen

Affirming his unvarying belief that the disarmament question was of capital importance, Lord Cecil said he first felt uneasiness at the successive rejection of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol, which he agreed were unacceptable as they stood, but should, in his view, have been amended and not rejected. With regard to his position as British delegate on the League of Nations Preparatory Commission, he said it was inaccurate to suggest that he had virtually drafted his own instructions. He had been Chairman of a Sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence, which had laid down the lines of British policy, but he specifically stated at the time in a Cabinet minute that the draft was a compromise unsatisfactory to himself. He went, however, to Geneva to carry out the instructions, and found himself constantly in the position of having to defend the indefensible. "The representatives of the Admiralty scarcely concealed their indifference, if not their hostility, to the whole proceedings."

Then came the Three Power Naval Conference. He accepted the position of British delegate at the request of his colleagues and, having arrived there, stood, in common with Mr. Bridgeman, the First Lord of the Admiralty, for the policy which the Cabinet expressly

authorised, viz., that the American contention in favour of complete naval parity could be accepted without reserve. In spite of that, since the Conference, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Churchill) had stated specifically that this country could not, and it was to be hoped would not ever, bind itself to the principle of mathematical parity in naval strength. Lord Cecil believed that Mr. Churchill, holding that view, had done his best—and in the end successfully—to press it on his Cabinet colleagues.

Gradually the Geneva discussions developed to a point at which he, Lord Cecil, believed agreement could have been reached on terms which would have imposed no detriment on this country. The Cabinet, however, recalled the two delegates for consultation, and sent them back to Geneva with instructions which, Lord Cecil urged, would make agreement impossible (this referred in particular to the Cabinet's absolute refusal to consider the American proposal for the arming of secondary cruisers with 8-in. guns). For that reason he suggested that someone else should go back to Geneva in his place. Being pressed not to pursue that request, he agreed to return, on the understanding that he would resign from the Government if, as he feared was inevitable, the negotiations should in fact break down. When they did break down, he accordingly resigned. Another point on which he differed from most of his colleagues was arbitration, and particularly the optional clause, which, he felt strongly, the British Government should sign.

Replying to this speech for the Government, Lord Balfour took the line, not that it was in any way inaccurate as to fact, but that Lord Cecil had taken too narrow a view of the situation and had created gratuitous difficulties by resigning unnecessarily over a matter regarding which individuals might legitimately differ.

RULING OUT WAR

THE full text of the resolution carried by the Eighth Assembly of the League on the motion of the Polish delegation regarding wars of aggression has not yet appeared in HEADWAY. Many readers, however, will desire to have the official text before them and it is here appended.

"The Assembly,

Recognising the solidarity which unites the community of nations;

Being inspired by a firm desire for the maintenance of general peace;

Being convinced that a war of aggression can never serve as a means of settling international disputes and is, in consequence, an international crime;

Considering that a solemn renunciation of all wars of aggression would tend to create an atmosphere of general confidence calculated to facilitate the progress of the work undertaken with a view to disarmament:

Declares:

(1) That all wars of aggression are, and shall always be, prohibited.

(2) That every pacific means must be employed to settle disputes, of every description, which may arise between States.

The Assembly declares that the States Members of the League are under an obligation to conform to these principles."

FOUR SPEECHES BRITISH STATESMEN ON THE LEAGUE

The four speeches briefly summarised below are of importance as indicating the views of leading public men in this country on Great Britain and the League.

THE PRIME MINISTER at Edinburgh on November 4 spoke appreciatively of the growing value of the Council and Assembly of the League and the increasing importance of Geneva as a meeting-place of the statesmen of the world. "Whether it would



have been possible 13 years ago to have avoided war, had the League been in existence, no man can tell. But this is clear, that the month of July, 1914, would not have passed without a Conference, and if a Conference had been held and reasons had had to be given, there is a hope that the delay might have enabled the friends of peace in every country to carry the day." Speaking of disarmament, Mr. Baldwin said: "I think myself before you get disarmament you will have to agree on a limitation of armaments. The ground has been thoroughly explored and is being explored by the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament. . . . If the first Disarmament Conference should end in the limitation of armaments, that in itself would be a great step in advance. If that were once agreed upon, it is inconceivable that any further increase of armaments could take place. It would be difficult, indeed, as years pass to resist the proposals for progressive all-round reductions which would be bound to follow."

Sir AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, speaking in London on October 27, said that the recent Assembly showed that delegates were encouraged by the spirit now prevailing to bring into the light of day and discuss in public, questions which, in more delicate and more dangerous moments, were reserved for secret conferences. He realised that the exposition of British policy he had lately given at Geneva was not popular in all quarters, but there were a good many delegates of other States who were not sorry to find him expressing what were in reality their innermost thoughts. No friend of the League could desire that the League should ever become the subject of party controversy. "Certainly I have



no word of criticism to utter on what has fallen from my old colleague—no longer my colleague—Lord Cecil. I am not quite certain even now wherein the difference, if there be any between him and me, consists."

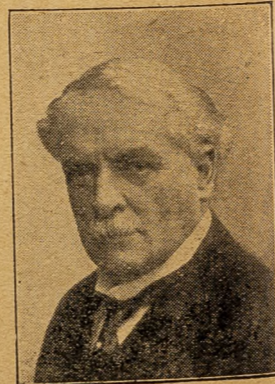
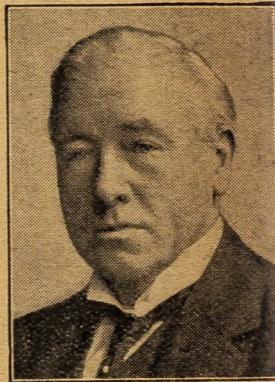
Turning to the Security question, Sir Austen asked whether there were no other nations who would follow the path marked out by a few nations at Locarno. In such a case, Great Britain would help up to the measure of its ability. "But there are limits to what any one Power can do, and I would venture to urge on my countrymen that, before they permit themselves to talk in loose and general terms about a new Protocol,

about further commitments and sanctions, they shall decide in their own minds and publicly declare exactly what commitments they are ready to undertake, what obligations they are prepared to assume and what means they require in order to fulfil them." "We can and we must," added the Foreign Minister, "exert our influence for the maintenance of peace. We can and we must, to the measure of our ability in different circumstances, contribute to restrain or to defeat aggression." But it was impossible, he contended, to ask any country to place its whole resources and the lives of its sons at the service of any extraneous body to be employed in every dispute.

Lord CUSHENDUN (Mr. Ronald McNeill), speaking at Canterbury for the first time since his elevation to the peerage, said the most important duties of his new office would be in connection with the League of Nations. If that should enable him to contribute even in a fractional degree to banishing the menace of future war and making peace more durable and secure, that would be a work more useful, more honourable and more blessed than any other he could imagine. If the operations of the League were conducted with patience and prudence and in a practical spirit, it would succeed as nothing else in the history of the world had yet succeeded, he would not say in making war impossible, but in placing peace on a surer foundation than ever before. What was needed was not merely reduction of armaments, but removal of distrust and of the causes of distrust between nations, and no single individual had contributed so much to that as Sir Austen Chamberlain. Lord Cushendun concluded that he wanted his last word on the subject to his old constituents to be the assurance that he would make it his aim to the best of his ability to enhance the prestige of the League and promote its usefulness.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE, speaking in London on November 7, said it would be as unjust, as improper and as pernicious to make a party claim on behalf of the League of Nations as it would be to make a party claim on behalf of our allegiance to the British Empire.

Sir Austen Chamberlain had accused him of raising hopes which could not be fulfilled. "What are they?" asked Mr. Lloyd George. "The first was that the Allied and conquering countries would fulfil the solemn pledges they gave at Versailles—that German, Austrian and Bulgarian disarmament would be followed by disarmament of the conquering countries.



"Who excited that hope? I have here the document which all the Allied representatives sent to Germany before they signed the treaty. Listen to this, the military clause:—

"The Allied and Associated Powers wish to make it clear that their requirements in regard to German armaments were not made solely with the object of rendering it impossible for Germany to resume her policy of military aggression, they are also the first steps towards that general reduction and limitation of armaments which they seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventives of war, and which will be one of the first duties of the League of Nations to promote."

"That is a quotation from the document we handed to Germany as the solemn pledge of Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and twenty other nations—that if Germany disarmed we would follow the example.

"Is that exciting a false hope? If it is, it is not a hope excited by me in a little speech at a League of

Nations meeting. It is a hope excited by the greatest nations of the world through their representatives—signed, sealed and delivered to Germany. Is that denied?"

"The second hope," continued Mr. Lloyd George, "was that disputes between nations would, if negotiations failed, be referred for settlement, not to machine guns, cannons, bombs and poison gas, but to peaceful arbitration, based on right, reason and judgment. Is that a false hope? If it is, God help the world."

The third hope was that jagged ends of the treaties which were causing irritation and disturbing the peace of nations, would be put right and smoothed through the agency of the League. That hope was excited by a letter written by M. Clemenceau on behalf of President Wilson, Signor Orlando and himself (Mr. Lloyd George) to the German delegates before they ever signed the document.

HEALING WAR WOUNDS THE ACHILLES CLUB TOUR IN GERMANY

By D. G. A. LOWE, Olympic Champion, 800 metres, 1924; A.A.A. Champion ¼-mile and ½-mile, 1927

WHEN the Achilles Club was founded in 1920, one of its objects was declared to be the organisation of international matches in track and field athletics. There existed a strong feeling among the Oxford and Cambridge Blues who composed the original membership that the internationalisation of sport might be of very considerable assistance in the cause of peace; and this sentiment has been strengthened by the results of the Club policy. Teams have visited France, Italy, Greece, Central Europe and Scandinavia, and have invariably been received with marks of great hospitality and friendliness; and younger members of the Club, while still in residence at the universities, have exchanged visits with the athletes of the American universities.

These experiences enable one to aver with confidence that in the recent past and in the present the beneficent effects of such tours, with the opportunities they afford for fraternisation, both on and off the track, have been pronounced. The general good-fellowship prevailing at the 1924 Olympic games may be traced, in part at least, to the previously gained intimacy among the competitors, for the various protagonists entered the lists in friendly emulation, keen to win on all occasions, but ever ready generously to applaud the success of their friends. The same spirit animates all international contests to-day, the universal desire being to play with and to know one's opponent, and to exchange points of view.

In 1926, Germany, for the first time since the outbreak of the Great War, was allowed to re-enter the athletic arena. It is probable that even after the lapse of some seven years since the Armistice many people felt strongly that it was difficult to meet the athletes of a late enemy country and avoid ill-feeling, uneasiness or pain. And yet, to those whose rancour cannot easily be assuaged, may not the words of Pitt be quoted, that "to suppose any nation can be unalterably the enemy of another is weak and childish?" Without condoning the conduct of Germany during the Great War, is it not wisdom and greatness now to attempt to understand the new movements which have urged her to seek and achieve rehabilitation in the comity of nations?

Apparently, the British public thought so, for it applauded generously the German athletes who competed with such signal success in the championships of 1926 and 1927—a generosity, it may be said in passing,

which evoked very great pleasure and respect among the visitors.

Naturally, the readmission of Germany to international competition widened the field of action of the Achilles Club. In pursuance of its well-tryed policy a tour was arranged for 1927; and with the acceptance of an invitation to compete in a triangular match in Berlin at the end of August, the Club undertook perhaps the most important mission of its career. Not only had no English athletic club visited Germany since the war; not only was it important to present the best aspect of English athletics, in order to form a foundation for the appreciation and cultivation of the higher ideals of sport in its relation to peace and friendship; but also the imminence of the Amsterdam games made desirable the antecedent introduction of the leading athletes of both countries.

This diversion of youthful national energy into athletic channels is perhaps the most striking feature of modern German life. It was encountered in each city visited by the team, and it is said to be a national characteristic. The platitude that games of all kinds are meant to be played by the many, not by the few, is being given effect; and everything possible is done for the comfort and advantage of the players. On several occasions one sighed with feelings akin to envy to see the splendid running tracks, swimming pools, and football, hockey and tennis grounds, which, in many cases, have been erected as War Memorials of a singularly valuable kind.

The triangular match on the Sunday was one of the keenest and friendliest that the Club has ever contested. Each Club had 15 men for 10 events, including two relays, two men to run in each event, and every place to count points. As a result, the Achilles scored 70 points to 62 by the Deutscher and 60 by the Berliner. Both sides were below full strength, but a decidedly high standard was maintained. The Achilles achieved the majority of its successes on the track; in the field events, as might have been expected after the splendid display of the Germans at the British championships, they showed how the thing should be done, and the lesson was driven home at the other meetings.

In the evening a pleasant and informal banquet was held in the Funkturm Restaurant, 150 ft. above the ground, in what is Berlin's Eiffel Tower. In the com-

plementary speeches stress was laid on the value of these meetings as serving to promote personal and international friendship, and the hope was expressed that they might be continued in future years. The handsome cup presented by the German Foreign Office to the winning team, and also the bronze plaque given by the Ministry for Public Health, were proudly accepted by the Achilles Club, together with two pennants from the Berlin Clubs bearing their colours worked in silk. And as a small token of appreciation and friendliness, the President of each Club was asked to accept one of the Achilles medals, designed by Dr. R. Tait McKenzie.

The International Meeting in Magdeburg, on the evening of September 1, proved a great local attraction, and the Club was successful in six out of the eight open



Mr. D. G. A. Lowe

events. The sole disaster—if it can be so-called—was the 400 metres, which Büchner, the German champion, won by some five yards from the writer, reeling off 48½, and breaking Hans Braun's 15-year-old German record.

At Hanover the team met with generous hospitality from the Deutscher Hockey Club, some of whose members have recently played at Folkestone in the spring. The team will not forget quickly the kindness of those ladies and gentlemen who devoted their Saturday afternoon to taking them to the exquisite mediæval town of Hildesheim, nor the happy dinner-party afterwards. The sports next day did not afford as many successes as had been hoped for, but the competition was much fiercer, and some of the honours had to be shared with the Polytechnic Harriers. In the evening a large banquet was held in the old Rathaus, when the British Consul, Captain Aue, who rendered considerable assistance and advice during the few days in Hanover,

reiterated the British conviction that international games are worth while.

On September 5 the team returned home with a very happy recollection of one of the most interesting tours undertaken by the Club. The sportsmanship and friendliness of spectators and competitors made each meeting a joy; the excursions and social attentions, both to individuals and the team as a body, remain a delightful memory. Everyone came away with the desire to renew his acquaintanceships and eager to measure his strength again at Amsterdam.

It is to be hoped that the opportunity to meet there will not be denied through the present unfortunate contretemps relative to the question of "broken time." The direction of outlook towards the 1928 Olympiade is not confined to Germany or this country; wherever the Club has travelled recently this attitude has been observed. There may be a subtle danger of exaggerating the importance of the Games; but when one meets Americans and Frenchmen, Germans and Swedes, Italians and Greeks greeting each other and oneself as comrades and parting with, "See you at Amsterdam" upon their lips, it is impossible not to feel that such a quadrennial reunion has a real value in the cultivation and maintenance of international amity and peace. May it still be possible for British athletes, following most sports, to renew and strengthen their overseas friendships in 1928!

MANDATE PROGRESS

THE Permanent Mandates Commission of the League has just closed its twelfth session at Geneva. It unfortunately, had to sit without its British member, Sir Frederick Lugard, who was detained in London by Lady Lugard's illness.

Among the reports presented were several which concerned territories under British administration. The most important of these was Iraq, regarding which Mr. B. H. Bourdillon, the Assistant High Commissioner, made an interesting and very encouraging statement, observing that no difficulties whatever were being experienced on the frontiers, in spite of the gloomy predictions current when the Mosul dispute was being considered, and that, generally speaking, the Iraq people had shown a capacity for self-government which astonished British officials who had known the country a few years ago.

The Samoa Mandate, naturally, provoked some discussion, in view of the difficulties that have lately arisen in that area. Sir James Parr, the High Commissioner in London, represented the New Zealand Government, which is the Mandatory for Western Samoa, but it was, obviously, useless to begin any consideration of the question in view of the fact that the New Zealand Government, which acted with a good deal of decision in the matter, had appointed an influential Commission to inquire into the situation and report. Its findings will be in the hands of the Mandates Commission at its next meeting, and the Samoan question was, accordingly, adjourned.

One other point of interest to which it is worth while drawing attention is the Report on the British Cameroons which was presented by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary for the Colonies. In this area, as in the British colony of Nigeria, the practice is being followed of maintaining so far as possible the existing native forms of government. Accordingly, the Mandatory Power is establishing schools for the sons of chiefs, with a view to equipping them for the responsibilities they will later have to bear when in due course they succeed their fathers. So far the supply of teachers is not equal to the demand.

A SOLDIER ON WAR

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTSON'S STRIKING DENUNCIATION

A remarkable speech was delivered by Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, who was from 1915 to 1918 Chief of the Imperial General Staff, at a dinner of the Lincoln Chamber of Commerce on November 8. The more striking passages of the speech are printed below by courtesy of the "Lincolnshire Chronicle."

CONDITIONS within the Empire are such as to make Imperial defence a very expensive business for this country, and we are now spending on the fighting services, as upon other public services, more than the country can afford to pay. The annual



Sir Wm. Robertson

amount is some 116 millions, or about 40 millions more than before the war. That hardly seems right, seeing that Germany has now practically no fleet, that her army is restricted by treaty to 100,000 men, and that there are several other new factors in the general situation which, if matters are rightly handled by our statesmen, ought to permit of our defence arrangements being constructed on a much more modest scale than they now are.

"For instance, wars have often owed their origin to despotic monarchical government and the maintenance of a great national army. Such combinations are now rare, the last war having terminated the careers of the three emperors who were mainly responsible for starting it, and other monarchs have, fortunately, disappeared with them. No longer can nations be ordered into war, perhaps for dynastic or personal reasons, by swollen-headed monarchs claiming to be almost the equal of the Almighty. It is in most cases the nations themselves who now decide whether peace shall or shall not be broken. That is a great change for the better.

Prepare for War—and Get It

"Again, we no longer agree, without qualification, that the best way of preventing war is to prepare for it. Instead of preventing war, we know that preparations are apt to precipitate it. Never in history were preparations so complete or so widespread as during the 50 or 60 years previous to 1914, and yet never were wars so frequent as in that period. France fought Italy. Germany fought, in turn, Denmark, Austria and France. There were the Russo-Turkish and Russo-Japanese wars, and many wars in the Balkans, the Spanish-American war, wars in China, and our own wars in Afghanistan, Abyssinia, Egypt and South Africa.

"Finally, the colossal cost of modern war in lives and wealth must, one would think, also act as a deterrent. The killed and maimed in the last war were counted by millions, and the amount of wealth destroyed was no less staggering. For instance, the cost of our artillery bombardments previous to the launching of the infantry attacks amounted in the case of the Battle of Arras to £13,000,000, of Messines to £17,500,000, and of the third battle of Ypres to £22,000,000, or a total of over £52,000,000 in these three operations alone. The weight of gun ammunition fired at Messines amounted to 85,000 tons, and in the first nine weeks of the Battle of Ypres to 480,000 tons!

A More Sensible Way

"War has become, in short, a wholly detestable thing; is almost, if not quite, as disastrous to victor as to vanquished; and, consequently, many people condemn it as a failure, hate the very word war, and demand all-round measures of disarmament. Other people declare, however, that, human nature being what it is, war will always be with us, and for it we must always be prepared. Upon which view are we to act?

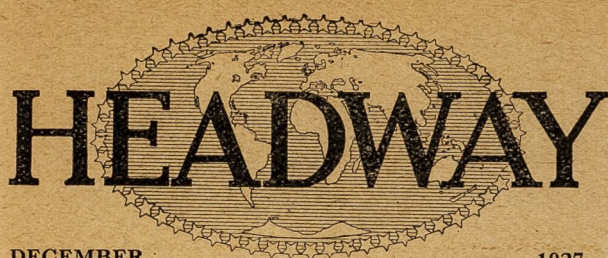
"My own opinion is, as already indicated, that questions regarding the reduction of armaments require, in our own case, to be treated with the utmost caution. At the same time, and let human nature be as wicked, ambitious and unstable as it may, I suggest that every man and woman should energetically support all efforts made for devising some more sensible and humane way of composing international differences than the destructive and futile methods upon which reliance has hitherto been unsuccessfully placed.

A Fifty Years' Lesson

"This suggestion may be thought a tame and uninspiring termination to an address on Imperial defence. But it happens to represent the only conclusion I can reach after a military career covering, on Sunday next, a period of exactly 50 years—a period during which I was for some 20 years closely connected with the highest Councils of State in which, in some form or other, international questions of armaments and war were daily under consideration.

"I therefore give the result of my experiences for what it may be worth. It is, at any rate, more in accord with prevailing sentiment and financial conditions than out-of-date platitudes urging the necessity of maintaining strong fighting forces. May we not also say that if the futility of war were more insistently emphasised by political leaders, and the desire for peace, within reasonable limits, were more carefully nourished, the defence of the Empire would soon become a far easier and cheaper task than it now is, and, what is even more important, the great undertakings with which this and other Chambers of Commerce are associated would be given the opportunity not only to recover from existing depression, but to open up new and profitable spheres of activity?"

Those who would have a thorough knowledge of the constitution and working of the International Labour Organisation—its General Conference, its Governing Body and its Office—could do no better than follow the courses of lectures which are to be given shortly by Mr. H. A. Grimshaw, Chief of the Native Labour Section, I.L.O., Geneva, at the London School of Economics and Political Science. The first of these courses will consist of five lectures, and will be given at 5 p.m. on each of the following days, December 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8. The fee for the course of five lectures is 15s. od. The second course will be given in the spring term.



HEADWAY

DECEMBER

1927

EVERY MAN'S DUTY

IN his striking speech to the Lincoln Chamber of Commerce Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson made an appeal that should draw an active response from every reader of these columns. "I suggest," he said, "that every man and woman should energetically support all efforts made for devising some more sensible and humane way of composing international differences than the destructive and futile methods upon which reliance has hitherto been unsuccessfully placed."

In that single sentence the distinguished soldier, without intending it, gave a complete and decisive answer to any who are anxious from time to time lest the campaign in support of the League of Nations should become a campaign against the Government of the day. Such anxiety has made itself felt in recent weeks in some quarters in connection with the International Disarmament Campaign. To ignore that would be affectation. Fortunately, any misgivings have already been so largely dispelled that the important question of principle thus raised can be discussed in an atmosphere of objectivity and calm.

To begin with it must be accepted as fundamental that men and women who believe profoundly in any cause must *organise* support for it. Conservatives, Liberals, Labour, all do that for the tenets of their respective parties. The Navy League does it. The Trade Unions do it. In a democratic country progress is achieved by collective, not individual action, and those of us who believe in the League of Nations must organise collective action in support of it in our respective countries. The soundness of Sir William Robertson's appeal is incontestable. We must not merely support, we must "energetically support" all efforts made for devising some more sensible and humane way of composing international differences.

But what does that mean? One thing manifestly. It is not and could not be enough to wait till an effort of the right kind is made by the Government of the day, and then, if it is made, support it. It would be an insult to the Field-Marshal's intelligence to suppose he could have meant merely that. We must stimulate the effort—insist that if it is not being made it should be made. That means developing a considered and definite policy in regard to the League. It means that supporters of the League must go beyond vague abstractions, decide what they want on major questions like disarmament, and, having decided that, devote the energy which Sir William Robertson commends to trying to get it.

Here, it will be observed, comes the rub. Suppose whatever Government happens to be in office in a given country—and since our own concern is primarily with our own country, let us say frankly whatever British Government happens to be in office—takes a different view. Suppose, in other words, the Government's policy is not the League of Nations Union's policy. Let us at this point emphasise the fact that that is—so far as immediate issues are concerned—pure hypo-

thesis, invoked for the purposes of the argument. Actually the policy of the Union is full and effective execution of the resolutions of the last Assembly on disarmament and allied subjects, and the representatives of the British Government not only accepted those resolutions, but helped to draft them.

But a clear difference of opinion may some day arise—it almost inevitably will—between the League of Nations Union and some British Government, Conservative, Labour or Liberal. What is the right course for the Union in such a case? That depends firstly on the strength of the Union's convictions regarding the League, and secondly on its views regarding the dangers of taking a party line. On the latter point, some curious misconceptions exist. There are those who write and speak as though it involved party politics for the Union to hold to its convictions when the Government of the day takes a different opinion, and as though true impartiality required the Union to bow automatically to the views of any party in office. Actually the exact opposite is the truth. The organisation that abandons its position out of deference to the particular political party occupying the Treasury bench at a given moment stands defenceless against the charge of being influenced by party politics. It is the organisation that formulates its views regardless of what any political party thinks, and holds to them regardless of what any political party does, that can claim to be in the truest and best sense non-party.

Carry the matter a little further. Does the strong League supporter who believes generally in the Government of the day commit himself to voting against it at the next election if its policy regarding the League is not his? Most manifestly not. No man with any true conception of his responsibilities as a voter will let his decision rest on one issue alone. There are half-a-dozen questions—tariffs, franchise, social reform, general efficiency in administration—to be taken into account when a voter is estimating the merits of the rival political parties. The League of Nations is one such issue, but it is only one, and to single out that alone as the crux at an election would argue a culpable lack of proportion.

The position should in reality be clear enough. Abraham Lincoln once gave a piece of admirable advice applicable to all such situations as this. "Stand with anybody that stands right," he said, "stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong." That is what other bodies with definite convictions do, and no one thinks the worse of them for it. The Navy League has just uttered a vehement protest against the Government's action in cancelling its plans for the building of two large cruisers this year, but no one suggests that the Navy League is embarking on an anti-Government campaign. We disagree in toto with the views of that body, but it is perfectly right in its methods.

That, indeed, serves to drive home the point we have endeavoured to make. A Government, even if it has a secure majority, must take account of public opinion in the country. There can be no doubt whatever that the present Government's decision about the cruisers must have been made considerably easier by the knowledge that a large body of opinion in the country, represented primarily by the League of Nations Union, would warmly applaud such a step in the direction of the limitation of armaments. And such applause is doubled or trebled in value by coming from a wholly independent and non-party organisation. That independence is far too essential an asset to be compromised by hesitation about criticising, or hesitation about supporting, a particular Government as occasion may require.

"A VEIL WITHDRAWN" WHAT MISS MAYO DID NOT SEE

By T. EDMUND HARVEY

SELDOM has a book which sets out to give a survey of the social conditions of a great country aroused such interest and criticism as have been provoked by Miss Mayo's "Mother India." The able review in last month's HEADWAY shows the impression which her attack upon the social evils which she portrays has made upon a writer who is doubtless representative of many other fair-minded readers.

But there is not only another side, or rather many other sides, to the complex problems with which Miss Mayo deals so incisively, but there are factors in her handling of them which render her picture gravely misleading. At the outset it ought to be stated that child-marriage, the treatment of widows, the position of woman and the condition of the depressed classes or "untouchables" are indeed subjects on which it is essential that social reformers in India should concentrate. Had Miss Mayo dealt with them in a different spirit she might have rendered great service to India. But there is a spirit of bitter contempt which comes to the surface from time to time in her pages, which distorts her judgment and seems to have left her blind to that other side of India of which she has failed to take account.

Fleeting Glances

Miss Mayo was four months in India. It is a short time in which to form a judgment on a nation; but in India she had to deal with a complex of divergent civilisations and religions, of which a modest scholar might feel, after years of study, that he was but beginning to form a just idea. She knows none of the many Indian languages, and yet writes as though she knows what the people think. She has collected a terrible array of hideous facts, but many of those who have lived far longer in India and spent years amongst the people and in their service, repudiate her picture as distorted and unfair. She passes lightly over the efforts which Indians themselves are making to reform the evil social conditions she is attacking. For three generations the members of the Brahma-Samaj have borne witness to a high ideal of womanhood and have done away with child-marriage in their own community; their women meet their men as equals. They have had an influence far outside their own membership on the social life of India. How much did Miss Mayo see of them?

Training the Widows

Did Miss Mayo find time to spend a few hours in the Poona Seva Sedan, where hundreds of young widows, including low-caste women, are being trained as teachers and midwives by Indian leaders, under the auspices of Mr. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society? Did she ever visit a school of the Hindu Rama-Krishna Mission and see what its Indian workers are quietly doing to break down the barriers of caste and to teach the dignity of labour and of handicraft work? Does the reader of her work realise that the most recent measure raising the age of consent and the age of actual marriage was carried on the initiative of an Indian private member of the Legislative Assembly, and with no encouragement from the Government? Did such a reader realise that one great obstacle to social reform at present is the fact that the Government hesitates

to take a lead in such things just because it knows that it is only partially an Indian Government?

Miss Mayo evidently did not find time to visit Santiniketan or she could not have so misunderstood and misrepresented Tagore, who though he has defended early marriage is an opponent of child marriage, and has given to young women students an essential place in his College, with its atmosphere of peace and freedom. She might have seen there, too, what Indians are doing to raise the standard of village life, or if she had gone out with a member of the Bengal Health Society to one of their village clinics she would have seen another admirable piece of social work carried on by Indians for Indians.

Gandhi's Comment

She quotes Mr. Gandhi, and as he himself writes, even misquotes him, but though she spoke with him, she singularly failed to understand him. She has failed even more to understand the great people to whom he is now making his appeal, as a Hindoo to Hindoos, on behalf of the women of India and on behalf of the untouchables.

"Tear down the purdah," was the heading of one of his recent articles. In word and in deed he is constantly striving to bridge the gulf which separates class from class, and man from man, but unlike Miss Mayo, always by the force of active love and goodwill.

Mr. Gandhi, though no longer a political leader in the ordinary sense of the word, is the most beloved and most revered man in India to-day: his influence is working all the while to combat those evils which Miss Mayo has exposed. Though experienced Christian missionaries and former Indian Civil Servants have written in protest against the biased picture she has drawn, no better summing-up of the right reply to her book can be found than in the criticism of Mr. Gandhi himself.

Are the Drains India?

"If Miss Mayo had confessed," he writes (in "Young India") "that she had gone to India merely to open out and examine the drains of India, there would perhaps be little to complain about her compilation. But she says in effect, with a certain amount of triumph, 'The drains are India' . . . The book is without doubt untruthful, be the facts stated ever so truthful."

"The book bristles with quotations torn from their contexts and with extracts which have been authoritatively challenged," continues Mr. Gandhi, and he proceeds to deal in detail with some of which he has personal knowledge. Very characteristically, he ventures to hope that Miss Mayo may herself acknowledge the injustice she has done.

Miss Mayo may not respond to Mr. Gandhi's appeal, but it is difficult to read unmoved the words which he adds in writing to his own countrymen. Whilst I consider the book to be unfit to be placed before Americans and Englishmen (for it can do no good to them), it is a book that every Indian can read with some degree of profit. We may repudiate the charge as it has been framed by her, but we may not repudiate the substance underlying the many allegations she has made. It is a good thing to see ourselves as others see us." There speaks the soul of all that is best in India.

THE LEAGUE IN THE DOCK HARD WORDS AND LOOSE STATEMENTS

By H. WILSON HARRIS

COMMANDER KENWORTHY has written a very interesting book under the arresting title "Will Civilisation Crash?" Mr. H. G. Wells has contributed a preface, in which he observes that Commander Kenworthy has recently described him, Mr. Wells, as having "gone gaga." He then characterises the book as very useful, very competent, very stimulating, and finally proceeds to differ in toto from its main conclusion, which is that the only path to safety is the complete outlawry of war, particularly by Great Britain, the United States, Holland and Switzerland, who are stated to control between them the world's money market and the world supply of the raw material of munitions.

There are many passages in the book that provoke salutary reflection, the chapters dealing with naval disarmament being, as might be expected from the writer's record, of special interest. But on several points of fact Commander Kenworthy challenges correction, and when it comes to the chapter to which a HEADWAY reviewer naturally turns first, that entitled "The Failure of the League of Nations," the situation becomes serious.

It is not a question of the author's views. He is, of course, perfectly entitled to declare that the League "is weaker now than in 1920," and that "far from Germany's admission to the League having proved a strength, it has rendered the League helpless," just as other people are perfectly entitled to differ from him on such matters. But facts, after all, are facts, and some of Commander Kenworthy's statements about the League must not, in the interests either of truth or of the League itself, whose welfare he undoubtedly desires as much as anyone, go uncorrected. Let us take a few.

Errors of Fact

He mentions Newfoundland as a Member of the League. It is not.

He states that Danzig is administered by a High Commissioner appointed by the League. Danzig, in fact, is a self-governing free city, with a High Commissioner, who has no administrative functions at all, as referee in case of need between the Free City and the Polish Government.

In regard to the Hungarian-Rumanian dispute, he states that the Hungarian farmers appealed to the League for adjudication by a mixed arbitral tribunal, and adds that, "when the case was to be referred to the League of Nations Court, the Rumanian Government recalled its representative and refused to abide by the Court's findings, defying the League of Nations." The facts are that the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal had nothing whatever to do with the League, that the matter was brought before the League in the first instance, not by the Hungarians, but by the Rumanians, that it was from the Arbitral Tribunal, not from the Permanent Court, that Rumania withdrew its representative, and that Rumania at no point defied the League.

Silesia and Vilna

Commander Kenworthy states, regarding the Upper Silesian dispute, that "a League of Nations Commission was set up to interpret the results of the plebiscite and to fix the new frontiers. It was under the

Chairmanship of the Earl of Balfour." There was never such a Commission. The League Council kept the matter in its own hands, referring the examination of the question, in the first instance, to four of its own members, of whom Lord Balfour was not one.

After this reference to Upper Silesia, Commander Kenworthy continues: "The League received a further blow when another Polish filibustering army invaded Lithuania and seized Vilna," and he adds that Vilna, as the capital of the new Lithuania, was approved by the League itself. The Vilna seizure was, in fact, in October, 1920, and the Upper Silesian award in October, 1921. The League never approved Vilna as capital of Lithuania.

Commander Kenworthy says: "True, the League was active when the Greeks bombarded Bulgarian territory and prepared an invasion. But other nations of Europe rushed in to stamp out a premature conflagration." The only "rushing in" was done by the League Council itself, which put in rapid and efficient operation the machinery of the Covenant and extinguished the flames.

A Mosul Mistake

Commander Kenworthy says that the League machinery was used in a dispute between Britain and Turkey over the Mosul vilayet, "but the recommendation of the League Commission was ignored, and the matter settled for the time being by bargaining and bluffing between the two principals." In another place he states that Turkey had made good her claim before the League Council. The fact is that the award of the Council was accepted by both parties, and a subsequent agreement between the two was amicably based on it.

Commander Kenworthy says: "The Tacna-Arica dispute was presented by Chile to the League, and I myself heard its presentation and debate in the Assembly. The League was able to contribute nothing to a peaceful solution." The Tacna-Arica question was, in fact, raised by Bolivia in face of emphatic protests from Chile, and raised by a mistaken procedure, which left the Assembly no opportunity for action.

Lord Cecil's Instructions

There is no satisfaction in drawing attention to points such as these, but the League is entitled to be judged on its record, not on unintentionally erroneous versions of what it has done and has not done; and HEADWAY cannot evade its duty of pointing out in this case, as it has done and will have to do in many others, what the actual facts are.

Perhaps one further observation should be made. Commander Kenworthy mentions that "it is said quite openly by persons in a position to know the facts" that Viscount Cecil, "then a member of the British Cabinet, the British member of the League of Nations Conference on Armaments in 1927 (the writer no doubt means the Preparatory Commission), was ordered by his Government to come to no agreement on this occasion, especially where naval armaments were concerned," so as not to decrease the importance of the then forthcoming Conference on Naval Armaments. If persons in a position to know the facts did say that, they can clearly not have taken due advantage of their position, for it can be stated on the best of all possible authorities that the allegation is groundless.

RUSSIA AT GENEVA

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S PAST ATTITUDE

THE fact that the Soviet Government is co-operating in the work of the Disarmament Commission at Geneva this month raises again the question of Russia's general relationship to the League. As everyone knows, Russia is not a Member of the League, and her collaboration with it has throughout been much less extensive than that of the other Great Power still outside the League, the United States of America. That is explained in part, though only in part, by the fact that for nearly four years a quarrel between the Governments of Russia and of Switzerland, arising out of the murder of a Russian delegate to the Lausanne Conference in 1923, led to the rupture of diplomatic

any difficulty in making satisfactory arrangements with the Soviet Government regarding the repatriation of war prisoners, and he more than once paid a striking tribute to the efforts made by Soviet Ministers and officials to carry out in every detail agreements they had contracted. At a time when not one Russian in ten had enough clothes to wear, parcels of clothing sent in from abroad to foreign prisoners' camps in Russia arrived intact in all but an almost invisible percentage of cases.

Russia has also co-operated—much to its own advantage, it may be added—in various activities of the League's Health Organisation, notably the Euro-



M. Litvinoff, who is heading the Soviet delegation to the Disarmament Commission. In this photograph which was taken at the Genoa Conference in 1922) M. Litvinoff is the figure in a soft hat and light overcoat. To the right of him are M. Chicherin (in bowler hat) and the late M. Krassin

relations, and to the refusal of Russia to send representatives to any conference held on Swiss soil. That quarrel was composed in the early part of this year, and the Soviet Government accordingly sent a full delegation to the Economic Conference held at Geneva in May and June. Their attendance caused no difficulties of any consequence, though their general attitude as delegates from a Government which has declared a truceless war on capitalism led them to refrain from voting for most of the resolutions finally adopted.

But even before this first full appearance of Soviet Russia at Geneva there had been a good many scattered examples of co-operation between the Soviet Government and the League. Dr. Nansen, when acting as League High Commissioner, never found

pean Health Conference, held at Warsaw in 1922, and in the work of the Malaria Commission which visited Southern Russia in 1925. In these cases the governing motive may quite well have been self-interest.

Another field in which a Soviet delegation made a notable appearance was the Conference of Experts on Naval Armaments, held at Rome at the beginning of 1924. The Russian admiral who represented his country took a leading, though not always a peculiarly helpful, part in the discussions, which led to no very concrete result, and had in fact no sequel, because the idea of a special Naval Conference was merged in the general Disarmament proposals approved by the League at the Fifth Assembly in September of the same year. This particular delegate, Admiral Pehrens, is a member of the present delegation to Geneva.

THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL

GENEVA PERSONALITIES

XI.—M. PAUL-BONCOUR

THE forty-eighth meeting of the League Council opens at Geneva on December 5, immediately after the meeting of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament which opened on November 30. The Chair should be filled normally by the Chinese representative, but as the Chinese Minister in Paris is expected to attend the Council for the first time, it is probable that he will ask to have his period of Chairmanship postponed till the next meeting.

Several difficult questions are on the agenda, so that the session is likely to last rather longer than usual. One of the most interesting items, though it should not give rise to prolonged discussion, is the Report of the Committee of the Body of Experts on the Traffic in Women and Children regarding the publication of Part II of the now famous Report on the subject. It was decided at the June meeting that the Report should be published in December, immediately after the Council Meeting, but several governments have sent in what amount to rather strong protests against statements made regarding their countries in the Report, and it will, therefore, have to be decided in what precise form these are to be presented. The Council will have before it the views of the Body of Experts which met specially to consider this question in the middle of November.

Of political questions, the two most important and most perplexing are the Polish-Lithuanian and the Hungaro-Rumanian. The first arises out of a complaint by Lithuania under Article XI of the Covenant as to various measures taken by the Polish Government against Lithuanian minority schools in the districts of Vilna and Grodno. This can hardly fail, however, to bring up the whole vexed question of the rightful ownership of Vilna, a matter the League first had before it as long ago as 1920. Unless the two parties adopt at Geneva a tone very different from that with which they have made the world familiar in their own capitals the Council will find it difficult to achieve much by conciliation.

The Hungaro-Rumanian dispute was explained in outline in last month's HEADWAY. As the Council left it in September, it was to come up again, in the hope that one party or the other would have in the meantime made some move which would have facilitated a settlement. Nothing, however, of that sort has happened, and the Council will have to make yet one further endeavour to solve the apparently insoluble.

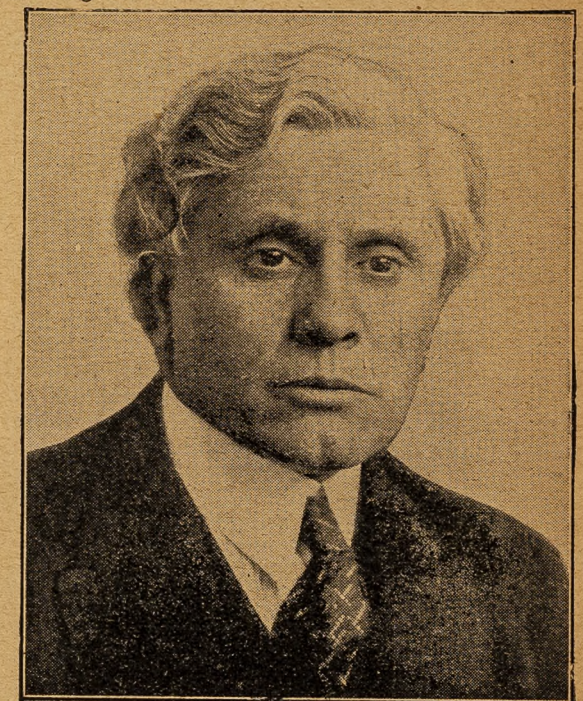
Another legacy from the September meeting is the case of the Greek cruiser *Salamis*, which was ordered by the Greek Government from a German firm in 1914, and which the firm now desires to deliver and the Greeks desire not to receive (and, incidentally, not to pay for).

There are plenty of lesser items, such as the final touches to the proposed new Greek loan of £9,000,000, and the appointment of the 35 members of the new Economic Consultative Committee to fill up an agenda of rather more than normal importance and difficulty.

The upshot of the League Conference on the Abolition of Import and Export Restrictions at Geneva last month was that a large number of prohibitions will be removed altogether, while those that do remain, including the British ban on the import of dyestuffs, are regarded as strictly temporary, and will all be reconsidered by a later Conference in a few years' time. The Conference was referred to by its President, M. Colijn, as marking the beginning of a new phase in the League's economic activity, for the convention signed by 18 states represented the first multilateral commercial treaty ever negotiated.

A STOCKY little man with fresh colouring and a bush of white hair is representing France on the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva this month, as he has done ever since the Commission was formed.

M. Paul-Boncour, Socialist leader and former Minister has been member of all French delegations at the Assembly from 1924 onwards, and has often represented his country in the Assembly. Though he is often referred to as one of the authors of the Geneva Protocol, he, in fact, took second place to M. de Jouvenel in the discussions of 1924, when that famous instrument was being framed.



M. Paul-Boncour

Since then, however, the French delegate has championed the Protocol on all occasions, and his recent appointment as Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the French Chamber has led to the rather premature assumption that the whole of French policy is to be directed along Protocol lines. That seems unlikely, for M. Boncour agreed frankly at the last Assembly to leave the Protocol on one side altogether for the moment and endeavour to find a way forward on lines approved by the British Delegation—that is to say, with the Covenant, not the Protocol, as basis.

In addition to his new office in Paris M. Paul-Boncour was already President of the National Defence Committee. He is, therefore, a particularly appropriate representative for France to send to the Disarmament Commission, though he no doubt feels a little swayed by Paris considerations at Geneva and by Geneva considerations at Paris.

As everyone who has ever heard him will agree, M. Paul-Boncour, who is one of France's leading barristers, is, in his day, one of the greatest orators any country can produce to-day.

LEAGUE PIONEERS FIGHTING DISEASE IN FAR CONTINENTS

THE League Health Organisation is always a pioneer pushing ahead of anyone else into regions hitherto untouched by League activities. Having thus thrust its vanguards into Latin-America, it is now consolidating its position in that hitherto virgin soil.

The Health Committee at its half-yearly session, which ended early last month, devoted most of its time to the development of new activities in South America, most of them arising directly from a visit of the President of the Health Committee, Dr. Madsen (a Dane), and the Medical Director, Dr. Rajchman (a Pole), to Uruguay and other neighbouring countries last summer to attend a League Conference on Infant Hygiene at Montevideo. The proposals, now approved by the Health Committee, include the establishment of an international centre for the scientific study of leprosy and an international school of public health under the auspices of the League in Brazil. Leprosy is not a disease that can readily be combated internationally, at least in Latin America, for measures against it reduce themselves to administrative regulations within each country—there are no such things as leprosy epidemics. But there are a number of points still obscure about the ways in which the disease is spread, let alone methods of cure, and it is here that an international scientific study can profitably be undertaken.

In the Argentine it is proposed to set up an international school for infant and child hygiene at Buenos Ayres, with provincial stations, under the auspices of the League. Uruguay is going to take an active part in the work of the Committee studying the relations between public health services and health insurance organisations, for this is a problem of peculiar interest to Uruguay, where the whole question of reorganising the public health service is becoming acute.

Latin-America's Claim

In each case the problems chosen have been carefully selected and are key problems of really vital importance to public health. The whole question of the extension of the Health Organisation's activities to Latin America is most interesting, for it may serve as a precedent for a similar development of the other technical activities. It should never be forgotten that while the Latin-American countries have no serious political problems, they offer a fertile field for the development of technical co-operation and are ready to welcome such a development.

Another non-European country to which the Health Committee devoted prolonged attention was India, where there will be quite a concentration of League health activities in the next few months. The most important event impending is the interchange of Medical Officers of Health to be held in India in January and February and attended by doctors from countries as far apart as Australia, Egypt, Japan, China, Persia and the Philippines. The President of the Health Committee is himself going to attend this interchange, which will begin soon after the Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine in Bombay, and will coincide with the session at Delhi of the Advisory Council of the Singapore Bureau of the League Health Organisation. The Health Committee at this session also accepted an invitation from the Indian Government to extend the activities of the Malaria Commission to India, and at the last Assembly the Indian delegate paid a striking tribute to the Health Organisation, which, as he pointed out, is already providing direct contact between the League and India at several points—a fact appreciatively noted by Indian opinion.

The final report of the Sleeping-Sickness Commission on its investigation in Equatorial Africa was approved, and the Health Committee asked the Council to approach the governments concerned so as to find out whether they wished to hold a second conference of their colonial health administrations to discuss the putting into effect of the recommendations of the Commission. The Health Committee put itself at the disposal of the Governments for any further work of technical or administrative co-ordination in this matter that they might consider desirable.

And yet there are people who persist in regarding the League as purely European.

HEALTH EVERYWHERE

International Hygiene. By Dr. C. W. Hutt. (Methuen. 10s. 6d. net.)

Out of his wide experience, Dr. Hutt has compiled a singularly interesting volume on such measures for the preservation of the world's health as are taken by nations acting in co-operation. It is not surprising to find the greater part of such a volume as this devoted, of necessity, to the health work of the League. For the creation of the League and its Health Organisation has made possible a degree of collaboration between different States in the sphere of health that could never have been conceived of before.

The writer very wisely begins by explaining how disease is kept out of an individual country, obviously a much more simple matter when that country happens to be an island than when it is surrounded by neighbours from which it is separated only by an artificial land frontier. The difficulties in the latter case are illustrated by a description of the cordon sanitaire organised by the League's Epidemic Commission in 1920 and 1921 between Poland and Russia.

The development of science brings with it new problems to be solved. Dr. Hutt, for example, points to aerial transport as a new factor in the spread of disease, and quotes a case in which smallpox was brought from Spain to London by air. Rats, again, are true internationalists, though an unattractive type. They carry disease with unfailing assiduity from one country to another, and Dr. Hutt is compelled to devote several pages to a discussion of what, to the horror of philologists, is termed "deratisation."

Having been driven, in spite of himself, on almost every page to make acknowledgments of the League's efforts, Dr. Hutt rounds off a most interesting and valuable work by one chapter devoted specifically to the work of the League's Health Organisation. It is doubtful whether the manifold activities of that enterprising body could be better summarised in a short space.

CORRECTIONS

HEADWAY last month contained one quite unpardonable error. The meeting of the League of Nations Union Council meeting addressed by Lord Cecil at the Caxton Hall was misdescribed as a League of Nations Council meeting. The Editor, who was personally responsible, bows his head before all criticism.

Also, on page 209 of the last issue, it was stated in the article on "Diplomacy Opened," that the Triple Alliance, before the war, consisted of Germany, France, Italy. The passage should, of course, have read, "Germany, Austria, Italy."

THE GIFT OF TONGUES BOOKS WORTH READING

By ANTHONY SOMERS

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



It has sometimes been said that the British people do not possess the "gift of tongues." Certainly I never did. At school I was hopeless. When the subject was French, German, Latin or Greek I was always somewhere near the bottom of my Form. Yet in other subjects I held my own quite well. I have now come to the conclusion—my recent experience has convinced me of this—that the reason I failed to learn languages was that the method of teaching was wrong.

Although I never "got on" with Foreign Languages, I have always wanted to know them—especially French. I have wanted to read Racine, Balzac, Anatole France, Marcel Proust, and that great critic whom Matthew Arnold so much admired, Sainte Beuve, in French, and not merely through the medium of a characterless translation. And I have wanted to spend holidays abroad without being tied to a phrase-book. So I have often tried to find a method which would really teach me a Foreign Language. And at last I have found it.

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

Consider, for example, this question:

"Do you think you could pick up a book of 40 pages, written in a language of which you may not know a syllable—say Spanish, Italian, German or French—and not containing a single English word, and read it through correctly without referring to a dictionary?"

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OUR ELDER STATESMAN

Opinions and Arguments from the Speeches and Addresses of the Earl of Balfour, 1910 to 1927. (Hodder & Stoughton. 12s. 6d. net.)

"I do not think any subject is of more world-wide importance than golf." The declaration is Lord Balfour's, and it is embodied in a volume of selections from his recent speeches, or, rather, his speeches since 1910, compiled by his niece, Mrs. Edgar Dugdale. It is difficult to distribute commendation for the volume justly. Clearly there would have been no book without the orator. Equally clearly, there would have been no book without the editor. For Lord Balfour states flatly in a brief introductory note that all responsibilities connected with the volume are Mrs. Dugdale's, and that he proposes to read neither it nor any reviews it may evoke—a resolution he is understood already to have broken with some zest.

But if there is nothing quite like golf, there are certain subjects which come near it in importance. One, for instance, is the League of Nations, to which two of the speeches embodied in this volume are devoted. They are well worth study to-day, though one of them was made in the House of Commons in 1920, and the other broadcast in 1924. No one who has seen and known Lord Balfour at Geneva will ever doubt the fervour of his faith in the League, and in these two speeches he expresses that faith in language which the most petrified Conservative could not find too idealistic, nor the most rampant Radical complain of as inadequate.

Parliament, Eton, science, religion, learning, Zionism, golf—no subject is beyond the range of Lord Balfour's sweep of knowledge, and none has he failed to invest with that charm of language which is so essentially the reflection of his own rich personality. Mrs. Dugdale has rendered service of the highest value in making so happy a selection from utterances which might have remained buried in the long-forgotten columns of the contemporary press. In days when Lord Balfour, on the verge of eighty, is delivering an average of about a speech and a half a day, it is a pleasant irony to find the first place in the volume given to the speech in which, in resigning the Leadership of the Unionist Party in 1911, he laid himself definitely on the shelf so far as political activity was concerned.—H. W. H.

INDIA AT THE CROSSROADS

India and the West. By F. S. Marvin. (Longmans Green. 7s. 6d.)

Improving on R. L. Stevenson's "Travels with a Donkey," Mr. Marvin travelled with a film. He travelled in India and the film dealt with the League of Nations. He exhibited it to audiences totalling, probably, some 50,000 or 60,000 people, with whom he was thereby enabled to establish contact on the basis of a common interest in international affairs.

He describes his book as a study in co-operation, meaning, particularly, co-operation between India and the western world, and more particularly still co-operation through common membership of the League of Nations. That, at least, is the conclusion to which Mr. Marvin is carried, for it does not appear that he went to India with any rooted preconceptions. "India," said Mr. Marvin, "by her double aspect, east and west, is the essential link between the League and Asia, just as the United States should be and will be between the League and America."

That is co-operation with the League considered in its wider aspect, but as regards India's place in the British Commonwealth Mr. Marvin finds equally the desired solution within the framework of the League.

"In the end," he contends, "through the League of Nations she will find a wider range of affinities than the Dominions of purely British or Western training." That ought not to make for severance from the Empire, but rather for a deeper loyalty, as India finds her sister States prepared ungrudgingly to see her fulfil her natural destiny along lines of her own choosing rather than of theirs. Mr. Marvin is too well known to readers of this paper for the merits of his book to need emphasizing.

India To-Morrow. By Khub Dekhta Age. (Milford, 3s. 6d.)

The author of this suggestive little volume is an Englishman writing under a pseudonym. The book appeared before the new Royal Commission was announced, but it is devoted to a discussion of the problems the Commission will have to face. The author disclaims originality, and there is, in fact, nothing particularly new in his summary of the general situation. But one passage embodies an idea so far new in connection with the Indian problem. The writer, who seems to be familiar with Geneva, suggests that the right function of the Commission is merely to do what a rapporteur does in League Commissions, not enunciating opinions of his own, but taking note of the views he hears expressed on every side, stimulating an accord between opposing factions and finally producing an agreed resolution out of apparent discord. Sir John Simon and his colleagues might well mark and learn.

SOME NAVAL FACTS

Disarmament and the Coolidge Conference. By Professor P. J. Noel Baker. (Hogarth Press. 2s.)

In fifty-three pages Professor Baker summarises the Three-Power Conference, and tells the participants in it (and, what is more important, the public generally) where they failed. The task was worth attempting, and it has been most ably executed, for, marshalling his facts and figures with his accustomed skill, Professor Baker clarifies a situation which many who did their best to follow the Conference proceedings found confusing and confused. In particular, he disposes of the claim, not infrequently put forward in official quarters, that Great Britain proposed substantial reductions which America refused. It is perfectly true that the British delegation made a praiseworthy proposal for the reduction of the size and life of various types of vessels, and that the Americans—at first, at any rate—refused this. But that is only half the story, and the other half needs to be told as well. Though the ships were to be smaller, there were to be more of them. The British delegation claimed seventy cruisers against the existing forty-eight, and, according to Professor Baker's figures, assembled from official publications, the increase of tonnage involved amounted at a minimum to 84,000 tons, the existing 653,000 tons of cruisers, destroyers and submarines built and building being raised to a total of 737,000.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Self-Legislated Obligations. By John Grier Hibben. (Harvard University Press. 4s. 6d. net.)

International Civics. By Potter and West. (Macmillan. 7s. net.)

The Somme. By A. D. Gristwood. (Jonathan Cape. 5s. net.)

Peeps at the League of Nations. By Hebe Spaul. (Black. 2s. 6d. net.)

The Mediterranean and its Problems. By Major E. W. Polson Newman. (A. M. Philpot, Ltd. 15s. net.)

READERS' VIEWS

TALK TO YOUR MEMBER

SIR,—May I suggest that branches of the Union which are anxious to do anything in their power to further the Union's International Disarmament Campaign should take an early opportunity of organising influential deputations on the subject to the Member of Parliament for the constituency in which they are situated. It is extremely desirable that every Member should know what his constituents are feeling on public questions, and the deputation method is a legitimate and constitutional form of approach. As an old Member of Parliament myself, I know it to be at the same time extremely effective. Of course, the deputation's own views should be clearly formulated, and among its members should be persons qualified to enter into friendly discussion if the Member so desires.—Yours, etc.,
November 22.

HENRY VIVIAN.

SEA LAW IN WAR

SIR,—In your comment under above heading in last month's HEADWAY, you say that "at present no one seems to be giving the question (blockade) much thought at all." In point of fact, an increasing number of persons interested in naval disarmament as it affects peace are studying this fundamental problem.

It seems probable, though it has never been openly admitted, that Great Britain's claims as regards rights at sea (especially in connection with the rescinding of the Declaration of London in 1916) may be one of the chief causes of the Government's recent declaration against all-in arbitration, of the failure of the Government to sign the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and of the failure of the recent Three Power Naval Disarmament Conference.

Lord Cecil, in his speech to the League of Nations Union on October 21, made perfectly clear that the old cry of "Rule, Britannia," was obsolete, and that the defence of our trade routes was virtually impossible by any naval force however large, and it seems possible that the only way to reconcile the British and American points of view, and so pave the way for future peace, is frankly to face the blockade problem, which, it should be remembered, formed the subject of one of President Wilson's 14 points.

In these circumstances, it is of the utmost importance that the question of blockade should be studied from every possible point of view, and the League of Nations Union ought not to allow the matter to be slurred over or kept in the background by political leaders of any of the three parties, but should give a lead in educating public opinion to accept a change in naval policy more in keeping with modern conditions.

Your readers who are interested may be glad to know of a pamphlet issued at 2d. by the National Council for Prevention of War (39, Victoria Street, S.W.1) entitled "Why Have We Failed to Disarm?" in which the problem of blockade is frankly discussed.—Yours, etc.,
Havant, Hants. November 11.

D. LEIGH AMAN.

Sir George Aston's Views

SIR,—In connection with the editorial paragraph under the heading "Sea Law in War," pointing out the importance of that question at the present time, I hope that you will allow me to call the attention of readers of HEADWAY to the investigation of the subject that is contained in "The Strength of England," by Commander Bowles, published last year by Methuen's, and more especially to the matter contained in that book on the status of prize courts and of prize court law, as affecting both the U.S.A. and ourselves.—Yours, etc.,
November 6.

GEORGE ASTON.

(Continued on page 240.)

Sailor Shanties

THE SHANTY BOOKS

Collected and Edited with Pianoforte Accompaniment by RICHARD RUNCIMAN TERRY.

With a Foreword by Sir Walter Runciman, Bart.

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2 Bound for the Rio Grande.	7 Lowlands away.	12 The Wild Goose Shanty.
3 Goodbye, fare ye well.	7 Sally Brown.	13 We're all bound to go.
4 Johnny come down to Hilo.	8 Santy Anna.	14 What shall we do with the drunken sailor?
5 Clear the track, let the Bullgine run.	9 Shenandoah.	
	10 Stormalong John.	
	HALLIARD SHANTIES.	
15 Blow, my bully boys.	19 Hanging Johnny.	23 The Dead Horse.
16 Blow the man down.	20 Hilo Somebody.	24 Tom's gone to Hilo.
17 Chcerly men.	21 Oh, run, let the Bullgine run!	25 Whiskey Johnny.
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17 Shallow Brown.	23 The Bully Boat.	29 A Hundred Years ago.
18 A Long Time Ago.	24 Tommy's gone away.	30 Walk him along, Johnny.
19 Wou't you go my way?	25 Sing fare you well.	31 Hilonday.
20 Hilo John Brown.	26 O Billy Riley.	32 Stormalong John.
21 Roll the Cotton down.	27 Time for us to leave her.	33 So handy, me gels.
22 Round the corner, Sally.	28 Lizer Lee.	34 The Sailor likes his Bottle-O.
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"DISARMAMENT," or "How the Cake was Shared."—New L. of N. Play Simple. Educative. 8d.—PARROT, Kirkby Stephen, Penrith.

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By Professor P. J. Noel Baker.

2s.

In this booklet the author of "Disarmament" discusses the present position created by the failure of the Coolidge Conference.

THE HOGARTH PRESS, 52, Tavistock Square, W.C.1

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EMPIRE AND LEAGUE

Lady Stewart's Proposal

SIR,—There has been lately, as Lord Cecil pointed out in his address to the Council of the Union on October 21, a tendency in some quarters to suggest an antithesis between League and Empire. And there are certainly some among our statesmen who are too ready to make a supposititious unwillingness on the part of the Dominions a pretext for limiting and narrowing our obligations under the Covenant.

In view of this tendency, it would seem of the greatest importance that the Union should devote a very considerable amount of energy to helping to stimulate and inform public opinion in the Dominions. Those of us who have lived abroad know the difficulty of obtaining any information or creating interest. May I ask what the Overseas Committee of the Union is doing to carry out this vitally important task, which is, I presume, one of the main objects of its existence?

As Lord Cecil pointed out when he resigned office, peace is essential to the British Empire, and the League is the only way to peace. It is for the Union to emphasise this truth throughout the Empire.

May I support the suggestion made by Mr. Duff Cooper in his speech at the Queen's Hall meeting on October 25? He suggested a great public demonstration in the Albert Hall and Hyde Park, to prove to the Government that the people of this country are in earnest in the cause of peace and disarmament.

Will the Union undertake the task of organising such a demonstration, to take place, say, in six months time? One would like to see it called "A British Empire Demonstration for the League of Nations and the Cause of Peace and Disarmament" and to see the speakers drawn not only from among the greatest in this country, but, as far as possible, from all parts of the Empire—Australia, Canada, India, Ireland, South Africa. General Smuts played, as we all remember, a great part in the creation of the League. If he could spare the time to come over and speak, the results would be invaluable.

It should be possible to cover a great part of the cost of the demonstration by a Peace Flag Day, to be held at the same time.—Yours, etc.,

24, Bina Gardens, S.W.5. FRANCES STEWART.

"A VEIL WITHDRAWN"

SIR,—I trust you will not mind criticism from your readers, even if it is unfavourable.

I take exception to your review of Miss Mayo's book, "Mother India," under the heading "A Veil Withdrawn," for the following reasons:—

(1) If you are going to review books, let them be English books, and not those of a nation which has refused to join the League.

(2) You ask a question: "Is there in reality any scope for the League of Nations here? It must be doubted." Your question may have a limited meaning, but I treat it fully, and reply with another. "Then why raise the points touched in the book, which must pain many of our Indian brothers?"

(3) If you must review the affairs of other nations, begin with the favourable points, and don't deal with what must cause heartburnings. I am reminded of a missionary in China, Dr. Timothy Richard, who established a religious society in Shanghai some 30 years ago, composed of members of the four religions of China and the various Christian denominations, of course excepting the Roman Catholics, who would not come in. The chief rule of the society was that the differences in the various religions should not be referred to in lectures, only their common beliefs. Let HEADWAY make a similar rule

and refer only to the good points of our brothers with a view to raising the standards of all.

(4) If you must refer to the evils of any nation, begin with our homeland. If, also, you want to review a book, take one like: "Where is Labour Going?" by Dr. L. Haden Guest, and point out the dangers of having a great political party ruled by its tail. Of course, I don't want you to do this, but I am only suggesting that there is plenty of material at home.

(5) If you must review Indian life, give us some information about the sixty million "untouchables," or "outcasts," and let us know the yearly conversions to Christianity or Islam. Tell us, for instance, about the "untouchables" who obliged the Travancore Government to throw open the roads to their use simply by sitting down on them, a fresh band appearing each morning as the preceding band had been arrested.

Tell us, for instance, of a recent incident like that of the Maharajah of Mysore, who is a devout Hindoo, but in spite of this he opened a Mohammedan Mosque, at which he made a beautiful speech, much on the lines of that of the Imam of the London Mosque when this was opened last year. This address by the Imam might, I venture to think, have been referred to by HEADWAY, considering that we are the largest Mohammedan power in the world.

In conclusion, I would suggest that your outlook is, as a general rule, too limited, too much confined to the actual work of the League.—Yours etc.,

Bournemouth. J. WILLIAMSON JONES.
November 12.

"DISARMAMENT"

General Widdrington and the Premier

SIR,—The enclosed cutting is from a report of the *Times* of November 4 on the Prime Minister's speech at Edinburgh, on November 3.

The sentence underlined seems to show that Mr. Baldwin supposes the League of Nations to be aiming at immediate complete disarmament, and that he is unaware of the definition of the word so clearly put in HEADWAY for November, page 204. This is barely credible, and yet I do not see what other construction can be put upon the words.

It appears to me that Mr. Baldwin in that speech completely damned the League of Nations with faint praise, and that makes it exceedingly, and increasingly, difficult to pretend that the League of Nations is not a party question, at any rate as between Liberals and Conservatives.—Yours, etc.,

Newton Hall, Felton, B. F. WIDDRINGTON.
Morpeth, Northumberland.

[The sentence referred to is: "I think myself that before you get disarmament, you will have to agree on a limitation of armaments." The Prime Minister's meaning seems fairly clear. He evidently means that disarmament must come by degrees, first limitation, then successive stages of reduction.—ED. HEADWAY.]

GENEVA, 1927

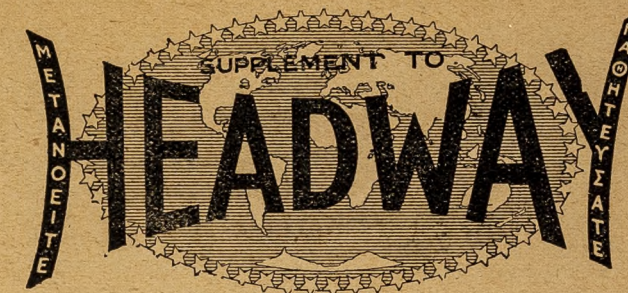
SIR,—You are an unnatural parent to vilify your own fine offspring, "Geneva, 1927."

There is no League of Nations Union publication to which I look forward with more pleasure, none which is of more profit to me. To you who have been at Geneva it may seem superfluous; to us unfortunates neither there nor in London it is essential for piecing together our fragments of newspaper news into a coherent whole, for giving an "atmosphere," for confirming or correcting our dim impressions, as a sure basis for our League teaching.

I would buy and distribute 100 copies—but it costs (it is bound to cost) 9d.—Yours, etc.,

Combe Down, Bath. MARY M. ADAMSON.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NEWS



DECEMBER, 1927

A CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

"PEACE ON EARTH" was the first Christmas message. For nearly two thousand years it has been a dream and an ideal. Now at last it has become practical politics. Finally to abolish war as a recognised instrument of policy between civilised nations is no longer an impossible task. It can be done by our generation. Our failure would almost certainly mean the end of European civilisation. Our success will mark another stage in the progress of mankind from its bestial and barbarous origins to the Kingdom of God on earth.

No one who has studied the history of the last eight years can fail to recognise that the machinery of the League of Nations for preventing war is workable or that, in certain instances, it has worked with complete success. Meanwhile the League has been promoting international co-operation to remove other terrible evils—only less bad than war itself—from which the modern world is suffering. Moreover, the League is by now well established, and its stability and its authority are increasing year by year.

But there is another side to the picture. The reign of law—"based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind," as President Wilson said—is still to seek, so long as the League's first task remains unfulfilled. That task is to bring about a limitation and reduction of national armaments by international agreement. There is little progress to record as yet. A start has indeed been made. The number of men actually under arms in Europe is more than one million less than in 1913, and Europe's expenditure on armaments is about the same in gold value, and, therefore, not so large in fact, as it was before the war. But among the Great Powers of Europe (except Germany, whose armaments have been compulsorily reduced), the burden of expenditure remains intolerable. The promises given to Germany as a consideration for her signing the Treaty remain unfulfilled. And the size of competitive armaments remains a menace to the peace of the world.

Governments are not solely or chiefly to blame. The fault lies rather in the unpreparedness of public opinion. True, public opinion is no more than pictures in men's minds; and yet it is among the most real and obstinate facts with which statesmen have to deal.

Take, for example, the typical citizen of this country. The British Government, and all the other Governments represented at the League's Assembly last September, agreed that the principal condition of success in limiting and reducing armaments by international agreement is "that every State should be sure of not having to provide unaided for its security by means of its own armaments, and should be able to rely also on the organised collective action of the League of Nations." In particular, if John Bull is going to reduce his armaments further, he must rely on this "organised collective

action" for the security he ceases "to provide unaided." But that is the last thing he would think of doing. *Distrust breeds distrust*; so the French, whose first-line aeroplanes outnumber the British by nearly two to one, are disinclined to reduce their Air Force and to rely instead upon the League's "organised collective action" for part of their security. And John Bull does not worry. So long as the total tonnage of his battle-ships outnumbers the French by more than two to one, he has no objection to the proportion being reversed in the number of aeroplanes. John Bull pictures the world as it was in his grandfather's time. He believes, with Nelson's contemporaries, that British security depends on British naval supremacy. Indeed, his mental pictures of security are real antiques, genuine old masters. Thus he pictures enemy cruisers destroying his essential supplies—foodstuffs and raw materials—in the West Indies or the Persian Gulf during the early weeks or months of fighting; but he fails to imagine enemy aeroplanes destroying the heart of the Empire within a few hours of the outbreak of war.

The pictures in John Bull's mind are British public opinion. But Governments can't do right if their peoples' thoughts are wrong. If the British Government is to join with others in an all-round limitation and reduction of armaments, we of the League of Nations Union must put British public opinion right. We must help John Bull to realise the need for international disarmament. We must encourage him to rely increasingly on the organised collective action of the League. But this "organised collective action" should chiefly consist in forestalling any resort to war. So John Bull should help to make the peaceful settlement of all international disputes into the actual rule of conduct among Governments: he can't very well insist on preserving the right to make war on nations who join him in reducing armaments for the common safety.

Meanwhile, too many Englishmen, and too many Churchmen, think of the League and of the World Court as "a lot of foreign devils: you can't trust 'em a yard." His Majesty's Government wants more certain support from British public opinion—such as would be shown by a large increase in the membership of the League of Nations Union—if they are to take the risk of trusting the foreigner sufficiently (1) to join with other Governments in further reducing armaments, and (2) to promise to submit disputes involving vital British interests to decision or arbitration by foreigners.

Christian people ought surely to lead in this matter. The Archbishop of Canterbury will preside over a meeting in the Albert Hall on February 27, to pledge the active help of the whole Christian Church. That help is imperative and indispensable. If it is forthcoming it will guide our feet into the way of peace; and we shall live to see the Christmas dream come true, when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

MR. SMITH AT No. 15

MR. SMITH is an humble member of the League of Nations Union. For some years he has paid his subscription to a persistent branch secretary. HEADWAY came to him with almost annoying regularity. He rarely took it out of its wrapper. The only information it conveyed to him was that a new month had begun.

Mr. Smith was on a visit to London. He found himself at a loose end one afternoon. A sudden whim! He would visit the League of Nations Union Headquarters. (The flag that flies outside it is one of the sights of London.)

He called. He went into the literature room, was surprised at the variety of leaflets, posters, pamphlets and books displayed. He then went into the well-equipped library. Mr. Smith felt his interest grow. He would like to visit every department of the Union. His time, however, was limited. But there was one matter he would look into before he left. "What was the Union doing about the schools? Are the young minds still being nurtured in the old narrow ideas and in the outworn creed of 'My country, right or wrong'?" To Mr. Smith this matter seemed of vital moment.

Within a few moments Mr. Smith was talking to the Secretary of the Union's Education Committee. It so happened that the monthly meeting of the Committee was about to assemble. Mr. Smith was invited to come into the boardroom and listen. Seated round the table were the representatives of the leading teachers' associations and adult education organisations. Dr. Kimmins presided. Mr. Smith was impressed to find the matter of League teaching in the schools was receiving the care and attention of so important a committee. He was elated at the report he heard. During the month of October there were nine teachers' conferences. Union speakers had given talks on the League in 48 schools and colleges.

More than 60,000 copies of the Teachers' Declaration had been distributed. On that very day the Devonshire Education Committee had ordered 1,300 copies, following a decision of that Committee to supply each teacher with a copy. Nearly 150 other education authorities had purchased copies of the "Declaration." He heard that West Hartlepool Education Committee made arrangements for 3,000 children to see an exhibition of the "World War and After," an educational film which, he was astonished to hear, had already been seen by half a million children.

He next heard an interesting discussion on the enrolment of children as junior members of the League of Nations Union. Already there were 500 Junior Branches of the League of Nations Union in all types of schools and educational institutions. The new scheme which the Committee adopted would extend the enrolment of children.

He followed with great interest discussions on the co-operation of the Union with a proposed biennial conference of the World Federation of Educational Associations which is to be held in Europe in 1929, and the co-operation with the School Journey Association, which during last summer was responsible for the visits abroad of more than a thousand pupils.

"A very valuable and useful committee," thought Mr. Smith. He was much encouraged at what was being done to give the younger generation a truer insight into the relations between nations. Mr. Smith took away with him a selection of the many pamphlets and documents which the League of Nations Union has prepared for teachers. He would while away a few hours of his long train journey in reading them.—S. S.

AT HEADQUARTERS

IT will be generally agreed that the publicity given to Union activities in the past month has been greater than ever before. Several leading newspapers, however, have hinted broadly that the Union is, or is in danger of becoming a "party" organisation. It is well to state here and now that the work and character of the Union is and always has been of a strictly non-party nature. Let no misunderstandings exist; the Union's object is to create, mobilise, and make effective public opinion in active support for the principles of the League of Nations. Every political party has, at different times, declared its unswerving support for these principles, and, therefore, to describe the activities of the Union as being party or anti-Government is both unfair and untrue.

The international disarmament activities of the Union proceed apace; witness the hundreds of meetings held recently all over the country and the consequent publicity. Over 1,500 meetings have already been arranged for Headquarters' Speakers for the winter season, of which 260 were in Armistice Week alone. The word "disarmament" is, perhaps, an unfortunate one and at first glance might appear to mean a reduction of armaments by this country alone. We mean nothing of the sort. What we are working for, and are urging everyone to work for individually, is an all-round limitation of armaments by international agreement.

Our Armistice Week meetings were most successful, notably that at the Central Hall, Westminster, addressed by Professor Gilbert Murray and Sir John Simon, with the Bishop of London in the chair. Lord Grey spoke at Plymouth, Lord Cecil at Liverpool, Lord Parmoor and Mr. Duff Cooper at Manchester, Sir Samuel Hoare at Southend-on-Sea, and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher at Birmingham, not to mention the many other gatherings all over the country. The Prince of Wales, speaking in the Albert Hall, said: "If we are to save ourselves, and those who come after us, from a renewal in an even more frightful form of all that we suffered in the Great War, we must, in our every action, in our every day conversation, even in our very thoughts, seek peace and ensue it." Such an utterance needs no comment, but it needs action, and the Union is trying to carry out that action.

The December meeting of the General Council, which will consider the Budget for 1928, is to take place at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W.1, on December 16, immediately following the three days' Conference on the Work of the World Economic Conference, which commences in the Council Chamber, Guildhall, on December 13.

The Executive Committee recently decided to enlarge and remodel the Union's Economic Sub-committee, the functions of which will be to watch the progress of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference, and to see how these recommendations can best be carried out. It is hoped that the new committee will do some interesting and useful work.

Since it is the month of December, Headquarters takes this opportunity to extend to all members of the Union the greetings of the season and the best wishes for the success of their Union activities in the coming year.

Meetings in Scotland

Sir Arthur Haworth recently visited Glasgow and the West of Scotland District and addressed meetings at Pollokshields and Wishaw. Colonel David Carnegie has also been in this district recently and spoke at the inauguration of three branches of the Union—Girvan, Larkhall and Carnwath. Colonel Carnegie's meetings were marked by widespread interest.

A Noteworthy Occasion

Following last year's example set by the town of Accrington, the Tottenham Municipal Authorities convened a League of Nations Union meeting on Armistice night. This meeting, which was billed as "A Great Town's Peace Demonstration," was entirely arranged and organised by the Municipal Authorities. The Chairman of the District Council took the chair, and the principal speaker was Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett, Secretary of the Union. The action of the Municipal Council itself calling a League of Nations Union meeting to celebrate Armistice Day is one which, it is to be hoped, will be widely followed.

At Southend-on-Sea

On Armistice eve, Cliff Town Congregational Church, Southend-on-Sea, was packed to the doors (crowds having been turned away), when Sir Samuel Hoare, M.P., Air Minister, spoke at a Union meeting. The Bishop of Chelmsford presided, and on the platform were Lady Iveagh (Conservative candidate), the Hon. Dougall Meston (Liberal candidate), and Mr. J. Erskine Harper, (Labour candidate). Each of these by-election candidates took part in votes of thanks to the chairman and speaker, and declared their faith in the League of Nations. A truce had been arranged for the evening, and no political meetings were held. About 1,400 people were present, and 250 new members were enrolled. The collection taken was £33 11s. 6d.

Indoors and Out

The Fellowship Branch is arranging open-air meetings in the neighbourhood of the Guild House, Eccleston Square, every evening between November 21 and December 6. In addition three big meetings are being held at the Guild House on December 7, 8 and 9 at 8 p.m. These meetings will be addressed by Mr. Gervais Rentoul, Professor Ramsay Muir and Miss Margaret Bondfield.

West Clanden

The West Clanden Branch have been fortunate in securing as their President, the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Onslow. A feature has been made this winter of reading and study circles.

Conference of Educational Associations

The League of Nations Union takes part every year in the Conference of Educational Associations. The Union's session is on Monday, January 2, at 11.30 a.m., when Professor P. M. Roxby will speak on "Geography and the League of Nations." The Union is affiliated to the Conference and this entitles members of the Union to attend any of the other sessions of the Conference except those marked "Private."

Lord Cecil's Appeal

Branches who have paid their quotas to the Council's Vote, and who are in a position to do so, are urged to send a contribution to the special fund which is being arranged to defray the cost of the Union's Campaign for International Disarmament.

Well Done Derbyshire

Hearty congratulations are due to the Derbyshire Committee on the outstanding success of their Armistice Bazaar. We understand that the gross takings amounted to nearly £4,000.

Enter Portia

The enterprising Secretary of the Carshalton Branch is organising a "Mock Trial of the League." There is to be a full court scene, with Mr. Justice P. O'Pinion presiding. Two qualified lawyers are being briefed, and the dock will be occupied by a small child. This seems to be a novel and excellent idea.

P.T.O.-L.S.D.

In the last issue of this supplement mention was made of the fact that the Sheringham Branch was

conducting a house-to-house canvass by means of which its membership had already been increased to about one in eight of the total population. And, what is more, every one of its members is a paying member. The Sheringham Branch has been kind enough to inform us that they would be willing to send a competent lecturer (travelling expenses to be paid) to explain to any branch in the east of England the technique, the difficulties and the rewards of a house-to-house canvass.

A Model I.L.O. Conference

A model conference was recently held by the Colchester Branch. The subject of discussion was the Washington Hours Convention, and an illuminating insight into the working of the I.L.O. was given in the course of the discussion. Alderman A. Owen Ward, President of the Colchester Branch, explained that this was the inauguration of the winter's work of the branch, which has, incidentally, arranged an excellent programme.

DIARIES AND CHRISTMAS CARDS

Your attention is called to the Union's annual Pocket Diary for 1928, which is now nearly ready. Besides containing the usual information common to all diaries, it contains 24 pages of League of Nations facts and figures. The diaries are bound in leather and measure 4 in. by 2½ in. The price of single copies is 1s. 6d. each net, but a discount of 20 per cent. will be allowed on orders for not less than six.

The Union also produces a Christmas Card. This year it will consist of a stiff outer cover (measuring about 3½ in. by 4½ in.) with the Union's badge embossed thereon in blue and silver, and an inset containing the words "Best wishes for Christmas and the coming Year," the whole being bound together with dark blue and white silk ribbon. The price of the cards will be 3d. each (2s. 6d. per doz.). Both cards and diaries will be ready early this month. All orders should be sent in as soon as possible.

Good Work in India

Union members of the Hull District will doubtless remember Mr. G. D. Watkins who, until he left for India in 1925, was Secretary for that district. They will be interested to hear that he is continuing his League work in Madras, where he is a professor in Madras Christian College. The University of Madras has appointed him to deliver six University Lectures in 1928, taking the League of Nations as his subject. Such an appointment speaks well of the growing interest which is being shown in League matters in South India.

Music Hath Charms

There have been brought to our notice recently several interesting songs and anthems about the League of Nations. Mr. G. B. Liddy has written a League of Nations anthem and other songs, Mr. Charles W. Godson has also written an anthem concerning the League, "In Jewry is God Known," and Mr. H. F. Garnett has composed a League of Nations song, "Build up the City Wall."

A Peace Calendar

The London Regional Federation are again producing a calendar. For this a picture, "The Sunrise of Peace" has been specially painted by Miss Dorothy Hawksley, who exhibited two water-colours in this year's Academy. The monthly tear-off calendar pad has one or more quotations for each month, bearing on war, peace and international brotherhood. These quotations have been carefully selected from a large number sent in as entries to a competition run by the L.R.F. The result is a really artistic production. It will make a most suitable present, as it bears the Federation's name and address only in small type at the foot. The calendars are being sold at 1s. each, postage 1d., or 10s. 6d. per dozen, postage 9d. Orders should be sent to the London Regional Organiser, L.N.U., 43, Russell Square, W.C.1.

An Important Conference

Applications for tickets to attend the Union's Conference at the Guildhall, London, to discuss the resolutions and recommendations of the recent International Economic Conference are coming in thick and fast. It is apparent that the Conference is interesting the business sections of the country. Many civic heads have notified their intention of being present and also of getting their particular city or borough council to nominate delegates if possible. The dates are December 13, 14 and 15—the three days preceding the next meeting of the General Council. Those wishing to attend this Conference, at which many noted speakers will be heard, are recommended to apply to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, for tickets as soon as possible.

The Council's Vote

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

Bampton, Banbury, Burford, Basingstoke, Bromley, Bransgore, Bicester, Bucklebury, Christchurch, Calverley, Clifton, Chapel St. Leonard, Chard, Cawthras, Camberley, Caterham, Crawley Down, Doncaster Highfield Road, Exmouth, Frinton, Filey, Great Bardfield, Great Baddow, Hadleigh, Hitchin, Hindhead, Haworth, Hanham, Ingatestone, Ilkley, Le'ant, Leeds, P.M. Ch. B. 489, Margate, Newport Isle of Wight, Needham Market, Newton Abbot, Otley Wesleyan Church, Old Hutton, Rockcliffe, Roughton, St. Albans, St. Agnes, Silverdale Lancs, Selby Sedgley, Uffculme, Wimborne, Watford, and Windermere.

NOTES FROM WALES

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Advisory Education Committee of the Welsh National Council, through the kindness of the Misses Davies, was held at Gregynog Hall, Montgomeryshire, during the week-end October 28-31. Major W. P. Wheldon, D.S.O., M.A., presided. The activities of the year were reviewed, and plans for the next year were made with a view to following up the work of the Board of Education Conference with Local Education Authorities on June 8 last. The League of Nations Union film, "The World War and After," was exhibited at one of the sessions.

On Saturday, November 5, at 2.30 in the afternoon, and for the sixth year in succession, a Welsh wreath, in memory of the Sons of Wales who fell in the War, was laid on the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey by Mr. John Hinds, Lord-Lieutenant of Carmarthenshire, and Honorary Treasurer of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union. The ceremony, which was witnessed by a large gathering, was short, but very impressive. The London Federation of Welsh Branches of the Union co-operated in the arrangements, and the assembly included a good number of London Welsh friends. At 11 a.m. on Armistice Day a similar wreath was laid by Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, Vice-President of the Welsh National Council, at the North Wales War Memorial at Bangor.

During November, and especially during Armistice Week, a large number of public meetings were held in Wales and Monmouthshire. Amongst the largest were those addressed by the Right Hon. J. R. Clynes and the Rev. Dr. Hutton, at Barry, during Armistice Week, and the mass meeting at Monmouth, addressed by Miss Picton Turbervill, on November 21.

The Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council met at Shrewsbury, on Wednesday, November 16, Mr. David Davies, M.P., presiding. It was decided to hold the 1928 Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday in Whit-week, at Swansea.

The Welsh National Council will issue this year again at Christmas a special appeal for financial support to all the churches in Wales and Monmouthshire.

OVERSEAS NOTES**India**

The first public meeting of the Simla Branch of the League of Nations Society in India was held at the

Gaiety Theatre, Simla, on August 27. Through the efforts of Mr. C. L. Sury, the energetic secretary of the Lahore Branch, the meeting was an outstanding success. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief presided, and the speakers included Sir Abdul Qadir, the Revenue Minister of the Punjab Government, and Mr. Joshi, Labour Representative in the Legislative Assembly. The Indian Press were unanimous in describing the meeting as most successful.

Jamaica

A Central League of Nations Union Committee has been organised in Jamaica.

Tasmania

A unique public meeting was held, under the auspices of the Hobart Branch, in the Town Hall, Hobart, on September 26. The Governor (Sir James O'Grady) presided, and representatives of all sections of the community were on the platform. The meeting was called to elicit support from the Hobart public for the work of the League of Nations Union. The Hall was completely filled, and the meeting in every way was an outstanding success.

The Governor read the following message, telegraphed by the Prime Minister of Australia, the Rt. Hon. S. M. Bruce, from Canberra, to the meeting:—

"The League of Nations represents the best medium available for the promotion of the ideals of peace in the world to-day. Every branch of the League of Nations Union can assist in this great work by making the objects and achievements of the League more widely known and better understood. I wish the Hobart Branch every success in its efforts."

Speeches were made by the Governor, the Premier (the Hon. J. A. Lyons), and by Messrs. J. C. McPhee, M.H.A., A. W. Courtney-Pratt, W. T. Corby, and C. E. Cully, M.H.A., and the following resolution condemning war was unanimously carried:—

"That this public meeting of the citizens of Hobart, presided over by His Excellency the Governor, and addressed by the Premier, the Leader of the Opposition, the President of the Trades Hall Council, and a representative of the Chamber of Commerce, realising that war is a barbarous and ruinous method of deciding international disputes, and considering that the most effective way of perfecting the League of Nations, and of rendering it an unquestioned instrumentality of World Peace, and a league of peoples, is to organise public opinion in support of these objects, through membership of the League of Nations Union everywhere, and further believing that Tasmania could set an important and inspiring example in this respect, therefore urges all Tasmanian citizens of goodwill to join the League of Nations Union of Tasmania at once, and to co-operate in every way possible in the organisation of representative sub-branches in every district of Tasmania."

L.N.U. MEMBERS

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

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,478
Jan. 1, 1926	...	...	...	...	512,310
Jan. 1, 1927	...	...	...	...	587,224
Nov. 21, 1927	...	...	...	...	645,148

On November 21 there were 2,538 Branches, 499 Junior Branches, 129 Districts, 2,405 Corporate Members and 376 Corporate Associates.

**LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
SUBSCRIPTION RATES****TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP (per annum).**

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

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

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

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