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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE Economic Conference at Geneva ended in the last week of May after sessions which, in the opinion of everyone concerned, appear to have been abundantly worth while. Never, probably, has the League made so deep an impression on the business world as during the weeks which lay between May 4 and May 23. The test of the value of the Conference will, of course, be the extent to which its deliberations and conclusions can be seen to exercise a direct influence on the policy of Governments. For that we must wait a little. In the meantime, it is satisfactory to observe that the principal resolutions adopted were of a distinctly more definite and positive tenor than might have been feared. The danger is always great that at Conferences where widely divergent points of view are known to be represented the result should be some mere window-dressing compromise that, in reality, satisfies no one and has no effect worth talking about. In this case, to take a single, but notable, example, the resolution on tariffs went much further than pessimists anticipated, and very nearly as far as the most sanguine optimists hoped. When experts from European countries, the vast majority of which entrench themselves behind high protective systems, agree unanimously to a resolution declaring that "the time has come to put an end to increases in tariffs and to move in the opposite direction," it is clear that something like a landmark in international commercial relations is

created. The Soviet delegation at Geneva was, of course, an object of intense interest and only at times of some embarrassment. M. Ossinsky and his colleagues did their best to secure recognition for their own particular economic system on the same level with that approved by the rest of the world, but had to be content with a resolution expressing satisfaction when delegates of countries with various forms of economic systems had met successfully in conference. Time and dates preclude us from publishing a full survey of the discussions in this issue, but the article on its earlier phases by M. William Martin on a later page embodies anticipations fully borne out by the ultimate results of the Conference.

Fewer League Councils?

IT is understood that the League Council, at its meeting this month, is to discuss a proposal made at a private meeting last March by Sir Austen Chamberlain, to the effect that, in future, meetings of the Council should be held only once every four months, instead of once every three months, as hitherto. This means, in effect, only three ordinary meetings of the Council during the year instead of four, and only two meetings instead of three apart from the session which continues at intervals during the Assembly in September. Such a proposal would, obviously, deal no fatal blow at the League's prestige. It is, indeed, intelligible that hard-worked

Foreign Ministers should feel they sufficiently discharge their duty to the League by going to Geneva once every four months instead of once every three. At the same time, the step would be widely interpreted as retrograde, and it would have the unfortunate effect of holding up for at least a month longer than need be the work of all the important consultative committees which really do the spade work for the League, but whose recommendations have to be endorsed by the Council. It is to be hoped that Sir Austen will refrain from pressing his suggestion, and that if he does press it, the majority of his colleagues will resist it.

League Air-Police

PROFESSOR WILLIAM McDUGALL, one of the leading psychologists of the world, well-known at Cambridge, Oxford and Harvard, has just published an interesting little book entitled "Janus, or the Conquest of War."* How war is to be conquered may be indicated by a single quotation:

"The world has already created the international judge in the shape of the International Court of Justice. It still requires to create an effective police-force for the support of that judge, for the enforcement of the rulings of the International Court of Justice. And the recent development of aeronautics provides the possibility of such a police-force."

Not too much stress need be laid on this suggestion as a practical proposition, though it is worth pointing out that in a report to be presented to the League Council this month on possible measures to be taken by the League in the face of a threat of war is included the observation that "it is possible that air demonstrations might, within reasonable limits, be employed." If Professor McDougall's suggestion appears at the moment premature, it must, none the less, be regarded as one which may quite probably be adopted in one form or another by the League in due course as its practical machinery is developed. And it is fair to Dr. McDougall to add that he makes an excellent case on paper for his suggestion.

Colony or Mandate?

IN a letter in *The Times* of May 19, Lord Olivier, whose book, "The Anatomy of African Misery," was reviewed in the April HEADWAY, enters a necessary warning against the tendency to consider Tanganyika as a country which can be assimilated in practically all respects to the ordinary British colonies adjoining it. Tanganyika, as Lord Olivier points out, is a mandate area, and under the terms of the mandate there must be absolute equality of treatment, both as regards residence and as regards trade, for the nationals of all countries belonging to the League (and, incidentally, by a special treaty, for Americans also). There can, therefore, be no complaint if German, Dutch and other colonists are entering the territory in considerable numbers. It may be perfectly legitimate to develop Kenya, for example, as a specifically British colony; but Tanganyika must, by the terms under which it was taken from the Germans and given to this country to administer, be developed as a country for all comers.

* Kegan, Paul, 2s. 6d.

A Founder of the Union

THE League of Nations Union, in common with many other public organisations, has sustained a grievous loss in the death of Lord Cowdray, which took place on May 1. Lord Cowdray was one of the earliest supporters of the League of Nations Union and one of the most generous. The gift of £50,000 he made to enable the Union to get on its feet in its early days may justly be regarded as the basis of a great part of the success it has subsequently achieved. The work of the Union is not based on money alone, or even on money primarily. It owes most of all to the sympathy and the active efforts of hundreds of thousands of members the country over, but without money those hundreds of thousands could never have been organised; and Lord Cowdray made the organisation possible just at a moment when it was most needed. A resolution of deep sympathy with Lady Cowdray was adopted by the Executive on May 5.

To Geneva by Air

A MILD sensation was caused during the recent meeting of the International Commission on Air Navigation in London by a flamboyant announcement in a morning paper regarding the imminent creation of a League of Nations Air Force. The basis for this quite exaggerated statement was the fact that the Commission had had before it a communication from the League regarding steps to be taken in an emergency to enable members of the Council to reach Geneva in the shortest possible time for a Council Meeting suddenly convened at short notice. This matter, it will be remembered, came up as a result of the conviction impressed on the Council by the Greco-Bulgarian crisis of October, 1925, that every provision must be made for the calling of emergency meetings of the Council, if necessary within twenty-four hours, and attention was naturally given to air transport as one of the most effective means of securing this. What the International Commission decided was that when a Council Member was travelling by aeroplane to Geneva his machine should be given the distinctive sign of a broad black line drawn through the national mark on the machine, so as to ensure it the fullest facilities in every country over which it might pass. The affair is interesting as an evidence of the thought that is being devoted to perfecting the practical machinery of the League.

Smaller Cruisers

A REPLY given by the First Lord of the Admiralty to Sir John Power, in the House of Commons on May 19, regarding the respective cost of 10,000-ton and 6,000-ton cruisers is of obvious importance, in view of the proposals which are likely to come before the Three-Power Naval Conference at Geneva this month. The larger vessel, which is of the size authorised by the Washington Conference agreements of 1922, costs £2,140,000 to build and £215,000 to maintain, whereas the 6,000-ton ship (with 6-in. guns, as against 8-in.) costs £1,150,000 in the first instance, with annual maintenance of £150,000. There is, that is to say, a clear saving of virtually £1,000,000 on the prime cost of each vessel and of £65,000 annually in maintenance. On grounds of economy

alone, the change is manifestly worth making, and the mere fact that ships are tending to get smaller instead of larger would have a certain moral value in addition.

Mobilising the World

JUST as this number of HEADWAY appears, the Eleventh Annual Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Unions will be in congress in Berlin. That being so, it is obviously impossible to give any record of its activities here. It is, however, worth while emphasising the actual importance, and the much greater potential importance, of this international gathering of the societies in each country which are endeavouring to mobilise public opinion behind the League of Nations. The ideal is and has always been to have in each country a national society stimulating its Government to support the League loyally and constantly, and to have, in addition, an international body applying the same influence and pressure to the League itself. We have gone much further along the first road in Great Britain than the world as a whole has done in relation to Geneva, but there can be no question of the desirability and necessity of strengthening so far as possible the international body whose congress is at the moment in progress.

Marriage at Seven

ONE or two very interesting reports were brought before the League of Nations Women and Children Committee at its recent meeting. One consisted of a study of the age of marriage and consent in different countries, and included at least one rather startling sentence to the effect that "the highest figure where the marriage age is the same for both sexes is, therefore, 16 in China and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the lowest age is 7 in Poland (territory formerly Prussian)." Another report on the effect of the cinematograph on the young included the following exhaustive list of subjects banned in the Canadian province of Alberta: "White Slaves, seduction, malpractices, gruesome or distressing scenes, hanging, lynching, electrocution, insanity, delirium, gross drunkenness, exhibition of notorious characters, drug habit, counterfeiting, brutal treatment of persons or animals, coarse vulgarities." In addition, and arising out of the recent White Slave Traffic Report, the Committee is undertaking an inquiry into the regulations in existence in different countries for the protection of women going abroad to take up engagements, particularly in theatrical or concert companies. On the whole, the work of the Committee seems tending towards the compilation of useful information of this kind rather than towards the negotiations of Conventions.

Disarmament

FROM time to time it is pointed out by critics, both friendly and hostile, of the League of Nations movement that the word "Disarmament" is extremely misleading in that it conveys the idea of the abolition of armaments, when all that is meant is their limitation and, if possible, reduction. That is perfectly true. The word "Disarmament," nevertheless, will inevitably hold its own. You cannot in an article on the subject refer in every

other line to "the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments." That means "speaking a mouthful," as they say on the other side, far too often for the comfort either of writer or reader. So far as HEADWAY is concerned, it is perhaps desirable to make it clear here and now, and once for all, that when "Disarmament" is used in these pages, it is to be understood as meaning reduction and limitation, not abolition. That, in fact, is the way in which nine people out of ten do understand it, but for the benefit of the tenth, it is best to dispel any shadow of doubt.

Italy and Geneva

A GOOD deal of natural concern has been caused at Geneva, as elsewhere, by the projected Italian law which lays it down that no Italian citizen must accept a position on an international organisation, or sit as an Italian at an international conference, without previously obtaining the consent of the Italian Government, and that that consent may at any moment be withdrawn without reason given or right of appeal. Anyone serving or continuing to serve contrary to the approval of the Government is liable to penalties which may be as severe as loss of citizenship and confiscation of property. Manifestly, this is a very serious matter for the League of Nations. The Secretary-General's freedom of appointment will remain unfettered, except in cases where he desires to appoint an Italian of whom Signor Mussolini may not approve. But since the official approval may at any moment be withdrawn, it must inevitably be the case that any Italian on the Secretariat will feel that he must discharge his duties with an eye first to Rome, and only second to Geneva. That is the absolute antithesis of the League spirit.

Ratifying at Last

THERE at last seems a reasonable prospect that the British Government will ratify the Washington Hours Convention in the comparatively early future. Lord Cecil is understood to be chairman of a Cabinet Committee which has been considering the subject, and it would appear that the Cabinet has taken its decision, for the Minister of Labour was able to indicate to a meeting of Conservative members on May 18, and again in reply to a question in the House on the following day, that practically all the objections to ratification had been removed. It is to be assumed that every endeavour will still be made to secure simultaneous ratification by the other more important industrial countries, namely, France and Germany. That, of course, is only as it should be.

Money Values

A REPLY given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons on May 17 is of interest in a sense not immediately apparent. Sir Robert Hutchison asked what was the cost of the administration of the National Debt, which means simply the distribution of dividends, the registration of transfers from one holder to another and so forth. The figure for 1926-7 was £928,497. The cost of the League of Nations for 1926 was just £920,000.

IS DISARMAMENT NEARER ?

LORD CECIL'S ESTIMATE OF PROGRESS AT GENEVA

Lord Cecil, as a member of the Cabinet, is precluded from writing articles for the Press, and could not, therefore, contribute in the ordinary way to the pages of HEADWAY. The following clear account by him of the general results of the recent meetings of the Preparatory Commission at Geneva is based on a report, revised by Lord Cecil himself, of a statement he made on the subject to the League of Nations Parliamentary Committee shortly after his return.

DISCUSSION of the Disarmament question at Geneva has been marked by three definite phases. The first is associated with the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which approached the question primarily from the standpoint of security. The second is the Geneva Protocol, which laid stress mainly on Arbitration in conjunction with



Lord Cecil

Security. Both these efforts, of the years 1923 and 1924 respectively, failed to secure general approval, and in 1925 the French Government carried in the Sixth Assembly a resolution involving a direct and frontal approach to the whole question. As a result of that, the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference was appointed. After certain general discussions it referred a number of questions to technical committees, and when it met in March this year it had before it the conclusions reached by the experts on these various points. There was general agreement among the twenty or more members of the Commission that it was too early to produce an elaborate scheme complete with precise figures of the ships, men, etc., to be maintained by each nation. What was considered possible was to lay down specific proposals on which the process of the reduction and limitation of armaments could be based.

Two Draft Conventions

In order to give practicality to the discussions the British Government, at the outset, laid before the Commission a draft Convention on Disarmament, defining principles, and leaving the actual figures to be filled in at a subsequent Disarmament Conference. A few days later the French Government presented a similar and rather fuller convention. The two drafts were collated, and taken together as basis for discussion, the ultimate result being the adoption, on what was carefully described as "a first reading," of a lengthy and somewhat complicated document covering the whole field of land, sea and air armament. While it contained many reservations and embodied in some cases alternative texts on which agreement had still to be reached after further consideration by Governments, it represented a large measure of agreement, and it must be regarded as a distinct advance that there is now in existence a document, with considerable international authority behind it, on which after further discussion a definite disarmament treaty can be based.

The subject was dealt with under five main headings, land, sea, air, budget expenditure and international control. With regard to land forces there was general agreement that the main method must be limitation of the number of effectives and of the proportion of officers and non-commissioned officers to men. There was animated discussion on the question of whether trained reserves in conscription countries should be limited, but, though the British representatives pressed

for this, they failed to get their views accepted. The conscription countries, however, agreed that there should be limitation of the period of service.

Naval Dissensions

In regard to the sea, everyone reached the obvious conclusion that there must be limitation by ships, but a difference arose between countries like Great Britain, which said that not only must the total tonnage of fleets be restricted, but that also within the different categories of ships (battleships, cruisers, destroyers, etc.), there must be limitation of the number of ships, of the size of the individual ship and of the calibre of guns, and other nations, notably France and Italy, which at first would accept nothing but limitation of total tonnage. The French subsequently proposed that in future building programmes, each country should define its intention by categories, with, however, the right to vary the distribution of tonnage between these categories subsequently on giving a year's notice to the League. On this point no final agreement has yet been reached.

In regard to air, practical unanimity has been arrived at. The British proposed limitation by the number of aircraft, and the French, limitation by total horsepower. In the end, a double limitation, combining both principles, was agreed on, as was also the limitation of air and naval effectives as well as land effectives. In regard to the apparently insoluble problem of the utilisation of civil aircraft for military purposes, little progress can be reported.

A Check on Expense

In the matter of Budget limitation, the French, emphasising the difficulty of limiting weapons, such as guns, tanks, etc., owing to the possibility of evasion, proposed an indirect limitation through a restriction of expenditure on the military, naval and air arms. General agreement to this principle was recorded in the Commission's conclusions, but it was considered premature to decide on so definite a limitation immediately. The Commission finally adopted, with some reservations, the British proposals that each nation should present year by year to the League in an agreed form, a statement of its estimated and actual military, naval and air expenditure. This will provide a rough indication of any sudden expansion, and on it could be based any protest or remonstrance which another nation might see fit to make.

There remains the difficult and controversial question of international supervision of the execution of the treaty. Great Britain, together with the United States and several other nations, contended that reliance must be placed on the good faith of the signatories. Without it no supervision would be effective, and with it no supervision would be necessary. Many continental States, however, pressed for the creation of specific and rather elaborate machinery for supervision or control. The British took the view that the ordinary procedure of the Covenant, whereby questions calculated to disturb the good understanding between nations could be brought before the Council of the League, was sufficient to cover any threat or suspicion of the expansion of armaments. They, therefore, advocated this procedure. Here again, however, no final conclusion was reached.

Altogether it is my firm conviction that sufficient progress has been made to enable the relatively few questions outstanding to be satisfactorily settled when the Commission meets again in the autumn.

National Views

At the same time it is necessary to recognise quite frankly that considerable differences exist in the attitude of the different nations towards the whole Disarmament question. It is sometimes assumed, for instance, that peace and economy in the matter of armaments lie along the same road. I am not entirely convinced that that is true in all cases. The reduction of navies, for example, while it would result in important economies, would not necessarily make for the peace of the world. I do not myself believe that with the British Navy eliminated, the peace of the Continent would be safer than it is. Then there are the individual points of view of different nations. Germany, to take one case, is arguing with a good deal of force, that, in view of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, either the other States must disarm, or she herself must be allowed to re-arm, and it is conceivable that extremists in Germany might actually welcome the failure of the Geneva Discussions, since it would leave them with a strong argument for increasing the German forces. The Italians, as their representative at Geneva has publicly stated, are prepared for any amount of reduction, so long as they are left with forces as large as those of any other Continental power. The French insist always on the need for security, and, for that

reason, regard any serious reduction of their land forces with anxiety. The Poles, lying between Germany and Russia, are in a situation whose difficulty everyone recognises.

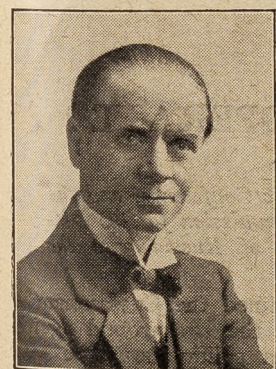
Will Britain Lead ?

Under conditions such as these, the attitude and policy of Great Britain may be ultimately of decisive importance. There is, of course, a general opinion in this country in favour of disarmament, meaning by that the reduction and limitation of armaments, but how much is the country in favour of Disarmament? What is Great Britain prepared to do to secure it? What kind of lead can we afford to give? What prejudices are we prepared to sacrifice? What form, if any, of international supervision would we consent to accept? Are we prepared to undertake international obligations which would enable States to reduce their national armaments without anxiety? Are we prepared to refrain from pressing points that would make agreement difficult? No one who has been to Geneva can fail to realise how perpetually the rest of the world is looking to Great Britain. Everyone, when a proposal like Disarmament comes up, wants to know first of all whether this country is really in earnest about it. If the other nations think we are passionately in earnest about this matter, then the scheme will be carried through to success, but that success will depend upon our warmth and enthusiasm more than on any other single factor.

DO WE MEAN BUSINESS ? IF WE TOOK THE LEAGUE SERIOUSLY

By NORMAN ANGELL

IT makes unpleasant reading, this new French law for the Organisation of the Nation in Time of War. Is this the new era of Locarno and the League? And when on top of that comes news of the not very encouraging progress made in the preparatory disarmament conferences, the impression of gloom is accentuated.



Mr. Norman Angell

But gloom is not a policy. What are we to do? What is the conclusion in practical affairs? And I suggest that whether we take the best or the worst view, whether we regard this as an expression of fear and disbelief in the newer policy of Europe, or the expression of an honest intention to carry out its obligations; whether we believe that the stage of disarmament or reduced armaments has not yet been reached, and that the political situation must yet greatly improve before we can attain that stage; or that there is still hope for a frontal attack on armaments; whatever the view, whether we vote to reduce armaments or increase them, the one indispensable thing is to emphasise the fundamental principle of the League, to insist that it be taken seriously, to make it a political reality.

The Old and the New

What is that fundamental principle? Are we clear what it is? These seem curious questions to ask nearly a decade after the establishment of the League and in a paper devoted to League interests. Yet it is quite

certain that very many supporters of the League are not at all clear as to the principle which distinguishes the League conception of international relations from that which guided those relations before its establishment. If the big public whose votes here and abroad make and unmake governments were quite clear as to the principle which distinguishes the new order from the old, realised indeed that there were such a principle, our battle would be virtually won. Armaments might endure for a very long time and injustices mark the relation of one state with another, as brutal coercions often mark the conduct of a national government to its own people, and injustices harass that people. But just as a nation which possesses a police force which is occasionally brutal, and courts which are occasionally corrupt, is in a better position than a nation which has never managed to maintain police or organise a court of law, so a Europe which suffered under a bad system which it had power to alter would be better than a Europe for ever living on the verge of falling into chaos and finding itself periodically at the mercy of blind, uncontrollable forces. Men living under a bad system, but whose working they can perceive and understand, and with industry improve, are better off than men living in utter confusion, where the improvement is a matter of hazard and luck, and in any case beyond their control. In the former case their lot may be hard, but they can with toil improve it; in the latter case they are puppets, and can do nothing about it.

Unbiased Judgment

What then is this fundamental principle? It does not, of course, answer that question to state the League's objects—to prevent war, and the disorders and insecurities that go with it. That was the object and intention behind every national army before the League

was established. The League implies the acceptance of a principle which is not only different from that which guided the conduct of international relations before the war, but a principle which is the direct antithesis thereto.

Under the old order a statesman said: "For that defence, security, which is the nation's supreme consideration, we can look only to our own strength, which to be effective should of course be greater than that of any prospective enemy. But as the intention of our strength is purely defensive it can threaten no one."

It looks harmless enough, but the enemy said the same thing; the "system" applied all round ended in an attempt to defy arithmetic. Each could not be stronger than the other. But it defied also other things. What is "defence"? And the statesman, if relatively honest, would say that it was the defence not merely or mainly of territory, but of national interest; that is to say, of the national view of the national interest in conflict with another, the right to be its sole judge, with sufficient power to enforce the judgment. If the other party made the same claim, conflict was inevitable; they could not both be the judges, nor both be the stronger. The whole object of the national army was to enable the nation to be its own judge.

Upholding Law

The object of the League and its power is to prevent any nation being its own judge in its dispute with another, and to prevent such nation using preponderant power to enforce that judgment. As a corollary the new society assumes the defence of each constituent member as a common obligation of the whole, and defining defence as the right, not to be its own judge, but to have third party judgment as against another.

There are several ways, of course, of stating this fundamental difference between the old order and the new. The point of difference which most concerns us at this juncture, perhaps, is that in the new society, as in all known forms of organized society based on law, the defence of the individual—of his rights under such law as exists, that is—is the common obligation of the whole. If this obligation is not taken seriously we cannot expect permanent progress towards disarmament.

France arms to-day we are told, because she fears the power of this or that neighbour; Germany will arm

to-morrow, we are told, because of the preponderant power of France. Each feels that it can only depend upon its own strength. But if the principle of the League were accepted seriously, each would know that it is not dependent merely upon its own strength, and the only hope of attenuating those fears is to make that principle a political reality. If it were a political reality not only would it lessen existing fears about the inadequacy of national armament, it would lessen fears as to the misuse of such armaments as do exist. If we really believed that armaments would only be used for League purposes, we should not fear them.

Hands Tied or Hands Free

And yet, it is just this point of clear commitment to common defence about which many friends of the League, both on the Right and on the Left, are most hesitant. "Let us keep free from any obligation to use force; don't tie our hands; don't get entangled." Which means that each is free, so far as "realist" considerations go, to use force as he sees fit. Others fear this freedom of action in the use of power, and feel they have nothing but their own strength to rely on. We are thrown back once more on the old fears and the old competition. Far from it being desirable to "keep our hands free," we want hands tied as much as possible when it comes to the employment of force; we want to know beforehand how these armaments will be used; to be perfectly clear as to what is a legitimate and what an illegitimate employment of them.

Man is not yet ready to organize his society on the basis of no coercion anywhere for any purpose. He is ready to admit that the use of war for anything but defence is a crime against mankind. Let us make full use of such realization. The trouble is that he has not been very clear in the past as to what defence is. (Every war in the honest view of both sides has been defensive.) Once make clear that defence is the right to third-party judgment of disputes with another, and tie our collective power to the support of that principle, and we have made the use of national power for any other purpose extremely difficult, if not impossible; and have laid the indispensable foundations of progressive disarmament and a constantly improving security and social order.

RUSSIA AT GENEVA

WILL THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT CO-OPERATE?

By ROTH WILLIAMS

The decision of the Soviet Government to send delegates to the recent Economic Conference, and the probability that it will be represented at the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, makes the following general examination of the relations of Russia with the League of Nations timely.

THE attitude of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—more conveniently known as the U.S.S.R.—to the League of Nations is a "function" of its foreign policy, and this in turn is a "function" of its general view of the world. It is also influenced by the growth of the League itself.

The Russian Communist party (Bolsheviks) when they seized power in 1918 were convinced that the world revolution was imminent and their own existence bound up with its success. The world would become one big union of socialist states and foreign policy would become extinct. Trotsky, Chicherin's predecessor as Commissar for Foreign Affairs, said he took the post "just because I wanted to have more leisure for party affairs. My job is a small one: To publish the secret documents and to close up shop."

Both major premises of Bolshevik philosophy, however, proved false: The world revolution failed to arrive

and yet the Bolsheviks remained the Government of Russia. This double fact is the background against which the evolution of Soviet policy should be seen. Whereas at first foreign policy and revolutionary propaganda were almost synonymous, the necessity became increasingly felt of coming to terms with the capitalist world and of protecting specific Russian interests. Obtaining recognition and credits, the general development of economic relations in return for some settlement of pre-war indebtedness and guarantees for traders in Russia, and arrangements for mutual security between the U.S.S.R. and its neighbours became the objectives of Soviet foreign policy.

Its attitude towards the League has reflected the general course of Soviet foreign policy and the fluctuations in the League's fortunes. At first the League was regarded with airy contempt. The U.S.S.R. deals with facts not fancies, said Trotsky on one occasion.

The League, like the silk dragon on the Chinese Imperial flag symbolising power and justice, is a fiction. Behind it is the reality—the clenched fist of capitalism.

Studying the League

Gradually, as the League increased in power and the world revolution faded into the background, Soviet interest became greater. Co-operation in health and other technical activities led up to the Genoa Conference, which, in certain quarters that would now no doubt gladly forget the fact, was looked upon at the time as the beginning of an alternative to the League. At this Conference M. Chicherin declared his pleasure at Mr. Lloyd George's suggestion that the Genoa Conference should be merely the first of a series of international conferences, and emphasised the U.S.S.R.'s readiness to take part in any attempt to consolidate peace. The proposed conferences should include all nations on an equal footing, with the right to self-determination and official representation of organised labour. The Soviet Government was even ready "to participate in a revision of the League of Nations that will transform the latter into a true League of Peoples without the domination of some over others and without the present distinction between victors and vanquished."

A further step was taken when the Labour Government came into power; private hints were dropped that the Soviet Union had no objection in principle to the existence of the League, and was willing to participate in its activities provided she could be assured against interference in Russian internal affairs, attempts to upset the social system in Russia, etc. There were also private *pourparlers* concerning the stationing of a Soviet observer at Geneva, etc.

Growing Hostility

The circumstances in which the Conservative Government came into power were interpreted in Russia as meaning that Great Britain would henceforth be hostile to the Union. The acquittal of the murderer of Vorovsky, the Soviet envoy at the Lausanne Conference, led to a boycotting of Switzerland by the Soviet Union. Then came the fiasco of the Extraordinary Assembly of March, 1926. Bolshevik opinion thought that the failure to admit Germany meant that the League was about to break up, and indulged in the most violent denunciation of the League and all its works. This was the culmination of a period of gradually increasing hostility, when all invitations to attend League meetings in Switzerland had been refused—sometimes abusively—and the theory was developed that by insisting upon Geneva as the seat of League meetings the capitalist Powers, led by Great Britain, were really anxious to exclude the U.S.S.R. on terms that would ensure the latter getting blamed by world opinion for wilful self-isolation and sabotaging of attempts at peaceful co-operation. Locarno and the entry of Germany into the League frightened the Bolsheviks. From underestimating the extent of international solidarity in the League, Soviet opinion passed to an equally exaggerated over-estimate, which was further coloured by the prevailing persecution mania.

The settlement of the Soviet-Swiss quarrel—after prolonged though discreet pressure on the Swiss Government behind the scenes and manifestations by the Swiss press and public that showed a deplorable lack of manners or realisation of Switzerland's international duties as the seat of the League—was immediately followed by the despatch of a large Soviet delegation to the Economic Conference. News from Geneva seems to make it clear that a permanent bureau of the Tass (Soviet Telegraphic) Agency will be established at Geneva, whose director will serve as a sort of semi-official observer, that the Soviet Union will take

part freely in future League Conferences, and will notably attend the November meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

Existing Co-operation

Space forbids any detailed consideration of the extent and forms of Soviet co-operation hitherto on League activities. Suffice it to say that there has long been an exchange of documents, participation in health work (the anti-epidemic campaign, interchange of health officers, epidemiological intelligence, applied research work, special investigations, such as the journey of the Malaria Commission in Russia, etc.), that the U.S.S.R. took part in the Rome Naval Conference of technical experts, and was on a Committee on Tonnage Measurements, but declined an invitation to the Geneva Opium Conference on the ground that the powers concerned were striving exclusively to promote their commercial interests, and refused to attend the Transit Conference on the ground that it was opposed to the "establishment in international communications of the control and guidance of the League of Nations, a political organ, which does not in any way preserve the equality of nations, a coalition of certain great Powers, whose control could only act as an obstacle to the normal development of international transport by turning the latter into an instrument in their hands."

The reply by Chicherin to the request for his opinion on the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance outlined the whole attitude of the Soviet Union to the League, which appeared to consist chiefly in objecting to the existence of permanent members of the Council and of sanctions, and the proposal that delegates to the Assembly should be elected and should in their turn elect the members of the Council. More recently Stalin explained that the Soviet Union would not enter the League because to do so would mean becoming either the hammer of the strong peoples or the anvil of the weak, and the Soviet Union did not wish to be either hammer or anvil. At the last All-Russian Congress of Soviets Rykov explained that while Russia was anxious to join any international movement that really promoted peace it looked upon the League as simply a device by which some of the great capitalist Powers had united to exploit and impose their dominion on the rest of the world.

If Russia Participates

In conclusion, it may be said that the coming participation of the Soviet Union in League conferences will undoubtedly cause numerous difficulties, but will help to break down the moral and spiritual barriers between Russia and the rest of the world. The Russians will learn that the capitalist world is not in such desperate case as they profess to believe nor bent on destroying them. They will find that the League is a system and not an entity, that if they wish to co-operate with other states—and they say they do—the most convenient machinery and the machinery that most of the rest of the world is pledged to use may be found at Geneva, but that by using it they are merely making a reality of their decision to co-operate with the rest of us, and do not commit themselves or put themselves in the hands of some mysterious super-state, as they appear to fear. As for the rest of the world, it must make up its mind whether it wants peace or war. If we want peace we have got to settle down to the task of working out methods of co-operation with the Soviet Union, we must study their point of view in order to try to dispel their alarms and suspicions, explain patiently, though persistently, the difficulties their own policy causes us, and generally tackle the problem of healing the breach between Russia and her neighbours in the same spirit that the question of reconciling France and Germany was tackled.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES TO-DAY

V.—SMOOTHING OUT OBSTACLES TO TRAVEL

A YEAR or two ago a line of motor vessels was running regular services—it may be doing so still—from Hamburg to Enzeli, the Persian port on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea. Anyone who looks at the map of Europe and Asia will realise how remarkable this journey by rivers, canals and inland seas is. Those accustomed to travel in Europe are much more familiar with international railway journeys, which enable an Englishman to cross the Channel and step at Calais into a railway coach which will carry him without a change through to Constantinople. Such examples as these give an illustration, which dwellers in a small island like our own badly need, of what international travel really means, and the picture might be still further developed by reference to the air-routes which are now covering the Continent from end to end.

Unless international travel of this kind is to run against serious obstacles and obstructions at every turn, there must be some international body making it its chief business to smooth out the difficulties and make the way of the traveller as easy as possible. That necessity explains the *raison d'être* for the existence and activity of the Transit and Communications Section of the League of Nations. Individual nations, of course, frame their own rules for the traffic passing between their own frontiers, but they care little and can do nothing regarding the same traffic when once it passes beyond their borders. If any rules for the through trains and the through steamboats are to be laid down, they must be laid down by international agreement between a number of States, and it is for the conclusion of such agreements that the League Transit Organisation is ceaselessly working.

Rivers Across Continents

River communication, for example, means little to Englishmen. There is hardly a river in this country navigable for vessels of any size more than thirty miles inland from the sea. We have no conception of what rivers like the Rhine and the Elbe and the Danube mean as great highways of international navigation. But the Transit Organisation has a very vivid sense of what they mean. It realises that if passengers and goods, whether by river or by rail, are to be held up at every international frontier, the former by passport formalities and the latter by prolonged and elaborate Customs investigations, international communications are likely to be more of a burden than a blessing.

The Organisation, therefore, is ceaselessly applying itself by one means or another to reducing the obstacles till at last they disappear altogether. It has carried through a Convention on river navigation designed to impose on each State through which an international river flows the duty of keeping the channel fit for navigation and properly supplied with buoys, light-houses and other signs, and of refraining from placing any impediment in the way of through traffic. It has carried through a similar Convention regarding railways with very much the same objects in view. It has negotiated a third Convention laying down the rules to be applied without discrimination to the shipping of all nations in the ports of all signatory States.

The important feature of all this is its permanent nature. The Conventions are negotiated, signed and ratified, and the Transit Section of the League Secretariat is always there to make investigations and receive complaints, and to see that the Conventions are carried out in accordance with the intentions of those who framed them. Quite apart from this, many special arrangements have been made in particular

treaties involving the co-operation and supervision of the Transit Section.

Four Frontiers in 50 Miles

Under the Treaty of Lausanne, for example, it was found that the new frontier between Greece and Turkey in the vicinity of Adrianople was so drawn that the Orient Railway, connecting Constantinople with Western Europe, would have to pass four international frontiers within a distance of about fifty miles, passing within those limits from Bulgaria into Greece, from Greece into Turkey, then back into Greece and on into Turkey again. With a view to avoiding the formalities and obstructions which this arrangement might have meant both to passengers and goods, it was laid down in the Treaty that all traffic on this section of the line should be supervised by a Commissioner appointed by the Council of the League. He has been duly appointed, and reports regularly to the Transit Organisation. Under him are traffic inspectors, who travel on all passenger trains through this sector. They wear a badge on their sleeves marked "League of Nations," and, relying on their good offices, the Governments concerned impose no frontier formalities whatever. Provision is made for any difficulties arising to be settled by the League Council, but no occasion for this has so far arisen.

In accordance with the decision of other Conferences, the Transit Organisation has within the last three or four years made complete surveys of the railway transit situation in central and eastern Europe, and on navigation facilities on the inland waterways (rivers and canals) of the Continent. Another important example of the kind of skilled assistance the League can give to a country in need of such advice is the Committee placed last year at the disposal of the Polish Government to advise on such questions as the development of navigable waterways in Poland, the utilisation of maritime outlets for coal traffic, the water supply of Upper Silesia and the drainage of the marshes of Polesia. It is worth noting that in this case, as so often when a similar activity of the League of Nations is concerned, the highest experts to be found in the world are willing to give their services for a considerable length of time for no remuneration beyond their travelling and subsistence expenses.

Traffic by Road

By motorists the attention the Transit Section is giving to road traffic is warmly welcomed, for through traffic by road on the European Continent is rapidly becoming almost as important as traffic by rail, and even such secondary matters as the standardisation of signals and signposts in different countries make a great deal of difference to the convenience, and at times to the safety, of motorists venturing beyond the borders of their own country. Another matter the Organisation is handling at the present moment is the question of transit cards for emigrants. A family migrating, for example, from Hungary to America by way of some Northern European port, must cross several frontiers, necessitating visas from three or four different Governments, and these can be obtained only with considerable trouble and at no small expense. What the Transit Organisation is endeavouring to do is to arrange that a simple transit card should frank the bona fide emigrant straight through from his point of departure to the port of embarkation.

Some of these questions are not yet fully ripe for settlement, but at the General Conference on Communications and Transit, to be held at Geneva in August, it is hoped that agreements of considerable importance may be reached.

BUSINESS PROBLEMS AT GENEVA

HOW THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE OPENED

By MONSIEUR WILLIAM MARTIN, *Foreign Editor of the "Journal de Genève"*

[The Economic Conference, unfortunately, assembled at a date which makes it impossible in this issue of HEADWAY to give more than an interim report of its proceedings. A fuller article on the final results of the Conference will appear in our July issue.]

TO understand what the International Economic Conference is, it is necessary to realize what it is not. It is not a congress of plenipotentiaries. Its members, though appointed by Governments, are experts and have no authority to speak in the name of the country or to conclude Conventions. Neither is it an academy of theorists. It is no part of its purpose to elaborate a universal doctrine of political economy. It is a gathering of business men, of high officials and Trade Union leaders, who have come to Geneva to compare their experiences and to seek together practical methods in the economic crisis from which every country is suffering.

The power of the Conference is limited to making recommendations, to be submitted either to the Council or the Assembly of the League. But it is expected that there will emerge from it suggestions of a practical nature which can serve as the basis for subsequent action by the technical organs of the League, and even by diplomatic Conferences convened to put in the shape of international Conventions the ideas expressed by the experts of whom the Conference consists. That was the method employed before the war in international labour legislation. A first Conference, attended by the interested parties, created suggestions; a second Conference of diplomats worked out Conventions.

The General Discussion

The first stage of the Conference was devoted to a general discussion. So far as possible, discourses purely national in character, on the difficulties of this country or that, were avoided. Speeches of that kind might easily have resulted in mutual and valueless recriminations. The speakers, therefore, confined themselves to discussing international problems from their own standpoint. This discussion made it clear that, despite certain divergences, there was general agreement on the fundamental causes of the crisis through which we are passing, and on the broad lines of the remedies to be sought.

Certain general ideas thus clearly emerged from the debate. What are these ideas? We can mention here only the most characteristic.

Firstly—The prosperity of one country cannot be built on the poverty of others. Countries depend less on competition than on co-operation. The ruin of one brings ruin to its neighbours. The prosperity of one promotes the activity of the rest.

Secondly—Recourse to customs tariffs as we practise it in Europe is at the same time dangerous and useless, dangerous because it creates an unhealthy economic situation which may give rise to war; useless because in proportion as one country raises its tariffs, its competitors do the same, and the general relationship remains the same. The world has been learning bad habits for several years, and we must get back at least to the pre-War situation, in which customs tariffs, although high, were relatively stable.

Thirdly—The world being at the present moment over-industrialised, international industrial agreements may be a useful means of regularising production. But, since these agreements may as easily have bad effects as good, some kind of control by public opinion is necessary, particularly in the international field.

Fourthly—Our production is not only excessive, it is too costly. We must diminish our costs of production.

To that there is only a single road, the scientific organization of labour, or, in other words, the rationalization of industry.

Fifthly—If industrial production has increased beyond the needs of the market, that is not the case with agricultural production. Hence, a general disturbance of equilibrium. Agricultural productivity must be promoted in every way possible.

The Commissions

At the end of the general discussion, members divided themselves into three Commissions concerned with trade, industry and agriculture. The Commission on trade seems likely to yield results in two fields in particular. So far as concerns tariffs the Conference appears decided to condemn recourse to tariffs and to call on States to consider their present taxes as a high-water mark, that is to say, to bind themselves for a certain period not to go above that level, and even, so far as possible, to lower it.

The Conference will also ask the States to agree on a common terminology so as to avoid certain difficulties which spring from the diversity and the multiplicity of customs terminologies. As an example of this nuisance, it may be mentioned that France, whose tariff so far contains 3,000 categories, has just laid before its Parliament a new tariff whose categories reached the number of 8,000. The adoption of the proposals of the Committee would remedy the instability and insecurity of trade relations.

The Commission on Industry has been concerning itself with industrial international agreements and the rationalization of production.

The Commission on Agriculture is concerned primarily with developing agricultural credit, that is to say, with enabling States less fortunately placed to find outside their borders the credits necessary for the development of their agricultural production.

Apart from the questions laid before these three Commissions, the Conference is equally concerned with the effect to be given to its labours. Many proposals have been made looking towards the creation of a permanent international organization charged with a permanent study of Economic problems. That would mean giving to the League Secretariat, or to a reorganized Economic Commission, powers which would enable it, for example, to exercise an effective supervision over customs tariffs and over industrial agreements. It is not a question of control, but merely of publicity. The League of Nations has no means of enforcement in its power, but by appealing to public opinion, and instructing it in what is happening, it might prevent many abuses.

Conclusions

This will not exhaust the results of the Conference, but the other results do not lend themselves to precise analysis. How, for example, can we estimate the value of the contacts established between business men and high officials of all countries? No country has realized that in pressing its interests beyond certain limits, it may be injuring not merely other countries but, by repercussion, itself. If the Conference has succeeded in driving this idea into the heads of all Statesmen charged with negotiating commercial treaties, it might exercise a profound influence on the general politics of the world.

IN THE HOUSE

May 3.—Captain MARGESSON (to Mr. Buxton): The Council of the League of Nations decided at its last session that there was no occasion to modify the procedure which has hitherto been followed by the Mandates Commission in regard to the oral hearing of petitions.

May 4.—Sir A. CHAMBERLAIN (to Mr. Thurtle): The date of a general Disarmament Conference has not yet been fixed. On two occasions already invitations to be represented on the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament have been issued by the Council of the League to the Soviet Government. It is to be hoped that in view of the settlement of its dispute with the Swiss Federal Government, the Soviet Government will now see its way to accept the Council's invitation. I do not think that any initiative on my part at the present time is likely to bring about that result.

May 11.—Sir A. CHAMBERLAIN (to Colonel Day): I think there is an exaggerated importance attached to Part 2 of the League of Nations report on Traffic in Women and Children. All that is of substance for the formation of judgment and policy is contained in Part 1. Part 2 is complementary, supplementary and illustrative, and does not really add to the information already in the possession of the public. The Council thought that it was only courteous to the Governments whose countries were particularly mentioned in Part 2 that they should have an opportunity of seeing the report beforehand.

May 12.—Mr. GODFREY LOCKER-LAMPSON (to Mr. Buxton): In the case of Albania, no incidents have occurred which make an appeal to the League of Nations necessary. It seems far better that should such an incident arise unexpectedly that inquiries should be made into it by machinery already devised, or to which all parties have already agreed.

May 16.—Mr. LOCKER-LAMPSON (to Mr. Thurtle): The Prime Minister is not prepared to take the initiative in calling a conference of the signatories of the Locarno Treaty with the object of considering how best these Powers can stop competition in armaments amongst themselves. The League of Nations is in the course of preparing the ground for a general disarmament conference and a restricted naval conference convened by the United States Government is due to open next month. The success of these several efforts would hardly be furthered by the introduction of fresh proposals similar in object but dissimilar in kind.

May 17.—Sir P. CUNLIFFE-LISTER (to Mr. Wellock): No permits for the export of arms to the Chinese northern armies were issued during the month of April.

May 18.—Mr. Locker-Lampson (to Mr. Buxton). I regret that, in view of the heavy expenditure which has already been incurred by H.M. Government on behalf of refugees in the Near East and of the financial stringency in this country, there can be no question of H.M. Government making any financial contribution to the League of Nations Refugee Commission's scheme for the settlement of Armenian refugees in the coastal district of Syria.

May 19.—Sir A. CHAMBERLAIN (to Mr. Spoor): I have been informed that it is the intention of the German Government to raise the question of a German representative being given a seat on the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations at the June session of the Council. No question arises of a direct reply on my part, nor can I prejudge the attitude of the Council, by whom the question must be freely debated, if and when it comes before them.

[These answers are summarised, and do not necessarily represent the Ministers' actual words.]

GENEVA PERSONALITIES

V.—SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

THE British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will preside over the 45th session of the League of Nations Council at Geneva this month. Sir Austen Chamberlain came into office in November, 1924, and attended the meeting of the League Council at Rome in the following month. Since then he has never missed either a Council or an Assembly.

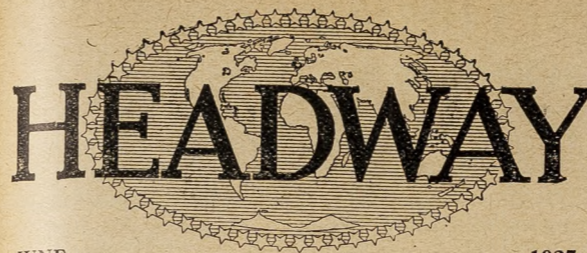
This resolve of the Foreign Secretary to make regular attendance at Geneva an essential part of his official duties has done much to raise the League's prestige, particularly as it means that M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann must almost of necessity do the same. The constant meetings of the three Foreign Ministers are of the first importance for Europe, but it is still not as certain as it should be that they will always, wherever possible, work through the League and not outside it.



Sir Austen Chamberlain

At Geneva, Sir Austen makes an excellent impression, the more so since it is realised that his belief in the League is slowly but steadily growing. Though liberal in many features of his foreign policy, he is essentially a conservative mentally, and some of the voluble and superficial enthusiasms occasionally manifested in League circles inevitably repel him. Even now he never ceases to preach the doctrine of making haste slowly, and in lesser matters, such as applying the brake to the activities of the Health Section or the Mandates Commission, he has given ground for some protest.

But Sir Austen is unquestionably a strength to the League. Where he gets his teeth in he holds, and his teeth to-day are well embedded in the League idea. Geneva likes him. It likes his monocle, and the dexterity with which he exchanges it for horn glasses when a document has to be read. It likes his occasional excursions into the French tongue. It likes his disarming smile. And it recognises, as everyone does who knows the Foreign Secretary in the flesh, that he is before all things a straight, honourable and courteous gentleman.



JUNE

1927

DISARMAMENT: AND NOW?

THE first impressions of the Geneva Disarmament discussions published in the last issue of HEADWAY are supplemented this month by an authoritative statement by Lord Cecil, which constitutes at once a succinct résumé of the proceedings and a brief estimate of the value of the progress achieved.

The real question on which the course of future events hangs is how far those problems which are as yet unsolved may be regarded as capable of comparatively easy solution when the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference next meets. Taken as a whole, these unsolved problems make a formidable list. There is the question of whether limitation in the case of armies is to apply to the "trained reserves" which in conscript countries form a large proportion of the whole military strength. Germany at any rate intends to raise this question again, even if no one else does, and some attempt will no doubt be made to persuade France and other conscript countries to accept some compromise. There is the question of the naval limitation. Is this to be effected through a limitation merely of the whole tonnage of fleets, or through limitation of the numbers and size and the tonnage of separate classes of vessels? Is there to be definite control of the execution of the Disarmament Convention by some special machinery constituted for the purpose, or is the British delegation right in considering that the ordinary processes of the Covenant, particularly under Article 11, which provides for consideration by the Council of any circumstance which may disturb good international understandings, should be regarded as sufficient? Finally, is this country right in refusing the actual limitation of military budgets at the present time and providing only for a statement of expenses without any undertaking to limit them?

Though some of these matters may seem to fall under the head of technical details, it is essential that public opinion should first inform itself, and then declare itself regarding them, for the only hope of agreement in the Autumn lies in a compromise between views that proved divergent in the Spring. It cannot be expected that that compromise should be all on one side. If Great Britain and France are regarded as the chief representatives of two opposing schools of thought, it is only just that we should give way on some points and the French on some others. What contribution are we on our part to make to this effort to reach final agreement?

On the question of "trained reserves" there is no doubt that France is broadly in the wrong and Britain broadly in the right. There can be no effective limitation of armies while the conscript countries have immediately available a supply of trained men who, year by year for something like twenty years, have been passed through a rigorous school of military training and are therefore fit, at any rate the younger of them, for service at almost a day's notice. Limitation is by no

means as impracticable as it sounds, for various conscript countries have already restricted the men they call up annually to a certain proportion of the full number of military age, either by the usual ballot or by setting a high physical standard. Whether it would be worth while splitting the Conference on this point is doubtful. Certainly Great Britain, which has small interest in military matters, could not advocate that, but a vigorous effort ought undoubtedly to be made to persuade the French to give some ground here.

The naval question cannot be discussed in detail with advantage at this moment, for the Coolidge Three-Power Conversations open before the end of June, and the agreements that may emerge from them must almost inevitably form the basis of the further naval discussions in the Preparatory Commission. It must, however, be said at once that though there was a wide initial divergence between the French and the British view on this point, the later French proposals concede so much to the British claim that there is no justification for rejecting them if we can get nothing better.

On budget limitation there is more to be said for the French view than for the British. There is a real danger that, though numbers may be limited, a new competition, in efficiency of men and still more of material (guns, tanks, aeroplanes, etc.) may be initiated. That can only be done at an increased cost and, if there is agreement that each country, once it has fixed its military expenditure, will not exceed it, that constitutes a valuable secondary check to supplement the limitation of men. The British offer merely of publicity has not the same effect. Here, therefore, it is to be hoped that the British delegation will be authorised to move forward in November.

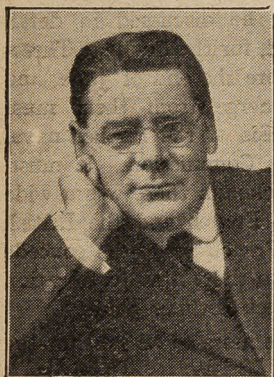
The question of control is rather more difficult, for we are up against the fact that certain important states are not prepared to accept any supervision at all. On the other hand, the French are on extremely strong ground when they say that they themselves are quite ready, when they have signed an international convention, to allow any international body of which they are members to satisfy itself that they are duly carrying out their obligations. Whatever the practical value of such supervision, it is probably true that its existence would create confidence and that its absence, particularly if that absence were due to a flat refusal to submit to it, would create suspicion. The British way is to let any alleged breach of the convention be brought before the Council, in the belief that no State would venture to refuse a League investigation if the Council proposed it. The French way, which on paper at any rate, seems better, is to secure an undertaking by all states when they sign a convention that they will accept any enquiry or investigation which the League organ, constituted for the purpose, may consider necessary at any moment.

On the propriety of concessions by the British Government on these several points there may no doubt be some difference of opinion. It appears, however, perfectly clear that, if the worst came to the worst, the British could afford to give way completely on all of them without in any way prejudicing the security or the military efficiency of the country. To put the matter in another way, none of the British conventions is of sufficient importance to make it justifiable to imperil the final agreement in order to secure them. This country alone ought not, of course, to be the only State ready to make concessions, but, by going even further than others in that direction if need be, we shall be rendering the greatest service possible to the League and to mankind.

THE CROWD AND THE LEAGUE WHAT APPEALS TO AUDIENCES MOST

By the Rev. F. W. NORWOOD

IT is suggested that I should record some of the impressions produced upon my mind by my experiences as a campaigner for peace under the auspices of the League of Nations Union. These are submitted merely in the hope that they may be suggestive to others.



Dr. F. W. Norwood

The deepest impression left upon my mind is that of a widespread disgust for war, and a disbelief in its alleged benefits. I frequently made humorous reference to the slogan which was printed by the Union upon the posters which announced my meetings—"How to get Rid of War." As a statement of what I was supposed to be able to tell my audiences it was sufficiently embarrassing; but as an expression of the desire of the majority of

people to-day it was precisely indicative. I believe this attitude of mind will not change with the coming of new generations. The sort of people who count will never again hail war as the precursor of the millenium.

In that fact I see the handwriting of Destiny. The war-system will break down for psychological reasons. Nations will not be capable of the sacrifices which war entails. They could endure its agonies if they could continue to believe in it; they can never do so for a thing they merely wish to get rid of.

The perpetuation of the war-system means the disruption of civilisation; not simply because of the appalling casualties of the battlefield, but because of lack of faith in the institutions which exact the bitter price.

The Instinct for Peace

Revolution stalked in the wake of the last war in every country deeply involved. World-wide revolution would end the next great war before military strategists had worked out their purposes. To curb, and finally to get rid of war, is the essential condition of the continuance of civilisation as we have known it.

The people are befogged as to methods, but their instinct is sure. The League of Nations is too vast and vague and intricate to arouse great popular enthusiasm. It is the only method we have, but it is, unhappily, defective as a symbol. Ordinary people have not the time, nor the training, nor in many cases the capacity, to understand its workings intelligently. Its success depends upon so many factors. Other nations as well as our own are responsible for its advancement, and the narrowly "patriotic" nature of our previous education has left most people with ill-founded suspicions of almost every country but their own. Britons are inclined to believe that their own statesmen are sincere, but are afraid lest other nations may take us unawares. I have no doubt that the peoples of other countries have much the same feeling. We are still working in an atmosphere of distrust.

Wanted: A Man

What every country needs is an outstanding personality, whose sagacity is as undoubted as his will to peace. Disraeli used to say that a great cause was merely an abstraction until it was embodied in a trusted leader. The modern world is too complex and the interests of nations too conflicting to allow us to hope

for a world-leader. Lord Cecil comes the nearest to such an embodiment for the British race. If the Union is satisfied that in other countries there are other men of equal probity, it would be wise for its speakers to familiarise our audiences with their personalities, so that in times of crisis the public mind may know to whom it should look for guidance.

I am aware of the dangers of this method, but it has been necessary since the beginning of history. Men may break down, but at least they can inspire. The League to most people is a complicated machine. The outstanding personalities at Geneva are not sufficiently known to the general public. They ought to be thrown more distinctly upon the canvas, with little regard for their nationality, but with emphasis upon their meaning in the struggle for peace. Sympathetic and discerning studies of such men as Stresemann, Briand or Benes would add a more poignant touch to League platforms than piles of statistics and summaries of Committee reports.

The Union might do more in the way of popularising history, not as a compendium of the reign of kings, or the dates on which battles were fought, but as showing how each nation has struggled for security, expansion and just self-respect. It is appalling how little ordinary people know about other lands than their own. Foreign countries are significant only at the point where their antagonism to our own has become manifest. The war-craze has poisoned all the wells of understanding. The Union might do more to popularise travel to Geneva. Cheap and well-led expeditions to that new centre of world-destiny would increase the peace-spirit more than any other kind of propaganda.

The Acid Test

The humanitarian activities of the League always win the enthusiasm of audiences, but they must not be so presented as to leave the suspicion that they are herrings drawn across the trail to burke the real issue. They are confessedly subsidiary, the outcome of a partial disarmament of the mind, foreshadowings of the enriched life of man which will flow when the artificial ramparts shall have been swept away.

Disarmament is the crux of the situation. Everybody knows that the League was created to secure it. If it fails there it fails all along the line. Seven years have seen little actualised result. There has been a long gestatory period. The whole world is waiting to see what may be born of it. I would counsel the Union to concentrate upon this issue. The difficulties, as we well know, are enormous, but the question is paramount.

Public opinion must be well ahead of performance. Responsible statesmen are bound to proceed with extreme caution. Left to themselves, they will never reach any adequate objective. They are prepared to reduce the crushing cost of armaments, but not at the sacrifice of one point of strategic advantage. The Union should not follow the League, but endeavour to show that public opinion will welcome an acceleration of the pace. Modern war is no longer merely a matter for military and naval experts. It touches the life of every individual at every conceivable point. The work of the Union is in some senses more important than that of the League itself. As it prepares the way, the League can follow.

I wish for it increased success, increased support, and am thankful for the opportunity of co-operation given to me. The next year is likely to be the crucial year both for the League of Nations Union and for the League of Nations itself.

THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL THE NAVAL CONFERENCE

THE forty-fifth meeting of the League of Nations Council opens at Geneva on June 13, the Chairman this time being the British Foreign Minister, Sir Austen Chamberlain. The agenda consists of 29 items, some of them raising questions of considerable interest and importance, while others, though not intrinsically of the first moment, are likely to cause a good deal of trouble.

In the former category fall two separate questions with a fairly close connection with one another. The Committee of the Council has had under consideration the steps which the Council itself could take in an emergency when faced with the threat of war. The actual report of the Committee has not been published, though its contents are common knowledge. They do not go much beyond the codification of existing practice, but they include certain interesting new suggestions as to possible use of naval demonstrations or air demonstrations, and propose various methods, by this time familiar, for accelerating the transit of members of the Council from their own capitals to Geneva.

Another report deals with the measures the Council might take when the situation had grown even more serious—i.e., under Article 16 of the Covenant. There has always been some doubt as to the position that would arise in international law, particularly in relation to States not members of the League, if economic pressure in the form of a maritime blockade or in some other shape had to be exerted to coerce a Covenant-breaker. A report on that subject is to be presented, and will, no doubt, create some discussion.

In a different category is the report of the Advisory Committee on the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, which raises the question of the publication of Part II of the recent White Slave Traffic Report. It seems likely, on the whole, that the Council will leave this matter over till September. Another humanitarian question is slavery, in regard to which the Council has to prepare a report for the Assembly on measures taken by signatories of the Convention to fulfil their obligations under it. In connection with mandates, it is understood that the German Government proposes to suggest the appointment of a German member of the Mandates Commission. This has always been considered an entirely reasonable request, but both France and certain British Dominions are reluctant to see it conceded, and a situation of some delicacy may, therefore, arise.

The report of the Greek Refugee Settlement Committee will probably raise the question of a further loan to enable the settlement work to be completed, but the Greek Government has not yet given entire satisfaction in regard to the management of its financial affairs generally, and that may postpone action by the League. Routine business is much as usual, but the reports of the recent Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and of the Economic Conference may lead to important discussions. One other matter which is bound to be discussed, though it does not appear on the agenda, is the proposal put forward by the British Foreign Minister at a private meeting last March that regular Council meetings should in future be held only three times a year instead of four. The League of Nations Union has expressed its strong dissent from this proposal as tending to diminish both the authority and the efficiency of the League.

THE Three-Power Naval Conference, initiated by President Coolidge's Note of February 10, will open at Geneva on or about June 20, just as the Council Meeting fixed for the 13th is ending. It will be remembered that what the President of the United States proposed was that the States which concluded naval agreements in 1922 at Washington—that is to say, the United States itself, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy—should assemble again at Geneva with a view to extending the Washington agreements, and, in particular, to applying them to those classes of vessels not covered by the Washington Treaty. The only classes that were covered by that agreement, so far as reduction goes, were capital ships and aircraft-carriers, while a limitation of size was imposed in the case of cruisers. Nothing was done towards limiting the number of cruisers or applying any limitation to destroyers or submarines.

France and Italy have declined the invitation to take part in the discussions (though Italy may send an observer), which will, therefore, presumably be confined to the three Powers, Great Britain, the United States and Japan. Great Britain will be represented by Mr. W. C. Bridgeman, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Cecil of Chelwood, while Admiral Field, Deputy Chief of Naval Staff, will head the experts. The head of the American delegation is likely to be Mr. Hugh Gibson, Ambassador at Brussels, who was also the chief delegate at the meetings of the Preparatory Commission, and the principal Japanese delegate will be Viscount Saito, a former Governor of Korea.

It is anticipated that the British delegates will make definite proposals at the Conference, rumour crediting them with the intention of imposing a size limit of 20,000 tons for capital ships, and of 6,000 tons for cruisers, the calibre of guns on the latter vessels being fixed at 6 in. instead of 8 in., as at present. Japan is understood broadly to approve these proposals, while the attitude of the United States is not so far known. Whatever the conclusions of the Three-Power Conference, they are likely to exercise a good deal of influence on the discussions of the Preparatory Commission when it reassembles in November.

COMING EVENTS

June 13: Forty-fifth Session of League Council (Sir Austen Chamberlain presiding).

June 15: Permanent Court of International Justice opens its 12th Ordinary Session (at The Hague).

June 20: Coolidge Conversations on Naval Limitation, at Geneva.

June 20: Permanent Mandates Commission.

July 4: Conference for the Constitution of an International Relief Union (Ciraolo Scheme).

July 6: I.L.O. Committee on Native Labour.

August 23: Transit Conference.

August 24: Press Conference.

September 5: Eighth Assembly.

June 8: National Conference of Central and Local Education Authorities in Great Britain on League Teaching in the Schools.

June 20: National Festival of Youth, Crystal Palace.

June 22 (and following days): General Council of the League of Nations Union, at Harrogate.

THE I.L.O.'S TRIPLE BILL

THE tenth International Labour Conference opened at Geneva, in the Bâtiment Electoral, on Wednesday, May 25. The first days were occupied with appointing the officials of the Conference and nominating representatives from the three groups, Government, employers, and workers, to sit on the various committees. At the time of going to press the Conference was just getting to grips with the details of the three subjects on its agenda—sickness insurance, freedom of association (*i.e.*, trade union rights), and minimum wage-fixing in ill-organised and poorly-paid industries. A full account of the work and results of the Conference will appear in the July HEADWAY.

The Japanese delegation was the first to arrive, nearly a fortnight before the Conference opened. They comprised the four formal delegates, two Government representatives, and one each of the employers and workers, with about thirty technical advisers, and had been six weeks *en route*. Since then there was a steady stream of delegates and advisers from all parts of the world.

One of the most noteworthy points about the delegates as they come into the hall is the brilliant colouring of the documents they carry. If you see a delegate with a rich red book, he is carrying the *questionnaire* issued to Governments on sickness insurance. If he has a blue volume also, that is the Office report containing the replies of the Governments to those questions.

If he carries larger volumes in æsthetic grey, these are the reports prepared by the Office on the world position regarding freedom of association and minimum wage-fixing. If, however, it being the early days of the Conference, he is one of many who carry a still larger volume in yellow—not the "yellow book" of treasured memory, but, looked at in the right spirit, something equally romantic, this is the Report on the year's work of the "I.L.O.," by the Director of the Office, M. Albert Thomas.

A large volume certainly it is. That is unavoidable, considering that it contains a brief history of everything that has happened in connection with international labour conditions in 1926. The wealth of information contained in it is astonishing, and that is why it might be called a romantic volume. The subjects range from slavery to refugees, from child workers to unemployment insurance, from holidays with pay to anthrax, from limitation of weights to be carried to the cost of social insurance, from gifts to the new office to conditions in the fishing industry, and many other topics equally varied. This report is an achievement in itself, and it is also a record of achievement, not as fast as many would like, but it shows that the "I.L.O." has undoubtedly made sure and steady progress in 1926.

The British Delegation to the Conference, in marked contrast to British Delegations to the League Assembly, which regularly include two Cabinet Ministers, cannot boast even an Under-Secretary. It consists of two officials, Mr. Humbert Wolfe, of the Ministry of Labour, and Sir Walter Kinnear, of the Ministry of Health, with Sir David Milne Watson, to represent the employers, and Mr. E. L. Poulton, for the workers.

A SCHEME TO TURN DOWN

EARLY next month a conference is to be held at Geneva to further a strange scheme. It is not quite a League conference and not quite not a League conference. The Ciraolo Scheme has been talked up and down by the League Assembly, the League Council and League Committees, and the conference is convened in accordance with a resolution taken by the Council last December. On the other hand, the purpose of the conference is not to extend the actual

League machinery, but to create a new mechanism, established at Geneva, separate from the League, but in some sort of association with it.

No one in this country has troubled much about the Ciraolo Scheme, and no one knows much about it. Its author is an Italian Senator, who has pressed with great vigour and eloquence his plan for an international union for the relief of countries overtaken by some great and unavoidable disaster, such as earthquake, famine or floods, with which it cannot cope out of its own resources. The funds are to be raised by modest Government subscriptions (the British share on the scale proposed would be just under £3,000), supplemented, it is hoped, by voluntary contributions.

The International Relief Union, as the proposed body is to be called, is to have an elaborate machinery. Its offices will be at Geneva, and its main organs will be a General Council, consisting either of Governments or of national Red Cross Societies (whichever the Governments prefer); an Advisory Committee, consisting of experts appointed to reside for three years in each of a number of areas into which the world is to be divided; and an Executive Committee of seven members and seven substitutes appointed by the General Council. It is to collect funds, and administer them whenever a disaster fulfilling the three fundamental conditions of the scheme (it must be an "Act of God," it must be beyond the power of the country concerned to cope with, it must be one regarding which the country affected desires outside help) occurs.

It is difficult to describe such a scheme, well-intentioned though it is, as anything but fantastic. Such disasters as are contemplated are rare in the extreme, and no case can be made for the construction of an elaborate international mechanism, with a staff of paid officials to run it, to stand by in readiness for an event which may perhaps happen once in a decade, if that. The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has given the matter full consideration, and has endorsed a memorandum urging the British Government to oppose a proposal which would give a valuable handle to those critics of the League of Nations which accuse it of dabbling in trivial and visionary crusades, and which could add nothing to the League's prestige.

DOINGS IN DENMARK

ADMIRAL DRURY-LOWE, a member of the League of Nations Union Executive, has recently paid a useful visit to Denmark on the invitation of the Danish University Students' League of Nations Union. He gave four addresses in Copenhagen, one of them broadcast, the subjects of which are of interest in view of the fact that they were chosen not by the speaker, but by his Danish hosts. They were as follows: (1) "Why I advocate the League"; (2) "Disarmament"; (3) "The League and Its Work"; (4) "The Work of the League of Nations Union." The addresses were given in English, which appears to be well understood in Denmark. The general impression gleaned by Admiral Drury-Lowe was that in the opinion of many influential Danes the League was so universally supported that there was hardly need for propaganda, though educational activity was still urgently required. Incidentally, Admiral Drury-Lowe found that the very interesting Bill for the almost total disarmament of Denmark was not likely to be proceeded with in the near future.

Don't destroy "Headway," give it to someone else

THE GIFT OF TONGUES

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 and Balzac and Anatole France, 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 400 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?"

Most people will say that such a thing is impossible. Yet this is just what the new method enables you to do, as you will see for yourself when you take the first lesson.

One of the most striking features of the Pelman Courses in French, German, Italian and Spanish is that they are given entirely in the language concerned. English is not used at all. Yet even if you do not know the meaning of a single Foreign word, you can study these Courses with ease, *right from the beginning*, and without "looking up" any words in a vocabulary. It sounds incredible, but it is perfectly true.

Further, this new method enables you to read, write and speak French, Spanish, Italian or German without bothering your head with complex grammatical rules or learning by heart long lists of Foreign words. Yet, when you have completed one of these Courses, you will be able to read Foreign books and newspapers, and to write and speak the language in question grammatically and fluently, without the hesitation which comes when a Foreign Language is acquired through the medium of English.

This new Pelman method of learning languages is explained in four little books entitled "How to learn French," "How to learn German," "How to learn Spanish," and "How to learn Italian." You can have an one of these books to-day, free of cost. Write (mentioning which one of the four you require) to the PELMAN INSTITUTE (Languages Dept.), 114, Pelman House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1, and the particular book you require (with full particulars of the method) will be sent you by return, gratis and post free.

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NEW YORK, 19 West 44th Street, MELBOURNE, 396 Flinders Lane.
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A CHINESE DOCTOR IN EUROPE

ONE of the most interesting visitors the League of Nations has brought to this country in recent years is Dr. Wu Lien-teh, Director and Chief Medical Officer of the Manchurian Plague Service under the Chinese Government. Dr. Wu is, indeed, the highest active medical officer in the Chinese service. He is a Cambridge man, who was up at Emmanuel in the late 'nineties, taking his B.A. degree in 1899 and his M.A. four years later. Besides being an M.D. of Cambridge, he has received the same degree at the hands of the Imperial University of Tokio, being the only non-Japanese on whom that honour has ever been conferred.

Dr. Wu is at present spending four months in Europe at the invitation of the League of Nations Health Organisation, with a view, primarily, to studying European methods. He has, however, delivered lectures in many countries and will deliver a number more.



Dr. Wu Lien-teh

It is interesting, by the way, to note that Jugoslavia strikes this impartial observer, bringing his fresh mind to the scene, as the country which has made the most notable progress in public health organisation since the war.

Discussing with a HEADWAY representative the importance of the health work of the League in enabling contacts to be established between Asia and the rest of the world, Dr. Wu instanced in particular the impression made by the exchange of medical officers of health which took place in Japan in 1925. He was himself a member of the party visiting that country, and he pointed out that, while the foreigners who went to Tokio and elsewhere had much to learn from Japanese science, particularly those from such Asiatic countries as India and Malaya, Japan, on the other hand, benefited greatly by the friendly criticisms made by the visiting doctors. She discovered, for example, that she had relied far too much on outworn German methods, that the first thing she ought to do was to teach her younger men English,

that her methods of fighting tuberculosis were altogether inadequate, and that her typhoid mortality could easily be reduced.

The Far Eastern Bureau at Singapore, Dr. Wu added, had been of great value to Eastern countries, and, in particular, to China. Rather to the general surprise, China had voluntarily contributed a share for three years to the expenses of the Bureau. The advent of the League in this field may mean much for China, which, said Dr. Wu, had suffered a good deal because responsibility for public health had so far in many cases been born by foreign doctors, whose interest in the work was, naturally, less than that of the Chinese themselves. As a result, China had unfairly been blamed for various instances of alleged laxity. The League investigations had brought this fact to light and would, he hoped, lead to the rapid development of an efficient Chinese public health service. The Plague Campaign in Manchuria had been effectively organised by Chinese doctors (European writers have dwelt at length on the magnificent service Dr. Wu himself has rendered as Director of the whole undertaking), and plague was now well under control. The next step was to develop an effective quarantine service, which would prevent diseases being carried from China to other Eastern countries.

Conditions in China are, of course, not particularly favourable at the present moment to the development of closer contact with the League, but Dr. Wu has said enough to make it clear that, even as things are, the League, through its health work, may be much more of a reality in China than could otherwise be hoped.

A BUILDING DELAY

THE Competition among architects of all nations for the honour of designing the new Assembly Hall and Secretariat buildings of the League of Nations has had a disappointing and unexpected result. The jury of architects which drafted the conditions and judged the plans has always set a high standard, but general surprise was created by the announcement made at a public session on May 5 at Geneva that out of the 377 plans submitted, none, in the opinion of the jury, reached a sufficiently high standard to be awarded the prize. This decision was taken unanimously. Out of the plans examined, twenty-seven were selected for honourable mention. These were arranged in three classes of nine each, and the sum of 165,000 Swiss francs was divided among these twenty-seven competitors, those in the first class obtaining 12,000 francs apiece, those in the second 3,800, and those in the third 2,500. It is to be observed that no British architect appeared in any of the three classes. The nationalities of the competitors placed in the first class were: three French, two Italian, two German, one Swedish, one Swiss, while the ninth place was taken by a plan submitted by a French and a Swiss architect in collaboration. As a result of the decision of the jury of architects, the whole question will have to be reconsidered by the Eighth Assembly next September. This, most unfortunately, means considerable further delay, and in the meantime the unsuitable Salle de la Réformation will, no doubt, continue to be used.

Estonia, as most students of that country know, has a warm regard for all things English, and every Estonian is anxious to develop his knowledge of the English language. For that books are needed, and books are expensive. Gifts of any works of interest in the field of fiction, poetry, travel, geography, memoirs, history, popular science, are therefore being invited. Parcels of such books should be sent to the Estonian Legation in London, 167, Queen's Gate, S.W.7.

BOOKS WORTH READING

1,800 YEARS OF EUROPE

A History of Europe, by Ierne Plunkett and R. B. Mowat. (Oxford University Press. 8s. 6d. net.) Mr. Plunkett and Mr. Mowat have attempted an ambitious task in compressing the history of Europe from Roman times to 1914 into some 800 pages of large print, abundantly interspersed with maps and pictures. It is of some interest to see what proportions the League of Nations assumes on such a stage. Unfortunately, the record nominally ends at 1914, though there are some references to the Peace Conference after the War. The League, however, is always well in view. It is mentioned first in connection with Sully's Grand Design, or rather Henry IV's, the idea of which, say the authors, disappeared "until it became famous again when the Covenant of the League of Nations was made."

A reference to Grotius, the Dutchman, and Vattel, the Swiss, the great international jurists of the 17th and 18th centuries, produces the observation that "to-day Holland has the International Court of Arbitration, while Switzerland has the seat of the League of Nations." The reference, it would appear, should be to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The League comes in again as the one solid fruit of the Treaty of Versailles. Mention is made of Peru's attempt to bring the Tacna-Arica dispute before the League. And, finally, it is observed that the various peace endeavours in the 19th century "were helping to create a peace atmosphere which was not sufficient to prevent the war of 1914, but which when the war was over, provided a medium on which the newly-created League of Nations could work and thrive."

It is interesting, by the way, to recall that Mr. Mowat in an earlier work expressed the belief that the hope of the world lay in a combination between the old diplomacy and the League of Nations.

DR. NANSEN

Adventure, by Fridtjof Nansen. (The Hogarth Press. 4s. 6d.) Three addresses by Dr. Nansen are reprinted in this volume. The first, which supplies the title, is his Rectorial address at St. Andrews, last November; the others are speeches delivered in connection with his reception of the Nobel Prize. They deserve this preservation in permanent form, not only for the message they contain, but for the self-portrait of the man which they give, complete and true, yet drawn with a great man's natural modesty. Dr. Nansen appeals to youth rather than age, and the appeal he makes is for purpose in life, for the spirit of adventure that shall go forward as he went in the Arctic and since, regardless of providing "a line of retreat, a wretched invention." In this spirit he faces the question of "no more war," setting no limits to the use of the phrase. He explains from his own experience what is meant when it is said that another war would wipe out our civilisation, and he insists on the responsibility of small nations like his own for making their voices heard at Geneva against the sometimes apparently dominating influence of the Great Powers. Two extracts illustrate his theme: "If we want really to rid ourselves of war, to do away with the heavy burden of armaments, our Governments must join the League of Nations wholeheartedly and without preparing any line of retreat." Again, "Each one of us can enlist in that army [of work], and join its victorious progress through the world to inaugurate a new creation."

OUT OF BLIND ALLEYS

Juvenile Employment Problems, by Charles E. Clift (Secretary, Manchester District Council, L.N.U.). (International Labour Review, April,

Final Reminder

LEST WE FORGET THE FESTIVAL OF YOUTH

SPEAKERS INCLUDE:

Her Grace The Duchess of Atholl, D.B.E., M.P.
Professor Gilbert Murray, LL.D., D.Litt.
Professor P. J. Noel Baker
Dr. L. Burgin, LL.D.
Basil Mathews, Esq.
Dr. F. W. Norwood
Frederick Whelen, Esq.
and others

CRYSTAL PALACE SATURDAY, JUNE 18

10 a.m. to 10 p.m.

Under the auspices of the
LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
London Regional Federation

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11.30 Opening Ceremony and
Service Celebration

2.30 Great Athletic Meeting
2,000 Competitors.

3.0 Juvenile Choir of 5,000

5.0 Artistic International Folk-
Dancing and Displays
12 Different Nations.

7.45 GIGANTIC REPRESENTATIVE
MASSED GATHERING

representative of every sphere of endeavour
for youth. Impressive Entry of the
Nationals of some 25 Countries in National
Dress.

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L.N.U. Secs., or from Festival Headquarters, Crystal
Palace, London, S.E.19.

See announcement in May issue of "Headway"
for particulars of Railway arrangements for
London and Provinces.

1927; also in pamphlet form from I.L.O. Office, 12, Victoria Street, S.W.1.)—Some of the most important and interesting of the many activities of the I.L.O. concern child welfare in Labour. Mr. Clift draws a skilful picture of the difficulties confronting a child who just left school and who wishes to enter a satisfactory trade or employment. The grave problems caused by juvenile unemployment are many, and those public-minded people who are called upon to help and advise children in the choice and adoption of a career are placed in a position of some difficulty, and must be prepared to compromise with the lesser evils of occupations which lead to unprofitable blind alleys. After a concise and clear history of Board of Trade and other official activities in vocational guidance, Mr. Clift points out that the existing position is complicated. Signs, however, are not wanting in this country to show that official energy supported by an active and enlightened public opinion will continue to work well and should prove in future still more useful in promoting child welfare in employment. The chief difficulties to-day appear to be the excess of supply over demand, and the lack of incentive to employers to train young workers when the skilled labour market is already full to overflowing.

THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

The New Africa, by Donald Fraser. (Student Christian Movement. 2s.) Although Mr. Fraser's book is primarily written for students of missions overseas, it should be read by all who would understand the influence which the African must inevitably wield upon the future Northern civilisation. Mr. Fraser's long experience and service in Africa enable him to write with authority; he foresees dangers, but also great possibilities of hope if the spirit that underlies the Mandate clause of the League Covenant is practised in the colonies and mandated areas alike. The dangers are those which arise from detribalisation and the wholesale destruction of native religious ideas and customs; but there is good hope in right methods of education, which Governments to-day recognise must have the religious basis necessary for character building, and in the adaptation of all that is good in the old to the new circumstances provoked by the new contacts. Mr. Fraser gives vivid pictures both of the old and of the new.

HINTS TO LEAGUE LECTURERS

The International Commonwealth, by R. Gordon Milburn. (Williams & Norgate. 3s. 6d.) Mr. Milburn believes that many of the lectures delivered at L.N.U. meetings are not of the kind now most required, and he has therefore provided in this book material to take their place. He is a frank critic, and even if his ideas are themselves open to criticism they deserve consideration, as they bear upon national as well as upon international problems. The author covers a good deal of new ground, and presses for a forward realistic movement by the people of this country and by members of the L.N.U. in particular. Branch secretaries might do much worse than use this book as the background of their next campaign.

NEW UNION PUBLICATIONS

The World Economic Conference. (No. 214, April 1927. 3d.) A useful 27 page pamphlet (reprinted from the "Round Table," March 1927) describing the character, scope, agenda, and general preparation of the Conference now in session at Geneva.

Stamping out a Scourge. (No. 215, May 1927. 2d.) This pamphlet contains a vivid and concise commentary on the Report (Part I) of the special body of experts which has been investigating the International Traffic in Women and Children.

Factory Conditions in China. (No. 216, April 1927. 3d.) By Miss Constance Smith, O.B.E. A valuable summary of labour and factory conditions written by one who has devoted her life to their study. In view of the disturbed state of China and the counter-statements that appear from time to time in the press, this pamphlet should be widely read and appreciated.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Servile State," Hilaire Belloc. (Constable & Co. 4s. 6d.)

"For He Shall Have a New Democracy," F. H. Shand. (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. 2s.)

"Ten Years of War and Peace," Archibald Cary Coolidge. (Harvard University Press. 12s. 6d.)

"Fiji the Land of Promise," Sir T. Henley, K.B.E., M.L.A. (J. Sands & Co., Sydney, N.S.W. 3s.)

READERS' VIEWS

LEAGUE PUBLICITY

SIR,—One or two observations are suggested by the criticism in the May issue of HEADWAY of the official publicity of the Secretariat in connection with the Preparatory Disarmament Commission.

May I, in the first place, point out that, as the article states, the Commission sat "for over a month in the full glare of pitiless publicity." All the meetings were public, all the London Press and some others, as well as the three principal English agencies, have resident correspondents, supplied with tickets for all meetings and with all documents distributed; Lord Cecil received the Press regularly, and the British delegation was accompanied by a member of the Foreign Office News Department. There were ample facilities afforded the English Press, therefore, to obtain and publish such facts and conclusions as it considered important or essential. I think you under-estimate the amount of attention which it devoted to the matter.

The Secretariat must, in a general way, rely on existing channels for the transmission of news. It cannot, by reason of its character, even if it had the financial resources or available staff, play the part of a world newsagency.

The article declares that the verbatim records omit to indicate what the Commission did, and it suggests that the Secretariat should have explained proceedings "that conspicuously failed to explain themselves." The verbatim records are the only raw material upon which the Secretariat can officially work. If the verbatim records are not self-explanatory, the Secretariat cannot undertake to explain them. It would be obviously improper for members of the Secretariat to endeavour to interpret proceedings of a meeting such as that of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, highly controversial in character and dealing with exceedingly confused issues. This was appropriately done by Lord Cecil. Further, I feel sure you will realise that it would have been specially difficult for a British official of the League, with his own country one of the principal parties involved in the controversy, to have given a periodical commentary.

HEADWAY, unfortunately, had no representative, but I hope you will agree that every effort is made to give the organ of the League of Nations Union all possible assistance and information on all the work of the League. In this particular case the Secretariat did its best, at a very busy period, to meet the requests which it received from HEADWAY. It sent the British and

French draft conventions towards the end of March and second copies in April, synoptic texts of the two drafts and the verbatim records up to date on April 17, an explanatory eleven-page letter written privately on April 21 just before the meeting ended, and a copy of the official draft giving agreements, disagreements and reservations reached HEADWAY at least as soon as it was available for the Press in Geneva. The last document was the first official table of the state of the discussion which the Secretariat was able to distribute. A letter acknowledging receipt of the documentation expressed appreciation of its value.

A similar effort to meet any other particular requests would have been made within the limits of possibility. But it is, of course, evident that such individual attention could not have been paid to all the journals of England—not to mention those of the some fifty other countries Members of the League.

The Secretariat knows well enough that it is not above criticism in its daily effort to accomplish a task which has not been attempted before, but it is thought necessary to state these few points on the criticism in question.—Yours, etc.,

Information Section, Geneva. H. R. CUMMINGS.
May 14.

[The real trouble was that the "Official draft" referred to above, was dated April 22, though the conference opened on March 21. What was needed was interim statements of the same kind indicating progress as progress was achieved—on air, for example.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

WHAT THE LEAGUE IS

SIR,—I was surprised to see in the "Statement on the Chinese Situation," issued by the L.N.U., the sentence "The League is, of course, a League of Governments." That, surely, is precisely what the League is not, and therein it differs fundamentally from the Holy Alliance of a century ago, which failed because it was such. The League is a League of Nations, of Democracies of Peoples, and the L.N.U. works on the assumption that it is the People that counts in foreign as in domestic policy. Our government, not by any means entirely representative of our people, is actually engaged in warlike activities in China; China is a fellow-member of the League; the whole of the Chinese nation, as the whole of the British nation, is in it, and the question of our military interference in the Chinese embroglio ought at least to have been referred to the Council of the League. It is precisely such a perplexed situation as the present that offers excuse for violence and appears to justify acts of war. The war, if it comes, will be a war of Nations as the last one was, and the League will have failed to function.—Yours, etc.,

W. STANLEY ANDERTON.

[Our correspondent is wrong. The League is a League of Governments, based on a Covenant signed by heads of Governments. What is true is that Governments in this, as they should in all matters, represent nations.—Ed. HEADWAY.]

THE VALUE OF THE FILM

SIR,—Within recent weeks I have arranged for the public display of the two League of Nations films, "The Star of Hope" and "The World War and After"; the second was given three times on one day in the Hall of Sidcot School, which has a first-rate cinematograph. The film was widely advertised in the district, and many hundreds outside the School came and were greatly interested.

In League for Humanity

Fifty-two languages carry the Salvation Army's message to the peoples of the world. Eighty-two countries know its work.

THE SALVATION ARMY

is a great International Brotherhood—

working everywhere for moral, spiritual, and physical uplift.

From very humble beginnings in the East End of London, its ramifications are now well-nigh illimitable. The Army

knows no barrier of colour or creed

Wherever there is human need—from the slums of the Metropolis to the leper colonies of Java—the work of its patient officers bears living testimony to this world-wide salvage system. During times of crisis and calamity, such as the earthquakes in California and Japan, cyclones in Holland, India and Florida, and labour crises in Great Britain, the Salvation Army is the foremost to render succour and relief.

Its contribution to civilisation is a heavy one

Yet the Army is solely dependent on the self-sacrifice of its personnel and the voluntary support of the public.

GENERAL BOOTH will be grateful for any help sent to him at 101, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

SOME OPINIONS—

GREAT BRITAIN

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales:—
"His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales wishes me to tell you that whenever he came in contact with The Salvation Army during his recent tours, he was deeply impressed with the work that it is doing all over the world. He feels sure that the great tradition left behind by General William Booth is being fully maintained, and that it will be so maintained in the future."—*Private Secretary.*

INDIA

The Earl of Reading, K.C.V.O.:—
"Low as men may fall, there is none too low for The Salvation Army to lift."

AFRICA

The late Rt. Hon. Cecil Rhodes:—
"The work of your organisation is a practical one. I give you my word that, living in a remote portion of the British Dominions, I gladly give my testimony to the good and practical work which you do in that part of the world which I have adopted as my home."

JAPAN

Iwai Okada, of Okayama:—
"When we think of the Army's great influence over the community and of its success, so brilliant and so truly praiseworthy, we say that it deserves the honour that it has of being called a 'saviour of the community.'"

DUTCH EAST INDIES

J. T. Cremer, Esq.:—
"My appreciation of the object of The Salvation Army is equalled, if not surpassed, by the self-sacrificing work done by its Officers. Their work amongst the most unfortunate of people, in the slums of the great cities in particular, is admirable; and what I saw of it amongst the leper sufferers in the Dutch East Indies I shall never forget."

League of Nations Assembly Tour

A party will leave London for Geneva, September 2nd to 9th. VISITS to Assembly and International Labour Office, Lectures, etc. Inclusive Fee, London—London, £11 11s.

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

NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS

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HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, &c.

BRITTANY.—"BIORD-HOUSE," St. Jacut-de-la-Mer (C. du N.), small, comf. hotel, tree sunny spot, seaside; tennis, good food. Inclusive £2

HUMANITARIAN SUMMER HOLIDAY CENTRE from July 30th to September 3rd, 1927, Southbourne-on-Sea, Hants. Large mansion, several acres beautiful grounds, *meatless diet* on New Health Lines. Tennis, Croquet, Dancing, League of Nations Lectures. 10% reduction to League of Nations Union members. Illustrated prospectus from Mr. F. de V. SUMMERS, 32, Sackville Street, London, W.1. Tel. Regent 2276.

I think you will like to know what the result has been as regards the membership of the Winscombe Branch of the League of Nations Union. 210 memberships have been renewed, but this membership, quite a good one in a village of 2,000, has been extended by the addition of 155 new members, so the total membership is now 365.

I should add that of this number, 127 are Juniors.

I am convinced that the most effective form of popular propaganda is the display of such a film as "The World War and After"; our experience shows what may be done to increase interest in and knowledge of the work of the Union. I hope you may find encouragement in this and perhaps insert a note in HEADWAY.—Yours, etc.,

Sidcot School, Somerset.
April 16.

BEVAN LEAN.

"WHITE SLAVES" AND THEIR PATRONS

SIR,—In the appalling revelations contained in summaries of the report on this horrible traffic published in the newspapers little or no reference is made to the cause of the trouble, the creatures who compose "the market," though *The Manchester Guardian* does, however, term them "abominable patrons."

Is it not time that those men who desire a better state of society should unite under the banner of St. George and vow this foul blot on God's earth shall be stamped out in every country, by assisting the police and authorities? Let them deal with the "abominable patrons."—Yours, etc.,

Pretoria, April 13.

E. J. W.

FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE

WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT WORKS

FIFTY-FIVE States belong to the League of Nations, 42 having joined as original members, and 14 at different dates between 1920 and 1926, while Costa Rica has withdrawn. The League now comprises all the independent States in the world except The United States, Turkey, Egypt, Arabia (Nejd), Russia, Afghanistan, Ecuador, Mexico and Costa Rica. Two members, Spain and Brazil, have given the statutory two years' notice of withdrawal.

* * * *

The main organs of the League are—

(1) **The Assembly**, meeting annually in September, and consisting of not more than three delegates from each of the States members of the League.

(2) **The Council**, meeting four or more times a year, and consisting of one delegate each from fourteen different States, five States (Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan) being permanently represented, while the other nine States are elected from time to time by the Assembly.

(3) **The Secretariat**, the international civil service by which the League is served.

The fundamental purpose of the League is "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security."

The seat of the League is at Geneva.

* * * *

Side by side with the League itself, and as integral parts of it, there exist—

The Permanent Court of International Justice, with its seat at The Hague; and

The International Labour Organisation, with its seat at Geneva.

The Permanent Court had, down to May, 1927, decided 7 cases and given 13 advisory opinions to the League Council.

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RECONSTRUCTING EUROPE

The League has done great service to certain countries in Europe by helping them to surmount financial difficulties which they could not surmount unaided. This has been done at negligible cost, or no cost at all, to the League itself. Its effect has been to enable these countries to buy foreign goods which they could not otherwise have bought, and so to stimulate the flow of trade throughout the Continent.

1922.—**Austrian** Reconstruction Scheme, involving a loan of £26,000,000, carried through. The League placed a Commissioner at Vienna, to supervise Austrian expenditure, till 1926, when the restoration of Austrian finances was declared complete. The scheme enabled Austria to pay off a loan of £2,000,000 to Great Britain.

1923.—A similar scheme carried through for **Hungary**. League supervision in this case also ended in 1926, the scheme having proved completely successful.

1924.—A scheme for the settlement of 1,200,000 refugees in **Greece**, involving in the first instance a loan of about £10,000,000, was initiated, and is now in operation.

1926.—A similar scheme for **Bulgaria** approved.